

CHANGING LABOUR MARKET POSITIONS AND WORKPLACE
INTERACTIONS OF IRREGULAR MOLDOVAN MIGRANTS: THE CASE OF
TEXTILE/CLOTHING SECTOR IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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The new international division of labour has transformed the economic structure of Turkey from an import-substituted to an export-oriented economy. Starting from the early 90s, many Moldovan migrants began to come to Turkey in order to work temporarily in the informal economy. They worked in clothing and shoe ateliers until the beginning of this century. Nowadays many Moldovan migrants work in clothing shops as Russian-speaking sales assistants and in the cargo firms as carriers.

Based on this historical context, this study explores the changing labour market position and workplace interactions of irregular Moldovan migrants, who are working in the textile/clothing sector in Istanbul, Turkey. I firstly try to understand the mechanisms of the changing labour market positions of irregular migrants by focusing on the factors and agents behind these dynamic processes. Secondly, I intend to analyze the labour process control regimes and resistance in the workplaces where migrants work. With this aim in view, I conducted field research in Istanbul consisting of 35 in depth and informal interviews with Moldovan migrants, Turkish employers and Turkish employees.

As a result of the analyses of my findings, I first observed that although foreign workers cannot change the exploitative working conditions, they can find ways of escaping from exploitative working conditions in a context. Secondly, the level of exploitation in informal working conditions are not only determined by the necessities of capitalist accumulation regimes and the migration policies of the state but also by the preferences of employers based on economic and cultural motives but also.

Key Words: Moldovan migrants, Irregular Labour Migration, Informalization, Labour Process Control Regimes, Textile Sector in Istanbul

ÖZ

MOLDOVALI DÜZENSİZ GÖÇMENLERİN DEĞİŞEN EMEK PİYASALARI KONUMLARI VE İŞ YERİ ETKİLEŞİMLERİ: İSTANBUL TEKSTİL/KONFEKSİYON SEKTÖRÜ ÖRNEĞİ

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Yeni uluslararası işbölümü Türkiye ekonomisini ithal ikameci bir yapıdan ihracat temelli bir yapıya dönüştürmüştür. Diğer yandan, 1990'ların başından itibaren, birçok Moldovalı göçmen çalışmak amaçlı kısa süreli Türkiye'ye göç etmeye başlamışlardır. Bu göçmenler özellikle 2000'li yılların başlarına kadar konfeksiyon ve ayakkabı atölyelerinde çalışmışlardır. Bugünlerde ise bu sektörde çalışan Moldovalı göçmenler çoğunlukla dükkânlarda tezgâhtar ve kargo dükkânlarında taşıyıcı olarak çalışmaktadırlar.

Yukarıdaki tarihsel bağlama dayanarak bu çalışma, Türkiye'de tekstil/konfeksiyon sektöründe çalışan Moldovalı düzensiz göçmenlerin işgücü piyasalarındaki değişen konumlarını ve işyeri ilişkilerini incelemektedir. Bu ana eksen etrafında, birincil olarak, düzensiz göçmenlerin işgücü piyasalarındaki konumlarının ne tür mekanizmalarla değiştiği, bu süreçlerin arkasındaki etmen ve aktörlere odaklanarak anlamaya çalıştım. İkincil olarak, bu çalışmayla, Moldovalı göçmenlerin çalıştıkları işyerlerindeki emek süreçleri kontrol rejimlerini ve direnç noktalarını analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktayım. Bu amaçları göz önünde tutarak, İstanbul'da, Moldovalı

göçmenleri ve Türkiye’li işçi ve işverenleri içeren 35 tane derinlemesine ve enformel görüşmelerden oluşan bir alan çalışması gerçekleştirdim.

Alan çalışması bulgularının analizi sonucunda öncelikle, Moldovalı düzensiz göçmenlerin sömürünün yoğun olduğu iş koşullarını değiştiremeseler bile, bu koşullardan sosyal ağların yardımıyla iş değiştirerek kaçabildikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın ikinci önemli bulgusu ise, enformel iş koşullarındaki sömürü düzeyinin sadece sektördeki sermaye birikiminin gereklilikleri ve devletin göç politikalarınca değil işverenlerin ekonomik ve kültürel tercihleriyle de yakından ilgili olduğu olmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Moldovalı Göçmenler, Düzensiz Emek Göçü, Enformelleşme, Emek Süreçleri Kontrol Rejimleri, İstanbul Tekstil Sektörü

To all irregular migrants who are working in the textile and clothing sectors in
different regions of the world ...

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I dedicate this work to all irregular migrants who are working in the textile and clothing sectors in different regions of the world.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Context and Initial Interest of the Study

The Capitalist mode of production, as a worldwide phenomenon, has changed from the 1970s onward. This transformation brings many debates to the academic discourse about the continuities and discontinuities of the newly emerging structures and their differences from the earlier ones. While some scholars define these changes as late capitalism (Mandel, 1975; Jameson, 1991), some others conceptualize this new period as a new systemic trend in the world capitalist system (Wallerstein, 2003), as a new regime of capital accumulation (Jessop, 2002), as globalization transformations (Held et. al., 1999), or as the rise of the network society (Castells, 2000). The multiplicity of definitions and explanation models is related to the different theoretical approaches and interest areas that these scholars have. If the transformations in the real world are analysed, however, it can be seen that not only the economic structure of the world economy with its new class formations, but also the forms of the social and cultural interactions, have emerged out of this transforming world. In other words the world capitalist system has been restructured in terms of the functions and roles of nation-states, of class structures, of spatial organizations in the cities, of production systems, of societal organizations and of modes of cultural interactions.

In order to understand the “restructuring of the global capitalist system” better, for the purposes of this thesis, this restructuring can be read as a dimension of the process of globalization. Although the concept of globalization has been used for different ideological and scientific purposes, I believe that this concept could be used also for a critical exploration of the capitalist restructuring processes with their local reflections, by distinguishing four aspects of them.

Globalization as a concept, firstly, suggests we should not accept the societal changes and capital accumulation and labour processes as “facts” inside the “national boundaries”. On the contrary, these processes can be seen as the dismantling of the already-existing local, national, regional, and international structures and hierarchies among them. In other words, the assumption that there is a correspondence (or coupling) between geographical spaces (such as nation-state territory) and social spaces (such as a nation) is losing its explanatory power (Pries, 2001). This simply means that any exploration of a local social transformation necessitates the analysis of the complex linkages between regional, national and global forces. To put this in another way, new transnational social formations or transnational cultures have emerged (Appadurai, 1996). Secondly, the detachment of different forms and levels of space was provided by the context of intensification of existing networks and emergence of new networks among different localities, nations and regions (Held et. al, 1999). It can be assumed that these networks are composed not only of the flows of knowledge and goods but also of capital and labour (Castells, 2000).

Thirdly, along with these separation and intensification processes, capitalism reproduces itself on a global level. Based on already-existing social inequalities, new forms of inequalities, discrimination and domination structures emerge that cause new forms of racism (Balibar and Wallerstein, 2000), new ghettos (Wacquant, 1996), and new forms of exploitation (Lipietz, 1987) in different parts of the world. From another point of view, it can be said that the restructuring global socio-spatial stratifications have changed (reciprocally) the organization, distribution, and exercise of power among different actors. Fourthly, globalization opens a “space” in which the intensification of commodification in the areas of consumption, information, and finance capital takes place. Needless to say, this process includes the commodification of hitherto forgotten “stocks” of labour-power.

Based on these four characteristics of globalization, I believe two interrelated theoretical approaches to globalization, would provide the necessary basis for the subject of this study: new international division of labour and global commodity chains. As many Marxist-oriented thinkers do, I think that globalization has made the

already-existing inequalities among the “territories” of nation-states more remarkable. With the disaggregation of the production and consumption units, the new international division of labour not only intensifies the traditional split between the “capital-intensive-goods-producer” countries and “labour-intensive-goods-producer” ones, but also it creates new global divisions that cut across the national boundaries as we know them. Global commodity approach (Gereff et. al, 1994), on the other hand, enables us to understand the complex dynamics between different production and consumption units (especially in the textile/clothing sector¹) in terms of access to global markets and of the relative value of the commodities that these areas produce. The pressures of global markets are felt especially in production spaces where “labour-intensive-goods” are produced. In many cases, producers deal with the pressures of global markets through the informalization of production processes. Although there are different theoretical approaches about the reasons of the growth of informal economy in the global age, informalization of employment relations and production processes can be simply conceptualized as the expansion of new forms of capitalist accumulation, which might be related to the “tendency for the rate of profit to fall” in the capitalist accumulation processes. These processes go hand in hand with the socio-spatial restructuring of cities especially in terms of labour markets.

The growth of informal production units in urban areas, besides many socio-economic consequences, has created new forms of employment relations (such as flexibility, casualization, and home-based work) and new sectorial compositions (such as the rise of the service economy) in which irregular foreign migrants are able to find jobs easily. These new informal spaces can be seen as one of the reasons of the emergence of new migration regimes. As we know, for three decades international migration is no longer conceptualized as the migration from developing to developed countries. Along with the new routes and direction of international migration, which might be conceptualized as the “globalization of international migration” (Castles and Miller, 2004), the relative importance of some forms of international migration (such as irregular and temporary migration, feminization of

¹ Throughout the thesis, I will call the textile and clothing sectors as *textile/clothing sector* since these sectors are two closely interrelated although they have some differences.

migration, asylum seekers, brain-drain) has increased. Sociologically, it is crucial to focus on what effect these new routes and forms of international migration would have on new community formation processes different from the ones of the earlier migrant communities. The emigration processes from former Soviet Bloc countries can be accepted as one of these new migration regimes.

Based on this historical and theoretical context, my study topic is about the emigration processes from former Soviet Bloc countries and the labour market outcomes of these processes in a newly migrant-receiving country. In this sense I would like to explore the changing labour market positions and workplace interactions of Moldovan migrants in the textile/clothing sector in Istanbul, Turkey. This study can be accepted as an exploration of the labour market dynamics and the labour processes in the textile/clothing sector by focusing on foreign migrant labour in Istanbul, Turkey.

At this point, I would like to share the “subjective” reasons of why I have selected this subject as the topic of my thesis. In the second year of my undergraduate education in the sociology department, my interest about the origins of Turkish nationalism began. Out of different dimensions of nationalism both as a political ideology and as a sociological phenomenon, I focused on the role of nationalism in the formation of a new nation-state: the Turkish Republic. In this formation process, I realized that international migration both to Turkey and from Turkey, to some extent, created the conditions of a homogeneous nation-state in terms of ethnicity and religion. Along with this interest, I participated in a fieldwork study in the summer of 2004 and 2005, which aimed to analyze the work experiences of Turkish workers in big cities. In this fieldwork, I made several oral history interviews. This project led me to be interested in the “labour processes” and the “power relations” between different actors in the workplace. In the summer of 2006, two months before deciding the subject of my thesis, I participated in a project as an interviewer about the solidarity and cultural pluralism perceptions of Turkish immigrants in London. During this fieldwork, I observed how the modes of cultural interaction among different immigrant groups (including irregular migrants) and the position of

ethnic/immigrant groups in the labour/housing markets change in London. After this fieldwork, I had already decided to study an immigrant group in one of the big cities of Turkey.

With this aim, I started to explore literature about foreign migrants in Turkey. Then I chose Istanbul, the biggest city of Turkey, as the site of my fieldwork since most of the foreign migrants come to Istanbul as a “station” in their complex migration routes. As a newly migrant-receiving country, Turkey, from the beginnings of the 90’s onwards, has attracted mainly two groups of immigrants: I) the ones from Middle Eastern, African and some Asian countries whose aim is to use Turkey as a transit country, and II) the ones from former Soviet Bloc countries such as Russia, Romania, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan whose aim is to earn some money and then go back to their country. While the former group of migrants generally crosses the Turkish borders “illegally”, and tries to find ways to migrate to a developed country, the latter groups of migrants come to Turkey in order to work in the informal economy.

This latter group generally migrates to Turkey temporarily (temporary migration) and visits their country regularly (circular migration). More importantly, these migrants come to Turkey only for working, or at least this is what investigation shows. Thus, I decided to focus on this group so as to explore the complex relationship between flexible/informal working conditions and the dynamics of “irregular labour migration”. These migrants, according to the studies about foreign migrants in Turkey (İçduygu, 2004; Lordoğlu, 2005), are concentrated mostly in manufacturing industry (textile, clothing, shoe, and leather production), food-related sectors, construction sector, entertainment sector, sex industry, and domestic services. It can be further said that there is an ethnic division of labour among these migrants. For example, Romanian, Moldovan, Turkmen, and Azeri migrants usually work in textile/clothing sector. Moldavian and Ukrainian women migrants work in the sex industry and domestic services. Ukrainian, Moldovan and Russian migrants work in wholesale shops as sales assistants. Out of these sectors, textile/clothing sector has a very crucial role in the export-oriented Turkish economy. In addition

informal working conditions are very common among native workers in the small and medium size production units of this sector. Lastly, the foreign workers in this sector work not only in production units as “unskilled” labour, but also in the shops as sales assistants, and in the cargo firms as carriers. The complexity and dynamism of this sector attracted me as a study subject. After my pilot study, I decided to make a study on Moldovan migrants because of two practical reasons. Firstly, because of the time limitation, a study about only one immigrant group would have decreased the possible variables while analyzing labour market positions of these migrants. Secondly, Moldovan migrants were working in different segments (ateliers, shops, cargo firms) of this sector. I would like to point out that although my subject is about irregular Moldovan migrants in textile/clothing sector in Istanbul, it is not a study that focuses only on one community. Therefore, I constructed a sample including Turkish workers and employers in this sector too.

1.2 The Aims and Research Questions of the Study

Concerning the context and the initial interest for my subject, I now would like to explain what the aims and research question of this study are. My pioneer research question in the most abstract level is the relationship between globalization, changing modes of capitalist accumulation in Istanbul, and the changing labour market position and labour processes of Moldovan immigrants. In other words, I will mainly try to understand the changing forms of relationships between capital and labour in the textile/clothing sector in Istanbul with a focus on irregular Moldovan migrants. In this sense, I first analyze the mechanisms of the changing labour market position of irregular migrants by focusing on the factors and agents behind these dynamic processes. Secondly I explore the labour process control and resistance in the workplaces where migrants are employed. While exploring these dynamics and mechanisms, I will always keep in mind the differences and similarities between native workers and irregular migrants in terms of the dynamics that I described above. These broad questions might be narrowed down into three research questions with their sub-questions:

Research Question 1:

What are the “sociological factors” that affect the labour market position of irregular Moldovan workers in Istanbul in general and in the textile/clothing sector in specific?

Research Question 2:

What are the relative roles of “actors” in the changing labour market position of Moldovan migrants?

Sub-questions:

1. How have Moldovan migrants changed their labour market position from clothing ateliers to shops and cargo firms?
2. How do migration policies of the Turkish state affect the labour market/employment position of these workers?
3. What factors affect the recruitment strategies of employers in this sector while hiring immigrants?

Research Question 3:

How do “control” and “resistance” in the labour processes operate in the workplaces where Moldovan migrants work?

Sub-questions:

1. What kind of control mechanisms do exist in these workplaces?

2. What is the role of the absence of a formal work contract in the bargaining power of workers and in the working conditions of Moldovan migrants?
3. What kinds of resistance strategies (if any) are developed by migrant workers in order to change the conditions in the workplaces and to challenge these control mechanisms?
4. What are the differences and similarities between native and foreign workers in terms of labour processes?

Besides answering these research questions, I will try to find some theoretical findings in the study. Three of them can be accepted as the three dimensions of my thesis argument. Firstly, I will compare the relationship between foreign labour and informalization in western countries with the situation in Turkey. During this comparison, I will especially advocate that Sassen's (1998) "demand-driven" theory, which points out the role of restructuring economies in the informalization of migrant labour, offers crucial insights into the role of migrant labour in the informalization processes in Istanbul. In addition, I will explore why there are no "ethnic economies" of foreign migrants in Turkey. Secondly, I will find some new clues about the concept of "vulnerability" of foreign migrants. Contrary to the many theories' assumption that foreign migrants constitute the "bottom" part of social stratas, I advocate that some foreign migrants search for ways of surviving and "upward mobility" in a given "context". In other words, foreign migrants as "agents" might change their labour market positions by using social networks and other qualifications they have. I will try to discuss this issue with the help of the concept of resistance of the employees in the workplace. Thirdly, although "informal working conditions" provide "effective" ways of exploitation under global market pressures, there are always "limits" for "pure exploitation". Therefore, I will show how the "pure economic exploitation" of immigrants is constrained by political and cultural structures. I will define this mode of exploitation as "culturally and politically mediated exploitation".

Besides these major aims, I have some minor ones in this study. Firstly, I am planning to relate my findings about the labour market position of irregular migration to some regional political and economic transformations on the one hand and to global transformations on the other. In other words, I aim to discuss the local reflections of the global transformations. Secondly, concepts such as “temporality” and “illegality” will be questioned. Thirdly, I hope this study will produce an ethnographic knowledge of the experiences and practices of irregular Moldovan migrants in particular and about all irregular foreign migrants in general in Istanbul, Turkey.

1.3 Conceptual Framework and Methodological Approach of the Study

In order to answer my research questions, I constituted a conceptual framework including three concepts: modes of immigrant incorporation, social networks and informalization. These concepts enabled me to operationalize my theoretical approach so as to analyze the fieldwork findings. I used the concept of modes of incorporation in two ways. Firstly I defined this concept as the “political-administrative framework” of a nation-state in their dealings with international population movements towards their country. As many countries in Southern Europe, I advocated that the differential exclusion mode of incorporation in which foreign migrants are usually perceived by the state and employers as temporary workers prevail in Turkey which results in fractional incorporation of foreign migrants. While analyzing the relationships between Turkish state and Moldovan migrants, I explored how the political context that this mode of incorporation creates affects the working and living conditions of Moldovan migrants. Secondly, still using the concept of mode of incorporation, I focused on the theories about the “labour market incorporation of foreign migrant” so as to understand the economic context of my study. In this sense I especially discussed how the “forms of capital” and “aesthetic” labour have shaped the labour market position and labour processes of Moldovan migrants.

My second concept of the conceptual framework is social networks. I approached this concept by focusing on the historical transformation and power relations of social networks that migrants as “agents” use as ways of survival in a given economic and political context. Besides migrants, I tried to explore the role of “employer networks” in shaping the dynamics of the labour market.

And my third concept is informalization. Instead of using the concepts of “informal economy” or “informal sector”, the concept of “informalization” enables me to understand the continuously changing dynamics of the labour market of the textile/clothing sector in Istanbul. In addition, the concept of informalization points out how the micro-level social relations at the workplaces where foreign migrants work are affected by the state interventions and employers’ preferences under the context of globalization. In this sense I especially focused on the informalization of the “status of labour” and of the “working conditions” of foreign migrants. Thus, I made a study on two analytical levels. I accepted the labour market as the macro level and the labour processes as the micro level.

At this point I would like to summarize my methodological approach and field research in this study. Inspired by a critical realistic approach, I assume in this study that material conditions such as social, political, gender, and cultural factors have a major influence on people’s lives and perceptions. In this study I used a qualitative research approach since this provides a deeper understanding of the social world and shows the changing contextual dimensions of social actions and social facts. Thus, qualitative methodology is important because it offers a flexible strategy with a small-scale sample. Based on this methodological approach I used two research methods: in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Firstly, I conducted both semi-structured in-depth interviews and informal interviews. I made informal interviews because of the busy working conditions and “illegal” status of some respondents. Secondly, I used participant observation method. Out of different forms of participant observation methods, I used the ones of “observer-as-participant” in which the researcher is mainly an interviewer, and the observation includes little participation.

Based on this qualitative and flexible research methodology, I conducted a small-scale fieldwork in Istanbul. I carried out a total of 35 interviews throughout my pilot study and fieldwork by using a snowball technique. 18 of these interviews were informal interviews (or informal talks) in which I could not ask questions about the work and migration experiences of respondents, instead I asked questions related to the labour market and work interactions between foreign and native employees. This group includes both Turkish employers and employees in the textile/clothing sector. And 17 of these interviews were in-depth interviews which includes (except one employer) the Turkish and Moldovan workers in this sector. 11 of these respondents were foreign migrants working in the textile/clothing sector in Istanbul. Out of 11 foreign respondents, 9 of them were Moldovan migrants and the other 2 respondents were Russian and Ukrainian migrants.

1.4 The Outline of the Study

In chapter 2, my aim is to represent the theoretical background of my study so as to understand the global context that creates the conditions of new forms of capitalist accumulation and international migration. I will start my investigation with a discussion on globalization. The first section will explore briefly different theses (hyperglobalists, sceptics and transformationalist) on globalization that aim to explain the main dynamics of globalization and to discuss the newness of it. In addition, out of different theoretical approaches to globalization studies, the world-system approach and global capitalism will be discussed in detail. The second section is devoted to two theories, that is “New International Division of Labour” and “Global Commodity Chains” so as to see the place of the textile sector in the world economy and the dynamics of this sector. In the third section, the changing functions and structures of nation-states in the context of globalization will be examined with regard to their transforming policies in the regulating and management of international population movements. The last section of this chapter will explore what the main dynamics of current international migration are.

Chapter 3, based on the global context that was discussed in the previous chapter, I will elaborate three concepts: Modes of Incorporation, Informality and Social Networks. In international migration studies, the ways in which foreign migrants enter into political, cultural and economic interactions with the host country are one of the most debatable issues. It is accepted that migrant-receiving countries have different models or different political-administrative frameworks for the incorporation of foreign migrants. In this sense, the first section will explore why the model of differential exclusion can be used in this study. In addition, the factors that affect the modes of labour market incorporation will be examined. The second section of this chapter will focus on the concept of social networks and social capital so as to indicate how and by which ways foreign migrants use social networks in their migration and labour market incorporation processes. Lastly, the third section will discuss informalization processes under the context of globalization. For the purposes of this study, the theories about the relationship between the informal economy and migrant labour in urban areas will be explored in detail. The last part of this section will examine various theories of labour processes under capitalism so as to indicate how the informalization processes along with the changing forms of work in the global economy affect the dynamics of labour process controls in the production units.

Chapter 4 will be devoted to how globalization and the new international division of labour affect the Turkish economy with a focus on the textile/clothing sector. In addition, the question of what kind of labour market outcomes result as a consequence of the irregular migration in Turkey will be discussed. The first section will briefly explore the history of immigration to Turkey from the Ottoman Empire period on. This exploration provides an explanation for the “political-administrative framework” in Turkey related to international population movements. In the second part of this section, the major aspects of the irregular migrants in Turkey and their place in the labour market will be discussed. For the purposes of this study, some investigation of the labour market positions of irregular migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries will be made in detail, which will enable us to discuss the relationship between informal working conditions and migrant labour. In the second section, the

Moldovan migrants abroad in general and in Turkey in particular will be explored. After a discussion about the main aspects of Moldovan migrants in different countries, I will try as much as possible to give some numbers concerning Moldovan migrants' jobs in Turkey. Then, I will discuss the important points of specific studies of Moldovan migrants (especially the ones who are employed as domestic workers) in Turkey. In the following section, the changing structure of the Turkish economy from an import-substitute to an export-oriented one will be examined as a new capitalist accumulation strategy. Informal and flexible working conditions create a demand for both native workers and irregular foreign migrants. In the second part of this section, this change will be related to the growth of informal economy in the textile/clothing sector. The last section of this chapter will focus on how the socio-spatial transformation in Istanbul gave the way for the rise of informal production units in different parts of the city.

Chapter 5 will explore what kind of research strategy I followed in the fieldwork study. In this sense, firstly the epistemological and ontological assumptions I have made will be examined. Then, I will discuss why I selected a qualitative research strategy in my fieldwork study. Based on these assumptions, the second section will explore the way I use two research methods: in-depth interviews (including informal talks) and participant observation. In the last section, I will first explain how I constructed my sample. In addition my fieldwork experiences will be discussed by focusing on the decisions that I made related to the research strategy and sample.

Chapter 6 will be devoted to the analysis of my empirical data. In the first section, I would like to give the socio-demographic characteristics of my respondents. In the following section, the migration patterns and living conditions of Moldovan migrants will be examined in two parts. In the first part, the main characteristics of Moldovan migration to Turkey such as the reasons for migration, frequency of home country visits and future plan will be discussed. In the second part of this section, I will describe the living conditions of Moldovan migrants, which is highly associated with the migration patterns. In the third section, I will discuss the relationship between Moldovan migrants and the Turkish state. In the fourth section, I will explore the

labour market position of Moldovan migrants in different segments of the textile/clothing sector. In connection with this, it will be explained how the labour market position of these migrants has changed from employment in the textile/clothing ateliers to working in shops and cargo firms. In this section, I will try to find some answers to my first and second research questions. After this macro level analysis, I will concentrate on the workplace interactions between different actors in the workplaces where Moldovan migrants work. I first will explore the textile/clothing ateliers by discussing the working conditions, the modes of labour process controls and the modes of resistance. In the second part, the labour processes and modes of resistant in the shops and cargo firms will be examined. This section will find some answers to the third research question.

In chapter 7, I will briefly discuss the historical context of this study by using the theoretical arguments that I used in the second and third chapter. Then, I will try to answer my research questions. Lastly, I will indicate the limitations of this thesis and make some suggestion for further studies.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: GLOBALIZATION, NEW INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR AND CHANGING FORMS OF MIGRATION

In this chapter I aim at discussing “globalization” as a historical process so as to provide the grounds on which the subject of my thesis will be theoretically elaborated. In other words this chapter will offer me a contextual background for the following chapters. With this aim, I will not enter into details of the huge academic discussions on globalization; instead this process will be elaborated to the extent that new international divisions of labour and new forms of international migration are affected by globalization. In the following pages, I will first define globalization and an approach will be selected out of different theoretical ones for explaining the globalization process. Secondly, it will be discussed how globalization with its various dimensions, creates a new international division of labour, which can be seen as a new phase of capitalism. Then, I will argue how the globalization process affects the transformation of the nation-state as an actor in the global arena. Lastly, the globalization process will be discussed in its relation to new forms of international population movements such as irregular and circular migration.

2.1 Globalization as a new phase of Capitalism

Since “globalization” as a concept has been widely used both in academic and popular discourse for different ideological and theoretical aims since the 1960s, it easily loses its explanatory power, and the possibility of a precise definition. In the following pages, employing these different usages and theoretical approaches, I will try to form a selective and critical definition of this concept. We can begin this discussion with a simple definition: Held et. al. (1999: 2) define the globalization process as the “widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide

interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual”. In addition to this broad definition, they assert that the form of globalization may differ between historical periods. They (Held et al., 1999: 17) define historical forms of globalization as “the spatio-temporal and organizational attributes of global interconnectedness in discrete historical epochs”. This spatial and temporal transformation can be thought of as

a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of the extent (of global networks), intensity (of global interconnectedness), velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (Held et al., 1999: 16).

Along with these socio-spatial transformations, organizational attributes such as infrastructures, institutionalization, stratification and modes of interaction constitute other dimensions of globalization. In this sense, I think, the important thing is that the transforming interaction capacity and regularization of these interactions affect the organization, distribution, and exercise of power (among different actors), which is related to restructuring global socio-spatial stratifications and power relations. After all these analytical categorizations, they see globalization, which actually contains different globalization(s) processes, as a multifaceted and a differentiated social phenomenon.

Based on such a relatively neutral definition, Held et al. (1999) define three schools of thought, which vary according to their explanation of causes, dynamics, and impacts of the globalization process. As it can be guessed, the boundaries of these schools of thought are quite blurred. Out of these schools of thought, hyperglobalist thesis, in general, advocates that a new single global market and a global civil society have emerged while nation-states are losing their power. More importantly, they celebrate this emerging global civilization for the sake of “human progress”. Waters’ (1995: 3) definition of globalization can be accepted as an example of this school of thought: “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding”. On the other hand, the skeptical thesis questions the newness of

the globalization process, and sees globalization (at best) as a heightened level of internationalization while nation-states' powerful role is still continuing. Additionally, they argue that a regionalization process takes place around the world, which decreases the integration level of countries. Compatible with these explanations, many Marxist-oriented thinkers (Callinicos et al., 1994 in Waters, 1995) conceptualize globalization as a new phase of western imperialism or as the extension of monopoly capitalist imperialism². Also, they point out the growing north-south inequalities and economic marginalization of many "third world" countries, along with new inequalities and hierarchies in the world economy. The third school of thought, the transformationalist thesis, says that globalization as a powerful transformative force has resulted in a "massive shake-out of societies", including nation-states. But they assert that the direction of this change remains uncertain because it is a contingent historical process with contractions, unprecedented flows and open-ended dynamics. In my view, although the third school of thought enables us to see the multiplicity of globalization processes in terms of their societal impacts and future effects, the second school of thought points out why this process should be seen as a transformation of the capitalist mode of production. As it can be seen, one of the major points of these discussions about the dynamics of globalization is the "newness" of it. James (2005: 19-20), in his article about the ideologies related to globalization, defines two major strands of criticism of globalization. To him, the first group treats globalization as a process of spatial extension only for two or three decades and ignores the long-term development of practices and ideas. On the other hand, a second group of critics reduce globalization to an ideology of capitalist economic expansion, which may blind many scholars to analyze other ideologies such as interconnectivity, mobility, security, justice, and democracy.

² Özüğurlu (2008), in this doctoral dissertation, points out the explanatory power of the concept of imperialism (instead of globalization as an empirical concept), which is defined as a concept that explains the dynamics of worldwide power and exploitation relations. If imperialism is conceptualized broadly as the politics of capital accumulation, then colonialism would be seen as a conjectural form of this politics. So, according to Özüğurlu, globalization is not more than a new colonial strategy of imperialist politics. In this sense, all the social processes that are described by the concept of globalization empirically could be decoded theoretically by the concept of "lean colonialism".

Another discussion about globalization is being made related to how global transformations (however they are conceptualized) affect the local, national, regional, and international levels differently (Held et al., 1999). In this sense, it is generally recognized, that the discussions on globality go hand in hand with the growing importance of locality. For example, it is emphasized how local socio-economic dynamics can be easily affected by global forces without being disrupted by national actors (Jessop, 1996) or how different local areas can establish links and ties, namely, trans-locality (Dirlik, 1996). These territorial/space-based discussions, which mainly focus on the changing interconnectedness between different spatial levels in general, and multifaceted and enormously complex web of local-global relations in particular, which become a major issue of globalization studies (Sklair, 1999). Waters (1995: 9), for example, tries to explain how in the age of globalization, material exchanges localize, political exchanges internationalize, and symbolic exchanges globalize. He (Waters, 1995: 9), contrary to my approach, advocates that the “economy and policy is to be globalized to the extent that they are culturalized, that is, to the extent that the exchanges that take place within them are accomplished symbolically”.

These cultural, political and economic dimensions of globalization bring us to the different research clusters of globalization studies. Sklair (1999), in his article titled as “Competing Conceptions of Globalization”, defines four research clusters: the world-system approach, the global culture approach, the global society approach, and the global capitalism approach. Since I am inclined to use the first and fourth research clusters in my general theoretical approach in this thesis, I will put only a brief definition of the second and third group. The second cluster prioritizes the cultural transformations related to mass media-based over political and economic. In addition it discusses mainly how the individual and national identities will change in the age of “global culture”. The third cluster, that is the global society approach, focuses on the increasing significance of supra-national and global institutions, which go hand in hand, as Giddens (1991) and Robertson (1992) argue, with a “global awareness”.

The first research cluster, on the other hand, mainly advocates that there is an international division of labour between core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral countries according to their place in the power relations of the world-system³. In this approach, most of the scholars actually do not distinguish “global” dimension from an inter-national level as an analysis scale, or use the concept of global and inter-national interchangeably. The fourth research cluster, the global capitalism model, first of all points out, as Sklair (1999: 156) says, “the dominant global forces in the structures of an ever-more globalizing capitalism”. Then it defines the concept of global as a phenomenon which is more than the relationship between nation-states and state-based structures. In this model, Sklair himself relates globalization with “transnational practice”, which is defined as practices beyond non-state actors and cross state borders. These practices aim at transforming the world according to the “global capitalist project”. In this transformation process, “transnational corporations” as the main institution for economic transnational practices, the “transnational capitalist class” of political transnational practices, and the culture-ideology of consumerism for transnational cultural-ideological practices seem to be the major actors and institutions. Lastly, two main critiques towards these models need to be clarified. Firstly, these global forces and changes are conceptualized in terms of impersonal forces, which affect continuously the lives of ordinary and defenseless people and communities. Some of the new social movements in general and anti-globalist or alter globalist movements in particular can be seen to work in the defense of “ordinary” people. Secondly, a focus on global forces might make scholars ignore the transformations and relatively autonomic character of social structures at different levels.

In this sub-section, lastly, I will sketch the major characteristics of globalization to the extent that they are related to my subject. In a Marxist sense, commodities can be defined “as the objects through whose production and exchange surplus created, extracted and amassed” (Scholte, 2000: 112). Resources and objects become commodities when they are incorporated into the capitalist accumulation process. In this context, the free circulation of commodities and an endless commodification

³ In the following chapter, I will use this approach as a basis while explaining the rise of informal production/service units around the world.

process around the world can be seen as one of the major characteristics of the capitalist mode of production. A transformation, as Marx (2004: 150-158) explains, from money-commodity-money (M-C-M) to commodity-money-commodity (C-M-C) points out the commodification of labour and goods as long as capitalist relations are deepening. From this perspective, the history of capitalism can be read and how the range of commodification processes is interlinked with different types of capital accumulation. Until the 1960s, commercial and industrial capital became dominant forms of capital accumulation. Scholte (2000) asserts that “accelerated globalization since the 1960s has helped further to widen the scope of commodification in three general areas”: consumerism, finance capital, and information and communication. While consumerism has expanded the range of industrial capital and immediate personal consumption, the extension of financial capital provide the growth of global banking, global derivatives, and global securities. Along with, computer software and telephone calls have become just commodities for capital accumulation.

Related with our concern, Scholte (2000: 123-124) explains how the redistribution of accumulation from industrial and commercial capital to “intangibles” types of capital that I have explained above affect partly the collapse of the Soviet Bloc because of the failure of central planning to generate new sectors. Scholte (2000: 124) adds that “the Soviet Bloc could make a running in the early and mid-twentieth century, when industrial capital was dominant, but the regimes failed to meet the challenges of restructured capitalism in the globalizing late twentieth century”. Thus, the collapse of the Soviet Bloc enforces many people to migrate to capitalist countries and to become a “commodity” in the capital accumulation process in these countries.

Scholte (2000) additionally asserts how this redistribution has contributed to the widening of the existing gap between “north” and “south” countries. In fact, along with expanded commodification, we witness growing inequalities between regions, countries, cities, and social classes. As a classical example, Waters (1995: 71) asserted that “on an income per head basis the rich: poor ratio was about 2:1 in 1800, by 1945 it was 20:1 and by 1975 it was 40:1”. However, the growing inequalities do not mean only a quantitative change but also a qualitative change. Wallerstein

(2003), for example, explains how the transformations in the world-system and its effects on local, national and regional levels lead to the emergence of new structures of discrimination and domination. Many scholars have focused on different aspects of these new inequality structures. The discussions on new-racism (Balibar and Wallerstein, 2000) and the inequalities that depend on incapability of movement (Bauman, 1998) can be given as some of these new inequality structures.

For our concern, Bauman's argument needs to be clarified. In the age of globalization, Bauman (1998) says, the processes of information, business, and financial flow go hand in hand with a "localizing" and "space-fixing" process. Bauman (1998: 2) elaborates this idea:

All of us are, willy-nilly, by design or by default, on the move. We are on the move even if, physically, we stay put: immobility is not a realistic option in a world of permanent change. And yet the effects of that new condition are radically unequal. Some of us become fully and truly 'global'; some are fixed in their 'locality....Being local in a globalized world is a sign of social deprivation and degradation. In other words, this process differentiates the already-existing conditions of whole populations, and of segments of each population.

To put it simply, Bauman (1998: 18) asserts that "rather than homogenizing the human condition, the technological annulment of temporal/spatial distances tends to polarize it". After the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, the differentiation between the ones who migrate and become a part of global capital accumulation and the ones who do not migrate can be given as an example of this situation. In order to understand these new inequality structures concerning the main dynamics of globalization better, I would like to discuss the new international division of labour, which would give us some insights into the immigration processes in Turkey too.

2.2 New International Division of Labour and Global Commodity Chains

In this section I will try to explain the main factors that gave way to the formation of a new international division of labour and the main characteristics of this new world order and global commodity chains. From the beginning of the 20th century on, many scholars and thinkers have advocated that imperialism or colonialism had created an international division of labour of the social kind. Waters (1995: 19-26) summarizes

the major debates related to the international division of labour: Lenin (1931), for example, argued that the international system of exploitation with a finance-capital oligarchy that emerged out of the social relationships of capitalist production in the age of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. This ideas was elaborated by Frank (1971), saying that monopolist-capitalist imperialism aims at exporting capital to the underdeveloped countries which provides the exploitation of labour for the production of food and raw materials. In other words, while colonial commodities are being exported to the countries at the center with low prices, the high priced manufactured goods are being sold to periphery countries. The transfer of surplus from colonized to colonialist countries creates a dependency between these countries. In the following years, these ideas were developed by Amin (1980), who tried to explain how a social-democratic alliance between the bourgeoisie and the high-income working class at the centre and the satellite bourgeoisie maintain dependency and international division of labour between countries. Furthermore, Wallerstein (1974), a bit different from dependency theories, focused on the state structures so as to show how states stabilize capitalism by managing the social problems and paying economic costs. So, the world-system includes three types of states: core states, peripheral states, and semi-peripheral. States have a chance to change their position in the hierarchy if the long-term and short-term cyclical rhythms provide a basis. Also, the semi-peripheral states prevent the possible conflict and polarization between the other two groups of countries.

As it can be seen, one of the main ideas of these theories is that while the core countries produce capital-intensive and high value-adding goods and services, the periphery countries can realize only labour-intensive and low value-adding goods. These divisions, however, have become more complicated for four decades. Some periphery countries have transformed into newly industrializing countries (NICs), and some others could increase their returns from primary production by managing to cartelize. Neo-mercantalist policies in the liberal trade environment after the 1950s, tax incentives, duty free importation of capital goods, and depressed currency enable many countries (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan in south East Asia) to change their positions in the world-system (Waters, 1995: 71).

However, the divisions and dependency relations between core and peripheral societies has not come to an end; instead the unequal dependency relations persist owing to the monopoly of core societies on technology, financial control, media and communication, and weapons of mass destruction. Incorporation of almost all countries after the 1990s into the global capitalist system and world trade flows provided the reproduction of these relations. One of the mechanisms that provides the continuation of these dependency relations is the rise of financial capital, which helps peripheral countries in their transition from social welfare policies to neo-liberal policies. The existing dependency relations (such as debts) gave rise to export-oriented economic policies and structural adjustment policies in many newly industrializing countries. In this process, liberalization of trade, deregulation, and privatization would have been the major steps of these policies (Özuğurlu, 2008: 91-92).

These economic transformations have created huge social costs too. Özuğurlu (2008: 95-97) summarized the sociological transformations that gave way for a new international division of labour, as Fröbel and his colleagues (1980) elaborated in their book titled *New International Division of Labour*. Firstly, after WW2 onward, many countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia experienced huge internal population movements from rural to urban areas, which provided the labour-power demand of new export-oriented industries. Low reproduction costs of new internal migrants, long working hours, insecure employment relations, and the use of female labour prepared the conditions for new opportunities of capital accumulation. Secondly, the transformation of production units into more complex structures has transformed the labour processes into a more fragmented form and the labour-power into less skilled. Thirdly, the technological developments in communication and transportation provided the necessary infrastructure. “Free production zones” or “world market factories” became the major spaces of production for world markets. Besides these organized areas, many small-size or medium-size firms in urban areas were founded to make export-oriented production. The employment strategies and production organizations were designed according to this aim. All these developments made the emergence of a new international division of labour possible.

In this new order, the production sites in developing countries, for the first time in the history of capitalism, could come to a position in which they were able to compete with the world markets. As it can be seen, these social and spatial transformations are both the reason and the result of the new international division of labour in general and the expansion of the informal sector in specific.

Based on these developments, I would now like to discuss the theory of global commodity chains so as to understand the *mechanisms of the dependency relations*. One of the major results of the new international division of labour is that contemporary capitalism involves a disaggregation of stages of production and consumption across national boundaries. This disaggregation process takes place under the organizational structure of networked firms or enterprises. The Global commodity chains theory aims to analyze this new organizational structure. Gereffi et al. (1994) define a commodity chain as a network of production processes and labour for producing a finished commodity. In detail, a global commodity chain “consists of sets of interorganizational networks clustered around one commodity or product, linking households, enterprises, and states to one another within the world-economy” (Gereffi et al., 1994: 2). Besides being a network-centered and historical analysis, this approach assumes that each segment or process is part of a chain like nodes or boxes.

As a result of existing under capitalism, these commodity chains create continuously inequalities which result in both world-economic spatial inequalities in terms of differential access to markets and resources, and a distinction between poor and rich countries in terms of the relative value of the commodities that these areas produce. So, as an example in the textile sector, while high-value products (such as wool suits) are spatially concentrated in some specific part of the world, low-value products (such as synthetic blouses) are not concentrated in one place. In order to understand the reproduction of the unequal distribution of wealth, Gereffi et al. (1994) asserts, the tendency of monopolization and the competition pressures are two key concepts. Firms and enterprises at the core with the help of their powerful positions in the global commodity chains are able to apply heterogeneous organizational strategies

such as outsourcing, subcontracting relations, overseas production or rationalized manufacturing which enable them as monopolies to transfer the competitive pressures to peripheral areas of the world-economy. The discourse of “constant upgrading” becomes the major aim or organizational strategy of these firms. Besides upgrading, firms, as we know, are searching for both low-wage labour and organizational flexibility. But, in the age of globalization, firms are not searching for low-wage as “low-order competition advantages” but also for “high-order competition advantages” such as brand reputation, customer relationship and product differentiation. Lastly, rather than focusing on production, firms and enterprises are interested much more in administrative activities, that is, integration and coordination of atomized and globalized production processes (Gereffi et al., 1994: 2-11). To sum up, all these factors affect the spatial shifts of the global commodity chains.

In the reproduction processes of these global commodity chains, according to Gereffi et al. (1994), micro-organizational and state-centered analysis should be used as complementary to macro dimensions. For example, the ethnic and kinship based networks may affect the spatial distribution of investment and the structures of commodity chains. Related with ethnic and kinship ties, households, as an analysis unit, should be added to the mechanisms of commodity chains. Households are important not only in explaining how low labour costs take place, but also in interpreting the development of consumption markets. The changing organization and composition of households (highly related to migration processes) and their transforming contacts with enterprises and states can be seen as one of the variables that affects the mechanisms of global commodity chains. Besides household compositions and ethnic-based networks, state action, although nation-state’s roles are changing in the globalization age, determines not only the spatial distribution of commodity flows in the world level but also the way in which global commodity chains transform the social and economic structures at regional and local levels (Gereffi et al., 1994: 9-12).

For my purpose, the global commodity chain approach offers me crucial insights into understanding how the textile/clothing sectors operate in the world-system. According to Gereffi's (1994) categorization, there are two types of global commodity chain: producer-driven and buyer-driven ones. In the first type, capital and technology intensive commodities such as aircraft, electrical machinery and automobiles are produced by large transnational corporations' coordination and control of production networks, which are transnational but are not dispersed spatially too much. In the second type, buyer-driven commodity chains, defined by Gereffi (1994: 97) as, "industries in which large retailers, brand-named merchandisers, and trading companies play the pivotal role in setting up decentralized production networks in a variety of exporting countries, typically located in the Third world". Because of these main characteristics, this type of commodity chain can be called trade-led industrialization with labour-intensive and consumer-goods industries such as garments, footwear, toys and consumer electronics.

Gereffi, in his many studies, uses the apparel industry as the case study of this type of chain. One major characteristic of buyer-driven chains in the apparel industry is that the footwear or fashion-oriented clothing countries do not own any production facilities. But these core companies manage production and trade networks. The high profit rates of these companies comes from unique combinations of high-value research, design, marketing, and sales, which makes these companies strategic brokers in connecting overseas factories and traders. The organization of these different segments necessitates subcontracting relations between retailers, traders, overseas buyers, and factories. Most of the big retail firms in the US for example are involved in subcontracting all around the world. In other words, Gereffi points out how transnational production systems in general and the production networks in newly industrialized countries of East Asia are maintained and changed by American retailers and branded apparel companies (Gereffi, 1994: 95-99). For my concern, the differences between textile manufacturers, who are mostly large and capital-intensive firms, and small size garment producers are critical. Gereffi (1994: 102) describes the latter segment of this sector:

The apparel industry, on the other hand, is the most fragmented part of the textile complex, characterized by many small, labor-intensive factories. Two primary determinants explain shifts in the geographical location and organization of manufacturing in the apparel sector: the search for low-wage labor and the pursuit of organizational flexibility.

Related with these characteristics of the clothing industry, Dikmen (2002) indicated how developed countries are worse in clothing compared to newly industrialized countries. Based on these theoretical statements, the place of the Turkish textile/clothing industry in these global commodity chains will be examined in the fourth chapter.

2.3 Globalization and Restructuring Nation-States

Based on global transformations, the new international division of labour, and changing routes global commodity chains, in my view, the analysis of restructuring nation-states would give us the chance of analyzing how the effect of global forces on local contexts are mediated by state interventions. Broadly speaking, the formation of nation-states in its classical form and the expansion of the capitalist mode of production are two interlinked processes since the 16th century. Waters (1995: 36-37), briefly, defines the “ideal” functions of modern nation-states:

It becomes the principal vehicle for the establishment of collective social goals and their attainment. Originally focused on security and on internal order and dispute resolution, these goals have progressively become widened to include the management of both collective and individual material conditions, within the registers of the national economy and the welfare system.

These national goals have enforced nation-states to build a system of international relations in which war, alliance, diplomacy, trade and fiscal management are the key processes. Beyond these definitions, it is important to see that nation-states are responsible for the regulation of labour-capital relations in the capitalist development processes. Additionally, nation-states were depended on a “coalition of different groups and classes in historical nation-state bloc” (Özuğurlu, 2008: 91-92). When we came to the last quarter of the 20th century, as Gorz (2001: 21) says, states began to be insufficient in regulating social conflicts although it became a prior position in

front of civil society (including capital) while intervening in almost all social relations in everyday life.

As a result of the developments that I have explained in the last section, these forms and functions of nation-state began to be changed by global and local forces. First of all, the coalitions between national actors (state, trade unions, and middle classes) have started to erode which is resulted in the decline of the welfare state (Bauman, 1998a). This erosion can be accepted as the basis of the transformation of nation-states from social welfare states to capital states. Paradoxically, the condition of “capital state” was the escaping capability of global capital from nation-state in order to solve the “governance” problems and to be powerful in the global competitive “pressures”. In other words, globalizing capital should escape from the dependencies to nation-state and from the societal pressures. On the other hand, states should be ready for the demands of globalizing capital (Gorz, 23-24). The decreasing responsibilities of capital are explained by Beck (2000: 4) quite well: “in the manufactured and controlled jungle of global production, they (global capital) are able to decide for themselves their investment site, production site, tax site and residence site, and to play these off against one another”. One cause of this development is the emergence of “virtual taxpayers”. Beck (2000: 5) explained this emergence of new taxpayers: “the gladiators of economic growth who are so courted by politicians eroded the authority of the state by demanding its services whilst denying it tax revenue”.

Although there is, to some extent, an agreement about the new kinds of relationships between global capital and nation-states among scholars, there are many debates on what are the roles of nation-states in the globalization process. Out of three approaches about globalization, Held et al. (1999) say, skeptics criticize the hyper globalist thinkers in the sense that they refuse to interpret globalization as a less state-centric order. Rather than declining with the rise of global forces, they advocate that nation-states seem to be primary architects of globalization. This “architect” position is highly related, Held et al. (1999: 6) assert, with the “growing centrality in the regulation and active promotion of cross-border economic activity”.

Although new economic conditions may restrict in some cases what governments can do, these conditions, especially for the ‘developed’ states, increase the policy choices as well. It can be assumed that these transformations go along with the transformations of dependency relations that I mentioned above between core and periphery countries. And these dependency relations can be seen as the main reason for the inequality and hierarchy in terms of policy choices (Held et al., 1999: 5-7). So many periphery states may have less chance to resist structural adjustment policies, which means a transition from social welfare policies and (in most cases) import-substituted to neo-liberal and export-oriented economic policies.

The transformationalist approach, on the other hand, mainly advocates that globalization is reconstituting the power, authority and functions of national governments, which create a new configuration of global power relations. The core point of these transformations is that the sovereign power of states is divided between global, national and local levels. In this new sovereignty regime, states are no longer autonomous and self-governing units because of “unbundling” of the relationship between sovereignty, territoriality, and power. Thus there emerge new non-territorial forms of economic and political organization (such as TNCs, transnational social movements, international regulatory agencies). It is asserted that these new forms of organization are not simply controlled by nation-states. Most importantly, nation-states try to apply distinct strategies simultaneously:

Distinctive strategies are being followed from the model of the neo-liberal minimal state to the models of the developmental state (government as the central promoter of economic expansion) and the catalytic state (government as facilitator of coordinated and collective action (Held et al., 1999: 9).

These multiple functions and forms, according to the transnationalist approach, make nation-states more “activist”.

In my view, the theoretical statements about the reconstituting nation-states and diversified strategies of nation-states can be used as long as the continuation of dependency relations between traditional core and periphery states are accepted. But in many cases the existence of the new spatial inequalities which cut across all

societies and regions should be concerned too. And it can be concluded that it is difficult to understand the relationships between nation-states without considering the emergence of new supranational organizations (like the EU) and the emergence of new cross-border activities of capital, labour and knowledge under the conditions of globalization. So, I think that these new forms/functions of nation-states and new supranational organizations should be concerned while analyzing international migrations.

2.4 Globalization of International Migration and New Migration Regimes

In this section, I will first discuss briefly some theoretical explanations about the relationships between the capitalist accumulation process and migrant labour. Then, I will explore new tendencies of international migration, which are related to my subject.

Manuel Castells (1975), in one of his early works titled “Immigrant Workers and Class Struggles in Advanced Capitalism”, discusses mainly the role of migrant workers in the class struggles and protest movements of Europe. In order to explore this theme, he puts the major dimensions of the role of immigrants as the labour-power in the capitalist surplus extraction process. From a macro point of view, he suggests that both international and internal migration is highly related to the two laws of the capitalist mode of production: the submission of workers and uneven development. To put first the latter one: Since capitalist development of some regions has gone along with the decline of some other regions and decomposing of “backward” sectors throughout the history of capitalism, migratory movements between these regions have taken place continuously. These movements, rather than the distribution of natural resources or technical demands of production, Castells (1975: 35) says, “derive from the logic of capital and division of labour it commands according to the imperatives of the rate of profit”. Associated with the dynamics of the international division of labour, international migration is as a structural part of the capitalist mode of production. Castells (1975: 39) adds, “immigrant labour is thus

a fundamental element in the economic structure of European Capitalism, and not simply an extra source of labour in conditions of rapid growth”.

After this analysis of migrant labour in European capitalism, Castells (1975) brings the issue to the necessity of the “submission of the worker” and tries to explain this necessity with the help of Marx’s famous theoretical findings, that is, tendency for the rate of profit to fall⁴, which were discussed firstly in Volume 3 of Capital. According to this law, this tendency is, Castells (1975: 45) says, “counteracted in the historical practice of capital by the more or less deliberate introduction of counter-tendencies through economic policy”. If one way of this counteraction is the help of the state by means of subsidies and assistance, the other common way is the attempt to increase the rate of surplus by means of increasing productivity and by the reinforcement of exploitation. The last way of increasing surplus-value necessitates either “paying a proportionately smaller value for the reproduction of labour” or “increasing the duration and intensity of work” (Castells, 1975: 46). If we consider these two strategies together from the side of capital: since migrants receive the lowest wages, work under the worst working conditions and much longer hours with the highest speed, and have the best health conditions, employers in the productive sectors are inclined to prefer migrants workers.

Michael Burawoy (1981) tries to explain the mechanisms of decreasing the cost of reproduction of labour. First of all, he assumes that the capitalist economy needs a labour force that has to be maintained and renewed. In this respect, Burawoy (1981: 1050) mainly says that:

A system of migrant labor is characterized by the institutional differentiation and physical separation of the processes of renewal and maintenance. Accordingly, migrant labour entails a dual dependence upon

⁴ As Castells (1975) explains, this ‘law’ is caused by the increase in the organic composition of capital, which is made by technical progress, competition among capitalists, and monopolistic concentration. Then Castells (1975: 44-45) continues: “If we consider only living labour, the labour force, as creating value, and hence surplus-value, and profit as deriving from it, given the increase in the organic composition of capital, then the rate of profit must fall since the variable capital used to pay the labour force grows slowly than total capital (constant capital plus variable capital), and thus the source of value becomes proportionately smaller in relation to the mass of capital engaged in production”.

employment in one place and an alternate economy and/or state in another.

This separation is more obvious for the temporary migrant members of divided families. In this process, on the one hand, renewal processes of left members are guaranteed by the family member abroad, on the other hand, the “productive worker” requires the support from his/her family because this “temporary” worker does not have any legal and political status in the host country. According to Burawoy (1981: 1050), the separation of maintenance and renewal are “made possible by the migrant workers’ powerlessness in the place of employment, in the labor market, and under the legal and political systems where they are employed”.

The “powerlessness” of migrant labor was to some extent explained by Castells (1975: 50) by asking the question: “why should immigrant labour accept what, for the indigenous working class, has become unacceptable?” Then he gives the answer: “the utility of immigrant labour to capital derives primarily from the fact that it can act towards it as though the labour movement did not exist”. According to Castells’ (1975) observations for the 70s in Western Europe, the lack of immigrant labour movements are caused not only by immigrants’ legal-political status as foreigners but also by their limited capacity for organization (and struggle) and vulnerability to economic recessions. This “lack” was defined as “inferior position in the class struggle”, which makes this labour reservoir in many cases more preferable for employers.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, many scholars, who are studying international migration, have criticized conventional theories such as micro and macro versions of neoclassical explanations, and tried to elaborate the core Marxist assumptions that I have mentioned above. For example, at the end of the 70s, Piore (1979: 8) explicitly states that:

One can better understand migration by ignoring income differences and recognizing instead that people are rooted in a social context in ways that other commodities are not; migrant behavior can be better understood in terms of the specific attributes of the jobs available to migrants and the meaning attached to those attributes in the social context in which work is performed.

On the other hand, Burawoy (1981: 1051) sees the conventional theory as individual-based and criticizes it since it is

too restricted to clarify the functioning of a system of migrant labor either in its broader social, political, and economic contexts or where the flow of labor is regulated to a greater or lesser extent to suit dominant political and economic interest.

Based on his case study in the fields of California and in the mines of South Africa, he tried to show how political and legal structures constraints permanent “integration” of immigrant workers.

Some other scholars (Massey et al., 1998) show the deficiencies of traditional approaches, which are focusing on the micro level because of the crisis of the rational expectation model. Furthermore, they criticize the macro level analysis related to the crisis of the “push-pull” factor model. With the recognition of the complexity of international migration in the last quarter of the 20th century, Massey et al. (1998: 15) said, “emphasis has shifted to the migrants themselves – to interactions with their environment, confrontations with restrictive state policies, comparisons with non-migrants, and contrasts between the first migrants and those that follow”. In other words, more dynamic models, which are concerning macro, mezzo and micro dimensions with their complex interactions, have been preferred for better analysis. In this period, some theories have better explained the initiation of international migration such as the segmented labour market theory (Piore, 1979), which focuses on economic dualism, ethnic enclaves, and the demand side of migration, and world-system theory (Sassen, 1988; Massey, 1988), which focuses on the material, military and ideological links between countries, global cities and global political hierarchy. Some other theories have been related much more with the perpetuation of international migration such as the social capital theory (Coleman, 1990), which deals with migrant networks, migrant-supporting institutions, and the cumulative causation theory (Massey, 1990), which is interested in expansion of networks, culture of migration, and social labeling. In addition to these theories, new approaches to international migration such as transnationalism (Basch et al., 1994) and the economic sociology of migration (Portes, 1996) have contributed to the

migration theories. Additionally, as Massey et al. (1998: 14) assert, “the most important forces operating to influence the volume and composition of international migration today are those that States deploy to regulate or impede the inflow: admission policies, *de jure* or *de facto*”.

Based on these theoretical developments above, I now will discuss the major developments in the international population movements, which can be called the globalization of international migration. According to Massey et al. (1998), while 85 per cent of all international migrants before 1925 were Europeans, after the 60s Europeans became a small fraction of all migrants. Along with this transformation, in addition to the traditional immigrant-receiving countries such as Canada and the USA, some European countries (Germany, France, Belgium) from the 60s on and some others (Italy, Spain, Portugal) from the 70s on have begun to attract immigrants first from intra-continental countries then, after the 1980s, from all around the world. In other words, while some old migrant-sending countries become immigrant-receiving, some other countries started to send migrant labour. Thus, Massey et al. (1998: 2) said that:

rather than being dominated by outflows from Europe to a handful of former colonies, immigration became a truly global phenomenon, as the number and variety of both sending and receiving countries steadily increased and the global supply of immigrants shifted from Europe to Third world.

Castles and Miller (2003: 122), consistent with the remarks above, try to make an explanation of new dynamics in international population movements:

International migration is a major consequence of the north-south gap. However, the world can no longer be simply divided up between rich and poor nations. Long before the end of the cold war, new poles of financial, manufacturing and technological power had emerged in the oil-rich Arab states and in East Asia.

In this respect, they explore the new migration dynamics of some regions such as Arab regions, North Africa and Turkey, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Asia-Pacific region.

To give an example, while the North African countries and Turkey have transformed from migrant sending to a combination of immigration and emigration ones; Latin America and the Caribbean as regions have come from immigration to an emigration one. According to Castles and Miller (2003), western penetration have had great impact on periphery countries as a result of colonization, decolonization, modernization and uneven development as the common root of international population movements of the modern era. Furthermore, the new migratory movements can be seen as a continuation of all these historical processes, as they Castles and Miller (2003: 153) put:

the entry of the countries of the South into the international migration arena may be seen as an inevitable consequence of the increasing integration of these areas in the world economy and into global systems of international relations and cultural interchange.

Thus, Massey et al. (1998: 7) define “North America”, “Western Europe”, “Asia and the Pacific”, and “the Gulf Region” as five principal migratory systems in the world migration processes.

These newly emerging migratory movements, according to Castles (2002), should be associated with globalization, and can be called “globalization of international migration”. Castles (2002: 1144) asserts that “migration is clearly a systemic element in the processes of globalization, but this is merely a new form of a systemic role that has existed in various guises ever since the beginnings of the capitalist world market around the sixteenth century”. In an age of transforming nation-states, of various kinds of transnational networks, and of ‘space of flows’, according to Castles (2002: 1146-1147), it would be useful to explore the specific characteristics of current international migration. Under these conditions, the assumption that the permanent settlement migration (from one-nation state to another) and temporary labour migration (returning home after a period of time) are two forms of international migration has been challenged by new forms of migration. Out of these new forms and trends, it is first of all critical that international migrants are more diversified in terms of social and cultural characteristics (from skilled and entrepreneurial migrants to unskilled labour migration, asylum seekers, and growth in independent female

migration). Secondly, the growing facilities of information and transport technology increase the volume of circulatory, repeated and temporary migration. And thirdly, this diversification goes hand in hand with the emergence of transnational communities and consciousness, which is based on informal networks of migrants who live in two or more countries. In addition to these new trends, King (2002: 89) suggests that new forms of migration are closely related with the new non-economic motivation of migration such as self-realization, life-style and consumption. Thus, the increasing speed and diversification of migration processes (in other words: shifting set of agents, mechanisms and routes) fit extremely well with the logic of globalization.

From the 70s on, these theoretical and historical developments, which are associated with international migration, have brought new socio-economic contradictions to the political agenda. In Western Europe, the so-called “guest” workers and their co-nationals began the process of “community formation”. This community formation process gave way to discussions about the integration of immigrants, their citizenship rights and the possibility of multiculturalist policies. In Germany, for example, many migrants could get citizenship rights from the 90s on. On the other hand, from the 1973 oil crisis on, many European countries started to apply more restricted migration policies, which have increased irregular migration. In the following years, under the “pressures” of globalization, the contradictions between insertion and exclusion of immigrants, between the demands of market and states, and between the inequalities of liberal markets and the ideals of equal citizens have come into sight in European urban areas (Abadan-Unat, 2006: 444-449). And, as Massey and his colleagues (1998: 6) put simply, “the economic marginalization of immigrants is associated with another characteristic of the post-industrial period: immigrants are no longer perceived as wanted or even needed, despite the persistence of a demand for their services”. Massey et al. (1998: 7) call this phenomenon “a segmented demand for immigrant workers”:

The continuing demand for immigrants, combined with high native unemployment and growing unease with ethnic diversity, yields a contradiction that governments seek to manage through restrictive policies that confine migrants to the labour market, limit the entry of

dependants, discourage long-term settlement, and repatriate those who enter outside authorized channels.

For the purposes of this study, the rise of irregular and temporary migration needs to be briefly clarified. In order to avoid negative meanings, instead of clandestine or illegal, the term “irregular” has been used in migration studies for many years. Jordan and Duvell (2002: 15) define irregular migration as “crossing of borders without proper authority, or violating conditions for entering another country”. In a more extended version, Castles and Miller (2003: 283) see the “legal entrants who overstay their entry visas or who work without permission”, which is a more suitable definition for my subject. According to Castles (2002: 1152), in an age of globalization, of a more flexible “new economy” that needs “3-D workers”, of rising popular hostility toward migrants which enforce governments to increase border restrictions, and of declining trade unions, “use of irregular migrants and asylum seekers has become a systemic need, which is covertly pursued by holders of economic and political power”. Governments, without concerning these structural tendencies, try (reluctantly) to prevent or at least to regulate this type of population movement by means of mass expulsions of foreign workers (in Nigeria, USA, Malaysia), of building fences and walls along borders (in Israel, South Africa), of severe punishments, and of sanctions against employment. Additionally, “non-official punishments such as routine police beatings can be observed in Italy and some Arab countries” (Castles and Miller, 2003: 283). As I have mentioned above, the critical role of nation-states with their official and non-official control techniques in regulating population flows and in defining the migrants, persists although they have used more diversified strategies.

As a result of all these developments and the difficulties of incorporation into host countries, many international migrants go to a host country for a limited time or make a back-and-forth movement between two places. Not only the legal impossibilities that migrants are subjected to in host countries but also the social and economic cost of incorporation processes can be seen as the reasons for this tendency. Compared to the concept of irregular migration, it is more difficult to make

a clear definition of “temporary migration”⁵ or “incomplete migration”. But a clarification can be made. Unlike the migrants, who were a part of the guest worker system in which the migration processes (mostly) took place under a legal framework, current temporary migrants try to find their own ways for working abroad either as regular or as irregular foreigners. Contemporary temporary migration can be thought of as a migrant strategy all over the world. Also, this concept to some extent can be distinguished from the concept of “circular migration”. In the Latin America migratory system, as it is known, circular migration (or: “two-way”, “repetitive” or “shuttle” migration) is quite common since the beginnings of the twentieth century. For example, there is a continuous circulation of people, goods, symbols between settled Mexican migrant communities in the United State and Mexico (Massey et. al., 1994). In some cases, the actors of the circular migration are Puerto Rican temporary workers (Duany, 2002). In these examples, however, there is an already settled community in the host country.

At this point I would like to discuss the main dynamics of emigration from former Soviet Bloc countries, which began just after the collapse of the Soviet Union. These emigration processes can be accepted as a new migration regime. In terms of forms of migration, irregular and temporary migration is quite common in these migration processes. Also, it seems that although there is a community formation of these migrants, who are coming from former Soviet Bloc countries, in the host countries; there is a lack of settlement process.

The political process that started with the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, which meant the disintegration of the Soviet Bloc, continued with the collapse of old regimes or the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. The rapid political and economic turmoil in these Soviet Bloc countries gave way to international migration processes both among the countries of the region and from the these countries (mostly) to Western Europe. Before the collapse of the Union and Bloc, many

⁵ King (2002: 93), for example, discusses how the arbitrary distinctions between temporary migration (followed by return) and permanent (where there is no return) obscure more than they reveal the realities. Besides the problem of determining the degree of “temporariness”, King (2002: 93) adds that “seasonal and shuttle migration of a to-and-fro kind (weekly, monthly, occasional) must also fit into the continuum, blurring the distinction between migration and other forms of spatial mobility”.

countries had already started to apply for more open border regimes. Then, the political transformations were followed by a transition to a market economy (mafia economy), economic deprivation of the masses, and wide unemployment, which led many people to immigrate to other countries in order to survive (Stola, 1998). Wallace (2001) tries to explain the reasons and possible conditions of these migration processes by showing the inadequacies of traditional migration theories and uses new theoretical approaches. She points out why the income differences between countries cannot fully explain the routes and dynamics of migration. Then, she asserts that the meso level institutions such as states and supra-national institutions, welfare state, gender and household, and networks has crucial roles in determining the routes of migration in this region. For example, Wallace (2001: 50) says that “the employment/contribution-based welfare system along with the irregularity status of many migrants, means that they need to continue to stay in contact with their own welfare system”. It is evident from these findings that the household strategy or house economy has an important role in the initiation of migration processes. The penetration of consumer culture into Central and Eastern Europe countries through various media might be a further motivation for migration.

Looking at general spatial patterns of these migration processes from the former Soviet Bloc region, Okolski (2000) defines three types of migration. First there is the migration of 10 million ethnic Russians from former soviet republics into Russia between the years of 1991 and 1997. Second, there is the emigration of nearly 3 million asylum seekers from Yugoslavia to neighborhood countries. And lastly, there are the labour migrants, who are in search of employment, that form the third type of migration in this region. For example, it is estimated that approximately 800.000 Ukrainian migrants went to Poland in 1995 to find work. Given the difficulties of making a clear distinction, this latter type of migrant analytically can be divided into irregular (including seasonal workers, false tourists, and asylum-seekers) and regular migrants. Concerning all these types of migration, while some countries (Czech Republic, Russia, Hungary) are strong migration magnets, Moldova, Ukraine, and Belarus are the weak inflow but strong outflow countries in terms of international population movements.

In terms of migration forms, three general tendencies of migration processes can be focused on for my argument: temporary/incomplete character, irregular character, the dominance of woman migrants. Wallace (2001: 45) simply asserts that “One distinctive feature of these migrations is that they are generally for short periods of time only, although visits may be repeated frequently”. Okolski (2000: 336) uses the concept of “incomplete migration” as a distinct form of temporary migration, and makes a similar observation about these migration processes: “although each flow involves only weeks or days spent in the host country, the migrants do so repeatedly and in effect many of them work for a considerable part of the year outside the home country”. In a study on the migration of Poles to Germany, Iglicka (2000) makes a categorization between shuttle migration (less than three months), short-term migration (less than one year), long-term migration (more than one year), and settler migration. So, it can be said that even shuttle migration (such as seasonal, daily, weekly crossing borders) might have cumulative effects. One crucial dimension of temporary migration is that migrants have close and vital relations with their homeland in general and with their households in specific. In a recent ethnographic study about the Russian migrants in England and Netherlands, Kopnina (2005) observes that many Russian migrants are living in illegal or in quasi-tourist status. She adds that Russian migrants do not have a traditional settled migrant community. Since these migrants are hidden and diversified in social and cultural terms, she offers the concept of “invisible community”.

The issue of invisibility brings us to another tendency: Irregularity. Okolski (2000: 334) puts forward this issue too, asserting that the irregularity (irregular border crossing, working without permission, and overstaying visa date) is very common among former soviet Bloc migrants. As Wallace (2001: 62) says, it seems that being invisible is common in these countries themselves: “this is also the case in CCE where inadequate documentation methods make it relatively easy for irregular migrants to go undetected and to somehow make a living”. Thus, Wallace (2001: 55) additionally says how the trends of temporary and irregular migration are compatible with the structure of European labour markets: “The causalization and flexibilisation of parts of European labour market create a demand for cheap labour, often on a temporary basis, to fit sudden demand”.

Lastly, we know that the considerable percentage of former Soviet Bloc migrants are women, as Wallace (2001: 52) admits: “there is increasing evidence that women form a whole different set of migration flows which are not necessarily concerned only with family reunification”. From the demand side, this is compatible with the growing need for female labour-power in the hotel and catering trade, sectors of agricultures, domestic work, and the sex trade. From the supply side, however, the high percentage of women migrants is closely related to discriminatory policies. In the Russian case, for example, many studies show how Russian women were affected by high unemployment harder than men because of the discrimination of new private firms towards women (Attwood, 1996) and the state policies, which aim at limiting the working life of women within the domestic sphere (Bridger, 1996).

In the early 90s, as Ruspini (2005) says, the collapse of the Soviet Bloc and the following developments started a discussion about the “geopolitical space of Europe” and “the impermeability of the European border”. Some politicians and scholars expected that millions of former Soviet Bloc citizen will migrate to Western Europe. However, as Okolski (2000: 331) says: “Even when we include all forms of population movement from east to west, the estimated total number of citizens of CEECs who have moved to the west since 1988 seems to be much below the expectations expressed around 1990s”. While nearly 2 million migrants entered Western Europe up to 1993, in the following years this number decreased to less than half a million yearly. The failure of these expectations was related to the diminishing attraction of western labour markets, the decreasing benefits of migration in terms of income levels, some economic developments in these countries, and the tightening EU borders (Okolski, 2000: 38). In the case of Germany, specifically, the volume of migration between Germany and Poland started to diminish as a result of the successful migration policies of German governments in terms of regulating population movements and changing demographic structures in many central and eastern European countries (Toksöz, 2006: 141-144). Thus, on the one hand, the old buffer zone countries such as Romania, Poland and Hungary have become target zones, on the other hand Ukraine and Belarus have emerged as new buffer zone countries. In other words, the buffer zone between east and west moved eastwards.

Thus, like these countries, the position of Turkey as a buffer zone has become one of the core themes in the relationship between the EU and Turkey.

CHAPTER III

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: INCORPORATION, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INFORMALIZATION

3.1 Modes of Immigrant Incorporation

International migrants are generally searching for ways of incorporating themselves into host societies. Different from the integration processes that the United States, Canada and Australia had witnessed until the first half of the 20th century, many migrants of the 21st century either live as temporary migrants in the host country or do not have any hope of incorporation into the society to which they migrated. For these migrants a sort of incorporation into the labour market without blending into the political, social and cultural spheres of the host country is seen as usually enough for the purposes of migration. These historically new modes of “incorporation” can mean a differentiation from the host society. For example, Glick Schiller and her colleagues (2005: 1) contend that “social integration can take place within a process of social and cultural differentiation” from the host society. Unlike classical definitions of migrant incorporation, they offer “pathways of incorporation” which take place when migrants live in more than one nation-state at the same time. Migrants’ social relations within a host country do not exclude transnational connections. In other words, there might be a direct relationship between incorporation into a new state and maintaining cross-border incorporation. Out of five pathways they define, the concept of “transnational family networks” seems to be suitable for my concern. In this way of incorporation, immigrants live in a host country with dense transnational family networks that link immigrants both to other immigrants in the same country and home country. On the one hand, few immigrants have much to do with the institutions of the host country, on the other hand, the establishment of institutional ties enable immigrants, paradoxically in terms of

classical incorporation theories, to reinforce the linkages of community with the homeland (Glick Schiller, 2005: 8-9).

All around the world, migrant receiving nation-states have had different “policy regimes” to control and manage the influx of migration and incorporation processes of migrant groups. These policy regimes are highly related to their political culture and economic structure. Favell (2001) calls these differences “philosophies of integration”. Alexander (2001), on the other hand, discusses the modes of incorporation as different modes of civil participation. He defines incorporation as

the possibility of closing the gap between stigmatized categories of persons -persons whose particular identities have been relegated to the invisibility of private life- and the utopian premises that in principle regulate civil life, principles that imply equality, solidarity, and respect among members of society (Alexander, 2001: 242).

Assimilation, hyphenation, and multiculturalism are three modes of incorporation in Alexander’s typology. In the case of Turkish political culture, the second mode, which is defined as “neutralizing negative qualities by symbolic association with the core”, might be more valid. In this mode of incorporation, an equal valuation of core and outsider identities without a stigmatization is quite difficult since it depends on the universalization of the particular.

To be specific, European countries, following their national traditions, have labeled their migration policies as “assimilation”, “integration”, and “insertion”⁶. Schierup et. al. (2006) define these “policy regimes” or “political-administrative frameworks” briefly as “modes of incorporation”. These modes

encompass norms and processes whereby immigrants gain the rights, capabilities, and opportunities through which they participate in the various sub-systems of the societies in which they live (such as the labour market, the legal system, welfare, and political activity) (2006: 40).

For Europe they offer about three ideal types of incorporation processes: *Differential Exclusion*, *Assimilation*, and *Multiculturalism*. According to the second model,

⁶ Since these concepts have some negative attributions, I will use the concept of “incorporation” throughout this thesis as many scholars use in recent years.

migrants are welcomed as permanent settlers, that is, citizens having full rights as long as they learn the national language and social/cultural practices of the host country. France with its Republican ideals can be given as a typical example of this model. In the third model, which includes very different sub-models, migrants are accepted as distinct communities with their own cultural associations and social infrastructure by the host country. As Schierup et. al. define, “multiculturalism implies.....that members of such groups should be granted equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their diversity” (2006: 44). The first ideal types, differential exclusion, compared to the other ones, fits better into the migration policy regime in Turkey. Thus, a detailed elaboration of this ideal type is needed.

In Europe, this model is usually called a guest worker system, although the migration patterns have changed for two decades with an increasing number of undocumented migrants, which is different from a classical guest system. In this model, migrants are usually perceived by the state, employers and public opinion not as permanent settlers with their families or communities but only as temporary workers. Because of this perception, there are few policies regarding migrants’ incorporation into new society, which causes the incorporation of migrants into certain sub-system of society (such as the labour market) without being incorporated into political life or the welfare system. Not only are there distinctions between temporary residents (migrants) and citizens, but also there are few opportunities for acquiring citizenship. Germany (especially until the 2000s) can be seen as the typical example of this model. An extreme form of differential exclusion takes place when migrants are irregular or undocumented. In this case, states are not willing to stop the influx of undocumented migrants, who are needed by employers in the informal sectors. In other words, state and capital deliberately create “back doors” through which migrants enter to a new country and work without having rights under vulnerable conditions, e.g. temporary Mexican migrants in USA (Schierup et. al., 2006: 41-42).

While the increase of undocumented migrants in numbers goes hand in hand with a growth of the informal sector in classical migrant receiving countries of Western

Europe, the informal and undocumented forms of work among migrants are very common in new immigration countries of Southern Europe. Spain, Italy and Greece have received many migrants for two or three decades. Although these countries give resident permits to undocumented migrants periodically by announcing consecutive amnesties, these amnesties do not enable migrants to get permanent legal status so many migrants return to an undocumented status (Baldwin-Edwards and Arango, 1999). States, by selecting deliberately such a mode of incorporation, as Bauder (2006: 24) says, creates a vulnerable and powerless labour force, aiming at preventing the escape of international capital.

In order to elaborate different dimensions of incorporation processes, Portes (1995)' typology might be useful. Portes (1995: 24), while discussing how this social structure affects mobility of migrant groups, offers a broader typology, according to which the modes of immigrant incorporation are categorized by the levels of reception. The first level is the governments' immigration policy toward different migrant groups. Analytically, this level is similar to modes of incorporation. Not only do different states have different modes of incorporation, but also the attitudes of states might vary according to the origin of the migrant group. The second level embraces civic society and public opinion of the receiving country towards immigrants. Historical reasons, conjectural developments, and cultural distances would affect the social and political relations between two communities. For example, migrants from Europe have experienced less resistance from host communities in the USA, compared to migrants from Asia or Africa. At this point it would be worth remembering Van Tubergen and his colleagues' (2004: 709) work and their discussion on how the level of discrimination affects the position of immigrants in the labour market. Many discrimination theories try to find out the factors that create the conditions that produce "in-group" preferences and "out-group" preferences. This favoritism can cause negative or positive attitudes towards immigrant groups. The political culture (liberal or conservative), social distance and size of groups can directly affect the level and direction of discriminatory actions made by the native population. Van Tubergen and his colleagues (2004: 709) suggest that any study on immigrants' incorporation at the macro level simultaneously should

take into consideration the impact of origins and the destination of migration simultaneously. In addition to the origin and destination effect, a third effect, called community effect, is defined as “a macro-level effect associated with the specific origin-by-destination combination in which immigrants find themselves” (Van Tubergen et. al., 2004: 705). In the light of conceptual divisions, while the origin effects are conceptualized as “compositions effects” by the human capital perspective, the destination effects are conceptualized as “contextual effects” from the perspective of discrimination processes.

The third level in Portes’ (1995: 24-25) typology is ethnic community. The population of an immigrant group and the density of network they produce in a country would be one of the factors that affect the extent that the co-ethnic immigrants find opportunities in the labour market. For example, if there are many entrepreneurs among a migrant community, the newcomers of this community would have more chance of finding a job than other ones. Related to this level of immigrant incorporation, there are many works (Waldinger, 1990; Kloosterman and Rath, 2003) on how migrant groups become entrepreneurs and create an ethnic economy. To put it simply, migrants not only incorporate into a labour market of an already-existing economy but also they can create their own economic opportunities through self-employment. In this case, the level of incorporation (the accessibility of the labour market) can be improved, as Light et. al. say (1999: 8), not only by increasing the efficiency of job searches but also by increasing the actual supply of jobs in the host country. The opportunities in an immigrant economy might become one of the important ways of migrants’ incorporation. Light et. al. (1999: 10-11) explain how “ethnic economies”, in which co-ethnic hire co-ethnic, can be distinguished from “immigrant economies”, in which immigrant employers hire immigrants other than their ethnic groups. These examples indicate that migrant communities might create new economic opportunities for other immigrant communities as well. According to Light et. al. (1999), the transformation from ethnic to immigrant economy is related to the co-existence of entrepreneurial immigrant groups in the labour market with (newly arriving) working-class immigrant groups. This economy starts when the members of “low-entrepreneur immigrant groups” are hired by the employers of

“high-entrepreneur immigrant groups”. An interesting finding related with the size of a community is that the size of the community of an immigrant group in a host country affects the labour force participation of this group positively (Van Tubergen et. al., 2004: 722).

At this point, before discussing the main dynamics of labour market incorporation, I would like to define “labour market” as a concept, and then to present which aspects of this concept will be used in my analysis. Tilly and Tilly (1998: 24) make a simple definition according to which “labour markets have been formed chiefly under capitalism, the system of production in which holders of capital, backed by law and state power, make the crucial decisions concerning the character and allocation of work”. Related to my investigation Tilly and Tilly (1998: 24) point out that

labour markets divide work into enduring jobs within competing firms whose owners and managers hire and fire the holders of those jobs, negotiate with them over the conditions of their employment, pay them, supervise their work, and appropriate their products.

Based on these definitions, they see “workers”, “employers”, “hiring”, “employment networks”, and “contracts” as the main elements of labour markets. In addition to this conceptualization of labour market, Wood (2003: 14-16) points out, I think, a very crucial aspect of labour markets under capitalism. She says that labour markets in the capitalist mode of production are based on “obligations” for all actors. This “obligation” aspect of the labour market under capitalism, she suggests, should be seen as the main difference in the labour markets in the pre-capitalist mode of production, in which distinct labour markets were offering opportunities to different actors. Needless to say, these obligations have harder implications on the “proletariat” as a class than employers. To put it simply, labour markets under capitalism can be seen as an “area” in which capital and labour continuously enter into negotiations based on their unequal power relations, and in which surplus appropriation from labour-power processes take place.

In order to understand the relationship between labour markets and migrant labour, it would be useful to look selectively at Sassen (1995)’s discussion on immigration and

local labour markets. She first of all discusses the importance of pre- and post-exchange processes in labour market exchanges in order to make a sociological analysis beyond the moment of exchange, as economists do. Associated with this, she offers not only an analysis of the workplace but also an analysis of the workplace-household or workplace-community nexus. This workplace-community nexus as an employment establishment is conceptualized as a “local labour market”. However, this conceptualization of locality includes, as Sassen (1995: 90) says, “socially conditioned activity spaces that may assume non-territorial forms”. All these dimensions of local labour markets and, furthermore, the transformations in the institutional settings of these markets would enable us to understand how labour markets work. For my concern, two “questions” that Sassen discusses need briefly to be elaborated. Firstly, the question of competition between native and immigrant workers in any local market would show us, contrary to neoclassic approaches, how the presence of an immigration population in some cases has little impact on wage levels in local labour market. The second crucial discussion is the question of mobility. Sassen (1995: 114) asserts that:

It is not simply individual human capital deficiencies that determine an individual’s labor market out-come, for even if some of these immigrants acquire higher levels of human capital they may well have no upward mobility in their labour market outcomes due to the closure of local labour markets.

The closure between a group in the workplace and a community can strengthen itself, which may prevent outsiders’ access to the same jobs. In other words, the advantages of a community network may transform into an obstacle to the mobility opportunities of immigrants. As a result of these constraints, many migrant women might be stuck in female classified jobs.

Compatible with my fieldwork aims, many studies on migrant incorporation have focused on the “modes of labour market incorporation”. Van Tubergen et. al. (2004: 706) define the labour force participation (or likelihood of finding employment) and employment (status) as two dimensions of economic incorporation. As Van Tubergen et. al. (2004) discuss, the early studies on labour market incorporation, especially in the USA (Lieberson, 1980), saw immigrants as a homogeneous

population and explained how new immigrants enter into low paid jobs. More recent studies focused either on the variations in the modes of incorporation (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990), or on the entrepreneurship and self-employment opportunities, which offer immigrants alternative ways of incorporation. As one of these relatively new studies, in the 1970s, Bonacich (1973) asserted that some minority groups such as Jews and Chinese remain as a buffer between masses and the elite without integrating into two groups by specializing in commercial and financial services, which are abandoned by mainstream businesses. She called the theory of this form of incorporation as “middleman minority theory”. In the same years, the segmented labour market theory focused on the concentration of some minority groups in the bottom line jobs (Piore, 1979). Another important theory about the modes of labour market incorporation is the ethnic enclave theory. Portes (1995: 27) defines ethnic enclave as “spatially clustered networks of businesses owned by members of the same minority”. Different from middleman groups, these enclaves are not dispersed among other migrant groups, and clustered in the areas where these migrant groups live. These entrepreneurs usually begin when an immigrant group needs culturally specific products, and also when this group has enough capital resources to provide them. Another form of incorporation is called “occupational niches”. In this form, migrants do not have any independently owned firms formally, instead they are clustered within a firm by means of social networks so as to transform this firm into a de facto ethnic enterprise.

Assuming that there are varieties of incorporation, the question of what factors affect these modes remains unanswered. Human capital theory, for example, tries to understand the place of immigrants in a new labour market by looking at individual observable (such as education level, labour market experience, language) and unobservable skills (such as ability, motivation) (Borjas, 1987). From the side of human capital theory, it is important to see how the macro economic structure and its changing labour-force demand affect the selection patterns of immigrants, that is, whether immigrants will be selected for their high skills or low skills (Van Tubergen, 1999: 707). In this respect, Raijman and Semyonov (1995: 378) emphasize the importance of socio-cultural resources such as values, orientation, skills, and

knowledge that immigrants bring with them from the home country. The socio-cultural resources, which may be defined as characteristics of the country of origin, play a role in the place of immigrants in labour markets.

Although the human capital theory shows the relationship between the selection patterns of migration and macro economic structures, it has been challenged by new theories focusing on the role of “structural factors” (Sassen, 1995) such as family, ethnic community, and forms of capital because of its overemphasis of individual skills. In the previous paragraphs, depending on Portes’ (1995) typology, I have tried to discuss the role of civil society in terms of discrimination processes and the role of ethnic community in terms of generating new job opportunities. Related to these approaches, Nee and Sanders (2001) offer a model to show how different forms of capital in immigrant families influence the way in which the members of these families incorporate themselves into labour markets. In this article, Nee and Sanders’ main question is on “why there is so much diversity in the kinds of incorporation experienced by contemporary immigrants” (2001: 388). To answer this question, they point out the key role of family (nuclear and extended) as a site where different forms of capital are accumulated and are distributed. They define the mode of immigrant incorporation as a function of accumulation of social, financial, and human-cultural capital of immigrant families. In this sense, they emphasize the deficiencies of some studies, which approach immigrant incorporation processes by focusing on ethnic resources. To them, “social ties associated with common ethnicity are unlikely to replicate the household communism and solidarity of family household or to be strong as the social ties within extended family networks” (Nee and Sander, 2001: 389). But they add that immigrants who have a low stock of capital may rely on more ethnic community ties. In terms of modes of incorporation, usage of ethnic community capital may result in poor working conditions. Another important result of their analysis is that while human-cultural and financial capital are preferred by middle-class and elite immigrants for professional-managerial-technical jobs, migrants, who have social capital embedded in familial ties are more likely to find jobs in ethnic economies (Nee and Sander, 2001: 389). For the purposes of this study, this article shows how the establishment of immigrant

families in the host society increases the motivation to acquire cultural skills. This motivation can be quite different from the single-male or single-female migrants' motivation. In other words, the incorporation strategies of families are highly dependent on the establishment processes of a family in the host country by using social networks.

Another challenge to the human capital theory has come from Bauder (2006) with a focus on the relationship between labour markets and immigration workforces. He, in many studies (2003; 2005; 2006), aims at discussing how and by which mechanisms labour markets are regulated through the subordination of migrants. His investigation tries to go, beyond the "structural factors" and human capital that affect the labour market outcomes of immigrants, the role of social and cultural forms and social, cultural, and institutional processes of capital by using Bourdieu's concepts such as "forms of capital" and "distinction". One of his assertions is that migrants integrate into a foreign labour market:

when they perform distinct (and excluded) roles in society and in the labor markets. In the context of immigration, labor market integration does not necessarily imply that immigrants are paid equally or have equal access to occupational opportunity as non-immigrants (Bauder, 2006: 9).

Based on these theoretical arguments, Bauder (2003) discusses the role of the place of birth of immigrants on the labour market outcomes, by analyzing the extent to which human capital is transformed into labour market success. For the immigrants in British Columbia, Canada, it is said that the place of settlement is more important as a factor influencing income than human capital. In this sense, it is pointed out that neither the human capital theory nor ethnic enclave or middleman theories offer a full explanation for the labour market outcomes of immigrants in this context. In another article, Bauder (2005) discusses mainly how the unfamiliarity with the rules of the Canadian labour market is an important employment barrier for newcomer immigrants in Vancouver. These barriers such as (already-existing) workplace conventions and hiring practices, which are related to human capital, credentials, language skills, and ethnic discrimination, might exclude the immigrant population from labour markets. In this context, different class-based and group contingent

habitus between workplaces and immigrant groups have resulted in labour market segregation and a differentiation of labour market outcomes.

While discussing the changing position of foreign migrants in the labour markets of Istanbul, I will focus on the role of “sexual labour” and “aesthetic labour” in these differentiations. In a recent study, Walkowitz (2006) aims at discussing the role of the human body in the economy and analyzing sexual differences in the context of employment relations. In this sense, she points out the increasing importance of sexual and aesthetic labour in the workplace along with the growth of service sectors and customer services. Before defining aesthetic labour, it can be useful to look at the differences between customer service jobs and those in the manufacturing industry. McDowell (1997: 32) asserts that “the labour power and embodied performance of workers is part of the product in a way that was not the case in the production of manufactured goods”. Then she adds the labour processes in customer services include more interpersonal and physical interaction between workers and customers compared to industrial work. In view of these associations with the service sector Walkowitz (2006: 74) emphasizes how the workers’ “body” capacities such as appearance, sexuality and emotionality are used as use-values by employers and corporations, a process which can be called the commodification of embodied capacities. Based on these new trends, there has been witnessed a “sexualization of women’s bodies”. For example, the fact that firms and corporations use women’s bodies in order to attract male customers can be given as a good example of this situation.

Another crucial concept, which has in a sense a close meaning to the concept of sexual labour, is aesthetic labour. Walkowitz (2006: 86) says that employers in customer services try to “make the body more visible in customer service through a focus on the body’s aesthetic qualities, including deportment, style, accent, voice, and sexual desirability”. She (2006: 86) additionally states that “this concerns all the aspects of the body that appeal to the senses, and not just a concern with “beauty”, as the term “aesthetic” is sometimes understood”. Like Bourdieu’s discussion on “embodied dispositions” as a part of the concept of habitus, aesthetic labour is

“learned and exemplified through durable ways of standing, speaking, walking and other aspects of deportment” (Walkowitz, 2006: 87).

The role of the female body as a sexual and aesthetic “use-value” is apparent in fashion retailing. Leslie (2002), in her article, shows mainly how the bodies of female retail workers form an important link in the fashion commodity chain (including production, distribution, and consumption), and how employers in fashion retailing want to hire “the right type” of worker both for the customer and for the clothes. For this reason, Leslie (2002: 61) states that fashion retailing demands particular attention to the body and its performance, which is different from other sectors. Leslie (2002: 67) says that “garment workers are valued for their ‘nimble fingers’, while retail workers are hired for particular looks or ‘embodiments’ ”. Although selling clothes is a routine job, it necessitates not only the expectation that sales staff wear and model the product (a gendered bodily performance), but also improvisation, and a considerable knowledge of fashion and design. Workers always are expected to look beautiful and “right” and to fit the clothes of the store. So this expectation can be anxiety-producing and lead to a pervasive body discipline.

As this overview of the literature on modes of migrant incorporation shows, there are studies on migrant incorporation processes from different theoretical and methodological perspectives. Now I would like to clarify how I will use the concept of “modes of migrant incorporation”. At this point, it is worth emphasizing two crucial points related to the usage of this concept. First, as it is expected, most of the studies on migrant incorporation are dealing with the processes in western countries, which have received migrants for several decades. While using these concepts for Turkey as a relatively new migrant receiving country, we have to take into account the huge differences between them in terms of economic structure and political culture. Fortunately, there is a growing literature about the migrant incorporation processes, namely differential exclusion, in Southern Europe countries, which have some similar experiences with Turkey in terms of international migration. The second important point is the way this concept is put into operation. In order to understand the way in which migrants adapt to a new country, one should look at the

sending context, receiving context, and the social-economic-cultural characteristics of the migrant community simultaneously. As Korac (2001 in Daniş, 2006: 7) defines, there are two major theoretical approaches to conceptualize “modes of incorporation”: culture based models and structural/institutional based models. In this analytical distinction, while the former focus on the acculturation, belonging and identity issues, the latter focuses on housing and labour markets, educational and professional skills and credentials and official assistances. Although my focus will be on structural and institutional aspects of incorporation having received information related to my research questions, there will also be some sections in my findings chapter on the cultural aspects of Moldovan immigrants’ incorporation processes.

In Turkey, as a result of informal working conditions, temporary migration patterns and lack of efficient state policies, the incorporation processes of migrants is heavily dependent on the labour market conditions and migrant’s social networks. For this reason, out of different modes of labour market incorporation, that is, middleman theories, ethnic enclave, occupational niches, and segmented assimilation, that are discussed in literature, the concept of “segmented assimilation” (Portes and Zhou, 1993) would be the most suitable analytical tool for the analysis of my fieldwork findings. The same incorporation processes can be called fractional integration or incomplete integration. For the purposes of this study, I prefer the concept of “fractional incorporation”, which explains how migrants incorporate into some segments of mainstream society and how they are clustered in some niches of the labour and housing market. Another concept, de facto integration, on the other hand points out the legal aspect of this process. This concept explains the migrant incorporation processes in Turkey better in terms of legal dimension, where most of the migrants work in the informal working conditions without having any legal rights. Needless to say, these modes of incorporation (fractional and de facto incorporation under differential exclusionary conditions) take place in a hierarchical environment.

3.2 Social Networks

As it is well known, the concept of social network has become one of the frequently used analytical tools in explaining new trends and patterns of global migration after the 1980s. Although the network analysis in different branches of social science goes back to the 1950s related to internal migration, the usage of the concept of social networks in explaining international migration became widespread in the 1980s (Massey et al., 1987; Boyd, 1989). The widespread use of this concept was related to the new composition of international population flows after the 1970s and 1980s. In those years, it was seen that the reasons for migration, its directions, and persistence are closely affected by and affect the social networks based on family, kinship, friendship and community. In this section, by making a brief and critical overview of social network literature, I will explain how I use this concept in my analysis of employment conditions of Moldovan immigrants in Istanbul. Since my focus point in this thesis is the employment conditions of these immigrants, I will use this concept, firstly, to describe the migration patterns and secondly to explain the changing place/conditions of Moldovan immigrants in the labour market.

According to Massey (1987: 396 in Boyd, 1989: 639), social networks are “sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin”. These networks, by binding migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships, have crucial roles in the composition, direction and persistence of population flows. In this way, social networks enable migrants to mobilize material and non-material supports while migrating and incorporating into a new society. In other words, these networks help migrants to reduce the social, economic, and emotional risk of migration (Light et. al., 1999: 6). Conceptualizing social networks “as a process of network building that depends on and in turn reinforces social relations across space” is crucial in order to see the spatial dimension of social networks (Boyd, 1989: 639). Also, the concept of social network should be seen just as “a descriptive metaphor to portray social interactions”. Boyd (1989) asserts that the new temporary population flows to

Europe, increasing numbers of irregular migrants, and the new movement of workers to recently industrializing areas of Third world countries led scholars to challenge the traditional migration theories, which had depended on push-pull factors and neo-classic economic assumptions. These developments of international migration in the 1970s and 1980s stimulated new theoretical alternatives for understanding international migration, which are inspired by Marxist theory (Castles and Kosack, 1973), dependency and world system schools (Petras, 1981), and labor segmentation theory (Piore, 1979). All these new approaches have analyzed international labor migration with a focus on structural factors (Portes, 1987). The emphasis on structural factor in both sending and receiving countries, Boyd says, “calls attention to the existence of migration systems, in which places are linked by the flows and counter-flows of people, as well as by economic and political relations between countries or areas” (Boyd, 1989: 641). While considering international migration with a focus on linkages and ties between countries from a migration system perspective, social networks among migrants can be seen as one of these linkages. From a social network perspective, the migration process may be explained better than the “over-socialized” approaches, which focus on individual preferences and wishes without concerning structural factors, and “under-socialized” approaches, which assume the migrants as passive agents under the control of structures. In order to understand the mechanisms of social network, many scholars (Boyd, 1989; Nee and Sander, 2001) have emphasized the importance of the domestic unit. Household and families, including some non-family members, as sustenance units, have very crucial roles in the migration patterns by affecting the social capital and cultural traits of individuals. Moreover, families themselves can become migration units in many cases. To sum up, social networks, which are based on families, kinship groups and communities are undeniable social facts while analyzing the mechanisms and patterns of international population flows.

In the same issue of *International Migration Review* in which Monica Boyd’s article is published Fawcett (1989) points out that the linkages in a migration system should not only include social networks, but also non-people linkages. Non-people linkages can consist of the flows of material such as goods, services and non-material such as

ideas and information. Fawcett asserts that “a focus on the non-people linkages in a migration system may point the way toward a more comprehensive view of international migration process” (Fawcett, 1989: 673). In order to develop a conceptual framework including both the flows of people and non-people, he develops a matrix of twelve cells for linkages in a migration system, which are classified into four categories (state-to-state relations, mass culture connections, family and personal relations, migrant agency activities) and three types (tangible linkages, regulatory linkages, relational linkages) (Fawcett, 1989: 673). For the purpose of this study, it would be useful to examine this typology beyond the social networks of migrants and the role of capital flow and migrant agency activities between Moldova and Turkey.

Throughout the 1990s, one of the important turns in the discussions about the concept of social networks, I think, were the attempts to relate the concept of social networks (and social capital) to the new economic sociology understanding. According to the assumptions of economic sociology, economic action is socially oriented in a sense that this action is governed by values, norms, power, status, and social interaction expectations and reciprocities. In other words, neither economic action nor social action can be dismissed. Portes (1995: 8) defines networks in a broad sense as the “sets of recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familial, cultural, or affective ties”. To him, networks are not only essential for stimulating and maintaining the migration patterns but also for all economic actions because of their roles in mobilizing the resources (capital and information) and in constraining personal plans. Portes (1995: 9) categorizes the networks according to the size and density of their participants, centrality of their ties, and the existence of clusters (cliques). Networks usually connect not only individuals within specific groups but different communities as well.

The concept of social network, as it is used in migration studies, has been challenged and revisited from different aspects since the 1980s. At this point, I would like to sketch out these critiques as long as they are meaningful for my purposes. Firstly, Hagan (1998), by reminding Boyd’s study, claims that many network models are too

static and ignore the transformation of networks over time. In many cases, a given network can change its functions, or weaken because of changing conjuncture. Thus, it is important to take a long-term view of network (historical dimension) dynamics in a sociological analysis. Related to this transformation, the social networks of migrants can lose their initial benefits, as Menjivar (1994) shows how the kinship-based networks of Salvadorans in San Francisco are affected by local economic fluctuations and lack of material sources and how these networks have lost their initial efficiencies for the migration process. At the individual level, too, the initial benefits of social networks can transform into a basis for extreme exploitative working conditions in the new society.

The second critique towards the concept of social networks was, to put it simply, related to the power relations within social networks. Many scholars admit that different positions in any international social network affect directly one's socio-economic status. Hagan (1998: 56) defines this situation as "group variations in the position and use of networks". In order to conceptualize these position differences, the concept of social capital has been articulated into the network analysis by some scholars. Portes (1995), for example, found that the immigrants, who have more social capital in terms of solidarity, have more chance to integrate successfully into the American economy as self-employed. Social capital can be defined as one's capacity "to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader structures" (Portes, 1995: 12). These sources can be both economic tangibles such as price discounts or intangibles like information about labour conditions. However as Bourdieu (1983 in Portes 1995: 13) shows us, these sources are not themselves social capital. Social capital is "one's ability to mobilize them on demand". And different from material possessions or educational attainments, social capital is "a property of individual's set of relationships with others" (Portes, 1995: 13). Sociologically it is important to see that the resources mobilized by one's social capital carry usually an expectation of reciprocity between individuals. This reciprocity, different from formal ones, will be realized in an unknown future. Social capital is often used by sources such as values, bonded solidarity, reciprocity, and enforceable trust. The first two sources usually are mobilized by individuals with an

altruistic motivation such as gift giving. The other sources may be used with an instrumental motivation (such as market tips).

Faist (2000) tries to use the concept of social capital with the concept of social networks in a mixed form. To him, since regularities and patterns of social interactions make the way for social structures, the individuals' position determines the limits or possibilities while accessing resources such as power, money and authority in these social structures. So any network analysis should deal with the content (or dimensions) of social and symbolic ties such as obligations, reciprocity, and solidarity. Also, this analysis should concern the benefits such as the resources of others, control and informal ones, which are mobilized by means of these social and symbolic ties. In other words, it would be very useful to add the concept of social capital to the network analysis in order to see the unequal positions of migrants in social networks better. For example, as Sassen (1995: 97-99) asserts, the inequalities of social capital may result in the inequality of job access information. Additionally, this inequality can be associated with "spatially structured information".

While considering unequal positions in social networks, gender dimensions also should be added. As Boyd asserted in 1989, "the inclusion of women in models which currently are gender blind" is an important part of the research agenda of studies about the family and personal networks for the 1990s. The gender blind researches on networks should be elaborated by focusing on the role of women in household decision-making strategies, which is related with the hierarchies of power and authority existing in households, and on the gendered division of labour in different branches of the economy (Boyd, 1989). The latter issue might be associated with the different network structures that women and men migrants have. As Hagan (1998: 56) says, social relations of work and neighborhood may create gendered network structures which affect men and women's ability to access legal support differently. She adds that "networks operate in gendered ways to produce systematic differences in labour market outcomes for men and women". The same point was discussed by Sassen (1995) too, according to which it was asserted how gendered informal networks have gendered outcomes, that is, gender division of labour in

labour markets. The relationship between the structures of networks and labour market conditions in terms of gender inequalities will be included in my analysis too.

The third type of critique is related to the scope of social networks and their role in the global capitalist economy. Krissman (2005), in his recent article, advocates that the “migrant network” concept fails to explain large-scale international migration flows because it camouflages the activities of many network actors such as employers, labour smugglers, recruitment agents, government officials, and moneylenders. According to him, these actors have very strategic roles in the origination and perpetuation of migration flows. However, the migrant network concept as it is used in many studies, “is too heavily weighed toward labor ‘supply-side’ factors due to a narrow focus on labor-sending hometowns and the migrants originating in them” (Krissman, 2005: 6). In many migrant network analyses, the changing macro historical and structural conditions are analyzed like a “black box” without the identities, motivations and actions of actors behind them being considered. In other words, the transformation of these structural conditions and their effects on migrant networks via non-migrant actors are ignored. Different levels of migrant networks (kin, fictive kin, hometown friends, hometown residents, hometown organizations) are conceptualized as a pyramid of nested groups with symmetrical exchanges. Krissman, by giving some sociological studies on migrant networks, tries to show how non-migrant actors play a pivotal role in migration processes, and how these networks contain asymmetrical relations due to actors with different social capitals. Instead, he proposes a model with a metaphor of web points in which all actors have a role. Different types of lines between points enable us to see the asymmetrical relations among actors. The circulation of surplus from recent migrants to employers can be seen by following these points. The most original contribution of this article, I think, is that it shows how the academic studies based on network analysis from a supply-side perspective legitimize the discourse that irregular migration continues because of the existence of migrant networks. Instead of controlling and governing employers, who need cheap labour and bad employment conditions, these policies increase the border controls.

In another discussion, Sassen indicates how the decisions of firms are an important factor in shaping the dynamics of the labour market, and, contrary to conventional academic knowledge, firms and employers do not always prefer a low-wage immigration workforce. In this hiring process, the networks of migrants work as “recruitment conduits of employers” and as “interfirm linkages”. Sassen (1995: 100) briefly shows the functions of these networks:

Networks not only contain information circuits but also screening mechanisms. Employees are likely to know their employer’s preferences and will channel what they consider to be appropriate members of their networks into any job openings that arise at their workplace.

To sum up, network analysis has many advantages in explaining international migration patterns. However, as I have mentioned, it is crucial to conceptualize social networks from a *historical perspective* with a focus on *power relations* of both migrant and non-migrant actors. The political economic situation of both the sending and receiving country should be included in the analysis, too. The dynamics and functions of social network can be analytically separated according to the different stages of international migration. In other words, social networks have different roles in the decision to migrate, in the direction and persistence of migration flow, in the transnational links, and in the settlement patterns and incorporation (Hagan, 1998). For the purpose of this work, I will focus on the settlement patterns and incorporation process of Moldovan migrants in Istanbul’s labour markets, and ask how and to what extent the networks, in which migrants are positioned, affect the employment conditions via job information and contact.

3.3 Informalization and Migrant Labour

In this section, my main aim is to discuss the concept “informalization”⁷ from a historical and sociological perspective so as to make a definitional frame on how I use this concept for the analysis of my fieldwork findings. With this aim in view, first the major historical developments that gave the way for the growth of the

⁷ Since in this study I will focus on the informalization of the labour market and of the labour processes, I prefer using the concept of “informalization” instead of “informal sector” or “informal production”.

informal sector in globalizing and restructuring urban areas in different part of the world will be examined from the perspective of a world system theory. Then I will discuss the changing definitions and evaluation of this concept in social science literature briefly so as to make a conceptual clarification. Thirdly, it will be understood theoretically how the relationship between the informal labour markets and immigrant labour are constituted. And lastly I will discuss the main implications of the informalization process of employment relations on the power relations between employers and employees. Through this discussion, I will provide a theoretical basis for the analysis of the role of the informalization process in the changing place of migrant labour both in the labour market in general and at the workplaces specifically.

3.3.1 Informal Economy: Its Origins and Changing Definitions

The world capitalist system has restructured in terms of class structures, spatial organizations of urban areas, production systems, societal organizations, and state functions from the 1970s on. These transformations led many scholars to discuss to what extent this new stage is a continuation of the old period and what the major characteristics of these changes are. One of these debates is about the definitions, functions and the place of “informal economy” in the global capitalist system. At this point, I would like to ask: how can we relate these transformations to the growth of the “informal economy” from the 1970s on both in “developed” and “developing” economies? Is the process of informalization caused by a complex mixture of structural conflict and cooperation, as Sassen (1998) says, between old regulatory frameworks and new economic trends, or as Jessop (1996) defines, between old regulatory regimes of capital accumulation and new forms of capital accumulation? Out of many explanation models for the growth of the informal economy, I will describe two models briefly.

From the world-system perspective, Tabak (2000: 12) states that most of the explanation models are limited for an analysis of the growth of informal economy as a world wide phenomenon because of their limitations in terms of space and time

dimensions. In order to understand the informal economy from a more macro perspective, he offers a world-system analysis that includes the whole world geographically and the whole capitalist system from the beginning of the 12th century. He asserts that one of the features of the capitalist world-system is the periodic crisis in which the production sites of capital accumulation are shifting from center and core regions (urban) into periphery (rural) areas. This spatial shift of capital took place in the world capitalist system in the 14th century and 17th century.

A world wide informalization process is closely associated with these recession periods of world capitalist system. As Tabak (2000: 4) admits

the current resurgence of informalization has initiated the creation, extension, and replenishment of casual and non-proletarian labor. And the causalization of labour again functions as a countervailing force to full-lifetime proletarianization, which increased considerably during the twentieth century.

In this sense, the causalization of labour and non-proletarianization of labour (in other words: decreasing cost of labour) should be seen as two interrelated process. Thus, the causalization process, the demise of Fordist production and the enlargement of cottage industries towards to the end of the 20th century are the main indicators of the informalization process. As it is known, the proletarianization process (growing rate of paid labour) throughout the world has been slowed down since the 1970s.

Nonetheless this last informalization process is different from other informalization processes. As Tabak (2000: 8) puts,

the rate of world-scale urbanization, increasing since the 1930s, reached its peak from the 1970s..... Secondly, the closing of the world-economy's geographic frontier following the virtual incorporation of the entire globe has reduced capital's ability to mobilize labor at the outer margins of the system.

In other words, the last informalization process can be conceptualized as the “deepening of capitalist relations within the confines of the global world system”. As a result, the last informalization process has taken place mainly in urban areas as

informalization/causalization of work and widening of subcontracting production relations. Cities, as Tabak says (2000: 10) “have been at once the instruments, the articulations and the beneficiaries of the ongoing division of labor”. These transformations have made way for a change in academic discourse too. Informal economy, as it had been understood until the 1970s, is not seen nowadays as an obstacle to and at the margin of development of the global capitalist economy. On the contrary, the rise of the informal economy has been a vital impetus (driving force) in the global economy for two or three decades.

Some other authors try to discuss (Castells and Portes, 1989) this informalization process by relating the “substratum of life and work on which larger structures rest” to these broader global structures. In this attempt, they say that informality is seen as “part of the daily life of individuals and households and the means through which important production and distribution functions take place” (Castells and Portes, 1989: 6). They summarize some major hypotheses on the rise of the informal economy. One hypothesis explains informalization as part of the economic restructuring, which was a response to the economic crisis that began in the beginning of the 1970s throughout the world. The economic crisis has forced many people and firms to find new ways of income generating activities. Related with this crisis, many firms, individuals and households, although they have different purposes, have reacted to the growing power of organized labor (labor unions) and the state’s regulation of economy both in terms of social legislation and taxes. Another reason for informalization may be found in the rise of Japan and South Asian economies since the 1970s. The rise of these economies led many firms around the world to enter into informal production in order to compete with the cheap products of these economies. The necessities of competition affected the labour-intensive industries in general and the newly industrializing countries in particular (Castells and Portes, 1989: 26-29).

The growth of the informal economy can be seen either as a kind of survival strategy or as an adaptation to the worldwide restructuring of economy, depending on the class position of actors. Slavnic (2007) calls these strategies “informal economic

strategies”. However it is important to set out different strategies and aims of actors. Portes and Haller (2005: 405-406) define three types of strategies resulting from the actors’ needs: *Survival*, *Dependent exploitation*, and *Growth*. In the first type of strategy, people may try to survive through the simple sale of goods or services or through direct subsistence production. In the second strategy, firms or businesses may be involved in subcontracting relations or perform off-the-books hiring to decrease labour costs and increase managerial flexibility. And thirdly, a group of small firms by the mobilization of solidarity relationships may create a network type of organization in order to increase capital accumulation. All these different strategies of different actors may be conceptualized in two major set of strategies. One is “informalization from above” including the actors such as big business and state. The second one called “informalization from below” consists of the individual and group strategies of ordinary people as a reaction to the results of informalization from above such as “flexplotation”, stigmatization and marginalization. From a perspective that conceptualizes capital and labour as two opposite poles of the informalization process, informalization can be seen as a conflict between these unequal forces for de commodification and recommodification of labour. In this recommodification process, which is related to the decline of welfare regimes and informalization, labour’s price as a commodity depends on the demand-supply dynamics (Slavnic, 2007: 140-147). In the following sub-sections I will elaborate the immigrants’ changing place in these conflicts and their different sorts of responses to these conflicts.

In academic discourse, the concept of informal economy was first used for the ‘third world’ urban labour markets of some African cities in the 1970s by the economic anthropologist Keith Hart. According to this usage,

the informal economy was taken to refer to an ‘urban way of doing things’ characterized by (1) low entry barriers in terms of skill, capital, and organization; (2) family ownership of enterprises; (3) small scale of operation; (4) labor intensive production with outdated technology; and (5) unregulated and competitive markets (Portes and Haller, 2005: 404).

From the beginning of the 1970s on, these normative definitions that are limited only to the ‘third world’ have been extended both geographically to the Western world and theoretically to a broader definition.

This new conceptualization of the informal sector encompasses “those actions of economic agents that fail to adhere to the established institutional rules or are denied their protection” (Portes and Haller, 2005: 404). A similar definition is made by Castells and Portes:

The informal is thus not an individual condition but a process of income-generation characterized by one central feature: it is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated (Castells and Portes, 1989: 12).

According to another definition, informal work or informal economy:

encompasses those activities aimed at producing a positive effect on income (for the person executing the activities and/or for the person receiving the results), for which the terms of legislation and regulations (planning requirements, social security legislation, collective labour agreements, and the like) applicable to the activities are not met (Kloosterman et. al., 1998: 255).

I think that this definition offers crucial insights into informal work and immigrant labour. To sum up, informal economy can be conceptualized as “unregulated income-generating activities” or “a specific form of relationship of production” (Castells and Portes, 1989: 12).

Depending on these definitions, it would be worth pointing out some central aspects of the concept of informal economy. *First of all*, informal economy shouldn’t be related automatically to poverty or ‘third world’ economies. Instead, Castells and Portes (1989) remind us that informal economy “is a specific form of relationship of production” (Castells and Portes, 1989: 12) which suggests that informal economy can exist in different sectors of production of both ‘developed’ economies and ‘developing’ economies. Both a street vendor in the capital of Tanzania and unregulated activities in a heartquarter of a transnational company in New York can be conceptualized as informal activities. In this logic, any final product (a chip or a

shoe) can be produced by informal production and distribution relations. The difference between informal activities and illicit ones is that the final product of an illicit activity is illicit too. All these characteristics show informalization phenomenon as a universal and heterogeneous one. *Secondly*, due to the lack of institutional regulations, the informal economy would contain different stages and elements in the work process. In other words, informal economy or informal production may refer to “status of labor” (special characteristics of labor employed in informal activities). Under this definition, any undeclared labour or absence of social security would be counted as informal production. Or informal work might refer to “conditions of work” such as lack of health conditions, safety hazards and public hygiene. Informalization where it has caused the reduction of the cost of labour from the side of capital has caused an “undermining of the power of organized labour politically and economically”. Lastly, informal work may refer to the “form of management” of firms. In this case, any fiscal fraud, unregulated or undeclared organization would be conceptualized as informal work. Depending on these distinctions, production in a sweatshop, where all employees are declared, would be counted as informal work if health condition cannot be provided. *The third* central aspect of the concept of informal economy is that informal economy and formal economy should be considered as interrelated to each other. Under this concept, the boundaries between formal and informal production are quite unclear and depend on temporal and spatial dynamics. For example, the transformation of organizational structures of some sectors towards more decentralized and flexible forms is closely related to the growth of informalization (Castells and Portes, 1989). The impossibility of a strict division between informal and formal economy was pointed out by many authors too. Slavnic (2007), for example, states that:

All economic actors without exception have a propensity, in certain situations, to engage in informal activities. These situations may be caused by, for example, economic crises or operating within extremely competitive markets (Slavnic, 2007: 137).

In other words, the interconnectedness between informal and formal sectors is to be included in every analysis of informal economy.

3.3.2 Informal Employment as an Urban Phenomenon

Associated with the historical developments that I have explained above, “only recently has the presence of an informal in urbanized places been recognized as an important subject for analysis in its own” (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005: 76). Before this new re-conceptualization of informal economy, it had been seen as the survival strategies of poor people in ghettoized areas because of economic deprivation. Although the complex relationship between poverty and informal economy in urban areas continues, nowadays, it has been understood that informal economy provide some migrants and indigenous city residents a social mobility chance by means of accumulating wealth. In other words, many entrepreneurs in this sector, Gottdiener and Budd (2005: 77) say, “are adaptive and resilient enough to front businesses that can grow in considerable in size and scope”. More importantly, in my view, this new re-conceptualization enables us to see how the informal sector is connected to formal production units of global economy through subcontracting networks and commodity chains in both “developed” and “developing countries”. The magnitude and role of the informal sector vary according to the position of the countries in the world economy, although the importance of informal economy in “developing” countries is considerably higher. A study of the role of the informal economy of nine different cities in “developing” countries shows that at least 40% of the labour force in urban areas was directly engaged in the informal sector. To be brief, as Gottdiener and Budd (2005: 77) assert, “informal economy is located in the large cities and is, therefore, an ‘urban phenomenon’, although not exclusively so”.

Williams and Windebank (2001: 310), on the other hand, have reservations about the theories that exaggerate the increasing role of the informal sector in urban areas and ignore the heterogeneity of the informalization process in different countries. Rather than a universal process of informalization, they assert that “both history and geography matters”, depending on development trajectory of the advanced economies, and “there are different processes in different places at varying times”. In order to analyze the growth, the character and the magnitude of any urban informal

sector, with its temporal and spatial variations, they offer a conceptual frame according to which any configuration in any part of a city is:

the result of the way in which economic (level of affluence and employment, industrial structure, sub-contracting, tax and social contributions), social (nature of social networks, educational levels, socio-economic mix), institutional and environmental conditions (type and availability of housing, settlement size) combine in multifarious 'cocktails' in different urban economies to produce specific local outcomes (Williams and Windebank, 2001: 315).

In order to understand spatial and social dimensions of any urban informal production, these entire factors should be examined separately in detail.

Another reservation that Williams and Windebank put is that the informal labour market is also heterogeneous in the sense that it has a hierarchy of its own which reproduces the formal urban labour markets' already existing socio-spatial divisions. Associated with the segmented formal labour market and complementary to it, the heterogeneity of urban informal labour markets is conceptualized with the concept of "segmented urban informal labour market". This segmented informal labour market, they say:

is composed of 'core' informal employment which is relatively well paid, autonomous and non-routine and where the worker often benefits just as much from the work as the employer, and 'peripheral' informal employment which is poorly paid, exploitative and routine and where the employee does not benefit as much as the employer. Just as in the urban formal labour market, moreover, there are also those excluded from even the exploitative peripheral informal employment (Williams and Windebank, 2001: 311).

Before entering into the analysis of informalization and the changing labour markets in transforming cities, it would be worth discussing the major points of spatial transformations beyond informalization that take place in globalizing cities. Changes in global economy have several implications on socio-spatial inequalities of cities, that is, transforming ethnic/migration communities and spatial isolation of some social groups. Notwithstanding these growing socio-spatial inequalities and discriminatory structures, Cross and Moore (2002: 1-15) warns us not to accept this process as a gradual one. Socio-spatial habitus of migrants and ethnic groups may

integrate into mainstream society in a sense that the social divisions of mainstream society can reflect on the ones of ethnic/migrant community and may be concentrated on one part of housing/labour markets of the host society, or may be excluded from labour markets by long-term unemployment. Under the conditions of globalization, the new migrants, which have dense transnational networks, may have more chance on the one hand to establish ethnic businesses and on the other hand, to be excluded from mainstream labour markets or the exploitative environments of ethnic businesses. This paradoxical situation is closely related to the opportunities that informal economy open to migrant communities at the spatial and economic margins of saturated core labour markets. This concentration of migrants in the labour markets may go hand in hand with the formation of neighborhoods with migrant populations, which reproduce economic and political inequalities continuously. Of course, the degree of spatial mismatch between labour and housing markets shows differences between the USA and European cities. Lastly, the local and national (remember different modes of incorporation of different countries) dimensions should be added while discussing the effects of globalization on the spatial and economic transformations of cities (Cross and Moore, 2002: 1-15).

All these explanations about the origin and the growth of the informal sector indicate the role of new modes of employment relations in the global capital economy. The fact that informal economy is generally an urban phenomenon is crucial to understanding how urban areas become attractive places for new migrants. In other words, subcontracting relations and global commodity chains as two dynamics of globalization affect the growth and transformation of informal forms of capital accumulation and the spatial dynamics of urban areas mutually. Along with these spatial transformations, the growing need for new labour reserves of informalization as a mode of capital accumulation will be analyzed in the next sub-section.

3.3.3 Migrant Labour in Informal Sectors

The transformations that I explained in the previous sections have shown why migration and urban studies in recent years are very interested in informal activities,

which is seen as one of the labour market opportunities for especially irregular immigrants. In the following paragraphs, I will first explain the major aspects of informalization and migrant labour relationships. Then I shall explore Sassen's theory and its critiques about the relationship between informality and immigration. Lastly I will discuss another explanation model, namely, "bloody subcontracting" in the network society.

Since the beginnings of the 1970s, the sectors such as building construction, hotels and restaurants, domestic services, cleaning services, garment industry, meat-packing industry and labour-intensive agriculture have become the major service and production sites where irregular migrants find widespread work. In these sectors, as Castles and Miller (2003) state, the demand of the employer for irregular migrants has continued despite economic crises and the high rate of unemployment among native populations. The percentage of immigrant employment in these sectors varies from region to region and from country to country. For example, in Southern Europe, "virtually all labour migration in recent decades has been directed to employment in the informal sector" (Castles and Miller, 2003: 180). The political strategies of sending countries and political and social tolerance of host countries have direct implications on the concentration and existence of migrant labour in these sectors. From the economic and social organization aspects, the persistence of informal employment of migrants can be connected to a multiplicity of reasons, which vary from sector to sector. As a well-known example, in labour-intensive agriculture of the US, the lack of administrative tools and regulations and the unwillingness of employers to adopt formal management techniques are the main reasons for the persistence of hundreds of thousands of Mexican irregular migrants. In others sectors such as building construction, garments and janitorial, the growth of subcontracting relations has enhanced the role of undocumented and rapid changing small enterprises in the world economic system. This type of production organization provides a suitable basis for the employment of undocumented migrant labour. Lastly, the weakening of trade unions as a result of changing political structures and global competition in many traditional industries and lack of trade union activities in newly growing industries have given the way for informal employment of migrants.

In order to understand the reproduction of a complementary relationship between informal sectors and migrant labour, one may also look at the polarization of immigrant employment. Traditionally, Castles and Miller (2003: 182) say, “what is the most distinctive about immigrant employment is clustering or concentration in particular jobs, industries and economic sectors”. When we approach this polarization trend only as a window to the status of labour, all workers in the informal economy can be defined as “downgraded labour”. That is to say, compared to the formal sector, jobs in the informal sector imply worse working conditions, and less wages and welfare for the workers. Nonetheless, for our concern it is worth seeing that the polarization between migrant and non-migrant workers working in the informal sector in terms of socio-economic status is a result of the fact that many workers are undocumented, that is, not having a residence permit or valid visa. But beyond the reproduction of vulnerability in the workplace, this vulnerability

extends to all social situations that are marked by some kind of social stigma: ethnic minorities, women and youth are common subjects of discrimination and, hence, potential candidates for working at home, part-time, and as temporary replacements (Castells and Portes, 1989: 26).

Beyond these traditional segmentation processes between migrant and non-migrant jobs, in recent years, we have witnessed a polarization among migrant groups too. Especially in global cities, the marginalization of some segments of immigrants in informal sectors, namely the “unskilled service industry” or “less desirable jobs”, goes hand in hand with the increasing importance of the economic role of immigrant traders and entrepreneurs. In other words, there is a growing gap both between non-immigrants and immigrants, and among immigrants from different social and ethnic backgrounds (Castles and Miller, 2003: 179-185). The polarization trend among immigrants is pointed out by Williams and Windebank (2001) too. They assert that two different immigrant groups, that is ethnic minority populations and illegal migrants, is to be distinguished because of their contrasting experiences with regard to informal economy. In the US for example, there is a weak correlation between (established) ethnic immigrant minorities and the informal sector. However, the correlation between the informal sector and illegal immigrants, as is expected, is quite high although it does not mean that all illegal immigrants work in the informal

sector. In some cases, employer of illegal immigrants can pay taxes for her/his employees (Williams and Windebank, 2001: 313-314). The polarization among immigrant groups can be seen also when the place of immigrant workers in the informal sector is analyzed. As Williams and Windebank say (2001: 314),

When ethnic minorities and immigrants do engage in informal employment, the overwhelming finding is that they engage in peripheral exploitative forms of organized informal employment rather than in core, more rewarding autonomous types of work.

However, they add that immigrants in some contexts do not work in the most peripheral positions in the informal economy.

Saskia Sassen (1998) discusses the complex issue of immigrant labour and the informal sector from an aspect of how this phenomenon emerges. In “Globalization and its Discontents” (1998: 154), she starts the argument with the statement that the economic restructuring “that has contributed to the decline of manufacturing-dominated industrial complex of the post-war era the rise of a new, service-dominated economic complex” can be seen as one of the factors of growing informalization. In this transformation, on the one hand, the widening gap between the earnings of high-income and low-income groups in global cities led these people to change their consumption patterns. On the other hand, the traditional producers are not able to produce and to service for these new consumption patterns in the new competitive atmosphere of urban areas. This process also results in a growing inequality among firms in terms of profit-making capabilities in the urban economy. These two processes are the major reason for informalization, and have direct implications on polarization in terms of the structure of social reproduction (consumption), of the organization of labour process and of the spatial organization of economy. By focusing these macro transformations in urban areas, Sassen tries to show how informalization of activities take generally place in the formal economy, and why it is important to look at the mechanism of informalization processes although it consists of empirical varieties in reality. Thus, Sassen criticizes the theories, which explain the growth of informal economy as a result of immigrant

communities in urban contexts. Contrary, she claims that informalization processes in developed countries are not caused by immigration (Sassen, 1998).

At this point, I would like to discuss how informalization processes create a demand for immigrant labour. The rapid growth of some service industries (along with downgraded manufacturing) and their high-income jobs in high-profit making firms on the one hand has caused a need for low-wage workers both inside the firms and in its subcontractors. On the other hand, these high-income groups have become major consumer of customized products (speciality items, fine food dishes) whose manufacture is dependent on a subcontracting system in sweatshops and households. The high-income gentrification areas have created a need for labour intensive jobs too. On the side of low-income groups, “the consumption needs of these groups are met in large part by small manufacturing and retail establishments that rely on family labour and often fall below minimum safety and health standards”, such as cheap and locally produced sweatshop garments, and small and low-cost service operations (downgraded mass consumer services). To sum up, the increasing earning inequality, the changing consumption patterns of different social groups and changing organization of work process are interrelated processes. The growing demand for both highly priced customized services and products and low-cost services and products has brought about subcontracting relations and informalization. In the case of New York, this transformation can be seen by the emergence of new service and production units as subcontractors of highly profit- leading industries and as producers of low-profit products in the relatively outer parts of the city. All these processes promote both the informalization process of a broad range of production/service activities and new spatial organization economic activities (Sassen, 1998: 158-164).

Under this socio-spatial structure, some immigrants work in the highly-profit service industry or in the high-income gentrified neighborhoods as low-income labourers (such as cleaners, constructing workers) and some others may work in the low-profit service and production industries of the immigrant neighborhoods as unpaid family labourers or un-skilled workers. As Sassen summarizes the meaning of this socio-

spatial transformation for migrant labour, “processes of informalization concerns variety of jobs. Most of the jobs in the informal economy are “unskilled, offering no training opportunities and involving repetitive tasks” (Sassen, 1998: 165). As Cross and Moore assert, Sassen’s thesis offers a polarized class structure in which immigrants are concentrated towards the bottom end. This approach, which is different from the other approaches that are focusing on long-term unemployment, is a theory of social exclusion in employment (Cross and Moore, 2002: 6).

Sassen’s theses on the restructuring global cities (Sassen, 1998; 2001) and its impacts on labour market in which immigrants are involved have been criticized with respect to the importance of the validity of global city hypothesis, the role of ethnic economies and the impact of economic restructuring. Samers (2002), for example, criticized the late versions of global city hypothesis because of this thesis’s over emphasis on business and technological dimensions instead of the relationship between “low skilled” immigration and capital accumulation. Besides this and more importantly, Samers questions the literature that constructs a very close link between informal work and immigrants. In this sense, he points out that informal employment is not necessarily increasing in the western world and immigrants are not the dominate groups in every branch of the informal sector. Of course, this does not change the fact that the majority of some immigrant groups work in the informal sector. Lastly, the existence of immigrants in informal economy is not unique to global cities. For our purpose, this hypothesis warn us not to construct a direct relationship between immigrants and the growth of informal employment; and show us the possibility that informal employment is not a phenomenon limited to global cities although it is associated with the processes of globalization (Samers, 2002: 391-392).

Another critique towards Sassen’s theses comes from the researchers who are studying the role of ethnic economy in global cities. As one of them, Light (2004) asserts, the deficiencies of Sassen’s thesis, which he calls a demand-driven theory of immigration. In this theory, according to him, informalization processes in advanced societies are caused by immigration from the developing world, which is a result of

the cheap labour demand of global restructuring. Slightly different from demand-driven analysis, he states that “changes in income structure in the 1970s and the alleged globalization effect, had triggered the Third World migration to the most developed countries”, and “once underway, Third world migration saturated the original demand, and then began to propagate itself through migration itself” (Light, 2004: 386). In this process, most of the immigrants have few economic options such as welfare benefits (or transfer payments), which has resulted in employment of some segment of the mainstream economy, in employment in the ethnic economy, and in the informal sector of the ethnic economy. Generally migrants expand the ethnic economy instead of creating it. When the mainstream labour markets are saturated, then the informal sector and ethnic economy become a buffer zone between the mainstream economy and migrants’ habitus (Light, 2004: 388-390). This buffer zone signs the transition from a demand-driven stage to a supply-driven one. Needless to say, the limits of this expansion of the informal sector and ethnic economy are determined usually not by economic structures but by existing laws and practices of these laws. To sum up, Light offers a two stage theory (from demand-driven to supply-driven migration) instead of focusing only on the restructuring of global cities as reasons of informalization.

Schierup and his colleagues’ (2006) attempt is to construct a theoretical synthesis of Alain Liepitz’ (1987) perspective, “bloody taylorism” and Castells’ (2000) perspective on “network society” in order to explain the post-fordist transformation and its implications on immigration across Europe. They firstly assert that the restructuring of established Fordist and Taylorist production systems in the traditional industrialized countries does not mean their end; on the contrary, it means their “internationalization and partial transformation contingent on relocation” (Schierup, 2007: 150). With this process, which is called “bloody taylorism” by Liepitz, a cheaper replication of the old Fordism, namely “peripheral fordism”, has emerged in different parts (newly industrializing countries) of the world. Along with this peripheralization process, de-privileged, downgraded and informal economic sectors, which are connected with subcontracting relations, and where dominantly immigrants and new ethnic communities are working, have emerged out of many

European cities. But these two processes, that is, the “bloody Taylorism” of the periphery and the “bloody subcontracting” of the center, are two sides of the same coin. Globalization, weakening nation-state, more permeable borders are other structural aspects of this giant transformation. Schierup (2007) states that this restructuring is part of deregulation and flexibilization of the capitalist system by means of a networked society and economy and fragmented labour markets. However the concept of “networking” is slightly different from the concept of a “network society” as Castells uses it according to which flows take place in the horizontal networks. “Networking”, rather, corresponds to a hierarchical chain of subcontracting links controlled by central corporate actors (Schierup, 2007: 150-151).

This hierarchical networking of subcontractors has two major structural components related to the increasing importance of immigrant labour across Europe. The first component is the deregulation and following loss of workers’ power in political and economic spheres. The second component is that the flexibilization of the workplace has brought about an increase in immigrant employment. This process, as we can guess, has caused a reduction in production costs and broken the collective worker identity. The overall result is important for my argument. As Schierup (2007: 163) states,

immigrant workers are flexible basically because their ‘exclusion’ is related not simply to the labour deregulation process as such but to the wider political economy which ‘connects production techniques to the politics of labour control, and job-related to non-work practices of migrant worker’ (Lazaridis and Psimmenos, 2000: 174, in Schierup, 2007).

The flexibility and vulnerability is extended to the areas of citizenship, welfare benefits, and political participation.

Since many theories on the relationship between the informalization and immigration processes try to explain the US context, it would be worth distinguishing the major differences in informalization processes in European cities. The major differences were pointed out by Mingione, saying that “a simplified and undifferentiated vision

of change in European cities seen as more and more like the global cities is incorrect” (Mingione, 1998: 209), although European cities are witnessing a challenge of multicultural society and of immigrant entrepreneurship taking place in the Anglo-Saxon world. Even if the informalization processes (precarious jobs) and increasing immigrant entrepreneurship is connected to world wide developments such as globalization and flexibilization, de-industrialization, and the growth of heterogeneous tertiary sectors, the specific socio-economic contexts of different countries result in a variety of labour market outcomes for immigrant groups (Mingione, 1998: 211). In the US, where there was a strong dualism historically between core industrial and ethnic economies, post-fordist transformation and de-industrialization in some sectors have showed themselves as a growth of informal ethnic economies in which migrants are involved both as employers or employees. In other words, many migrants have tried to compensate for their labour market disadvantages through informal markets. In the European case, the downsizing in large manufacturing jobs had caused a transition of immigrants from these core sectors to informal markets where unskilled, low-paid, and unprotected jobs are available. Since they are less competitive compared to native workers in terms of skills and educational backgrounds, they are much more vulnerable to post-fordist transformations (Quassoli, 1998: 213-218).

Of course, there are a variety of informalization processes in Europe too. In Britain, for example, the exploitation of undocumented migrants has not been common, at least until recent years. Exploitation has been realized generally through the organization of subordinated network economies among ethnic minority citizens. In other words, ethnic discrimination in ethnic networks of racialized “occupational” ghettos, which goes hand in hand with the declining social citizenship, deregulation, and casualization of work, is the major way of exploitation in Britain. In southern European countries, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece, however, the employment of undocumented migrants is quite common. On the one side, a hierarchical and nested structure of citizenship and conservative-corporatist welfare regime with a regulated labour market exists. On the other side, there is a large informal sector. These two

major aspects of these countries have given way for developing post-fordist flexibility through exploitation of immigrants (Schierup, 2007: 162-163).

The Italian case, as a typical example of southern European countries for which mass immigration from less developed countries is a recent experience, offer us different dimensions of the informalization processes and immigration. Informal economy in Italy is historically related to self-employed workers, subsistence economies and small enterprises. The increasing informal arrangements during the 1980s gave the way for new employment relations in informal sectors. Young people, retired people, moonlighters and immigrants are some of the new social groups in the informal sector. As a territorially differentiated country in terms of labour markets, immigrants in Italy incorporate into the labour markets, typically, as agricultural worker in south Italy, as undocumented worker in small and medium-sized firms, or as workers in big industrial activities or in domestic services. Actually, immigration to Italy began in the middle of its post-fordist transformation in the 1980s. As Quassoli (1998: 219) asserts, “migrants’ informal arrangements merged with the local informal economies, resulting both from the persistence of traditional traits and the new impulse generated by post-industrial changes”. In other words, immigrants’ articulation into the informal economy didn’t produce a new trend; on the contrary it is a stage of transforming economic organization. In this articulation process, lack of implications of political regulations causes atypical labour contracts in different local contexts (Quassoli, 1998: 228-229). Although it is relatively a new migrant-receiving country, migration became a structural element of Italian economy because of post-fordist transformation and demographic changes. There is a continuous incompatibility between strict immigration laws and the reality of the growth of the immigrant population. As Calavita (2004) says, the tension between economic/demographic reality and antipathy toward immigrants may be responsible for the failure of apparently restrictive policies and also of liberal provisions extending equal rights to immigrants.

3.3.4 Informalization of Labour Processes at Workplace

In this sub-section, my main aim is to depict a theoretical frame so as to provide the necessary tools for analyzing workplace interactions of irregular Moldovan migrants in Istanbul. I firstly try to give an overview of the literature available on labour processes. This review would support me in analyzing how the power relations between employers and employees are constituted by means of control mechanisms in the workplace. Secondly I will examine some recent discussions on how and by which way workers in workplaces as agents show some resistance to changing control mechanisms and labour market transformations. These recent discussions can be thought of as complementary to the early discussions on the capitalist labour process which has been criticized for conceptualizing workers as passive agents. In this overview, I try to explain some possible variations in the labour process and workplace resistance, which is directly related with migrant labour and informality of working conditions.

In order to understand the mechanisms of conflict and cooperation in various workplaces, the theories of labour process for the capitalist system can be a suitable introduction. As Thompson and Hugh (2002) define, the labour process is “the means by which raw materials are transformed by human labour, acting on the objects with tools and machinery”. By this definition, the questions of “who owns, controls, and designs work”, and “the consequences of these social relations on forms of technology and the divisions of labour” has been explored in labour process literature. From a Marxist perspective, Burawoy (1987) distinguishes analytically *relations in production* from *relations of exploitation*. If labour process is defined as the social relations into which women and men participate in order to produce useful things, then social relations among managers and workers and the organization of production processes would be defined as relations in production. Relations of exploitation, however, refer to the “relations through which surplus is pumped out of the direct producer” (Burawoy, 1987: 13). In this categorization, relations of production, as the appropriation and distribution of surplus, includes both relations in production and relations in exploitation. In this respect we can say that the conflict in

the workplace in micro level and class conflict in macro and abstract level is dialectically both closely interrelated and separated. As it is seen, instead of focusing on co-ordination or organization aspects of the labour process, many Marxist theorists have focused on the control aspect of labour processes.

Until Harry Braverman (1974) reopened the discussion on labour processes in capitalist society, this area, says Burawoy (1987), had remained largely unchallenged and undeveloped. The main argument of Braverman was that a remarkable degradation of work took place in 20th century capitalism, which is related to monopoly capital. By separation of the conception (planning, control, coordination) and execution functions in the production process, there has been witnessed a continuous deskilling of labour and fragmentation of work in the capitalist labour process. This separation corresponds to the classical categorization of manual and mental labour. Furthermore, this separation between conception and execution expands into the other spheres of life (Burawoy, 1987: 21-22). Since employers and managers always ask the question of how they can ensure the maximum degree of effort for the minimum amount of reward (Grint, 2005: 177), another important aspect is that the reduction of required skills in the production process has been used by employers as a method of controlling the workforce. This type of production process can best be exemplified in the Taylorist scientific management of production. Despite control mechanism, this deskilling process might create some problems among workers. So employers need preventing resistance either by means of creating “habitual workers” through industrial psychology or by means of giving concessions such as higher wages and other promotions.

These assumptions of Braverman have been criticized from different aspects. Burawoy admits that:

Braverman’s analysis is exclusively from the side of object. This is no oversight; it is quite deliberate. Braverman repeatedly stresses the mechanisms through which subjectivity is destroyed or rendered ineffectual and through which individuals lose their individuality (Burawoy, 1987: 22).

Besides the issue of subjectivity, Braverman was criticized because of his over-simplified analysis of change and that he exaggerated the implications of Taylor's ideas in practice. It has been asserted that there has been witnessed a re-skilling process in many segments of production and the service sector instead of deskilling which cause a more heterogenous working class. Also, it was said that it was difficult to make a formal definition of skills, as skills are socially constructed (Grint, 2005: 181-182).

For this study, it would be better to examine whether scientific management, as Braverman explains, is the predominant method of control in the capitalist labour process, and to what extent and how this control technique affect the power relations between employers and workers. In the same years, some other scholars said simply, no. For example, Richard Edwards (1979 in Grint, 2005) tried to show different types of labour process control changing historically. In this sense he conceptualized workplace a "contested terrain". Simple (or hierarchical) control, which was predominant in 19th century capitalism, was exercised by owners of businesses. This mode of control is based on personal intervention of employers who have the power to threat, hire, fire, and reward the workers. As a result of increasing numbers of large firms and a rise of organized worker movements, simple control transformed into more sophisticated control methods, namely structural control. While in the first phase of these new control methods, namely technical control, which was valid approximately until WW2, machineries directed the tasks and rhythm of production, in the second phase a more dehumanized form of control, bureaucratic control took place. In this latter type, workers are controlled through creation of complex hierarchies and the principle embedded in social structure of the workplace (Grint, 2005: 186). Another attempt to understand control over the capitalist labour process was made by Friedman (1977: 78 in Grint, 2005: 183) by defining two types of control: direct control and relative autonomy. Similar to scientific management, direct control means that every aspect of labour is controlled through strict codes and techniques. On the other side, in relative autonomy, workers "are allowed 'leeway....to adapt to changing situations in a manner beneficial to the firm' ". Workers can use initiative and monitor their own work in the production process.

These two types of control can exist in the same sector or even in the same workplace. Different from Braverman and Edward, although Friedman emphasized worker resistance which can change or reduce the degree of control over labour processes, he too prioritized managerial controls and is far from analyzing complex labour-capital relations (Grint, 2005: 183-184).

Michael Burawoy's (1987) contributions to the labour process theory in specific and to class formations in general give us new perspectives on how employers and management can maintain order at the workplace and continue the production process. Burawoy, by using Braverman's arguing and criticizing them, wonders

all those day-to-day responses that yield the secrets of how and why workers acquiesce in 'building for themselves more 'modern', more 'scientific', more dehumanized prisons of labour' and of workers' willingness to tolerate the continuance of an arrangement to obviously destructive of the well-being and happiness of human beings' (Burawoy, 1985: 25).

He firstly emphasizes the interconnection between the working-class struggle and the politics of production process. Then he distinguishes two distinct moments of production process. First there is the organization of work, namely labour process, and its political and ideological implications which affect the reproduction of social relations in the workplace. And secondly the political and ideological apparatus of productions regulate the relations of production. These two interrelated dimensions of production politics constitute together Burawoy's famous concept "production regime" or more specifically "factory regime" (Burawoy, 1985: 7-8). In a more extended definition, Burawoy defines three factors, the labour process, enterprise relations to state and market, and the mode of reproduction of labour power as the determinants of factory or production regimes.

As a result of the transformation of capitalist systems and production regimes, when one looks at them from a macro perspective, they have witnessed a transition from despotic to hegemonic regimes. Despotic regimes include relations of dependence and coercion in the production process. Three types of despotic production regimes were defined by Burawoy: Patriarchal, Paternalist and Market. While in the first type

the family is the main production units and father is the patriarch of these units, in the second type the control over the labour process shifts from father to employer as a patriarch although family remains as a crucial dimension of production. In these regimes, labour has a dependency on capital only formally. The factory prototype, as was depicted in the first volume of Capital by Marx, was conceptualized as Market despotic types of production regime. In this regime, the family lost its role in the production process and labour become dependent on capital in harsh labour markets. In the hegemonic production regimes, however, the state intervenes in the production processes and labour market by controlling reproduction labour and regulating labour markets. The rise of social security systems, strict rules on working conditions and collective bargaining between workers and employers can be thought as both condition and result of these production regimes. In recent years, the old despotic production regimes and their old pressures have been resurrected by new actors of the global capitalist system. Along with the withdrawal of social status and decreasing alternative income opportunities for workers, the regulatory laws of labour market and working conditions have disappeared. Flexible and causal type of employment relations have brought about both the reduction of labour cost and increasing control over labour processes and labour (Özüğurlu, 2008: 49-51). Needless to say, this hegemonic despotic production regime, as a tragedy of capitalism, can be seen as one dimension of the informalization processes in labour markets and workplaces.

Concerning these varieties of production regimes, the question of how workers are collected together in the production site and why workers produce more than they need for reproduction was asked by Burawoy with his famous notion: manufacturing consent. Burawoy asserts that objectification of work, as Braverman and many others propose, is also a subjective process. In other words, he says that “we participated in and strategized our own exploitation” and adds that:

cooperation revolved around ‘making out’, a ‘game’ in which the goal was to make a certain quota, and whose rules were recognized and defended by workers and management alike....In short, as we slaved away on our machines trying to make our quotas we manufactured not only parts of diesel engines, not only relations of cooperation and

domination, but also consent to those activities and relations (Burawoy, 1985: 10-11).

This “game” with and against employers played by workers can be also conceptualized as (in Althusserian term) internalization of capitalist ideology.

The theories about the “control over labour process” of the 70s and 80s were criticized because they ignore the gender dimension (Pearson, 1986 in Thompson and McHugh, 2002: 108), not seeing the complexity of deskilling and reskilling issues and exaggerating the role of control and technology in the labour process. Furthermore, it was said that strategies for labour control can contain inherent contradictions because of these multiplicities of factors. For the same reason it can be difficult to assume that these contradictory strategies can be harmonized by management easily. Not only that there is no “one best way” of controlling labour, but also it would be incorrect to assume that employers have a rationale and they deliberately select the “best” control regimes. As Thompson (1989: 151 in Thompson and McHugh, 2002: 108) asserts, “the most consistent weakness of existing theory has been to counterpoise one form of control to another...No one has convincingly demonstrated that a particular form of control is necessary or inevitable for capitalism to function successfully”. Furthermore, many classical labour process theories have been criticized for their overemphasis on the control of labour process as extraction of surplus and their relative ignorance of surplus through the sale of commodities⁸. Along with these critiques, Thompson says, many scholars accept that:

a range of internal and external factors such as product and labour markets, worker resistance, state policies and global conditions together determine the type of control strategies and also shape power relations between capital and labour (Thompson and McHugh, 2002: 109).

Another strand of critiques of classical labour process theories has been influenced by Michel Foucault and some post-Marxist thinkers. Grinth (2005) asserts that

⁸ At this point, we can remember Marx’s discussion in the introduction part of *Grundrisse* (1993) about the radical interdependency of production, circulation, distribution, and consumption process in capitalist mode of production. Methodologically, this thesis’ empirical concern as an analysis of both production and consumption sites of clothing industry can be associated with Marx’s discussion.

different strategies of control, which are performed by managers and workers, cannot be explained within and reduced to the restricted perspective of class politics. He states that “whether technology is responsible for deskilling or reskilling, degrading or enhancing is primarily the result of multiple conflicts between capitalists as well as between capitalist and workers, and producers and consumers” (Grint, 2005: 187). Concerning the question of to what extent class politics are important brings us to think of other forms of stratification such as gender, “race”, and ethnicity. Furthermore, these different top-down facilities and constraints can be aggregated at the level of the individual. In this respect, it can be assumed that the relative importance of “race”, gender and class can vary from one person to another. Methodologically, this necessitates examining both the experiences of the individual as they perceive these inequalities and material forms such as income, career prospects (Grint, 2005: 186-188). To sum up, although Burawoy had already asserted that any analysis of labour process should contain subjectivity, that is to say, subjectification of objective, the issue of individuality and individual strategies of resistance in the workplace, different from Burawoy’s, perspective became one of the core subjects of labour process analysis in recent years.

This theoretical shift was of course related to the transformation of work organizations, that is, from Fordist to post-Fordist ones, and changing structures of all aspects of capitalist society, which has given the way for both new complexities of control such as surveillance technologies, and new forms and modalities of resistance. In the middle of the 90s, Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) asserted that the existing industrial sociology ignores the variety of workplace resistance because of focusing on formal and consensual relations. In other words, influenced by Foucaultian perspective, they criticized existing industrial sociology which often analyzes management as the active agent and labour as the passive one. From a Foucaultian perspective, as it is known, two propositions that power and knowledge are indivisible and that a positive conception of power exists along with resistance are crucial. In this respect, besides new management techniques and the power of corporate culture, as core topics of contemporary industrial relations and organization studies, scholars should look at the counter-identification and sub-

cultures of employees in the workplaces (Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995: 627-629). They state that “we are not saying that resistance and misbehaviour is always present in the same force or for. But it is there if workplace researchers have the time or inclination to look” (Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995: 629).

Agreeing with Thompson and Ackroyd, Fleming and Sewell (2002) say that the existing literature emphasizes too much the themes of “colonization” of subjectivity, ideological incorporation, manufacturing consent, self-regulating teams and ideological outflanking. In addition they add that if the strikes, unionism, sabotage, work-to-rule and picketing are conceptualized as the only forms of resistance then scholars would not be able to see different and alternative forms of resistance. Beyond thinking of worker opposition as purely overt, organized and open economic practices, any resistance analysis should include more subtle identity politics, unorganized, inconspicuous, intersubjective tactics and subjective ways of workplace resistance. These tactics might have disruptive effects on organizations and “whereby the self is detached from the normative prescriptions of managerialism through irony and cynism” (Fleming and Sewell, 2002: 860).

Besides an extended notion of resistance, after Foucaultian turn, many scholars have started to focus on the importance of subjectivity. After two decades of Edwards’ (1979) notion of workplace as a “contested terrain”, it is suggested that subjectivity as a terrain is contested again and again. In this rival, demand for dignity can be disentangled from the demands for equity (Fleming and Sewell, 2002: 863). In other recent studies (Mulholland, 2004; O’Doherty and Willmott, 2001) this post-structuralist tendency has been criticized since it leans towards the notion of individualization of worker experience, which reveals the absence of collective workers, and since it focuses on how workers do their jobs instead of concerning themselves with how value is extracted and distributed between workers and capital. Mulholland (2004), for example, tries to show how workplace conflict is affected by structural issues such as productivity, employment relations, and pay. She uses the notion of the collective worker in order to demonstrate how informal collective practices take place under subordinated working conditions in an Irish call centre.

The silent strategies of collective disengagement from corporate culture are developed by employees via alliances and collaborations. Collective ways of opposition such as high turnover, absenteeism, sales sabotage, working to rule and work avoidance can be seen as expressions of antagonism at the workplace. Against this competitive culture and the necessities of emotional labour of management, employees try to create their own country-culture.

Some other scholars (O'Doherty and Willmott, 2001) on the other hand try to find a "hybrid position" of the structuralist position, which may result in a missing subject, and "anti-realist" or deconstructionist position, which abandons the structure and agency dualism totally. Their position is "one that is informed by poststructuralist insights but does not neglect or reject established traditions of 'modern' sociology and labour process research" (O'Doherty and Willmott, 2001: 457). In other words, they attempt to analyze how and to what extent subjectivity has a role in the reproduction of capitalist employment relations. Since they criticize both the assumptions such as free floating contingency of anti-realist theory and constrictive determinism of structuralist perspectives; they offer a continuous dialogue between subject and object, self and other, "the word" and "the world". Briefly they try to use post-structuralist thinking pragmatically in order to enrich and complement the existing knowledge on the dynamics of capitalist relations.

Towards the end of my discussion of labour process theory, I would like to examine some analytical distinctions and typologies which would enrich my fieldwork analysis in the next chapter. Concerning all these theoretical approaches, the notions of control and resistance (cooperation) stand as two major concepts in understanding the dynamics of employment relations in the workplaces. As I have discussed, the early theorists of the labour process have been criticized for ignoring the employees as active agents. The number of studies that analyze the ways and forms of resistance has increased. Along with this, it has been understood that not only the style of management used affects the forms of resistance but also other factors such as the size of the workplace, "the perception the employees hold of how they are treated by management" (Townsend, 2003: 452), product and labour markets, cultural

structures, and global conditions (Thompson and McHugh, 2002: 109) has a role in forms of resistance. It is worth remembering that resistance strategies with their different forms may have different and interrelated functions. Firstly, it may enable employees to voice dissatisfaction and discontent (Fleming and Sewell, 2002: 862). In this sense, informal resistance strategies can help employees in reducing the level of dissatisfaction and alienation without challenging the structure of work (Townsend, 2004: 444). Secondly, some forms of resistance can create a space in which employees gain a relative autonomy by which they can increase their ability to deal with control mechanisms (Fleming and Sewell, 2002: 862).

Tilly and Tilly's (1998) concepts and typologies provide a general outlook for the employment relations under capitalism. In this study, they use an "interactional approach" by giving various definitions, arguments, and conceptual themes. For our purpose, a definition and dimensions of work contract may be a suitable beginning. If transactions in a narrow definition mean the fundamental and unequal relationship between recipient (employer) and producer (worker), then the work contract would be defined as organized cumulations of transactions. These contracts would contain always some elements of informality. This dimension of informality can be associated with the trust dimension of work contracts. Tilly and Tilly (1998: 76) define trust as "a relation in which at least one party exposes valued assets to a risk that the other will seize, misuse, or damage them". In this sense, a work contract varies from a low-trust and informal contract such as between a shoe-black to a detailed formal contract between an author and a publisher. In the low-trust and informal type of work contracts, in my view, the issue of preexisting social relations become a core issue. As Tilly and Tilly assert, "neither employers nor workers therefore set contracts as untrammelled individuals; they bring to negotiations and to everyday work segments of networks in which they already live out other portions of their lives" (Tilly and Tilly, 1998: 80).

Besides the informality and trust dimensions, an analysis of work contracts would be deficient without concerning itself with work-based and non-work-based networks. While a production network is defined as a connected set of work contracts among

various producers and recipients, non-production networks consist of ties of kinship, ethnicity, friendship, schooling, religion, and informal communication. More importantly, when networks have a well-marked boundary and include an internal authority (such as an employer of an ethnic business), then we would call these networks categorical networks. Factory work, in the post-fordist era, consists of few contracts based on long-term commitment and lots of contracts based on hour-by-hour supervision or piece work. So two types of categorical network can be defined: Command and turnover. The latter type, which is more valid for my fieldwork, includes especially informal job contracts with high turnover, little power of employee, few benefits, low promotion ceilings, and less training.

Although work contracts should be thought of as dynamic processes or, as Tilly and Tilly put it, they include endless negotiations, analytically it can be useful to distinguish the work contract processes from the relationships and interactions in the workplace after these contracts. Concerning the objectives of employers such as power, quality and efficiency in the production processes, these work contracts (and production networks), as Tilly and Tilly (1998: 72) say,

embody various *mechanisms* to meet these requirements in a way that satisfies the recipients' objectives. Among those mechanisms, the provision of *incentives* – commitment, compensation, and/or coercion – plays a central part in motivating work and thus in organizing work more broadly.

To put it simply, incentives tie efforts to rewards. In other words, the importance of incentives as labour mechanism comes from that symmetry and asymmetry between producer and employer that determine the cumulation of three incentives: commitment, coercion, and compensation. Commitment is invocation of solidarity or internalization of aims at the production process. Compensation, on the other hand, consists of continuous exchange of rewards and promotions such as tips, profit sharing or bonuses. And lastly, coercion contains threat to impose harm. These mechanisms are closely associated with the dynamics and type of work contracts, which differ in the relative weights and asymmetries of compensation, commitment, and coercion. For example, slavery consists of asymmetrical coercion without containing a considerable compensation or commitment (Tilly and Tilly, 1998: 77).

The balance of power between producer and recipient is also determined by the context within which the workplace exists. To sum up, the negotiations about work contracts are endless processes, have very different forms, and include culturally and historically mediated bargaining processes.

When I look at the labour market level above the work place and work contract level, there are, as Tilly and Tilly define, varieties of work organizations according to the short-term monetization of work and imposition of time/discipline. The first variable is defined as “the extent to which workers invest effort, or fail to do so, contingent on the prospect of monetary compensation in the immediate future –say within a month or less” and the second is described as “the extent to which other persons decide the disposition of a worker’s effort within the working day” (Tilly and Tilly, 1998: 30). If each variable is thought as an axis of a diagram, then we would see that each separate position in the diagram corresponds to a different work organization and labour process. The relative weight of incentives is interrelated with this position. Informal work, in this diagram, is squeezed between formal labour markets and household labour. Barter and non-market social relations may play a vital role in the organization of work. Entrepreneurships such as casual house repair or street vendors stand on the boundary of formal and informal markets.

In the last part of this sub-section, I would like to discuss some dynamics of small workplaces and the informal workplace struggles inside them. Karakoç (2003), based on TURKSAT (Turkish Statistical Institute), defines the firms, where less than 9 employees are working, as small size firms, and the firms where less than 49 employees are working are defined as medium size firms (Karakoç, 2003). In many economic analyses, which are based on the conceptualization of dual economy, small businesses are explained with their functional relationship with large monopoly enterprises, and defined as technologically backward and ruled in an autocratic manner. The main reason for subcontracting relations of small firms with large one is that they can adapt to changing market conditions easily without obeying all the legal procedures. For this reason, it is said that small firms are more inclined to the informal. These analyses are partly true, since there are various types of relationship

between large and small enterprises. While some small firms are dependent on large ones, some others can compete or remain independent. In terms of labour market, it can be assumed that there is a dual structure: employees in the core markets and employees in the periphery or secondary market. Goss (1991: 16-17) explains the division and relationship between these markets, saying that:

secondary enterprises, because of the unstable and poorly rewarded nature of their work, are either unable to attract such 'core employees', who regard them as unsuitable for their needs, preferring those without formal training (who command lower wages) and with relatively little bargaining power (who can be laid off and autocratically controlled with little fear of resistance).

Although control of labour power is a common aspect of capitalist firms, based on these general characteristics, small businesses can be categorized according to their workplace relations or, to be specific, to the ways employers control employment conditions. Goss (1991: 73) constructed a typology with two variables: Firstly, "dependence of employer upon particular employee and vice versa"; and secondly, "the power of workers individually or collectively to resist the exercise of proprietorial prerogative". By using these two variables, four types of small business can be described according to their ways of employer control: Fraternalism, Paternalism, Benevolent Autocracy, and Sweating. While this categorization will be used in the next chapter, it will be seen how they actually can exist together in a particular small workplace. In the workplaces, where the first form of control prevails, employers have a high level of dependency upon employees, and there is relatively harmony and equality between partners. The relation between them can be understood with an analogy to the relationship between two siblings. Actually, this situation is usually caused by the crucial role of employee for the firm and employees' in short supply in the labour market. Because of the talents, traditional knowledge or some craft skills that employees own, it is not uncommon in these workplaces that employees work under a relative autonomy. When employers' dependency upon worker becomes less, forms of control may transform into paternalism if workplace is relatively isolated from other markets. The main difference of this form of control is the remarkable differentiation and hierarchy between employers and workers like the paternalism between a father and his

son/daughter. In order to make workers' identification with employers' aims, employers try to establish bonds of mutual obligation and duty by using closeness in the workplace. Usually, this identification can result in an ideology that this existing inequality between two parties is necessary for their benefits (Goss, 1991: 73-78). The common aspect of these two modes of control is that intimate relationships or friendships are formed. Here the critical thing is that any resistance can be perceived as an opposition against a friend rather than a faceless organization (Townsend, 2003: 454).

In a globalizing world, the isolated conditions, which are a necessity for this second form of control, are undermining and local labour markets are becoming more interconnected. Under these transformations, many employers try to constitute employment relations with their personal authority as a result of her/his positional power as an employer rather than with paternalistic relations. The closeness between two parties is more formal and impersonal compared to the closeness form of the previous modes of control. One important aspect is that on the one hand there is always a possibility of tension because of non-paternalistic relations, on the other hand the fragile position of small businesses in harsh market conditions force employers to deal with these tensions before it become explicit. Goss (1991), based on a research in the instant print sector of the British general printing industry, states that employers in this type of workplace prefer young and unskilled workers and do not want employees to specialize in a single job. Instead, they prefer workers who move between different tasks. The abundance of workers in the labor market with a high level of unemployment leads employers to practice a hiring policy, which has a "take it or leave it basis". If the fraternal type of control can be associated with a "person culture", then this mode of control can be defined as "power culture". The labour market pressures and lack of old workers and trade unions in the workplace prevent any possibility of tension or resistance, although most of the workers are aware of their vulnerability. For my purposes, one statement of Goss (1991: 84) is important, saying that "the principal mechanism facilitating the small employers' control over their workers was the operation of the labour market, which enabled the recruitment of those deemed to be compliant, trustworthy, but also relatively

powerless”. In the last form of control, namely sweating, employers can recruit or replace workers easily without disrupting business activities. And different from the former type, employers do not aim at concealing conflict because of the conditions where coercion is available. To conclude, contrary to the observations that workers’ compliant and acquiescent behaviors mean that this is an indication of commitment of workers to the goals of small business, the widespread conflict is one of the common characteristic of small firms, although this conflict is usually manifested at the individual level or it is neutralized by many employers just before it occurs. (Goss, 1991: 79-90).

3.3.5 Concluding Remarks on Informalization and Migrant Labour

In the first and second sub-sections, I first tried to discuss the origins and changing definitions of informal economy and to show how the rise of informal economy is a historical moment in the world capitalist system. Secondly, I indicated how the rise of informal economy is historically related to the urban transformations throughout the world. In this regard, we need to be reminded of some points. First, informal economy should not be related automatically to poverty or “third world” economies. Secondly, informal economy and formal economy should be considered as interrelated to each other. And thirdly, it is crucial to think of how the rise of informal economy in western countries can be related to the urban and labour market transformations that take place in the urban contexts of newly industrializing countries, without forgetting that “the post-Fordist transformation as it is articulated in one particular type of process observed across a selection of countries” (Schierup, 2007: 151). As Williams and Windebank (2001: 315) offer, economic factors such as level of affluence and employment, industrial structure, sub-contracting, tax, social factors such as the nature of social networks, educational levels, and institutional/environmental conditions combine in multifarious “cocktails” in different urban economies to produce specific local outcomes. A comparison between different localities would give us how these factors affect the ways in which migrants are incorporated into the production and service units.

In the third sub-section, the reason of why informalization processes enlarge the need for migrant labour was elaborated. I have used two explanatory models for this process. One is a synthesis of Sassen's (1998) theory on urban restructuring as a demand-driven migration theory, and Light's (1998) focus on supply-driven migration by means of ethnic businesses. The second is Schierup and his colleagues' (2006) attempt to construct a theoretical synthesis of Alain Liepitz' (1987) theory on "*bloody taylorism*" and Castells' (2000) "network society" theory in order to explain the post-Fordist transformation and its implications on immigration across Europe. They relate the "networking", which corresponds to a hierarchical chain of subcontracting links controlled by central corporate actors, to the increasing level of migrant labour. To sum up, we can say that two interrelated dynamics of globalization, *subcontracting relations* and *global commodity chains*, have implications upon the rise and transformation informal forms of capital accumulation and the spatial dynamics of urban areas mutually, which has given way for new demands for migrant labour.

When thinking of the implications of these transformations on the labour markets and the position of migrants in these markets, a polarization is mainly observed between non-migrant workers and (documented) migrants, who work in the informal sector, in terms of socio-economic status. This polarization intensified with the growing numbers of undocumented migrants, who have not a residence permit or valid visa. The ironic result of this complex and uneven polarization for the migrants is that on the one hand some groups of migrants, who have dense transnational networks, may have more chance to establish ethnic businesses and to keep their relations with the home country, on the other hand some other migrants may be excluded from mainstream labour markets and remain in the exploitative environments of informal economy and ethnic business. As Mingione asserts (1998), the presence of cheap immigrant labour in urban areas and ethnic networks of entrepreneurs seem to be two major actors in the growing informal sector. Due to the flexibilization of the workplace and labour market deregulations, increasing numbers of workers are losing their power in political and economic spheres. From another perspective, informalization processes can be seen as a transformation from

relatively *decommodified* labour under welfare and socialist regimes to *recommodification* of labour. This is valid especially for migrants, who have come from the old Soviet Bloc countries. And lastly, the position of migrant in the labour market in localities is determined by subjective and distinctive aspects of the migrant such as human capital, social networks and social capital.

In the light of these discussions, in the fourth sub-section, I have narrowed down my analysis level from the characteristics of informal labour markets to informalization of employment and power relations in the workplaces since I believe that there are complex interactions between the conditions in the labour market and the control type of employment and workplace dynamics. I assume that workplace dynamics may be more open to market pressures when there is no formal work contract. In this micro level, it would be worth distinguishing analytically three interrelated sub-processes of informalization. Firstly, lack of institutional regulations and increasing pressures of economic structures for production cost “necessities” the transformation of work organizations (form of management) such as flexibility and causality. This has undermined the power of organized labour both politically and economically. Secondly, along with these transformations, informalization affects the status of labour. Employees without having any social security work under the conditions of absence of formal labour contracts. And lastly, informalization means that “conditions of work” such as lack of health conditions, safety hazards and public hygiene are getting worse.

I tried to understand all these changes with the help of labour process literature. While reviewing this literature, I mainly searched for the answer to the question of how the processes of control or resistance operate and of what implications the absence of formal work contract and decreasing organized bargaining power of workers have on the status of labour and working conditions. For this aim, I found two concepts useful, which are widely used in this literature: Control and resistance. An analysis of the modes of control and modes of resistance in the workplaces, where Moldovan migrants work or have worked, would enable us to understand how the power relations at the workplace and the general political/economic context affect the mechanisms and modes of control and resistance and vice versa. In this

analysis, I will assume, as Thompson and McHugh (2002: 131) do, that modes of control in the workplace are mediated through power. In order to operationalize the concept of power relations, this concept will be used with Grint's (2005: 171) concept of "power resources".

In the analysis of modes of control, I used the extent to which different modes of control in the workplaces such as technical, bureaucratic, direct, paternalist, market despotic or hegemonic exist in the textile/clothing sector in Istanbul. While discussing the dynamics of workplace interactions in my fieldwork, I will not forget the different dynamics of small workplaces, since most of my interviews were made in small-scale workplaces. In this discussion, I hope, the four ways of employer control (*Fraternalism*, *Paternalism*, *Benevolent Autocracy*, and *Sweating*) will help me. From the side of resistance, my analysis will include what kind of resistance (collective and individual / explicit form – subtle form) are more valid for the workplaces that I studied in my fieldwork.

Lastly, it can be useful to remember how this dialectic of control and resistance are closely associated with the type of work contracts and how Tilly and Tilly (1998) distinguish different type of work contract according to the relative weights of compensation, commitment, and coercion in the workplaces. In my following analysis, I will try to understand differences in terms of modes of control and resistance in different workplaces of different segments of the textile/clothing sector.

CHAPTER IV

IRREGULAR IMMIGRATION AND RESTRUCTURING ECONOMY IN TURKEY

In this chapter, firstly, I aim at discussing the changing place of Turkey in international population movements with a focus of labour migration by distinguishing the population movements of 90s from the pre-90s ones. For each historical period, firstly, I will explain the major points of the history of population movements that Turkey has witnessed, and secondly, discuss how Turkish state has given responses to these population movements. An analysis of migration policies⁹ from a historical perspective would give crucial insights about how the relations between irregular Moldovan migrants and Turkish state take place. In order to understand the labour market position of foreign migrants in Turkey, I will make a selective exploration of the studies about irregular migrants in Turkey. In this chapter, secondly, I will explore the migration of Moldovans to Turkey by discussing some specific studies about this migrant group. Thirdly, I will discuss how Turkish economy has been transformed from an import-substituted economy to an export-oriented one, giving a focus on informal sector in general and textile/clothing sector in specific.

4.1 A History of Immigration Processes in Turkey

4.1.1 Pre-1990 Period

Discussing the first period, I aim at explaining a brief history of population movements into and out of Turkey and migration policies since the Crimean war between Russian and Ottoman Empires in 1783 to the end of 1980s. Generally speaking, it can be said that Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic witnessed two

⁹ By saying migration policies, I mean the visa regimes, refugee policies, and regulations related with residential and work permits.

major international migration experiences up to 1990s. The first experience is the migration of Muslim and Turkish originated immigrants from the old lands of Ottoman Empire to Anatolia (mainly from Caucasus and Balkans), from the midst of the 19th century to present. These migrations were triggered by the collapse of Ottoman Empire, emergence of the new nation-states, and countless wars between Ottoman Empire and its neighborhoods (Tekeli, 1990). Most of these immigrants were settled by the state in different regions of Anatolia (Erder, 2000). These migration processes can be categorized as political migration or forced migration. However, Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic tried to use these population flows for its economic and administrative benefits. The second major experience is the labour migration from Turkey to Western Countries from the beginnings of 1960s on.

The first migration wave towards Ottoman Empire began with the Crimean war in 1783 (Tekeli, 1990). After this war between Ottoman and Russian Empire, Ottoman Empire witnessed the first mass immigration. As a result, approximately 80.000 Crimean Tatars came to the Ottoman Empire. The migration of the Crimean continued after this wave; it is estimated that 1.800.000 Crimean Tatars came to Ottoman Empire until 1922 as a result of the expansionary policies of Russian Empire (Karpas, 2003: 66). The expansion processes of Russian Empire were accelerated after the conquest of Georgia and another Crimean war in 1856 (Erkan, 2001: 155-160). After that year, the main strategy of the Russian Empire was to resettle the Circassians¹⁰ population in Caucasus, who were living on the mountainous areas (Pinson 2001: 52), in order to control and “civilize” the area better for trading and security aims (Karpas, 2003). Following these events, the migration of ethnic groups in Caucasus (nearly 1.5 million people) to Ottoman Empire increased between 1856 and 1864¹¹. After this first wave, nearly 500.000 migrants both from North and South Caucasus, as a result of Russian-Ottoman war in 1877/1878 and further invasions of the Russian army, continued to come to Ottoman Empire until 1920s in a more regularized way. It is estimated that nearly 2 million

¹⁰ Çerkez

¹¹ During this migration process, it is estimated that approximately 500.000 migrants died because of ship accidents, epidemics and famine (Karpas, 2001: 89-90).

migrants from Caucasus entered into the lands of Ottoman Empire between 1820s and 1920s. (Karpat, 2001: 89-90)

The first mass migration from Balkans began just after the war between Ottoman and Russian Empire in 1877. Nearly 1.5 million Muslims, who were living in Romania and Bulgaria, migrated to Anatolia (Tekeli, 1990). As a result of wars between the newly established Balkan countries and Ottoman Empire in 1912 and 1913, nearly 640.000 Muslim and Turkish originated migrants came to the Ottoman Empire (Tekeli, 1990). Thus, many Muslims migrated voluntarily and involuntarily from the Balkan countries, such as Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, and Greece, because of nationalist policies of new nation-states in general and local pressures in some cases to, the Ottoman Empire (Dündar, 2001).

Concerning these population movements, how can we evaluate the migration policies in the Ottoman Empire? As I have briefly mentioned above, Ottoman Empire opened its border to Muslim immigrants willingly. In the beginning of the 19th century, Ottoman bureaucrats understood that the volume of population is important in order to increase the agricultural production for economic power and to strengthen the military force. As a result of these aims, a law, which was regulating the immigration to Ottoman Empire, was enacted in order to attract immigrants for economic developments in 1856. Until the mass migration from Caucasus in 1860s, the regulation of population movements were solved at a local level with a low level of institutionalization. In 1860s, however, the Commission for the Regulation of Migration¹² became the only authority in the regulation of population movements. In the following years, there were established some charity organizations¹³ in order to regulate the collection and distribution of assistance (food, clothes) for newly arriving immigrants. From the 1880s on, the de facto migration policy, according to which Muslim origin immigrants were welcomed to Ottoman territory, was transformed into an explicit (*de jure*) Islamic form as a result of Sultan Abdulhamid's Pan-Islamist policies. According to this new form, migration policies

¹² İdare-i Umumiye-i Muhacirun Komisyonu - Göç Genel İdare Komisyonu

¹³ İane Komisyonu - Yardım Komisyonu

were shaped by Islamic identity of the Empire. Sultan Abdulhamid, as the caliph¹⁴ of all Muslims, was responsible for welcoming the Muslim migrants, who would like to migrate to Ottoman Empire (Karpas, 2001: 91-94). After these years, the migration of Muslims to Ottoman lands was seen as a political benefit according to which the social and cultural practices of migration were transformed into a political consciousness (Karpas, 2003: 300-303).

For my concern, it can be asked whether Ottoman migration policies were discriminatory among different immigrant groups. According to Karpas (2001: 95-96), Ottoman policies did not make any discrimination among Muslim immigrants in terms of their ethnic and national origins. However, Karpas (2001) adds, one rule was that the population percentage of one immigrant group in a town or village should be less than 50% of the native population. On the other hand, Pinson (2001: 63) advocated that there were applied different settlement policies towards different groups. For example, migrants from Caucasus were settled to the land, which were important in terms of military because of their warrior character.

After the foundation of constitutional monarchy in 1908, new government¹⁵, as Dündar (2001) says, made contribution directly or indirectly in the homogenization of Anatolia¹⁶ in terms of ethnicity and religion terms. Slightly different from the previous period, ethnic concerns were taken into account directly in the regulation of population movements. For example, Turkish origin immigrants, because of their loyalty to the state, were settled around railways and borders in order to create a buffer around strategic points. They also were settled down western Anatolia so as to increase the percentage of Muslim population compared to Christian population. Circassian and Georgian immigrants, on the other hand, because of their warrior character, were settled down around the Russian borders and the regions where Arab population was dense because of their possible support in the case of war. According

¹⁴ Halife

¹⁵ İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti

¹⁶ One important incident of this period is the expel of nearly 1.5 million Armenian out of Ottoman Empire territory.

to a law, which was enacted in this period, the immigrants, if they were defined as Gipsy, prostitute, anarchist, agent or gambler by state officials, were limitedly accepted. One interesting migration policy was that some segments of Turkish originated population¹⁷ in Balkans was forced¹⁸ to migrate to the Ottoman Empire as a result of fear that they can become Christian (Dündar, 2001). As it can be seen, the migration policies of this period were not based on Islamic concern but also explicit ethnic concerns.

Towards the end of 18th century, the state structure of Ottoman Empire began to be modernized and centralized especially in terms of military and core administrative organs. This modernization process affected the migration policies, too. According to Tekeli (1990), in 1857, the law that gives guarantee of property right in the modern sense for the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire gave way for new patterns of relations between the state and the individuals. When we look at this period in terms of migration and resettlement policies of the Ottoman Empire, two major experiences should be emphasized: I) As I have mentioned in detail, from the 1783 to the foundation of Republic in 1923, it is estimated that approximately 3-4 million Muslim and Turkish originated people migrated to Anatolia. II) As a “natural” result of centralization and modernization of the state, most of the nomadic people were settled because of tax and military service. Especially from the 1870s on, these settlement policies began to be institutionalized. To sum up, in this century, as a result of articulation of the Ottoman Empire to the world capitalist system, population could be reorganized in order to meet the requirements of world agricultural markets (Tekeli, 1990). In other words, economic concerns came important in managing population flows.

After the foundation of republic in 1923, the biggest migration wave to Turkey was the arrival of nearly 400.000 Muslim, who were living in Greece, to Turkey in 1923-1924. The migration was based on an article in Lozan treaty according to which

¹⁷ Pomak

¹⁸ Celp edilmesi

nearly 1.5 million Greek¹⁹ populations in Turkey (except the ones in Istanbul) would be exchanged with the Turkish population in Greece (except the ones who live in Thrace) (Arı, 2000). In the following years, 154.000 Turkish/Muslim origin immigrants came to Turkey between the years of 1950 and 1970. Then, from 1950 to 1970, nearly 180.000 Muslim immigrants migrated to Turkey as a result of political transformations in Yugoslavia (Tekeli, 1990). The last traditional migration wave to Turkey took place in 1989 because of the political pressures of the last Socialist government of Bulgaria. In the summer of this year, approximately 300.000 Turkish/Muslim migrants, out of which nearly half of them returned to Bulgaria in several months, crossed the Turkish borders (Karakılıç, 2007). As Erder (2000: 238) admits, totally 1.648.000 Muslim/Turkish migrants were accepted by Turkish state between the years of 1923 and 1997.

In the republication period, especially after population exchange of Greek and Turkish population, Turkey became almost homogenous in terms of ethnic and religious identity. Besides the immigration waves to Anatolia, the new Turkish State did not experience huge cross-border movements. Most of the migration policies were related with the regulation of internal migration. In the period of one party until 1946, Kasaba (1999) said that although the percentage of urban population decreased because of emigration of Christian population, governments tried to prevent the migration from rural to urban areas. Another crucial event of this period was several Kurdish rebellions in southern east Anatolia between 1926 and 1931. As a result of these rebels, it was estimated that 50.000 Kurdish originated people were enforced to migrate to western provinces (Tekeli, 1990).

The migration policies of early Republic can be analyzed by looking at the major laws related with population movements. These laws, to some extent, can be accepted as the basis of rationale of migration policies since these laws were not changed until recently. The first law was adopted on 31 March 1926, which regulated the influx of immigrants. According to this law, while the Muslim immigrants were permitted for crossing the Turkish borders, the influx of non-Muslim immigrants was

¹⁹ Rum

forbidden. On 13 June 1934, a famous law (no. 2510) was passed, which permitted the influx of only the immigrants, who are from “Turkish origin and Turkish culture”. In other words, “Turkishness” was defined through ethnicity, language, and to some extent, “race”²⁰. In another law of 1934²¹, it was regulated the exemptions from settlement, according to which it was created a hierarchy among different ethnic groups (Çağaptay, 2002: 73-75)²². Another crucial law²³, which was adopted in 1932 (No. 2007), determined the occupations, which are done only by Turkish citizens. In other words, it forbade the practice of more than 20 occupations to foreigners in Turkey²⁴. This law was amended in 2003.

The law of settlement is currently valid, and has some indirect effects on the irregular migration. For example, some Turkish origin irregular migrants or asylum seekers and some ethnic groups, which are thought as close to “Turkishness” such as Circassians, Turkmen and Afghan are permitted to stay in Turkey non-officially. These immigrants can obtain work permission and Turkish citizenship by using some articles of this law (İçduygu, 2004: 75). According to Erder (2007: 7-10), the system of settlement²⁵ was a product of a special historical and political conjuncture, and regulated the influx, settlement, and naturalization processes of Turkish/Muslim immigrants. Influenced by the nationalist and authoritarian intentions of the governors of this period, this law gave almost unlimited authority to the state. Another characteristic of the early Republican period is that if the law of 1926 with

²⁰ In the application of this law, Çağaptay (2002) asserts that while the immigrants, who are Turkish origin, was accepted no matter they have nomadic culture or not, the ones, who are only Muslim from Balkan countries, are permitted if only they have a settled culture.

²¹ İskan Muafiyetleri Nizamnamesi

²² For example, Crimean Turks, who are accepted as ethnically Turkish origin, and Pomak and Bosnian Muslims, who did not have a state, were given this exemption without any permission. On the other hand, the immigrant groups from Caucasus such as Georgian and Circassians could take this exemption only after an examination. Lastly, the potential migrants of Arabian, Kurdish, Greek, Armenian or Jews did not have any chance to take this exemption (Çağaptay, 2002: 73-75)

²³ Türk Vatandaşlarına Tahsis Edilen Sanat ve Hizmetler Hakkındaki Kanun

²⁴ Actually, this law can be thought a de jure acceptance of a de facto situation. In the end of Ottoman Empire, most of the artisans and professionals were non-Muslim citizens. After emigration of these citizens, Turkey witnessed great difficulties in finding skilled labour in various sectors (Ari, 1995).

²⁵ This system can be called as the system of *Muhacir*. Muhacir is an Arabic origin Turkish word, which means that the immigrants, who are coming from Balkan countries to Turkey.

the law of 1934 is compared, it would be seen that Turkey's legislation in terms of migration policies transformed from religious-based (categorization of migrants according to their religious identity) to a more secular form (categorization according to ethnic identity).

In the following years, three legislations, which are related with foreign migrants in Turkey, were enacted. Firstly, the Law Concerning Residence and Travels of Foreigners in Turkey²⁶, regulate the residence permit of foreigners according to which a foreigner could obtain a residence permit if only she or he has a work permit or a marriage with a Turkish citizen. Second important law is about the entrance and departure of foreigners, namely, Passport law (No. 5682). Broadly speaking, the borders of Turkey (especially for some nationalities) are not difficult to enter. For example, the citizens of more than 40 countries have the right of visa exemptions around 2 months. The citizens of some other countries can obtain a visa, called as "sticker visa", at the border. For example, Moldova citizens can obtain one month visa (İçduygu, 2004: 72). The third law (No. 403), which regulated acquiring of Turkish citizenship, was enacted in 1964. According to this law, a foreign migrant could obtain Turkish citizenship if he/she gets married with a Turkish citizen. Besides these major laws, more than 70 laws were responsible for regulation of foreigners' employment until 2003 (Erder, 2007: 33).

And the second international migration wave in the republican era is the labour migration from Turkey to Continent Europe (Abadan-Unat, 2006), United Kingdom (Atay, 2006; Erdemir and Vasta, 2007) and United States of America (Kaya, 2004). This emigration started in the beginnings of 1960s. In the mid-seventies, because of economic regression in European countries, other reasons of migration have gained importance such as family reunification and refugee flows (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

²⁶ Yabancıların Türkiye'de İkamet ve Seyahatleri Hakkında Kanun

4.1.2 Irregular Migrants in Turkish Labour Market after 1990

Since one of my subject's emphasize is on irregular labour migration²⁷ and its labour market consequences, in this sub-section, I will explore the main patterns of labour migration to Turkey and the legislation regulating these movements since 1980s. Such an exploration would give the context of how Turkish state controls and manages the new population movements from different parts of the world.

The disintegration of the Soviet Bloc and the collapse of Soviet Union caused the emergence of new population movements out of these countries. In addition, wars, revolutions, civil wars, economic crisis, which took place from the ends of 70s on in several Asian, African and Middle Eastern Countries, can be seen as other reasons for the emergence of new migration waves in the region in which Turkey is located. Out of these events, the revolution in Iran (1979), the war between Iraq and Iran (1980-1988), the Russian invasion in Afghanistan triggered the migration processes of millions, some of which were directed towards Turkey. The immigration of asylum seekers and refugees were related not only with wars but also with repressive political regimes (Iran) and foreign military interventions (Afghanistan and Iraq). In order to understand the migration waves from east to west of 80s and 90s, the immigration crisis in Western Europe should be added to the analysis. As a result of restrictive immigration and asylum policies, many irregular migrants have preferred to stay or wait in Turkey as a transit country on the boundaries of Europe (İçduygu, 2006: 2). The restructuring Turkish economy has had many implications on the arrival of economic irregular migrants. Thus, towards the end 80s, many migrants (mostly irregular) from different parts of the world started to arrive in Turkey in order either to work or to pass to a European country.

Erder (2000) admits that many studies (influenced by push-and-pull theories) accept Turkey as an “emigrant country” in terms of international population movements.

²⁷ In migration studies, many concepts are used for naming the actors of economic irregular migration such as “clandestine immigrant workers”, “illegal labour migrants” or “undocumented migrants”. In the following pages, I will call these migration processes as “economic irregular migration” or “irregular labour migration”.

Although Turkey received many Muslim/Turkish originated migrants until 1990s, Turkey was categorized as an “emigrant country” because of the labour emigration to western European countries such as Germany, Sweden and Belgium. Nowadays, Turkey transforms from traditional emigrant country to an “immigrant country” as a result of new migration waves. However, when thinking of both the continuation of emigration of Turkish citizens from Turkey to western countries (including former Soviet Bloc and Arab countries) and irregular transit migrants, Turkey analytically can be accepted both as an “emigration” and “immigration” country (Erder, 256-258).

In order to see a general picture, the irregular immigrants in Turkey can be categorized according to their routes and intentions. Erder (2000) categorizes the new population movements since 1980s into 4 groups²⁸: traditional migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees, transit migrants, and circular migrants. The first group is the traditional Turkish/Muslim originated immigrants, who migrated to Turkey and attempted to obtain Turkish citizenship. In recent years, however, Turkish state has been more reluctant to give a citizenship right for these immigrants (Erder, 2000). Some of these migrants come to Turkey temporarily for working. Some other, who migrated to Turkey due to the war (for example Kosovo war in 1999), tend to go back into their country after the end of the war (Kümbetoğlu, 2005). The second group is asylum seekers or refugees. Iran revolution, the Iraq-Iran war, the conflicting relations between the local powers northern Iraq and Saddam Hussein regime, and wars in Yugoslavia enforced many people to migrate to Turkey in refugee status since 80s. Since Turkey put a geographical limitation in 1951 Geneva Convention, according to which Turkey only accepted refugees from western countries, few of them obtained a refugee status in Turkey. Most of these migrants either went to a European country or went back to their host country (Kirişçi, 2003).

²⁸ From an analytical point of view, the irregular immigrants in Turkey, similarly, can be categorized into three groups: transit migrants, illegal labour migrants, and asylum seekers and refugees. However, as İçduygu (2005: 2) admits, “In Turkey there is a degree of overlap between the categories of asylum-seekers and economic irregular migrants. This is partly because both types of flow originate in the same countries, namely Iran and Iraq, and partly because both types of migrants are to some extent illegal due to their entry, stay, and departure prospects...” This “means that these economically motivated irregular migrants and politically mobilized asylum-seekers are often treated as one group”, as a result of 1951 Convention.

The third group comes from Middle Eastern, African or Asian countries (mostly Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Somali and Congo). They can be called as “transit migrants” because most of these migrants’ main intention is to migrate to a European country. As we know from the studies on irregular migrant in Turkey²⁹ (İçduygu, 1996, 2003; Narlı, 2002), most of these migrants enter to Turkey “illegally”, use either their individual networks or international criminal networks, and have an urban and educated background. Some of them decide to stay in Turkey instead of going to Europe. Actually, few of them have a chance to go to Europe. A considerable number of these irregular migrants are working in informal sectors in Marmara region, and living in difficult conditions without having any legal right. These “transit migrants” live in Turkey like in a dark “waiting room” because of their unpredictable future (Erder, 2000). 566,552 irregular migrants were arrested by police either at the borders of Turkey or inside the Turkey between the years of 1995-2005 (İçduygu, 2006: 19).

According to Erder’s (2000) categorization, the fourth group of immigrants comes from former Soviet Bloc countries such as Russia, Romania, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan. The migration patterns of this group are different from other migrant groups. Firstly, most of these migrants cross the Turkish borders legally. Secondly, these migrants (generally) do not attempt to migrate to any third country. Instead, they either continuously move back or forth between Turkey and their country or go back to their country after several years. They are irregular because of their expired visas and of their working life without work permit. These characteristics distinguish these migrants from asylum seekers, refugees, or clandestine migrants. The geographical proximity, loose border regimes, and some cultural proximity (Gagauz Turks in Moldova and Turks in Romania) explain to some extent why these migrants prefer to migrate to Turkey (İçduygu, 2003;

²⁹ In recent years, some studies that depend on fieldwork about specific migrant groups were conducted: Brewer and Yüksekler (2006)’s study, “A Survey on African Migrant and Asylum Seekers in Istanbul”; Daniş’s (2006) study, “Iraqis in Istanbul: Segmented Incorporation”; and Taraghi’s study, “Afghanis in Zeytinburnu: A Cross between ‘Permanency’ and ‘Transition’ ”.

Lordoğlu, 2005). Because of such migration patterns, this type of migration is defined as “temporary” or “circular”.

The migration from Soviet Bloc countries to Turkey began in the early 1980s, when Polish “suit case traders” arrived in Turkey. As a result of loosening controls at the Soviet Bloc borders and deteriorated economic conditions, they usually brought commodities for sale photograph machines, binoculars, etc., which were very rare in Turkey. They carried clothes or shoes from Turkey to their country. In the following years, Turkey has become one of the countries suitcase traders preferred because of geographical proximity and a loose border regime. Many suitcase traders³⁰ from Romania, Russia and other Soviet Union countries entered such international trade activities. In end of 1980s, these traders visited harbor bazaars in Turkey’s black sea coasts such as Trabzon and Hopa. In the beginnings of 1990s, Istanbul became the main center of suit-case trade because of its economical advantages (Eder, 2003). This suitcase trade peaked in the midst of 90s (annually 8-9 billion dollars), and then started to decline as a result of the economic crisis in Russia in 1997 and the rise of Chinese economy with its cheap products. In these years, Yüksek (2003) says, different from ordinary suit-case traders, there have emerged some informal transportation companies, which deal with both the transportation of goods from Turkey to Russia and storing of goods in Moscow. This monopolization process has enforced many small suit-case traders to leave their informal trade activities. For my concern, it is important that some suit-case traders, after this monopolization process, became sell assistants in Laleli.

Along with suit-case trade, the influx of irregular migrants from Soviet Bloc countries started in the early 90s. Many young women came to Turkey in order to work in the sex industry as prostitute and in the entertainment industry as showgirl,

³⁰ As Yüksek (2003) admits, most of these suitcase traders were women from middle-income groups. These women, if they accommodated a small amount of capital (between 5000 \$ and 10000 \$), could enter to these transnational trade practices. They were making 2 or 3 days visits to Istanbul 4 or 5 times in a year. They bought goods such as leather, shoes and cloths, and then transported them to home country by bus or by plain. In the beginning of 1990s, many small and medium size textile, leather and shoe ateliers in Istanbul had already produced for supplying these trade practice. Laleli (a district of Istanbul), where many wholesale shops have opened, became the center of these trade activities (Yüksek, 2003).

dancers, etc. In few years, they became the most dominant groups in these sectors. In the night life of Istanbul and of the cities in the black sea region, these women became very visible. Erder and Kaşka (2003: 70) found that “irregular migrant women are young adults, who are willing to migrate on a temporary basis to work and earn money in Turkey”. They also added that “although cases deception before arrival are becoming less, deception and coercion (such as being forced to work long hours, confiscated passports, lack of freedom of movement) are still common occurrences after arrival” (Erder and Kaşka, 2003: 70-71). According to the records of General Directorate for Foreigners, Ministry of Interior, 94.9 % (21,582 migrants) of all foreigners’ deportations (22,752) because of “illegal” prostitution were the citizens of these countries between the years of 1996 and 2001 (Erder and Kaşka, 2003: 20).

The volume of these migration processes can be followed by official statistics of the Turkish State and of UNHRC Ankara Office. According to the records of Foreigner Department of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior and State Statistics Institute’s Annual Reports (İçduygu, 2006: 21-22), while 4,824 persons in 1970 and 40,015 persons in 1980 from the Soviet Union and former Soviet Republics entered to Turkey, 222,537 persons visited Turkey in 1990 and 1,621,250 in 1996. Only in 2005, the number of arrivals from these countries was 3,409,690 persons. These numbers roughly show the sharp increase in the numbers of the arrivals between the years of 1990 and 1996, and the following regular increase year by year. In 1988, the Soviet Union citizens comprised only 0.1 percent of all tourist arrivals (3,497,900) at Turkey. In 2001, 20.7 % of all tourist arrivals (totally 10,912,800 persons) were the citizens from these countries (Erder and Kaşka, 2003: 12). This indicates the volume of migration between Turkey and former Soviet Republics from another angle. Since these numbers include all irregular labour migrants, tourists, and traders of former Soviet Bloc countries, any precise interpretation about the volume of irregular migrants from these countries is difficult.

The statistics about the deportation and apprehension of foreigners in Turkey may offer a better picture. In addition these numbers would give more precise information

about the place of irregular former Soviet Union citizens compared to all irregular migrants in Turkey. A table³¹ prepared by Erder and Kaşka (2003: 16) indicates the number of migrants who are apprehended by police in Turkey between the years of 1995 and 2001. They point out that “according to the data provided by the Ministry of Interior, there were nearly 400.000 deportations since 1995. One-fourth of these concerned the countries under review, with Moldovan citizens forming the major group, followed by Romanian, Russian and Ukrainian nationals”. In a more up-dated table³², İçduygu (2006: 21) indicates that 556,471 irregular migrants were apprehended by state officials between 1995 and 2005. 123,514 irregular migrants out of all these migrants were from former Soviet Bloc countries such as Moldova (51,434), Romania (16,892), Russian Federation (16,892), Georgia (16,445), and Ukraine (17,224). According to this statistics, the number of apprehended migrants from these countries decreased after 2001. While 26,374 irregular migrants were apprehended in 2001, there were 9,751 apprehended cases in 2005.

The volume of irregular migration from former Soviet Bloc countries can be also followed by the numbers about the deportation of foreigners, which were prepared by Erder and Kaşka (2003)³³. According to these numbers, 177,757 irregular persons were deported between 1995 and 2001. 47.6 % of these irregular migrants (that is 85,203 persons) were former Soviet Bloc citizens such as Romania, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Russian Federation. Three points in this table, in my view, are important. Firstly, the decrease in the deportation rate of Romanians is dramatic, that is, 3,677 in 2000 and 1,436 in 2001. This decrease was caused by the increasing police control in these years. Secondly, it is interesting that while one-fourth of apprehend migrants were former Soviet Bloc citizens; they constitute nearly 50 % of all deported migrants. In my view, it means that the possibility of a former Soviet Bloc country citizen to be deported is higher compared to any other nationality. This

³¹ The source of this table, as Erder and Kaşka (2003: 16) puts, General Directorate for Foreigners, Ministry of Interior.

³² The numbers at this table were compiled by İçduygu (2005: 21) from the data obtained from UNHRC Ankara Office (2002-2005), and Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior (2000-2005).

³³ The source is General Directorate for Foreigners, Ministry of Interior.

can be related with the geographical proximity between Soviet Bloc countries and Turkey. Thirdly, if some other tables about the causes of deportation (Erder and Kaşka, 2003: 18-20) are analyzed, it would be seen that 22,752 migrants out of 85,203 were deported irregular former Soviet Bloc migrants were deported because of prostitution. Since official records indicate that 48.0 % of deported irregular migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries were deported because of “unknown” reasons in 2001, we have little further information about the other causes of deportation.

At this point, I would like to discuss the estimations about the population of irregular migrants in Turkey. Although the numbers of irregular migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries can be roughly estimated, the numbers of irregular migrants from Asian, Middle Eastern or African countries is even more difficult because they often cross the border “illegally”. In 2001, for example, 26,300 deported migrants because of illegal entry out of 26,500 were from non-Soviet Bloc countries (Erder and Kaşka: 19). We also know that out of 566,552 irregular migrants, who were apprehended between 1995 and 2005, there were 107,712 Iraqi, 47,222 Pakistani, 34,246 Afghan, and 17,389 Bangladeshi irregular migrants (İçduygu, 2006: 19). Based on this data, İçduygu (2003: 8) said that “on the basis of estimated numbers of irregular migrants who make their way into Europe through Turkey without being caught, the annual number of transit migrants in an irregular situation in Turkey may be assumed to be around 200,000”.

Since it is quite difficult to give definite demographic numbers about irregular migrants in Turkey, it is also impossible to calculate the numbers of migrants, who are working in Turkey “illegally”. But there are estimations about the population of irregular migrants in Turkey from the early 90s on. For example, some studies show that, nearly 2 million foreigners (mostly Iranian migrants) worked in Turkey in 1993 (Gençler, 2002). In 1995, a more accurate estimation was made by a trade union confederation³⁴ according to which 10 % of employees, who worked in the informal

³⁴ DİSK (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu)

economy, were foreigners. Another research was made by a trade union³⁵, estimating that there were nearly 50,000 foreign workers in Istanbul out of which 20,000 worked in the construction and services sector, and 7000 worked in the textile sector. Another labour union³⁶ asserted that there were 200,000 foreign workers only in the North western part of Marmara region (Thrace) (Gençler, 2002). According to another source, it was estimated that 3 out of 20 workers in textile sectors were Romanian workers in 2000 (Tanyılmaz and Kırdoğan, 2007). In 2002, the Minister of Labour and Social Security, Yaşar Okuyan said that there were roughly 1 million irregular economic migrants in Turkey (Radikal, 15.1.2001 in Lordoğlu, 2005).

Since these statistics do not give definite numbers about the sectors foreign migrants work, I would like to explore some studies based on qualitative data in order to see the major characteristics of labour market positions of foreign workers in Turkey.

Although irregular labour migration to Turkey was one of the flash topics in the media in 90s, few academic studies (İçduygu, 1996; Narlı, 2002) were conducted during this period. However, some reports were prepared for trade unions (Koç, 1999) and conferences (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1995) about foreign migrants in Turkey. They give important information about the position of foreign migrants in the labour market. As Erder (2007: 47-48) said, from the early 90s on, the organizations of the big bourgeoisie complained about foreigners in the small and medium size production units mainly because of “unfair competition”. On the other hand, some trade unions criticized the employment of foreign workers under conditions of unemployment. In addition state officials emphasized the “illegal” aspect of this phenomenon. In the public opinion, the perception that all migrants from former Soviet Union were known as “Russian” transformed to the perception that there are different nationalities including Russians. In this period, the woman migrants in the sex industry were labeled as “Natasha” and the workers in the production sector were labeled as “Ivan”.³⁷

³⁵ YOL-İŞ Sendikası

³⁶ TEKSİF

³⁷ In İçduygu's (2004: 46) study, one woman Moldovan migrant, who is working in textile sector, complains this labelling: “Turkish men think that we are ‘Natasha’. In order to harass me, they call

In 1995, a conference report, published by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (1995), mentioned that the employment of foreign workers caused an increase in the volume of informal employment because of “dirty competition”. Furthermore, it was asserted that the existence of foreign workers contributed to the de-unionization process in Turkey. In addition the employment of foreign workers was not good for the interest of the Turkish labour market. Thus, it was advised that a foreigner law should be enacted, and the official controls should be restricted. In the same report, some other opinions advocated that the employment of foreign workers could not be seen as the reason of the rise of informal sector in Turkey, and that foreign workers were not a “burden” to Turkish economy. These latter opinions asked for some measures such as increasing accessibility to legal permissions in order to prevent the vulnerability of foreign migrants. In another report, Koç (1999) firstly said that the influx of foreign migrants was not caused by a demand of labour market. Secondly, he said that the employment of foreign workers prevented the empowerment of trade unions. Lastly he criticized the existing legislation, according to which foreign workers, rather than employers, were punished.

Despite of the problematic interpretations that they include, these reports provide information about the labour market positions of foreign migrants during 90s. In the former report (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1995), it was mainly said that the “vulnerable” foreign migrants’ hands were wrapped because of the confiscation of “passport” by employers or intermediaries. Koç (1999) asserted that foreign workers worked like “slaves”, and constituted the bottom group of the social strata, which prevented a collective consciousness among native and foreign workers. According to Koç (1999: 38), “illegal” foreign workers mainly worked in manufacturing industry (such as textile, leather ateliers, and plastic and rubber factories) as worker, carrier or as presser, in the service sector (such as hotels, shops, gas stations) as cleaners, and in the agriculture sector as worker. The employment of Romanians under bad living and working conditions was very common. As a result of the confiscation of the passport, they often could not demand any improvement in their

me as ‘Natasha’. Do not we earn money other than sex industry?” One example about the usage of ‘Ivan’ in media can be given: “Ivan is stealing the bread of Mehmet” Medyakronik, 25 July 2001, www.medyakronik.com (İçduygu, 2006: 5).

working conditions. In some cases, they could not even take their money because of being frightened by deportation. Besides Romanians, also migrants from Korea, Portuguese and Philippines could be seen in the labour markets of Istanbul. In the textile sectors, migrants from Bulgaria, Romania and Poland were common. Also, in the eastern black sea region, Russian speaking sale assistants were hired in the shops where suitcase trade was made. In 1994, according to estimations, there were nearly 50.000 “illegal” foreign workers in Turkey. In 1995, this number increased to 250.000.

In the beginnings of 2000s, some new studies were conducted. Lordoğlu’s (2005) study about “Foreign Workers in Turkey”, which was based on interviews with experts, civil servants, employers and foreign employees in five cities of Marmara region, is one of them. This study gives information about the position of foreign workers in the labour market and the socio-demographic characteristics of Romanian, Moldovan, Ukrainian, and Georgian migrants. Like the earlier studies, it asserted that foreign workers were concentrated on metal, textile, construction and service sectors. In terms of work permission, only 2 % of foreign workers had work permission in 2001. In Turkey, most of the foreign workers holding a working permit are executive and managers in production and service sectors. Lordoğlu (2005: 118) analyzed the relationship between unemployment, employment of foreign workers and informal sector. According to this analysis, the high rate of unemployment among native population causes both the growth of informal sector and the employment of foreign workers. The low wages of foreign workers are, to some extent, related with the conditions, which are valid for all workers, of the informal sector. Contrary to the popular discourse, the wages of foreign workers are not much lower than native workers’ wages at least in service sector. Lordoğlu (2005: 120) assumes that the wages of foreign workers are affected by the wages of native workers in a given sector. While the wage differences between native and foreign workers are decreasing in production sectors, the wages are diverging in service sectors³⁸. However, since foreign workers take their wage as dollar, these workers were quite vulnerable to fluctuations in currency regimes. Thus, Lordoğlu (2005:

³⁸ Lordoğlu (2005: 119) said that the foreign domestic workers earn nearly 250-300 \$ in a month. This wage level is approximately 50-60 % of the wages of native workers.

124) admits that relatively low wages and lack of social security had are the main reasons of the employment of foreign workers in Istanbul.

A study, which is based on 40 interviews with foreign workers from Eastern Europe and CIS countries, was conducted by İçduygu (2004). In this study, it was attempted to understand the migration and working experiences of foreign workers from these countries, and to explore the labour market outcomes of irregular migration in Turkey. In terms of the position of different ethnic groups in the labour market, it is observed that Moldovan migrants mostly work as domestic workers, Moldovan and Romanian (mostly woman) migrants work in the textile sector, the migrants from Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Romania work in entertainment and sex industry, and the irregular (mostly man) migrants from Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Romania work in construction, restaurant and food-related sectors. Based on interviews, it was found that most of the former Soviet Bloc countries migrants migrated to Turkey because of earning better money, supporting their family financially, and a search for a better lifestyle. In addition migrants generally planned to return to their country after some time. Related with migrants' socio-demographic characteristics, it was found that the newly arriving migrants are less skilled and of rural backgrounds in opposite to the earlier migrants (İçduygu, 2004: 47-49).

Foreign migrants have, to some extent, similar problems although there are some problems specific to the sector and the jobs they do. For example, almost all migrants have problems with the state officials³⁹, with the duration of visa exemptions and the expensive fines when they become overstayers⁴⁰. In another report, İçduygu (2006: 9) summarizes the problems that migrants face:

³⁹ Ünal (2004), in his study on Romanian, Iranian and Afghan migrants in Istanbul, focuses on the relationship between migrants and state. According to his findings, most of the migrants said that police and authorized civil servants know their presence although they rarely use their legal rights. Also, there are some structural bribery mechanisms related with the extension of visa and illegal working conditions.

⁴⁰ Until recent years, overstayer migrants should have paid a fine between 200 \$ and 500 \$. However, according to new legislation, migrants should pay 50 \$ for every additional month. Also, if a migrant becomes overstayer, the entrance of this migrant is forbidden throughout a definite time (between 3 months and 5 years) depending on the duration of overstaying (İçduygu, 2004: 48).

In addition to debt dependency and repayment of advances migrants in Turkey are faced by other problems caused by their 'illegal' status which in turn makes them more vulnerable to exploitation: Long working hours, confiscation of identity documents and passports, limited freedom of movement, constant fear of the police and of deportation, threats by employers or police related to overstaying their visas or deportation.

These problem mean a working and everyday life without job security, social insurance or civil and legal rights. In sex industry, for example, dept dependency to intermediary agencies or to employers⁴¹, deceiving, molestation and sexual harassment are more common compared to other sectors.

From the side of employers, foreign migrants, especially the ones who are from former Soviet Bloc countries are preferred by employers because they are more tolerant, disciplined, better educated, better service, and less complain compared to Turkish workers. Needless to say, their labour force is cheaper. On the other hand, there are some negative aspects of employing foreign migrants from the side of employers such as high fines in the case of police caught, insurance problems, communication problems, distrust, theft and temporariness (İçduygu, 2006: 10-11). Despite of these negative aspects, employers advocates the employment of foreign migrants because of "profitability", that is, "paying less for better job".

Based on these living and working conditions, it can be said that "these temporary and irregular migration flows are probably best understood in the context of a large informal economy, where irregular employment is common even among the Turkish population" (İçduygu, 2006: 13)⁴². However the relationship between informal sector and foreign workers are different from developed economies. As Toksöz (2007: 195) asserts:

⁴¹ İçduygu (2005: 8) mentions the results of using agencies or intermediaries, which is mostly used by migrants when they first decide to migrate to Turkey: "Migrants are often misled and sometimes forced into prostitution, although less severely than in other parts of world. Migrant workers were indebted to agencies to intermediaries as they borrowed money to cover travel costs and initial expenses in Turkey. In return for finding jobs in Turkey and covering travel expenses, agencies usually require migrants to pay a high commission from their earnings". Similarly, migrants may be promised better-paid jobs in the destination country.

⁴² Mainly for this reason, I will discuss the main characteristic of Turkish informal economy with a focus on textile sector.

Similar to what is observed in southern European countries, irregular migrants in Turkey at least partly take up those jobs rejected by domestic labour. However, the high rates of unemployment and abundance of unskilled labour in Turkey creates a large reserve of surplus labour ready to accept any job whatever its conditions may be.

Thus, although the employment of foreign migrants in Turkey has some common characteristics which are changing year by year⁴³, an analysis of some specific sectors is necessary in order to explore the labour market position of foreigners. Toksöz (2007: 194-195) says “there is a kind of competition between domestic and migrant workers in the manufacturing and construction sectors...A partial substitution occurs in manufacturing, construction and agricultural sectors”. This competition, depending on the dynamics of different sub-sectors, may cause different wage levels for foreigners and domestic workers. However, in the sectors, where the supply of domestic woman workers is low (such as entertainment and sex industry, domestic services) “substitution is relative seldom in domestic services as there is supply that generates its own demand” (Toksöz, 2007: 195). Furthermore, İçduygu (2005: 6) assumes that since women outnumber men in the textile, domestic service, the restaurant and food-related service sectors in Turkey, “currently in Turkey there seem to be more jobs for migrant women in the informal economy than for men”. Thus, it can be said that the contribution of the employment foreign workers to the unemployment in Turkey is quite limited, because there is low competition in these sectors (İçduygu, 2004: 67). Besides the sector differences and gender dimension, the differences, which are related to the spatial dimension, should be added to any analysis on the labour market position of foreign migrants in Turkey.⁴⁴

⁴³ İçduygu (2004: 38) compares the IOM research in 1995 about the irregular migrants in Turkey with the research in 2003, according to which the wages and socio-economic status of new migrants are lower than the earlier migrants.

⁴⁴ Erder (2007: 59-66) explores the different labour market characteristics in Thrace (Northern Western part of Marmara region) where there is a labour-power shortage and the ‘import’ of labour-power from Istanbul is quite expensive. For this reason, many employers in agriculture, construction and manufacturing sectors prefer to hire foreign migrants (mostly) from Romanian and Bulgaria. Actually, this was the case until the beginning of 2000s. Until these years, especially Romanian workers were the most preferable group because of their “tolerance” and “docile” character. From these years on, however, since the controls at the borders and the police controls in the urban areas increased, the supply of Romanian workers decreased. Thus Turkish origin Bulgarians became the most preferable group although there was an abundance of workers. The interesting think is that the irregular migration of Turkish origin Bulgarians continued because these border controls did not include this group.

At this point, I would like to give some information about the foreign workers in textile and clothing industry. As far as I know, there is no study that focuses on the foreigner workers in this industry. However in many studies there were conducted some interviews with employers and foreign migrants in these sectors. Textile sector has a very important role in the Turkish economy. In the context of global “competition”, however, since the small and medium size firms are affected by crisis easily, the cheap and flexible labour-power is one of the important survival strategies of these firms (İçduygu, 2006: 64-65). According to Lordoğlu (2005: 115), the employers in the textile production prefer to hire foreign migrants because of low wages. In the leather sector, on the other hand, employers prefer foreign migrants because of their vocational skills and education background (at least high school). After 2001 economic crisis in Turkey, since the Turkish authorities increased their effort for combating irregular migration, İçduygu (2006: 6) says, “there seems to have been a considerable decline in the number of irregular migrants working illegally in Turkey”. Besides declining numbers, the irregular migrants became more invisible in the textile and clothing sector. In terms of wages, the crisis affected negatively the wages of both domestic and foreign workers, as Toksöz (2007: 198) says:

In 2002, for example, when the effects of the economic crises were still felt, the minimum net wage (\$113) was commonly adopted in the sector. The rate was \$97-110 in informal enterprises and \$69-83 in enterprises using child labour and foreign workers.

In this section, lastly, I will describe the development in legislation related with foreign workers in Turkey. In the beginning of 2000s, associated with, on the one hand, the increasing influx of irregular migrants and, on the other hand, with the following pressures from employer organizations and some trade unions, Turkish state has begun to be interested in irregular foreign migrants in the labour market. The most important event of this period is that a new law (no.4817), the Law on Work Permits of Foreigners, was enacted in March 2003 and took effect on 6 September 2003. As I have discussed in the previous section, the legislation about employment of foreigners was quite fractured until this law. In addition, there were many institutions and ministries that were responsible for the permission of

foreigners' work. After this new legislation, Ministry of Labor and Social Security has become (to some extent) the authorized body for the work permit of foreigners. However, the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security does not include all types of work permits. In other words, there are still some institutions, which can grant work permits. Thus it seems that the disorganized situation has not come to an end. The novelty of this law is that the new law (to some extent) abolished the old law, which had forbidden the employment of foreigners in many sectors and jobs. As Güzel and Bayram (2007: 158) said, there are still some pieces of legislation, which prevent the employment of foreigners in some jobs.

Compared to old law, new law gives a chance to foreigners to obtain a work permit. In addition this law was less reluctant to prevent "illegal work" by means of high fines both for employers (as legal responsibility) and employees. As İçduygu (2006: 6) said that this law "has created liberal working conditions for non-nationals and should pave the way for radical changes for migrant workers in Turkey". However, there are some drawbacks of this law too. Firstly, the work permissions depend on the condition of having residence permit. This means that a foreigner cannot get a work permit without having a 6 month residence permit, which is taken from the Ministry of Interior (Bayram and Güzel, 2007: 187-189). Secondly, as Toksöz (2007) says, "the granting of such permission is dependent on the needs of the specific job market". Kaşka (2006: 30) put a small part of Article 5 of the law:

Work permits for a definite period of time are given to be valid for at maximum one year, taking into consideration the situation in the business market, developments in the labour life, sectorial and economic conjuncture changes regarding employment, according to the duration of residence permit of the foreigner and the duration of the service contact or the work, to work in a certain workplace or enterprise and in a certain job.

Furthermore, according to the law, the application for permission can be rejected if any Turkish citizen, who are eligible for the job that foreigner would like to work, can be found in four weeks (Bayram and Güzel, 2007: 197). Another difficulty is that a foreign migrant should apply for work permit before coming to Turkey. As a result of all these restrictions, although we do not have precise information, there rate of rejection is quite high: "there were 21,065 applications after the came into effect up

to 5 July; 13,009 permits were granted and 3,268 applications were rejected” (Toksöz, 2007: 196-197).

In order to understand the recent neo-liberal tendencies in the migration policies of Turkish state, Eder’s (2007) study, which explores the relationship between irregular Moldovan migrants in Turkey and Turkish state, gives new theoretical insights. According to Eder (2007: 130), the functions and role of state should be studied from the point of view how the “irrelevant” events are associated with state apparatus, how nation-state are an active agent in the informalization and criminalization processes in the global world, and how the “ambiguities” and “contradiction” in the boundaries of “state power” is a structural dimension of state. In this sense, Eder (2007: 136) analyses the “relations” between Moldovan migrants and Turkish state in terms of three dimensions of state power: Enabling state, coercive state, and corrupt/informal state. Concerning the influx of Moldovan migrants to Turkey, a liberal visa regime that enable migrants to enter to Turkey easily may be thought as the first dimension of migration policies of Turkish state. By means of the durations of visa exemptions, the extent of “openness” in terms of borders can be modified. Secondly, coercion state shows itself by means of the explicit or subtle violence of police towards irregular migrants in the everyday life and increasing fines for overstayers. Thirdly, Eder (2007: 140) explains how the state becomes a part of “criminal” and “illegal” activities by means of the bribery mechanisms at the borders or in the everyday life. Turkish state, as many states in the neo-liberal age, tries both to control really the population movements and to behave as if she controls the influx of people. All these dimensions of migrant-state interactions reproduce the boundaries of state power continuously. In other words, the power of state are reproduced by means of its “contradictory” and “ambiguous” boundaries (Eder, 2007: 141).

4.2 Irregular Moldovan Migrants in Turkey

In this section, firstly, I will describe the main characteristics of the economic and political structure of Moldova, which gave the way for emigration of many Moldovan citizens. Secondly, I will give some estimation about the population of

Moldovan immigrants by using the official statistics. Lastly, I will mention some of studies that focus on Moldovan migrants in Turkey.

The Republic of Moldova was founded after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 as many other republics. Moldova is one of the smallest countries⁴⁵ (second-smallest after Armenia) among new republics (Kaşka, 2006: 35). Moldova's economic situation, from the beginning of 1990s on, has been quite problematic in terms of large unemployment (12% of population), worsening social protection and support of population, declining industrial and agricultural production. In terms of wage levels, it is estimated that real wages decreased by 71% in following years of political turmoil (King, 2000: xxvii in Kaşka, 2006: 36). The Gross Domestic Product in 2000s was 40% of the gross product in 1992. Nearly 55% of population lives with less than 2\$ a day. Average income is approximately 40\$ a month in the conditions of the 110\$ minimal consumer budget (Sleptova, 2003: 23). These numbers are related with the structural changes in Moldovan economy. Along with the decline of industrial activity, the unfavorable situation for sustainable agricultural production caused internal migration towards cities in which there were very few opportunities in the service economy for absorbing the new labour-power supply. The emigration of Moldovan citizens is seen as a "short-term solution" by political authorities. This causes an "unrestricted migration policies" towards emigrants. In addition to these economic and political factors, Sleptova (2003: 23) explain the role of other reasons for high rate emigration:

No matter how small Moldova is, its citizens could not stay apart from European integration spirit. Strong intentions to become part of this integration and other dramatic changes in public conduct have sowed the idea to leave the country to almost every individual's mind.

Associated with this changing economic structure, migration policies and cultural factors, Moldova has become a new migrant exporter country in 1990s. Nowadays, it is estimated that between 600,000 and 1,000,000 Moldovan citizens work abroad although official statistics says that there are nearly 234,000 (including 8.201 regular

⁴⁵ Moldova has a population of 4,434,547, has a heterogenous ethnic composition: Moldovan (64.5 %), Ukrainians (13.8 %), Russians (8%), Gagauz Turks (3.5%), Bulgarians (2.5%), Jews (1.5%), and others (1.7%) (Sleptova, 2003).

migrants) Moldovans abroad. Sleptova (2003: 21) points out the reality of emigration in Moldova, saying that “approximately 20 per cent of all inhabitants and about one third of those able to work have left the country”. It is estimated that while 61.9 % of emigrants work in Russia (nearly 250,000 persons), 16.3 % of Moldovan migrants working in Italy. According to these estimations, only 2.1 percentage of emigrated population are currently in Turkey. Turkey is an attractive country especially for the Gagauz minority whose language is Turkish and religious is Christian. It is estimated that nearly 70% of the Gagauz population left their homelands in order to migrate to (mostly) Turkey, Italy and Spain. In terms of gender dimension, 67.8 % of Moldovan migrants, who arrived in Turkey, are women (CBS-AXA, 2005 in Kaşka, 2005: 38).

One of the most important characteristics of this outward migration in Moldova is that many Moldovan migrants continue to maintain their familial ties with their country. They continuously visit their home town. As temporary migrants, they plan to go back after earning an anticipated amount of money (HWWA, 2004: 78 in Kaşka, 2005: 39). Sleptova (2003: 22) gives detailed knowledge about the migration patterns of Moldovan:

Research on labour migration of urban population shows that in terms of length stay abroad respondents are divided as follows: ‘trade tourism’ – 23.1%, short term or seasonally employed – 36.8%, and employed long term – 40.1%”. Obviously, the overall distribution of trade and labour migrants across the country is rather different, since rural population is less capable of being involved in ‘trade tourism’ due to lack of resources, aiming at long term.

In this sense, it can be assumed that while low-qualified migrants prefer short-term migration, high-qualified migrants are prone to long-term migration, namely, “brain-drain”. Second crucial aspects of Moldovan emigration is that most of these migrants work in low-paid and low-skilled sectors such construction, mining industry, agricultural works, domestic services and sex industry. This means that many Moldovan migrants experience a downward mobility in terms of skills and occupations.

At this point, I would like to start to explore the Moldovan migrants in Turkey. For this aim, in addition to the overview data that I gave in the previous section about the

volume and patterns of irregular former Soviet Bloc citizens, I will give some statistical numbers and estimations about the irregular Moldovan immigrants in Turkey. We have definite numbers about how many Moldovan citizens entered to Turkey between 1997 and 2005. Table 1⁴⁶ shows the annual numbers of Moldovan citizens, who arrived (first line) in Turkey and who departed (second line) from Turkey between these years. Besides number, this table gives the percentage of Moldovan arrivals in the total arrivals from all former Soviet Bloc countries for some years. The third and fourth line of table⁴⁷ represent the numbers of apprehended and deported Moldovan in Turkey.

Table 1: Moldovan Citizens Arriving (000 entrance) in Turkey and Departing from Turkey, being apprehended and deported by Turkish State (1997-2005)

	1997		1998	1999	2000		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	
	N.	%	N.	N.	N.	%	N.	N.	N.	N.	N.	%
Moldovans (arrivals)	50,6	3,3	61,8	77,3	65,1	4,7	46,9	47,4	58,9	71,1	89,8	2,6
Moldovans (departures)	38,8	2,7	-	63,3	53,8	4,1	49,2	44,4	54,9	68,5	85,5	2,5
Moldovans (Stayers)	11,8	-	-	10,0	11,3	-	0,7	3,0	4,9	2,6	4,3	-
Moldovans (Apprehended)	0,017	-	0,005	5,0	8,3	-	11,4	9,6	7,7	5,7	3,4	-
Moldovans (Deported)	2,0	-	2,1	3,6	3,8	-	3,8	-	-	-	-	-

Sources: Kaşka (2006: 89-90); İçduygu (2005: 19); Erder and Kaşka (2003: 17)

⁴⁶ The data in the first three lines in this table was taken from Kaşka (2006: 89-90), whose source is Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior.

⁴⁷ The numbers in the fourth line was taken from İçduygu (2005: 19), whose source is UNHRC Ankara Office (2002-2005), and Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior (2000-2005). And the numbers in the fifth line was taken from Erder and Kaşka (2003: 17), whose source is Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior.

What can this table offer us about the changing numbers of Moldovan migrant in Turkey? As İcduygu admits (2006: 22), only 8291 Moldovan migrants arrived in Turkey in 1996. So one interesting finding of this table is that there is sharp increase in the number of Moldovans arrived in Turkey (from 8.291 persons to nearly 50.000) between the years of 1996 and 1997. The number of arrivals dropped from 2000 on, increased after 2002, and reached to its peak in 2005. In order to estimate the number of Moldovans, who stay in Turkey, we can extract the numbers of departure from the numbers of arrivals⁴⁸. According to this estimation, nearly 5.000 Moldovan migrants have stayed in Turkey annually since 2002. In 2001, compatible with increasing state controls, it seems that nearly 700 Moldovan stayed in Turkey. In order to elaborate these estimations, the numbers of apprehended Moldovans can be added into this analysis. One exciting thing is that while in 1998 only 5 Moldovans was apprehended by state authorities, one year after the number of apprehended Moldovans were 5.098 as result of effective controls. As it can be followed from the fourth line of the table, the apprehended Moldovans outnumbered stayer Moldovans until 2004. Also the numbers of apprehended Moldovans have decreased dramatically since 2001 (peak point). Since I could not reach information about the reasons of apprehensions, and how many apprehended migrants are deported to his/her country, it is quite difficult to make a interpretation about to what extent the increase state controls effect the numbers of Moldovans in Turkey.

To sum up, totally 568,000 Moldovans arrived in Turkey between 1997 and 2005, and 458,000 Moldovans left Turkey in the same period. In addition we know that 15,456 Moldovan migrants were deported, and 51,415 Moldovans were apprehended between these years. According to these numbers, it can be estimated that nearly 40,000-45,000 Moldovan migrants live in Turkey. I also assume that the number of Moldovans has not (too much) changed since 2004. These estimations can be compared with the estimations on the Moldovans living abroad. According to the unofficial estimations, it is estimated that the numbers of Moldovans in Turkey vary between 12,000 and 20,000. Based on all these numbers, it can be said that the numbers of Moldovans in Turkey are between 12,000 and 40,000. It is almost

⁴⁸ In this calculation, the possible bias that some Moldovans may enter to Turkey more than once, as some Moldovans may left Turkey more than once should not be forgotten.

impossible to make estimation about the sectorial distribution of these migrants. At this point, I would like to add some information from my fieldwork. As I was said, 70% of Moldovan migrants work in sex industry. Additionally, if it is assumed that most of the remained migrants (20-25%) work in domestic services, it can be said that nearly 5,000 Moldovan migrants work in textile/clothing industry. Lastly, I would like give the numbers of Moldovans who have a residence⁴⁹ or a work permit⁵⁰. In 2001, there were 855 Moldovan migrants, who had a residence permit. In this year, there were 161,254 foreign migrants with residence permit. In 2005, this number increased to 3,065 from a total of 178,964. In terms of work permit, the numbers are more dramatic. Before the new legislation in 2003, there were 268 Moldovan migrants with work permit. In 2006, however, we see that there were only 106 Moldovans who have a work permit. Between the years of 1995 and 2005, 3,207 Moldovan migrants obtained Turkish citizenship through marriage.

In this last part of this section, I would like to explore the studies (directly or indirectly) about Moldovan migrants in Turkey. In recent years, there have been made many studies about the foreign domestic workers (Ege, 2002; Çelik, 2005; Kümbetoğlu, 2005) in Turkey and Moldovan domestic workers specifically (Kaşka, 2006). I believe that although there are considerable differences between the domestic services and textile/clothing sector, these studies give crucial information about the migration, living, and working experiences of irregular woman Moldovan migrants in Turkey.

Keough (2006) points out how a discourse of “motherhood” was constructed in the transition period in Moldova. In this discourse, mothers were seen as a key to the social order. This discourse of “motherhood”, which is supported by Moldovan state, “plays a key role in blaming female migrant laborers for social disorder and in migrants’ own justifications for going abroad” (Keough, 2006). Besides economic

⁴⁹ The data related with residence permit was taken from the table about migrant groups from USSR in Turkey with residence permit in Kaşka (2006: 92), whose source is Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior.

⁵⁰ The data related with work permit was taken from Kaşka (2006: 32).

pressures, these social expectations, to some extent, would explain why female Moldovan migrants tolerate the exploitative working conditions in Turkey.

In another study, Ege (2002: 107) tries to explore, from a human rights approach, the extent of trafficking experienced by foreign domestic workers in Turkey, and “to pinpoint the areas in which they are the most vulnerable to human rights violations as illegal workers in Turkey”. Based on many interviews with these women (mostly Moldovan migrants), Ege (2002: 107) concludes that “these women had not experienced the most blatant abuses of human rights, such as coercion, deception and violence that are generally associated with trafficking in person”, and then adds (2002: 111) that “while the participants may have been successful in avoiding exploitation by traffickers, they have not been able to escape exploitation by their employers”. The flexible work conditions, especially for the domestic workers who work live-in (that is 24 hours available service), the possibility of sexual harassment, and incidence of verbal abuse are the major problems that domestic workers experience. The ideology of “supposed kinship” or “quasi-familial ties” between employers and foreign migrants seems to be one of reasons of “tolerant” workers. Another crucial finding in this study is that the irregular status “was a factor inhibiting these women from seeking legal action and reparation if and when they came across such instances” (Ege, 2000: 108). Lastly, it was found that although there is a high rate of turnover in this sector, changes in jobs usually cause to a decrease in wages.

In a recent study, Çelik (2005: iv) aims at “investigating how working and living experiences of immigrant domestic women workers in Turkey are shaped by their illegal worker and immigrant status” in context of globalization in which the need of middle class women of developed countries (or affluent classes in developing countries) are supplied by the women from developing countries. While exploring the migration experiences of domestic workers, Çelik (2005: 179) found that domestic workers usually rely on the informal social networks both in their decision making processes of migration and in the following cross-border practices. Related with the working and living experiences of domestic workers, “since there are not

legally recruited they had no contract defining their working conditions, they have to deal with their problems (such as workplace abuses) by themselves or with their community members in Turkey” (Çelik, 2005: 179). In addition informal social networks seem to be only source for these migrants in finding secure relationships and better jobs. Although the presence of effective informal networks, it is always possible that “immigrant women are subject to arbitrary treatment and exploitation both in their workplace and outside, and remained invisible” (Çelik, 2005: v).

Kaşka (2006), in a project, titled as “The New International Division of Labour and Migrant Women in Turkey: The Case of Moldovan Domestic Workers”, similarly, tries to understand the impact of recent migration movements on Turkey through the Moldovan case in a context of new trends of the globalization of domestic work. She defines the population movement between Turkey and Moldova as “gender-selective migration”, which is resulted in a “female Moldovan community” in Turkey. According to her findings, although the role of social networks are indispensable in migration and working strategies, only 4 Moldovan migrants out of 15 respondents have a close relative (daughter, son, husband) in Turkey. Secondly, Kaşka (2006: 47-59) gives detailed information about the working live of these migrants. In this sense, she points of the hardship of domestic job, namely, “never end house work”, and puts the major problems that Moldovan workers face with: bad treatment such as insulting, beating, low wages, and disciplinary practices of employers. In terms of legal issues, the irregular situation and vulnerability of migrants are doubled with the confiscation of passport. Concerning labour market, one interesting thing that Kaşka (2006) points out is that new domestic workers from Turkic republics seem to be a new competitive group for Moldovan domestic workers. Lastly, I would like say that all these studies, similar to the studies that I have discussed in the previous section, emphasize that employers of the domestic workers prefer to employ these foreign workers because of their well educated background, docile and obedient nature, a sense of responsibility and work consciousness.

4.3 Globalization and Changing Economic Structure of Turkey: The Case of Textile/Clothing Sector in Istanbul

4.3.1 Transformation from Import-substitute Economy to Export Oriented One: New Capitalist Accumulation Strategies in Turkey after 1980

In the context of restructuring global capitalist economy, the hegemonic classes in Turkey, from the beginning of 1980s on, tried to get a new place in this transforming system. However, as Ercan (2004: 10) defines, the new modes of articulation of Turkish economy into globalizing economy should be seen as results of both global “necessitates” and “consciousness choices” of these hegemonic classes in Turkey. The capitalist accumulation regimes in the global level created the conditions in which Turkish economy came to a position according to which the export of labour-intensive industrial products were produced. It also became an area where the global capital was able to flow easily. From the side of big bourgeoisie, in the pre-1980 period, the internal-oriented capitalist accumulation entered into a crisis towards the end of 70s although they had started the strategy of monopolization. This crisis was caused by that the capital accumulation, which was depending on only internal markets, was inadequate anymore. This declining profit rated showed itself in form of foreign exchange crisis. In order to challenge and control this crisis, new hegemonic bloc⁵¹ decided to an export-oriented capitalist accumulation regimes. In other words, the internal crisis of capitalist accumulation in Turkey was coincided with the needs of global capital (Ercan, 2004, 9-11).

In this new period, the global competition enforced capitalists to find new sources for capital accumulation. When they needed additional resources for capitalist accumulation, they either received support from the external sources like money-capital or they used the internal resources resulting in subcontracting relations and “primitive accumulation” processes. During this process, the contradictions between capitalist classes and working classes increased as a result of new control regimes of

⁵¹ As Ercan (2004: 21) assumes, hegemony can be defined as the persuasion capacity of a class or classes which led different classes to accept its interests as their own interests. IMF and World Bank, “national” large scale capital and state can be seen the major actors of hegemonic bloc after 1980 in Turkey (Ercan, 2004: 20).

labour. Hegemonic classes intensified the extent of exploitation in big enterprises by means of new labour control regimes. They also constructed dependency relations with small enterprises by means of subcontracting relations resulting in the control of marginal and cheap labour. Small and medium size manufacturers as sources of cheap and flexible labour force were enforced to become subcontractor of big corporations for export-oriented production. Especially, small firms of labour-intensive sectors such as textile, clothing, wood production tried to survive either by producing only for national markets, or by articulating into global subcontracting relations (Ercan, 2004: 15-35).

In terms of economic policies, firstly, the import regime was liberated by means of abandoning the quotas for import goods. Also, foreign exchange markets were made flexible so as to make the flow of capital easier. Along with these policies, the budget deficits as a result of the assistance of export-based industries were financed by state by means of the high inflation and foreign debts and capital flow. Thus, liberalization of interest rates, deregulation, privatization and cuts in the social service expenditures can be seen as the major economical changes in this period (Yeldan, 2001: 25).

In addition to the analysis of this process in terms of changing capitalist accumulation regimes, Boratav (2003) points out the role of the military coup in this transformation throughout 80s. He explains how the labour markets were regulated by non-economic means such as military coup in 1980. In addition the new restricted legislation on labour markets resulted in an increase in the extent of the control of organized labour movements and trade unions (Boratav, 2003: 149-153). While the government (ANAP-Motherland Party) from the early 80s on applied restricted policies for organized labour, the conditions of the rise of informal and unorganized labour markets were (a de facto permission) created. As it is expected, in the all manufacture production, the ratio of reel wages to the value-added decreased from 37.2% to 15.4% (Boratav, 2003: 165). In the late 80s, the growth of opposition parties led government to apply more populist policies. From the beginning of 90s, Turkish economy became more sensitive to flow of capital and financial crisis.

Along with, the structural adjustment policies of IMF and World Bank were felt sharply. The struggles for the distribution of surplus were totally left to the market mechanisms. In order to prevent the non-economic clientelist relations, there were established independent semi-official organizations (Boratav, 2003: 173-174). These years were the “golden ages” for national and international financial capital. Thus Boratav (2003) admits that the import substitution-oriented accumulation regime of 1960s and 1970s in Turkey was superseded by a new export-oriented regime in which a liberal financing and monetary system prevailed over manufacturing sectors along with a powerful state and liberal markets. While the real wages constituted 37% of GDP in 1978-1979, this ratio became 21% in 1999 (Boratav, 2003: 194).

4.3.2 The Rise of Informal Economy in Turkey

The transformation of economic structure and the changing class relations had great reflections on the structure of labour markets and sectorial distributions. It seems that one of these results is the rise of informal economy. Toksöz (2007), while comparing Turkey’s socio-economic structure and direction of capitalist development with the countries in Southern Europe, points out the major structural conditions that gave way for the growth of (already-existing) informal economy. Firstly, the patterns of industrialization in Turkey related with an external dependency remained below not only the level of developed countries but also of southern European countries. One of major characteristics of this situation is that while the proportion of self-employed and unpaid family constitutes 44.4 % of total employed population, the wage-earners constitute 50.9 % of this population (in 2004). The continuation of internal migration as a result of regional disparities in terms of economic development and the increasing numbers of working age population⁵² can be seen one of the reasons of the growth in urban labour supply. Along with these pressures on urban labour markets, the necessities of new capitalist accumulation regime led many small and medium to lower the labour costs by means of flexible and non-registered employment relations.

⁵² According to demographic estimations, Toksöz (2007: 193) puts, “as the total population of Turkey will increase by 30 per cent until 2025, the population in the 15-64 age group will increase by 60 per cent and reach 60 million”. These estimations point out a rising potential labour supply in the following decades.

According to Toksöz (2007: 192), the informal employment in small and medium size enterprises was caused by

the large margin between labour costs and net wages and insufficient auditing failing to cover so many small enterprises....As the margin between labour costs and the net wages received by workers gets larger and larger, it becomes advantageous for both workers and employers to cease to be in a registered business.

These suitable conditions for the expansion of informal economy were further accelerated by the sharpening income distribution between different social classes⁵³, which accelerated especially after 80s.

As a result of these socio-demographic, economic and political factors, the fact that 53 % of all employed people in Turkey do not have any social security in 2004 can be accepted as a good indicator of the volume of informal economy. According to official statistics, it is estimated that the informal workers constitute 20.5 % of monthly paid workers, 89.9 % of daily wage-earners, 82.2 % of unpaid family labour, and 49.4 % self-employed (Toksöz, 2007: 193). For my concerns, the volume of informal economy in the manufacturing industry may be explored in detail. In manufacturing industry, it is estimated that while 41% of workers were employed in informal conditions, this percentage rose up 46% in 1999. Köse and Yeldan (1998) indicate that the real percentage is much more than the ones in official statistics. In terms of the sectorial composition of manufacturing industry, it seems that the informal employment relations are concentrated in “labour-intensive” and “resources-intensive” sectors. These sectors have an importance role in export-oriented production, according to which 70% of exported goods of Turkey are produced in labour and resources intensive. Inside the manufacturing industry, 95% of the all enterprises are small ones, in which between 1 to 9 workers are employed. The numbers of workers in these small enterprises constitute 35% of all registered employees. The interesting think is that these small enterprises produce only 6% of the whole value-added that is produced in manufacturing industry. Thus, as it is

⁵³ In Turkey, while the wealthiest 20 percent among the households share 48.4 % of total income, the poorest 20 percent get only 6 % of total income in 2005 (DİE, 2005).

studied by many scholars (Bulutay, 1998; Yeldan, 2001; Toksöz & Özşuca, 2002), the informalization process in the labour markets seems to be a structural characteristic in the persisting articulation process of Turkish economy into global capitalist system. This informalization process gives the way not only for the segmented labour markets (Köse and Yeldan, 1998), but also for flexibly employment relations especially in labour-intensive industries like textile and clothing sectors.

4.3.3 The Role of Textile/Clothing Sector in Turkish Economy

In this section, I would like to explore firstly the place of Turkish textile/clothing sector in the world economy, then to describe the role of this sector in the Turkish economy. Lastly, I will discuss the major characteristics of labour processes in textile/clothing sector by exploring some studies about these sectors.

Dikmen (2000: 178) summarizes the main features of textile/clothing sector in the capitalist world economy:

The textile and clothing industries were the first manufacturing industries to take on global dimension. They are the most geographically dispersed of all industries across both developed and developing countries. They are organizationally very complex and containing elements of both very new and very old organizational practices. They are changing very rapidly in their organization, their technology and in their geography.

In other words, these sectors are composed of what capitalist production patterns include. Nearly 13 and 6 million workers around the world are directly employed in textile and clothing sectors respectively. Actually these two sectors are quite different in terms of their intensity and capital investments. In this sense, the production in the textile sector generally is more capital intensive and less labour intensive. Related with these differences, while in 1995 the leading export countries of textile production were Germany, China, Hong Hong, Italy, the leading clothing export countries in terms of share of world exports were China (15.2%), Hong Hong (6.0%), Italy (8.9%), Germany (4.7%), United States (4.2%) and Turkey (3.9%) (Dikmen, 2000: 179-183). From a historical dimension, it seems that “the average

annual growth in the clothing production of the developed countries was negative throughout the period from 1980 to 1993” (Dikmen, 2000: 182), and “the share of developed countries in the world clothing exports decreased while the developing countries’ increased in the period of 1980-1995” (Dikmen, 2000: 183). The countries such Turkey, Indonesia, Thailand and China experience the biggest increase in their clothing exports in these years.

In this picture, the Turkey’s performance in terms of growth was remarkable according to which the share of clothing exports in 1995 was 13 times bigger than the one in 1980. However, as Dikmen (2000: 193) admits, “in terms of global hierarchies, Turkey places in ‘producers club’ in every stage, which is very far from countries which compete in global arena and are capable in directing the industries”. Related with our concern, it can be briefly analyzed the volume and the direction of exported goods. While Turkey’s textile/clothing export was around 1 billion dollars in 1983, it rose up to 2,197 billion dollars in 1987, and reached nearly 6 billion dollars in 1997. In terms of the composition of textile/clothing importers from Turkey, while the most crucial importer region between 1961 and 1988 were Europe (especially Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland), the proportion of former Soviet Bloc countries (especially Russia, Poland, Hungary and Romania) and Arabic countries in total export activities increased from the early 1990s on. The 1994 crisis, which distorted the growth composition of sector-specific and the decline in the demand of European countries, accelerated this trend (Dikmen: 2000: 194-199). The competition with China and India seems to affect the role of Turkish textile and clothing sectors in the world economy. Despite of these developments, the clothing export towards USA and EU countries constitutes 72.7 % of Turkey’s total clothing export activities (Yükseker, 2003: 83). However, textile and clothing sector with its 21.5 billion \$ value (10.7% of GDP and 16.3% of manufacturing industry) constituted 36.7 % of Turkey’s export activities in 2002. In terms of employment structure in Turkey, the workers in these sectors constitute 28% of all workers in industrial production, and 11 % of all employees in Turkey (İçduygu, 2004: 64). Lastly, in terms of informality, it is estimated that 5 % of woman workers and 90% of child labour are employed in this sector. Also, nearly 1.5 million workers out of 2

million in these sectors are unregistered. As an example, it was found that only 4000 textile/clothing workers in Merter (an industrial district of Istanbul) out of nearly 60.000 workers were registered (Güloğlu, 2005: 30).

In addition to these macro economic numbers, I would like to explore some major characteristics of these sectors in terms of employment relations and organization of production. Firstly, the proportion of small (1-9 persons) and medium size production units is quite high, most of which have subcontracting relations with big retailers or factories (Köse and Yeldan, 1998). Secondly, the employment of woman labour is also very common especially in small and family-owned ateliers (White, 1994). Thirdly, the complex subcontracting relations among various types of firms and production units⁵⁴ are quite dominant in terms of the organization of production (Eraydın, 1998: 106-109). These complex relations are quite flexible and informal as a result of crisis-ridden structures of global markets. In terms of the production units, employment relations, and working conditions, informality are more common in small ateliers. In these production units, there are a remarkable importance of familial and ethnic relations in terms of labour supply, capital formation and marketing strategies. Yüksekler (2003: 81-82) distinguishes small size clothing production hierarchy from ones of big size enterprises in terms of their organization of production. In the former, a “manufacturer” makes the design of the cloths, provides the necessary cloth, and prepares the example (first version) of clothes. Then he/she gives these materials to a “subcontracting ateliers”⁵⁵ where the real production processes such sewing, ironing, dying are made. In other words, manufacturers organize the production instead of realizing the production. In the second type of hierarchy, on the other hand, most of the production processes are realized in one (generally large) production unit. In the busy period, the production of some clothes is subcontracted to small ateliers.

⁵⁴ In this complex web, some firm may place a mediator role between subcontractors and subcontracted firms. In addition it is important to distinguish the “capacity subcontracting” from “specialization subcontracting” (Eraydın, 1998: 115).

⁵⁵ Fason

In the small production units, there is always a demand for cheap and unregistered labour with easy skill acquisition and routine work. According Eraydın (1998: 111-112), these “necessities” open the employment of women since they are seen as “cheap labour” (because of not being breadwinner), “unskilled”, and “docile”. Based on the findings of a fieldwork study about clothing sector in Istanbul, Eraydın (1998: 116) said that 53.5 % of women are under 25 years old and 63.5 % of them have a primary education. Additionally, 69.6% of these woman workers either were born in Istanbul or have lived in Istanbul for more than 10 years. This shows that the labour demand of this sector is supplied mostly by second generation migrants from Anatolia. In terms of wage differences between women and men workers, it seems that in some cases more “productive” woman workers might earn more than man workers. Also, in many cases, the wages of man and woman workers are the same if they do the same job. However, since there is a gender division of labour in these ateliers in terms of tasks, there are differences in the average wages between the two gender groups. While most of the women work as “unskilled” labour, some educated women or women, who have social capital, works as designer, entrepreneurial or as mediator of subcontracting relations. Among the “unskilled” women⁵⁶, there are some, who want to work as “skilled” labour although most of them see their job as a short-term income-generating activity. Another tendency is that many women prefer working in the ateliers which export goods to former Soviet Bloc countries. Some women would like to work to become independent from patriarchal pressures inside the family. According to Eraydın (1998: 122), the woman labour-power should not be seen directly as cheap labour. In some case, women can reflect their negotiation power into wages. However, the patriarchal relations inside the family usually are carried to workplace interactions as a labour control regime. The social relations between employers and employees are formed ideologically “like a patriarchal family” (Eraydın, 1998: 116-134).

⁵⁶ “Unskilled” women in this sector are called as *el işçileri*, *overlokçu* and *reşmeci* in Turkish.

4.4 Istanbul as the Center of Informal Sector and Irregular Migrants

Istanbul, as the capital city of Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, has been an important center at the crossroads from the middle ages on. In 19th century, associated with the articulation of Ottoman Economy with the growing European capitalism, this city played both the roles of the capital city of a multiethnic empire and of being at the intersections of trade routes between Asia and Europe. After the First World War, and the following transition from constitutional monarchy to republic, Istanbul lost its historical importance in the region, because the new secular Turkish Republic saw Istanbul as suspicious because of its “non-national” and “Islamic” character (Keyder, 2000: 10-21).

From the early 1950s on, however, the internal migration from different provinces of Anatolia to Istanbul caused to both an increase in the population and a geographical expansion. In a context of the absence of formal housing mechanisms⁵⁷ for the internal migrants and of the growth of state-subsidized industries along with informal employment opportunities, Istanbul became the center of Turkish industrialization and urbanization processes (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007: 49). While its population was nearly one million in the beginning of 1950s, it reached to 4.7 million in 1980. Güvenç and Işık (2000: 208) described some parts of the city in its pre-1980 form:

there are neighborhoods where low-income tenant wage earner households constitute the dominant group, the majority of which are squatter housing areas. Note that these are mostly concentrated on the European side of the metropolitan area where the central business district of Istanbul is located. This geographical unit of the metropolitan area is specialized in trades such as textiles, the garment industry, etc., where the bulk of production is realized within vertically disintegrated production complexes. In such trades flexible employment strategies are deployed.

Associated with the new place of Turkish economy in the post-1980 period, the hegemonic classes decided to make Istanbul the “door” of the globalizing Turkey, namely, a global city. Although Istanbul attracted foreign investment (financial

⁵⁷ In absence of formal housing and employment policies, many migrant occupied the public land so as to establish new squatter neighborhoods. In the process, the social solidarity networks, which were based on familial and ethnic ties, had crucial support in finding jobs and building houses for new migrants (Erder, 1996).

capital) and new consumption patterns (shopping malls, luxurious shops), she articulated into global markets mostly by informal ways instead of by means of a service and knowledge economy (Keyder, 2000: 24-31). As Keyder (2000: 31-32) admits, Istanbul experienced an “informal globalization” according to which she both became one of the important centers of international illegal drug and black money laundering, and regained its central position in the trade routes between Turkey and former Soviet Bloc countries. As I have discussed above, the suitcase trading, with its annually 5-10 billion dollar volume, constituted one fifth of all export-oriented income of Turkish economy in 1996. The establishment of ties between Turkey and former Soviet Bloc countries in Istanbul were described by Güvenç and Işık (2000: 210):

Coupled with the growing importance of the city as a gateway to the Balkans and the Black sea countries, the massive influx of tourist from the former Eastern Bloc countries prepared the ground for a major change in Istanbul’s local economy. This influx has reached such dimensions that an airport is under construction solely for the tourists from the former Eastern bloc countries. Such dynamics also led to a large-scale restructuring of Istanbul’s economy.

Güvenç and Işık (2000: 210) describe the effects of 1994 crisis:

No less than 4000 plants were closed with almost the same number of new plants being established. Most of the newly established plants are smaller in scale than their predecessors and concentrate on textile and clothing sectors serving mostly the demand from the former eastern bloc countries.

Thus, while the large scale industrial investments were moved from inner city to outer parts of city, the small scale enterprises kept their concentration in inner city. Needless to say, in this globalization process, as has been the case in many cities of the world, Istanbul has become a more polarized city in terms of income distribution, culture, and geography⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ According to Güvenç and Işık (2000: 214), “Istanbul, at the beginning of the 21st century, is thus characterized by a growing split: on the one hand, the wealthy are increasingly isolating themselves from the rest of the society, retreating to their fortified enclaves outside the built-up area of the city, and promoting a closed culture with no element of compromise with the other urban groups. On the other, the urban poor, living in inward-looking communities, are watching from a distance that they would like to be a part of”.

At this point, I would like to give some numbers about the influx of foreign migrant to Istanbul. Related with the spatial concentration of informal social networks, which provides jobs, housing and other types of assistance to irregular, many migrants prefer to arrive at Istanbul. Nearly one fourth of foreigners arrived in Istanbul annually after 2000. However, more meaningful statistics can be gained by looking at from which cities the irregular migrants were deported. In 2001, for example, 57.3 % of Moldovan citizens were deported in Istanbul. In the first half 2002, on the other hand, the 73.8 % of all deported irregular migrants were deported from Istanbul. In this period, 678 Moldovans, out of 797 Moldovan citizens, were deported in Istanbul. However, although these numbers give some clues, it is quite difficult to know the percentage of Moldovan citizens is living in Istanbul.

4.5 Concluding Comments of Chapter

As I have discussed in the first section of the chapter, the migration policies of Turkish state until 90s were shaped by the nation-state formation processes in Turkey. From the last years of Ottoman Empire on, Turkish state welcomed almost all Turkish/Muslim immigrants from the regions of Balkan, Caucasus and Crimean. On the other hand, she supported the emigration of the non-Muslim populations for a more heterogeneous nation-state. In this period, although the migration of Muslim/Turkish people to Turkey had some economic advantages especially for the agricultural sector, it seems that the military and political concerns had a very crucial role in the control and regulation of these “traditional” population movements.

In the second part of first section, I explored the major characteristics of the population movements to Turkey after 90s. The population movements from former Soviet Bloc countries with its “circular” or “temporary” character can be distinguished from the ones from Middle Eastern, and some African and Asian countries with its “transit” feature. The fact that almost all these migrants from different regions are irregular might be accepted as the common aspects of these movements. In this period, as İçduygu (2004: 71) asserts, Turkish state mostly has dealt with “irregular transit migration” (including the migration of asylum seekers) and “smuggling” issues instead of “irregular labour migration”. This situation was to

some extent related with the intensifying Turkish-EU relations. In other words, the harmonization processes of Turkish border policies with the EU standards and the issues of to what extent Turkey will share the “burden” of irregular population movements as “buffer zone” were important dimensions of Turkish foreign policies (Kirişçi, 2003). The “unsystematic” character of Turkish legislation related with the “irregular labour migration” was to some extent challenged by a new law that regulated the work permit of foreign migrants in Turkey. At a first sight, it might be seemed that the “unsystematic” and “inadequate” control for irregular labour migration is caused by the diminishing state power under the globalization pressure. However, as Eder (2007) asserts, the inadequate control of international migration can be seen as the new “face” of neo-liberal state policies. In other words, Turkish state “regulates” the influx of people by welcoming the migrants as an “enabling state”, punishing them as a “coercive state”, and by being a part of “informal” and “criminal” activities as “informal/corruption state” simultaneously.

In the second section, I focused on the Moldovan migrants in Turkey. It is estimated that nearly one fifth of Moldovans population, as a result of their economic situation, live abroad. As many migrants from the former Soviet Bloc countries, they generally come to Turkey temporarily. In this sense, they aim at returning to their country after earning some amount of money. Nearly 3 % of Moldovan emigrants abroad migrated to Turkey. Moldovan migrants prefer migrating to Turkey because of geographical and cultural proximity (especially for Gagauz Turks), “liberal” visa regime. The “visibility” of Moldovan migrants in Turkey is quite remarkable especially in the sectors such as domestic services and sex. All these studies and the relevant statistics show that almost all Moldovan migrants in Turkey make their living and working life as irregular migrant.

In the third section, since I believe that the restructuring Turkish economy provides (as a complementary to migration policies) the context in which the labour market and employment conditions of Moldovan migrants are determined, I mainly discussed the massive transformation that Turkish economy experienced in 80s and 90s. Related with new international division of labour in the capitalist world

economy, Turkish economy transformed from an import-substituted to export-oriented one. For my concern, it was important that how this transformation gave way for the rise of informal economy, which was the subject of the second part of this section. In this sense, I especially focused how the informality in textile/clothing sector made this sector as one of “locomotive” of Turkish economy in the new articulation process into global markets. The discussion that I have made in the first section about the labour market positions of foreign migrants would be complemented by phenomenon of the growth of informal economy in Turkey. Contrary to the discourse of some politicians, academicians and trade union officials, the implications of employment of irregular foreign migrants to informal economy are limited. In other words, while the informal economy is a structural aspect of Turkish economy, the employment of irregular foreign migrants is a structural characteristic of Turkish labour markets (except some sectors). Thus, it can be imagined that if all irregular migrants in Turkey go back to their countries by means of, say, restrictive policies, the informality in Turkey would not be affected. As an example, we know that although the numbers of irregular migrants in the textile/clothing sector decreased because of the increasing state control from the 2000s, the informality in this sector did not change. However this does not mean that the employment of irregular migrants does not have any advantages for the employers because of their irregular position.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND RESEARCH PROCESS

In this chapter, my aim is to answer the questions of what methodological assumptions I have in this thesis, of how and by which research methods I obtained my fieldwork data, and of what methods I used in the analysis of this data. For this aims, I will first discuss my methodological approach. Then I will describe the research methods that I used in the field research. Lastly I will explain how the research and analysis processes are conducted. To put simply, this chapter can be called as a discussion both on my research strategy and on the natural history of my research process.

5.1 Methodological Approach

Many scholars, who are writing on the social science research methodologies and methods, have called “methodology” simply as “research strategy”. Silverman (2000: 77) defines it “as a general approach to studying research topics or a general orientation to conduct social research”. A research strategy does not include only the way we conduct research but also some epistemological and ontological assumptions. Before discussing the main features of qualitative methodology and why I have selected this approach, related with this choice, a brief and selective discussion about these epistemological and ontological assumptions is needed.

As it is known, throughout 20th century, one of the scientific paradigms, positivism and its variations, neo-positivism, have been criticized, mainly, because of its aggregations on subject and object differences and deduction as a method in scientific process. Besides classical Marxist realist methodologies and interpretivism, new approaches such as postmodernism, feminism, and neo-Marxism have participated into this chore in order to criticize positivist paradigm. On the level of

ontology, which can be defined as “what there is to know about the reality” (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 11), some questions such as whether or not social reality exist independently of human interpretations, and whether or not there is common social reality or multiple context-specific realities seem to be discussed for an ontological perspective. Beyond the debates between classical traditions of materialism and idealism around these questions, critical realism offers that “social phenomenon are believed to exist independently of people’s representations of them but are only accessible through those representations” (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 11). Additionally, critical realism as an ontological assumption tries to identify the structures, which can be understood by social sciences, at work that generate those events and discourses. In this regard, critical realism, from a more radical point of view, can be conceptualized as the identification of “generative mechanism”, which is necessary for revolutionary changes (Bryman, 2004). Some other scholars, called as neo-Materialists, advocate that social structures are experiences as having an external reality based on class, gender, ethnicity and space. At the level of epistemology, which is dealing with the ways of knowing of social world, some new perspectives have emerged different from positivist stances, asserting that there is an unavoidable interaction between researchers and researched. Furthermore, inductive methods, in which patterns and theories are derived from observations of the world and rich descriptions with emergent concepts and theories, are focused without being forgotten the usefulness of deductive methods, in which usually theoretically reached hypotheses are tested within the social world.

Along with these debates, some traditions, models, or an overall framework for looking at reality in social sciences have contacted with these ontological and epistemological assumptions. One of them is ethnomethodology, which can be defined as the study how “people construct social order and make sense of their social world and symbolic interactionism” (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 8) or as the study which aims at “understanding the ‘constructs’ people use in everyday life to make sense of their world” (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 12). Other social science strands, namely, critical theory, neo-Marxist and feminist critiques advocate that material conditions such as social, political, gender, and cultural factors have a major

influence on people's lives and perceptions. In this regard, my research findings will be analyzed primarily according to the concepts of class, gender, and ethnicity. These scientific models try to challenge the traditional role of researcher with a neutral and authoritative stance and offer a more reflexive approach at the field (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 8-9).

These ontological/epistemological assumptions and social science approaches can be taken as a basis which has given the way for the evaluation and development of qualitative methodologies. Although it is difficult to declare definite differences between quantitative and qualitative research approaches, some major features of each approach can be defined. While the former is corresponded to a fixed, objective, value-free, hypothesis testing research such as survey, the latter type of research such as a case study can be defined as flexible, subjective, political, speculative, and grounded (Silverman, 2000: 2). Beyond such a dichotomic explanation, it is possible to describe some methodological stances associated with qualitative research. If a general definition is needed, it can be defined as

a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices...turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 3).

In this regard, as I understand qualitative research approach, one of the major characteristic of qualitative approach is that it depends mostly on the observation of behavior in everyday situation which may lead the researcher to a deeper and detailed understanding of the social world. This emphasizes on the observation of everyday situation or natural settings would enable the researcher to understand *the contextual dimensions of social actions and social facts*. Needless to say, a detailed description of a natural setting, as Silverman says, should include the analysis and depiction of meanings, words and images of people (Silverman, 2000). In my study, though I try to give the description of workplace where migrants work as much as possible, my analysis will much more depend on the understanding of the transforming structures and the mechanisms behind these structure rather the

meanings that people attach to their actions as interpretative tradition do. But still, I think it is crucial to keep in mind and to distinguish the direct observation understanding and explanatory understanding as two forms of understanding of social actions and their meanings as Weber defines it (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 7).

In my view, another feature of qualitative approach is that it emphasizes *on the processes of the social settings and social facts*. In other words, it tries to analysis how events and patterns unfold over time with a strong sense of change and flux (Bryman, 2004: 266-268). This feature is crucial when thinking of the rapid transformations that textile and clothing sector witness, which is a major characteristic of my subject. Connections with global markets and global crisis, the widespread existence of small-scale production units, and changing consumption patterns seasonally are the major reasons of this tendency in textile and clothing sectors. Complementary to these characteristics, which are unique to sector, the endless restructuring process of capitalism in Turkey can be seen another reason for the flexible ‘nature’ of my thesis topic. When concerning Moldovan immigrants, furthermore, the “illegal” position of Moldovan immigrants in Turkey led me to practice a more flexible strategy which is, as some scholars admit (Bryman, 2004; Snape and Spencer, 2003), another feature of qualitative research approach. This feature can be defined also as “unstructured approach to the collection of data”. This does not mean that there exists not at all a research strategy. Instead, this flexible strategy necessitates some instant decisions both for the stages of overall research processes and in the application of research techniques.

Last crucial feature of qualitative research approach is that it is usually depended on *small-scale sample*. In other words, rather than conducting surveys, most of the researchers, who are favoring qualitative approaches, do small-scale studies. This attitude is usually caused by the willingness of researchers for obtaining detailed knowledge on a given phenomenon. As Snape and Spencer (2003: 5) admit in qualitative approach “sample that are small in scale and purposively selected on the basis of salient criteria”. Since I have limited time and founding opportunities for conducting research, I have designed a small-scale sample too. This issue of sample

scale brings us the issue of representation which is one of main critical issue in methodological discussions. In my study, as I will explain in the following section, my sample do not representative in terms of both the Moldovan immigrants in Turkey and of all the foreign immigrants in textile/clothing sectors of Turkey because there is no official and definite data of the population and socio-economic status of foreign migrants in Turkey. Furthermore, some announcements made by different institutions, scholars and officials are quite contradictory. For this reason, there is a debate about whether the findings of qualitative investigations can be generalized to other settings or not because of the nature of case studies that it is not a sample of one drawn from a known population. In this debate, as Bryman (2004: 284-285) discusses, some scholars offer that “the findings of qualitative research are to generalize to theory rather than to populations”. In other words, “it is the cogency of the theoretical reasoning rather than statistical criteria”. Some others advocate moderatum generalization (or inferential generalization) in which research findings can be associated and compared with other similar studies.

While doing my analysis, I will also keep in my mind that to what extent my analysis is descriptive, explanatory, evaluative and generative. For this aim, it would be worth to describe these aspects of any analysis briefly. In a descriptive or contextual analysis, it is concerned what exists in the social world and it is important to display the nature or features of a phenomenon. Regarding my study, I can ask what the main features of labour market in the textile sector are. In explanatory analysis on the other hand, it is asked why phenomenon take place and the forces and influences that drive their occurrence. For example, I can ask the factors that cause to hiring of foreign migrants or the reasons of subordinate positions of some parts of Moldovan migrants. Evaluative analysis asks simply how things operate. In my view, this dimension of analysis reminds us the historical background of phenomenon. I can ask how the positions of migrants in the labour market change. Lastly, generative analysis or hypotheses generating research as one of the crucial feature of qualitative research approach, lead us to identify “emergent categories and theories from the data rather than imposing a priori categories and ideas” (Snape and Spencer, 2003:4). At this

point, it is meaningful to remind that I generated most of my research questions after my pilot study.

To summarize, my ontological and epistemological assumptions in this study can be defined as critical realism and a synthesis of induction and deduction with a weight on induction respectively. On this basis, my analysis will mostly depend on a perspective in which it is advocated that material conditions such as social, political, gender and cultural factors have a major influence on people's lives and perceptions. In terms of research strategy, I mostly have used a qualitative research approach because of its flexibility in fieldwork, and its focus on the processes and natural settings of phenomenon.

5.2 Research Methods

In this section, based on my overall methodological approach, I will clarify how and why I selected my research methods. Research methods can be simply defined as a specific research technique for collecting data. In this regard any specific research method can be used in either qualitative or quantitative research strategies. However, since some research methods enable the researchers to get “deeper” knowledge about any phenomenon, some methods have closer associations with qualitative researches. For example, research methods such as observation, text and documents, interviews and audio/video recording are usually preferred in qualitative research strategies. Out of these methods, I had decided that interviews and observation are suitable concerning my research strategy before I started my fieldwork.

Although interviews as a research technique are widely used in social sciences, it is necessary to make a differentiation between different forms of interviews. In terms of the numbers of informants, “individual” and “paired” interviews can be accepted as two modes of them. The key feature of the first one is that it has the “ability to provide an undiluted focus on the individual” and a “detailed investigation of people's personal perspective” (Ritchie, 2003: 36). Also, it may provide an “in-depth understanding of the personal context within which the research phenomena are

located, and for very detailed subject coverage” (Ritchie, 2003: 36). The second type, paired interview, allows participants “to reflect on, and draw comparison with, what they hear from other” and enable researchers to investigate “subjects in which dialogue with others play an important part, or where two people form a naturally occurring unit” (Ritchie, 2003: 37). In my fieldwork, I mostly conducted individual interviews. But in some cases, where employer and employee (or two employees) are present in a small workplace together, I made paired interviews which enable me to obtain some information on how the dialogue between employers and employees (or two employees) are constructed in daily life. In terms of the structure of the interviews, “structured”, “semi-structured” and “unstructured interviews” are accepted as three forms of interviews. Out of these forms, I preferred conducting semi-structured interviews, in which “researcher has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply”, “questions may not follow on exactly in the way outlined on the schedule”, and “questions that are not included in the guide may be asked as the interviewer picks up on things said by interviewees” (Bryman, 2004: 321).

Nowadays, this form of interviews, which means open-ended questions to small samples, are called as in-depth or qualitative interviews so as to show its differences from interviews used in quantitative researches. The crucial thing in this divergence is that there is a chance for the interviewer to make the interview in a more flexible mode, which includes in some cases unanswered and inconsistent questions, and unrecorded interviews (Bryman, 2004: 332). In my fieldwork, the necessity of making interviews in busy workplaces compelled me to select such a flexible form.

In my fieldwork, I also made many “informal interview” or “informal talks” besides semi-structured interviews. It is needed to define how I conceptualize informal interviewing. Rubin and Rubin (1995: 122-124), for example, compare and contrast qualitative interviews with ordinary conversation, and admit that “as in ordinary conversations, only a few topic are covered in depth, and there are smooth transitions between the subjects”, and “people take turns speaking and acknowledge what the

other has said”. They of course put the critical differences between two actions in the sense that “a normal conversation can drift along with little goal, but in the interviews, the researcher gently guides the discussion, leading it through stages, asking specific questions...”. Since I have witnessed difficulties in accessing respondents, most of my interviews (especially) with employers were made in limited time, and these respondents were quite reluctant to answer to my questions. These conditions caused that some of my interviews resembled ordinary conversation.

Fontana and Frey (2000: 653) on the other hand define this type of interviews as unstructured interviews and point out the difference of structured interviews from the unstructured ones:

The former aims at capturing precise data of a codable nature in order to explain behavior within preestablished categories, whereas the latter attempts to understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry.

Although my interviews contain this “without imposing any a priori categorization” dimension, I use the concept of informal interviewing in the sense that its similarities with ordinary conversation. Actually this point was explained by Fontana and Frey (2000: 652) in a sense how this interviewing is close to another method, namely, participant observation. They admit how two methods go hand in hand, and say that “many of the data gathered in participant observation come from informal interviewing in the field” and (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 652) that “at times, informants are not readily accessible or identifiable, but anyone the researcher meets may become a valuable source of information” (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 654).

In a qualitative research approach, another widely used research technique is participant observation, which can be related with the informal interactions I explained above. Bryman (2004: 292) makes a combined definition according to which “the participant observer/ethnography immerses him –or herself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behavior, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and the field worker, and asking questions”

(Bryman, 2004: 292). But it is worth to distinguish participant observation from ethnography although they have some similarities. Actually participant observation usually means more than simply observe. Bryman's (2004: 301) classification can answer "the question of the kind of role the ethnographer adopts in relation to the social settings and its member" so as to clarify how I used participant observation as research technique. In this classification, there are defined four types of roles⁵⁹ according to the level of detachment or involvement of researcher in the field. Out of these roles, the role in my fieldwork suits best to "observer-as-participant" in which the researcher is mainly an interviewer. However, there is "some observation but very little of it involves any participation". As Bryman (2004: 301) gives an example of a study on police, this type of observation may include "naturally occurring inter-officer talk" and "detailed descriptions of how officers handled 'live' incidents".

On the other hand, ethnography means both a research process and the written outcome of research. Additionally, ethnographers usually aim at understanding another culture via conducting a fieldwork throughout long periods of time. Concerning the aim, overall methodology and the length of my fieldwork, which are conducted totally in one and a half months, it would be quite difficult to define my fieldwork as an ethnographic study. Yet, the concept of micro-ethnography, which was elaborated by Wolcott (1995 in Bryman, 2004), can describe my fieldwork better. Different from a full-scale ethnography, a shorter time is spent in micro-ethnography for a tightly-defined topic. Lastly, although my topic is on Moldovan migrants in Turkey, I limited my interviews to Moldovan migrants. As I will discuss while explaining my sampling process, I made many interviews with other actors in the textile/clothing sector. Also, I made observations not only in a workplace, but in several workplaces, which is different from the examples of Bryman (2004: 301) for the micro-ethnography, in which one organization is selected as study topic.

Besides the methods that I used in my fieldwork, two further difficulty that I witnessed while collecting data needs explanation. Rubin and Rubin (1995: 142) define my first difficulty as "strangers in our midst" or as "interviews under unusual

⁵⁹ These roles are: Complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, and complete observer.

circumstances”. They describe this difficulty: “one of the oddest interpersonal relationships in interviewing occurs when the researcher plans to interview one person and ends up unexpectedly interviewing two or more at the same time”. As Rubin and Rubin explain, throughout my fieldwork, some “stranger” disturbed our interviews because of making interviews in workplaces too. The second difficulty is the gender dimension of interviews. Since interviewers and the respondents are considered faceless and invisible, the gender difference in interviews is commonly ignored in research strategies. Denzin (1989: 116, in Fontane and Frey, 2000: 658) simply admits that “gender filters knowledge” and “the sex of interviewer and that of the respondents do make a difference, as the interview takes place within the cultural boundaries of a paternalistic social system in which masculine identities are differentiated from feminine ones”. The traditional problems of interviewing such as assessing to setting, trust issues and hierarchies between researcher and respondents increase when there are gender differences between the actors of interviews in gender-segregated societies. In my fieldwork, besides these traditional problems, I realized in some cases that any social relation between a Moldovan woman migrant and a native man is evaluated from a “sexual relation” point of view. Interestingly, however, I realized that this filtered knowledge may be valid for some of my questions, which are about the relations between the position of women in labour market and their appearance and sexual relations with employers. In order to overcome this problem, I was helped by a Russian-speaking woman friend, as Fontana and Frey (2000: 658) point out the advantages of a researcher’s being female while interviewing with a woman respondent.

5.3. Research and Analysis Process

In this last section of this methodology chapter, I try to answer two questions: I) how my research process is conducted (or how I obtained the data), and II) how I analyzed my data. Concerning my first question, I try to explain both my sampling process and fieldwork experience together. I will discuss these issues together because my sampling processes and field research went hand in hand.

Before answering these questions, I would like to describe the districts, where I conducted my interviews, in terms of their role in the textile/clothing production in Istanbul. Based on this socio-spatial transformation of Istanbul, many districts in Istanbul witnessed great socio-economic transformations. Laleli is one of the most remarkable places by which this transformation can be followed. More importantly, Laleli and some other districts (Aksaray and Gedikpaşa), which are next to Laleli, are the place where most of foreign workers are concentrated. Until the 1950, Laleli was a clam middle-class district with 4-5 floor apartment buildings (Keyder, 2000). From the 1970s on, many tourists and traders from Arabic countries began to come to Laleli for shopping, trading and entertainment activities. Associated with this influx, although there are spatial limitations, new shops, hotels, bars and night clubs are opened. In 1980s, while the influx of traders and tourists from Arabic countries declined; new traders, tourists and workers from Soviet Bloc countries began to visit Laleli with its trading, employment, entertainment and accommodation facilities. As a result of suitcase trading, which boomed in the early 1990s, declined in 1997 crisis in Russia and revived after 2002, along with sex industry, Laleli and Aksaray⁶⁰ transformed into a lively trading center with nearly 10.000 shops and various entertainment facilities (Yükseker, 2003: 72-74).

Many shops in this district, as Yüksek (2003: 75) explains, work as “mediator” between producers and traders. Most of trading activities, although the shops are registered, are realized informally depending on “trust” relations without registration or giving taxes under loose control of state. As many shop owners said, the trading in Laleli is quite flexible and unstable as a result of informal social relations and articulation with global markets. For my concerns, different types of relations between shops and producers need to be clarified. According to Yüksek (2003: 86-98), three modes of relations between these two actors were established in Laleli. In the first one, many small and medium size producers in Mahmutpaşa, where they had produced clothes for internal markets, began to sell to the shops in Laleli. Some manufacturers in Mahmutpaşa (a district in Istanbul), in the following years, opened shops in Laleli and began to export their products without the mediation of shop

⁶⁰ Aksaray is district next to Laleli. Although there are many night clubs and hotels, almost all shop for suitcase trading are located in Laleli.

owners. In the same period, many shop owners decided to open their own ateliers which enabled them to produce without the mediation of manufacturers in Mahmutpaşa. Thirdly, some clothing producers got a chance to enlarge their firms and began to export their products to former Soviet Bloc countries (especially Russian Federation) formally without using the trading networks in Laleli. These enlarged enterprises created a registered brand by which ways they became monopolized in this trade. As Erder (2007) admits, the trading in Laleli is composed of both wealthy traders, who stayed in luxurious hotels, and the “poor” ones, who live in subsistence. In terms of the routes of exported goods, Erder distinguishes the trade to Russian most of which are realized by big cargo companies.

Besides Laleli, four more districts were important in my fieldwork study: I) *Gedikpaşa*, where footwear production had been realized informally in very small and labour-intensive ateliers only for internal market until the early 1990s, is a district next to Laleli. In this district, since many suitcase traders demanded shoes for trading besides clothes in Istanbul, these small ateliers began to provide the shoe demand of suitcase trader. The influx of money enabled the owners of some small ateliers to accumulate the necessary capital so as to open medium size factories in other districts of Istanbul. Like the manufacturers in Mahmutpaşa, some atelier owners got a chance to open a shop in Laleli so as to export his/her products without the help of a mediator. II) The boundaries of *Lower Laleli* start next to the location of the shops. In this district, there are more than hundred cargo firms. These cargo firms are “station” for the exported cloths/shoes between the airport/ships and the shops in Laleli. The clothes are moved to these cargo shops, where they are packaged, stored and then transported to the airport. III) *Osmanbey* is a bit different from these districts in terms of location and the socio-economic level. This district is very close to Nişantaşı, which is one of the most popular districts in Istanbul for high-income groups with its cafes, bars, and luxurious shops. As Yüksek (2003) admits, the manufacturers and shops in this district are specialized in luxurious and boutique-type clothes, whose production center in Turkey. Different from Laleli, there are no hotels there. In this district, there are many firms which both are organizing the production processes and selling their products in their own shops. Many suitcase

traders buy clothes from these shops. IV) *Bağcılar* is far to the central districts of Istanbul. There are many apartment buildings where lower-middle class families live. In their ground floor and basement, the production of clothes is realized in small or medium size ateliers. There are also some cargo firms.

Since I preferred qualitative research approach and there is no definite numbers about my universe, I did not attempt to get a representative sample. Actually, as I discussed in the previous chapters, there can be reached some numbers about how many Moldovan enters to Turkey legally, or how many Moldovans were apprehended by officials in Turkey because of overstaying or absence of valid documents. Since the irregular entrance of Moldovans to Turkey is not common, it can be assumed that these numbers are approximately true. However, it is impossible that how many of them are working and have worked in textile/clothing sector. As we know, an unrepresentative sample is common in qualitative research approach. Although Bryman (2004: 333) says that “it is sometimes more or less impossible to discern from researchers’ account of their methods either how their interviewees were selected or how many there were of them”, there are some tools, which are widely used in the unrepresentative sampling process. One of them is purposive sampling in which researcher tries to sample “on the basis of wanting to interview people who are relevant to the research questions” (Bryman, 2004: 333). This form of sampling necessitates a close correspondence between research questions and sampling.

In my fieldwork, although I had had constructed some research questions, and determined foreign migrants in Istanbul coming from old Soviet Bloc countries as the universe of my study before the pilot study, this study led me to reorganize both my research questions and the universe. Until the pilot study I could not decide on which group(s) out of the all old Soviet Bloc migrants will be the universe. Just after pilot interviews, I decided that I will study Moldovan migrants and Turkish worker, who are working in textile/clothing sector, by focusing on labour market and work interactions. Furthermore, in the first part of my fieldwork, since I saw that Moldovan migrants have weak relations with legal institutions (municipality, police)

or NGOs, I removed the interviews with officials and NGO representatives from my sample. During the sampling process, that is, research process, some interviews led me to add new research questions to my list.

After I defined the boundaries of my anticipated universe roughly, snowball technique, which means a simple random sampling via contacting groups of people when the statistical representativeness is clearly impossible, was the major way while accessing to the sample. While I was using snowball technique in order to access to the respondents, I tried not to reach all the respondents via one key informant. Instead I was helped by multiple informal informants, although some informant became key informant. Another interesting point is that while I was searching for migrant respondents, I realized that the native gatekeeper had a crucial role in this process. Because of trust issues between an irregular migrant and a researcher, native workers or employers could overcome the trust issues easier than migrants. This means that they could become an intermediary more easily between migrant respondents. For example, some migrant respondent told me that “yes, I have a friend, who is working in a shop; you can go there in order to make an interview, but do not say that you know me”. This situation was not common for the native respondents. Another common bias in snowball technique can take place when all interviews are arranged via personal contacts. In the first half of my fieldwork, most of the respondents were founded by mobilization of personal network. In the second half, after I consumed all these networks, I create new and small networks via knowing new people in the setting. To sum up, the access process to my sample was, as Bryman (2004) call, an “ongoing access”. Although the necessity of securing access is valid for the closed settings such as firms, schools, the issue of legality led me to secure the access continuously although my sample can be categorized as an open setting.

Now I will mention a brief history of my research process by focusing on my major decisions during this process that affected the research questions and sampling. At the beginning of April, 2007, I had already made an overall literature review about the topics such as globalization, international migration, informal sector and foreign

migrants in Turkey. Along with this literature review, I prepared my research questions and I constructed a draft version of questionnaire. But as I explained in the previous section, until the pilot study I could not determine the specific topic of the thesis and universe for the fieldwork. I made the first interview of pilot study on 16th of April with an official, who is working at the Ministry of Work and Social Security. This interview helped me in clarifying my knowledge about the relations between Turkish state and foreign immigrants in general and Moldovan migrants in specifically.

In order to specify the topic and the universe of my thesis, and to know some people from the setting, I arrived at Istanbul on the 17th of April, 2007. For this aim, most of my questions focused on the sector-based distribution of foreign migrants from old Soviet Bloc countries. Beyond this sector-based distribution, I tried to learn at which jobs they work, the gender division of labour in these jobs, and what they do in these jobs. I also obtained some information about the spatial distribution of jobs that migrants mostly work. In five days, I made 5 interviews of which one is an owner of clothing shop, one is an skilled employee in a small clothing atelier, one is an accountant of working with firms in textile/clothing sector, one is an old co-employees of Romanian migrants, and finally one is Moldovan men working in a shoe atelier. Out of these respondents, only the employee in the clothing atelier was women. During these interviews and conversations, I realized that few migrants work in production units. This was a disappointed point for me since I had designed my fieldwork and research question according to the workplace interactions in the workshops where foreign migrants work. However, I also realized that many Moldovan and other migrants from old Soviet Bloc countries worked in shops, where the clothes are sold to foreign countries. Another crucial decision that I made at the end of this pilot study was that I won't study the foreign migrants in construction sector because this sector has very different dynamics in terms of both labour market and spatial distribution in Istanbul. Lastly, although I learnt that there are many foreign workers in rural areas of Istanbul, I limited my study with the urban areas of Istanbul. On the 21st of April, I went back to Ankara. To sum up, I redesigned my research questions and universe based on these interviews, and decided to study

Moldovan migrants, who work in different sub-sections of textile sector in Istanbul. Before pilot study, I prepared different questionnaires for worker, employers, and experts. But after pilot study, I united these questionnaires and obtained one questionnaire because of practical reasons.

The first part of my fieldwork began at 27th of July, 2007. In the first three days, I realized that the three districts of Istanbul, Laleli, Osmanbey and Gedikpaşa will be the spatial focus of my fieldwork. Although there are few production units, many migrants work as sales assistant in the shops. In these districts, some shops and a Protestant church became strategic points for me. I could establish new contacts for finding out new respondents. After three days, I reorganized my questionnaire and extract some questions⁶¹. On 1st of August, I gave a decision related with my sample just after an interview with a respondent, who have worked in different ateliers producing shoes for several years. This respondent had worked until 7-8 years ago with Moldovan workers, and gave me very crucial information about the work interactions between foreign workers, native employees, and employers. I realized that it was quite difficult to find foreign or native workers who are currently working together. For this reason, I decided to find out Moldovans, who had worked in ateliers, and native workers, who had worked with Moldovan or other foreign workers together. This past experiences would have constituted the historical dimension of my study. In the following days, I also realized that it is relatively easier to make an interview with an employer than an employee. For this reason, the number of employer respondents would have been greater than I planned. I was expected to obtain information about the transformation of labour market from the interviews with employers. On 11th of August, after a Ukrainian man respondent said that he has some friends working as carrier in ateliers and cargo firms, I decided to extend my sample so as to include the migrant workers in cargo firms.

As I discussed in the research method section, “gendered knowledge” is one of the important difficulties of making interviews. Related with my topic, another difficult was the language difference between me and the foreign respondents. Fortunately,

⁶¹ The final versions (in Turkish and English) of questionnaire can be seen in Appendix A.

some of the Moldovan respondents, who are Gagauz Turks, were speaking a dialect of Turkish. Although it is possible not to understand all the words they say, it was quite easy to communicate with Gagauz Turks. Many other migrants whose native language is not Turkish could speak Turkish. In order to overcome these issues, I decided to be helped by a woman translator. I was helped by one of the students in graduate studies of Sociology Department, METU. We worked together in Istanbul for 3 or 4 days.

During the interviews in the last days of July, I was said that the new season in clothing sector will begin in the first half of the August. Because of the transition period from one season to another, there were very few customers in the shops at the last days of July. In the following days, as I was said, the workload of both the shops and the ateliers increased, which decreased the possibility of getting an acceptance to my offer for an interview. In other words, the rate of refusal for an interview increased in this new season of textile/clothing sector. In these days, some respondents refused to being interviewed.

Another difficulty that I experienced throughout the fieldwork was related with a unique characteristic of textile/clothing sector. In this sector, since the small-size subcontracted firms are very sensitive to the waves in the market, it is very common that these firms are often closed at the end of a season. For many employers, this is a strategy for adapting to global and national markets. For example, when I asked to an employer of an exporter firm whether he find a firm in which a foreign migrant work, he said that “I know some firms, but they closed down, I do not know where they reopened their new atelier”. As another example, I could not find a clothing atelier at a given address in the last day of my first part of fieldwork because of this spatial flexibility.

This traditional difficulty of textile/clothing sector was higher for an interviewer, who wants to make interviews with foreign workers with a higher rate of turnover compared to native workers. For example, a Ukrainian Gagauz could not find a friend, who was working in a textile factory as a carrier since he had already changed

his jobs. Besides this difficulty, the workload in ateliers and cargo firms can be accepted another drawback in front of me. In one day, I waited until 11 p.m. for an interview because of the indeterminate working hours in cargo-press firms

In the last week of the first part of my fieldwork, I decided to spend my all time on finding respondents, who are working in the ateliers. I met some employers of clothing ateliers in Bağcılar with the help of my personal contacts. The interviews with these employers led me to change my first impression that there are few foreign workers in the ateliers nowadays. I was told that many foreign workers from other old Soviet Bloc countries such as Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, worked in the textile/clothing ateliers for 5-6 years. I saw many “new” foreign workers in these ateliers⁶². After 23 days in Istanbul, I went back to Ankara on 18th of August.

My second part of fieldwork began on 18th of September. In the first two days, I tried to arrange some interviews by using my personal contacts. However, I realized that I consumed most of my personal networks. While searching for an employer of a shoe shop in Gedikpaşa, I was said by another employer that there are many small-scale ateliers, where I can find some foreign migrants. I told him that what would happen without knowing someone. He said that they would help you if you say your aim and identity. This advice encouraged me to enter any atelier or shop and to ask whether they can help me. In the following hours and days, I made many formal and informal interviews and obtained information about the place of foreign migrants in general and Moldovan in specific in labour markets, although I was refused many times. In these small-scale ateliers, which produced shoes, I could meet some migrant and native respondents and could conduct interviews. In these days, while I was wondering around the Laleli, I discovered the location of cargo-press shops, which were very close to the shops in Laleli. This district is called as “lower Laleli”. The interesting thing for me was that there are many Moldovan migrant working in the cargo firms.

⁶² While I was analyzing my data, I thought that I could have made some interviews with these new migrants, which would have shown me what of kind differences are there between the old and new migrants. Furthermore, I would have gained more information about the work interactions between native and migrant workers.

This last method for finding respondents was both time-consuming and useful. Especially in the down Laleli, I entered more than twenty shops without knowing someone. Such a method was in a sense a necessity since I consumed my networks. Also this method enabled me to overcome the contradictory information of whether there are foreign migrant in these labour markets. Thus, I had two opposite thoughts about my overall fieldwork at the moment. One is that I could have made more interviews. The second one is that the data that I obtained in the fieldwork would be enough for this thesis.

At this point, I would like to briefly explain how I have analyzed my data briefly. At the end of my fieldwork, on the one hand, I had 36 pages of notes, which includes the informal interviews, observations and comments. On the other hand, I had 14 interviews. In the following one month, I transcribed my recorded interviews. Then, I began to analyze my data. In this analysis process, I mainly used the technique of content analysis. Spencer and her colleagues (2003: 200) define the content analysis as the analysis of both the content and context of the data. For this aim, they say, “themes are identified, with the researcher focusing on the way the theme is treated or presented and the frequency of its occurrence” (Spencer et. al., 2003: 200).

While doing content analysis, I firstly categorized all of my data according to the themes and questions in my questionnaire. But when I realized that there are very specific questions and answer for matching each other. I extended my categorization to cover more knowledge and quotations from my data. I used computer while copying the necessary paragraphs or statements from the data and pasting this information under the suitable title. In order not to forget which statement or observation is belonged to which interview, I used numbers. To sum up, totally, I collected 146 pages of data. By using this synthesized data, I can go to any theme and see who say something related with this theme. This data was the main source of the following of findings chapter.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS OF THE FIELDWORK

In this chapter, my main aim is to explore and discuss the major findings of my fieldwork. With this aim in view, I will first put forward the socio-demographic profile of respondents which will give us a general sociological outlook of the findings. In the following section, I will explore why and how Moldovan migrants come to Turkey. In this respect, I will try to understand how social networks are used and mobilized in these migration processes. Related to this migration and every day living experiences, I will answer the question of how Moldovan migrants are incorporated into mainstream society by using the notion of the modes of incorporation. In the fourth section, I will first describe the changing position of Moldovan migrants in Istanbul's labour markets in general and textile/clothing sectors in specific. Then, I will try to understand how and why the position of these migrants in the labour markets has been changing historically and what actors have an impact on these changes. In the last section of this chapter, I will answer another major question of my thesis: how the power relations operate at the workplace where Moldovan migrants work. The dynamics of power relations will be discussed with the help of two notions: control and resistance.

6.1 Socio-demographic Profile of Respondents

Before the fieldwork, I planned to make at least 30 interviews, which is a classical number for an unrepresentative sampling in the qualitative research approaches. In order to obtain an unbiased sample, I determined gender, ethnicity, and employment status as the three variables. Since I knew that there was little chance to find a Moldovan employer, my major variables were only gender and ethnicity. But I tried to make interviews with a meaningful number of Turkish employers. Based on these two variables, I tried to get a sample with four categories, which have relatively

equal numbers of women/men, Moldovan migrant/native. During the fieldwork, however, as I have explained in the previous chapter, I made some changes in my research questions because of the dynamics of the sector and the issues of legality. So, I could not get equal numbers for each category. My research questions have been affected by this new sample too.

As you can see table 1 and table 2 below, I made totally 35 interviews throughout my pilot study and fieldwork. I would like to define the 17 respondents with whom I made in-depth interviews as first group of respondents. And I define 18 informal interviews and ordinary conversations as second group of respondents. During these informal interviews, I could not ask questions about the work and migration experiences of respondents, instead I asked questions related with the labour market and work interactions between foreign and native employees. In 10 of these informal interviews, since the respondents have very limited knowledge about the workplace interactions, my questions were related only to the general dynamics of the labour market. Since I have detailed knowledge of the socio-demographic structure of the first group of respondents, table 2 shows the age, education (skills), ethnicity, birth place, employment status⁶³, occupation, and duration in Istanbul of respondents. The question marks near the numbers show that I am not definitely sure about this information. Besides current jobs, I tried to give additional information of previous jobs for some respondents. In the following pages, while analyzing the data, I also will give some socio-demographic information of the second group of respondents as far as I know it. In the following paragraphs, I shall explain the crucial points of these two tables.

Since my subject focuses on foreign migrants, I would like to make a more detailed description of 10 foreign respondents. As it is easily seen, all Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants have a high school qualification. As old Soviet Bloc country citizens, most of the Moldovan and Ukrainian people, even the ones who were born in rural areas, have primary and secondary school certificates. Another crucial aspect is that most of the respondents had an occupational skill. For the male migrants, I

⁶³ Except 20th and 21st respondents, all respondents were employees.

saw that driving and construction are the two major skills that they got at school. Since I had few women migrant respondents, it is difficult to make a generalization but nursing, cooking and hairdressing are the most common occupations among women migrants. While three male foreign migrants had specialized in either driving or construction at high school, the other three male migrants, as far as I learned, have not any occupational skill. One interesting aspect is that these latter groups of migrants are less than 20 years old. The difference between two generations of migrants might be a result of changing education systems in these countries. In the following sections, I try to discuss how these skills have an impact on the labour market position of migrants. When I look at the native employer and employees, it is seen that most of the respondents have a primary school certificate. It seems that this well-known characteristic of the textile/clothing sector is valid for the employers too. This fact is compatible with the other studies on textile/clothing sectors.

In terms of having an urban or rural background, there are no significant differences among foreign migrants. Nearly equal numbers of respondents have an urban and rural background. One interesting finding is that out of five Gagauz Moldovan four respondents have rural background. Nonetheless, this information can not be generalized for all Gagauz Moldovan in Turkey. In the following discussion, I try to answer whether this background difference affect the labour market position and the jobs.

Other crucial information about the respondent in our table is what jobs they have. Compared to domestic work and sex work, I assume that few Moldovan migrants in Turkey work in the textile/clothing sector. Regarding this assumption, in this table two points need to be clarified. The first point is that nine of my migrant respondents work in a shop as sale assistants. One respondent works both in a shoe atelier as a worker and in a shop as a sale person simultaneously. And one respondent works as a carrier in a cargo/press firm. If I had had networks and time, I could have found more Moldovan respondents in these cargo firms. When we look at the previous jobs of respondents, the picture is slightly different. 6 migrant respondents had work experience in a clothing atelier or in a cargo/press firm. It seems that working in

ateliers was more common amongst Moldovans until the beginning of the 2000s compared to nowadays. It can also be said that the possibility of working in an atelier or cargo for the young Moldovan migrants is more likely than for relatively old Moldovan migrants. The second point is that there is gender division of labour in terms of jobs among migrants. I observed that most of the foreign migrants, who are working in the shops, are women. On the other hand, most of the migrants, who are working in the cargo/press firms, are men.

The last issue in this table is the duration of their stay in Istanbul. Concerning this issue, one thing is that only one migrant respondent has been living more than 10 years in Istanbul. While 3 respondents have lived in Turkey for 7, 10, and years respectively, 6 respondents have lived less than 5 years. As it is expected, the 4 respondents, who are less than 20 years old, have a less than 2 years duration of living in Turkey. Actually, this fact to some extent can be generalized into other respondents too. When we look at the duration of living column with the age column together, it would be seen that 7 migrant respondents came to Turkey between the ages of 17 and 19. The other 3 migrant respondents came between the ages of 23 and 25.

Table 2. The respondents with whom I conducted informal interview

No	Gender	Employment Status	Job
1	Male	Employee	Civil Servant
2	Male	Employer	Accounting
3	Male	Employer	Organization
4	Female	Employee	Designer
5	Male	Employee	Sewing / Simple Tasks ⁶⁴
6	Male	Employee	Management
12	Male	Employee	Subcontracting Organizer
16	Male	Employer	Employer of Shop selling leather
17	Male	Employee	Sale Person at a Shop
18	Male	Employer	Employer of Leather Shop
24	Male	Brother of an Employer	Organization of Production
25	Male	Employee	Designer at a Clothing Atelier
26	Male	Employee	Organization at a Cargo Firm
27	Male	Employer	Owner of Shop and Atelier producing Shoes
28	Male	Employer	Owner of Cargo/Press Firm
32	Male	Employee	Organizator of Cargo/Press Firm
33	Male	Employer	Doorkeeper in Gedipaşa
35	Male	Employer	Employer of a Clothing Atelier in Bağcılar

⁶⁴ Ayak İşleri

Table 3. The respondents with whom I conducted in-depth interviews

No / Gender	Age	Levels of Education	Ethnicity	Urban / Rural	Job	Year in Istanbul
7 / F	30	University (Management)	Russian	U	Sale Person	7 Years
8 / M	33	Vocational School Graduate (Driver)	Moldovan (Gagauz)	R	Sale Person / Worker at Shoe Factory	10 Years
9 / F	34 (?)	High school	Moldovan (Gagauz)	R	Sale Person	20 Years (?)
10 / F	30	High School and Vocational School (clothing and Nursing)	Moldovan	U	Sale Person (Worked at a clothing atelier)	10 Years
11 / M	45	Primary school	Turkish	U	Worker at Shoe Factory	Birth Place
13 / M	50	Primary School	Turkish	R	Worker at a Clothing Atelier	40 Years
14 / M	25	High School	Turkish	U	Sale Person	Birth Place
15 / M	30	Vocational School (Construction/Driver)	Ukraine (Gagauz)	R	Sale Person (worked at an Atelier)	5 Years
19 / M	20	High school (?)	Moldovan (Gagauz)	R (?)	Sale Person (worked as carrier)	2 Years
20 / M	45 (?)	Primary School	Turkish	U (?)	Employer of a Small Clothing Atelier	Birth Place
21 / M	38	Primary School	Turkish	R	Owner of a shop (worked as sale person)	27 Years
22 / F	20	Vocational School (Manicure)	Moldovan	U	Sale Person	3 Years
23 / M	17	High School (?)	Moldovan	U	Sale Person	3 Months
29 / M	45 (?)	Primary School	Turkish	R	Worker at a Shoe Atelier	40 Years
30 / M	17	High School (?)	Moldovan (Gagauz)	R	Worker at a Shoe Atelier	2 Months
31 / M	21	High school	Moldovan	U	Worker at a Cargo Firm in Laleli	2 Years
34 / M	27	Vocational School (Driver)	Moldovan (Gagauz)	U	Sale Person (worked as carrier)	10 Years

6.2 Migration Processes and Living Conditions of Moldovan Migrants

6.2.1 Reasons and Patterns of Cyclical Migration Processes

The economic and political transformations in old Soviet Bloc Countries had different implications on the social and cultural life of their citizens. The well-known effect, which is also interrelated with my subject, is that these transformations led to the beginning of a huge emigration process to both western and neighborhood countries. The economic restructuring and decline of social states facilities are often seen as the major reason for the population movements from these countries both in the social science literature and in public opinion. Compatible with these explanations, most of the respondents put the importance of “pure” economic reasons. A respondent (3)⁶⁵, who is an employer, stated this issue⁶⁶: “The only reason for emigration is economic... It all comes down to money”⁶⁷, and a female Russian sale assistant (7) stated: “migrants came in order to earn Money”.

In order to understand this economic reason, it would be meaningful to look at how Moldovan and Ukrainian respondents explain the economic situation of the early 90s. A Moldovan migrant (8) explained the general situation of Moldova in the beginning of the 90s with few words: “In the early 90s: the price of houses and land were increasing. Along with, the value of money was decreasing”. In this general economic situation, Yüksekler (2003) says, the transforming labour markets caused an increase in the unemployment rate, especially among women. According to my respondents, actually, the essential problem was not unemployment. Instead, the wages of available jobs was quite low, as a female respondent (10), who got nursing education, says: “(There were jobs for me as a nurse) but they were giving little money. Half of the wages here. As a worker, you could earn 30 or 50 dolars. In

⁶⁵ In the following parts, these numbers before quotations will show the place of respondent in the table 1 and table 2.

⁶⁶ In the following parts, the Turkish translations of quotations can be seen in the footnotes. But the Turkish translations of some quotation will not be seen since I translated these quotations before I put these translations on the footnotes.

⁶⁷ Göçün tek sebebi ekonomik....Mesele dönüp dolaşıp paraya dayanıyor.

Moldova your wage could be at most 150 dollars. How could I look after my son?” This situation was valid for the Ukraine too. A male Ukrainian migrant (15), who is a Gagauz, said that:

There were jobs (in my country), but you couldn't really earn money; the pay was very little, so I couldn't work there. Back home the wages are very low but everything is very expensive. It is hard to survive. Everything is so expensive⁶⁸.

A female respondent (9), who was living in a village in Moldova, depicted the bad economic situation:

When (the Union) fell, when the borders were opened, everyone, as well as us, decided to leave because the economy was hard to deal with, and people had to survive. You know, you can't do anything without money⁶⁹.

Nonetheless, when I look at the explanations of respondents in detail, I saw different reasons for migration, which cannot be reduced to economic restructuring. For example, a female Turkish respondent (4), who worked as a designer and knew many Moldovan women migrants, said that “Some migrants came to Turkey because they are escaping from their husbands. Other reasons: looking after the family, having a luxury lifestyle, buying a home”. This quotation not only shows that the gender roles and new cultural values have an effect on migration decision, it also shows how a woman, who has women Moldovan friends, can point out different aspects of migration processes. A gendered ideology, according to which women are responsible for looking after their family, explains to some extent the high rate of women among Moldovan migrants. Keough (2006) showed how this gendered ideology supports the migration of women and how this ideology is reproduced by the state. In my fieldwork, many male respondents interpreted this situation from a masculine perspective, saying that men do not have to look after their family in Moldova and there are no “men” there.

⁶⁸ Ya, (memlekette) iş vardı da, hani para kazanamazsın, yani çok az para vardı, o yüzden o işi yapmadım. Bizim orada şu anda mesela maaşlar çok düşük ama her şey çok pahalı. Geçim zor. Her şey çok pahalı.

⁶⁹ Birlik dağıldığı zaman. Sınırlar açıldığı zaman, herkes, biz de karar verdik gitmeye çünkü Moldova'da artık ekonomi zor olduğu için, insanlar da, bu şartlarda yetiştirmesi gerekiyordu. You know, it happens nothing without money.

In other examples, economic restructuring may have an indirect effect on migration decisions. A son (15) of a Gagauz origin Ukrainian family, whose economic situation is relatively good in spite of the fact that they lost some parts of their wealth after devaluation, said that “I said that I will go to Turkey. Then, my mother said that there is no need to go. But, I said, I will go and earn my own money”. A Moldovan woman (22) gave a similar answer: “In Moldova I was mostly supported by my brother, and I didn’t want to depend on him, I wanted to live on my own. So I decided to come here again, to change (my) environment”. Another young male Moldovan (31) emphasized that he got bored in Moldova, and decided to wander.

Before discussing the patterns of migration, the question of why these migrants selected Turkey is to be answered in a few words. As it is known, the studies, which explain the immigration to Turkey from old Soviet Bloc countries, emphasize the cultural and geographical proximity and relatively easy cross bordering as major reasons. A Ukrainian male migrant (15) summarizes the reasons for selecting Turkey as a target country, saying that

For a long time they have not been going to Europe much, Europe, America, Germany: very rarely. Turkey, it was mostly Turkey. From my country they usually came here. The other places were hard. You have your passport issued in two weeks; much easier. But you can come to Turkey⁷⁰.

A Moldovan male migrant (8), who has lived in Turkey for 10 years, said that “Could have gone to another country. But this is close. Non-Gagauz Moldovans can go to Italy⁷¹”. This observation shows that there are some differences in terms of target country between Gagauz Moldovans and non-Gagauz Moldovans.

As I have discussed in the second chapter, one of the major characteristics of current international population is temporary migration which means that migrants do not intend to settle down in the host country. Related to this trend, the transnational

⁷⁰ Eskiden (beri) Avrupa’ya çok az gidiyorlardı yani, Avrupa Amerika Almanya: çok az gidiyorlardı. Türkiye, genelde Türkiye. Bizim oradan genelde buraya geliyorlardı. Diğer yerler çok zordu. Türkiye için iki hafta içinde pasaportunu yaptır, daha kolay. Türkiye’ye gelebilir ama.

⁷¹ Başka bir ülkeye de gidebilirdi. Burası yakın geliyor. Gagavuz olmayan Moldovalılar İtalya’ya gidebiliyor.

linkages between host and home countries are more dynamic and intense compared to earlier migration processes. The temporary migration patterns are common among Moldovan migrants in Turkey. Firstly, it can be stated how the volume of migration has changed over time. When I asked this question, many respondents emphasized that there is a decrease in immigration to Turkey from countries such as Russia, Moldova, and Romania. An employer (27) in Gedikpaşa said that “after collapse of Soviet Union, there are lots of migrants. But in the mids of 90s, the number of migrants decreased”. It is worth stating that these comments were given not only for the textile/clothing sector but also for the sex industry. As a female Turkish respondent (4) says, “in the beginning of the 90s, only ‘bad’ Russian women came to Istanbul for sex industry. Then they disappeared”. To summarize, two major trends are obvious: One is that the number of Russian migrants decreased towards the end of the 90s. Secondly, the number of Romanian and Moldovan migrants began to decrease from the beginning of the 2000s and so on.

Another crucial issue related to migration patterns is the frequency of crossing the border. Since most of the Moldovan migrants’ families live in Moldova, Moldovan migrants try to visit their home land as much as possible. For the women migrants, it is common that their children live in Moldova, as a woman respondent (9) states that “Well, the children are there. They come here. My family visits occasionally”⁷². However the home land visits are not the only reason for crossing borders. As I have observed, while some migrants visit a third country regularly (mostly Russia) in order not to become over-stayers, some migrants visit their home country (Moldova or Ukraine) once or twice in a year and pay a fine. It is also common that some other migrants cannot go back to their country for two or three years since they have not enough money for transportation and fines.

One factor that affects the frequency of crossing the border is the duration of tourist visas. In Turkey, the duration for a tourist visa permission was limited from 3 three months to one month four years ago. This legal change has affected the Moldovan migrants, who stay in Turkey with a tourist visa, directly. Migrants, who do not want

⁷² E çocuklar da olduğu için. Onlar buraya geliyor. Ailem geliyor, ara sıra.

to become over-stayers (staying as a regular migrant), should cross the border monthly. As it is guessed, such a frequency of cross bordering is nearly impossible without the support of the employers. A migrant employee (15), who had a good position in the shop, received the help of his employers and had a chance to visit Moscow monthly by a cargo plane: “I go back home twice a year. I go once a month to Moscow and come back for the visa”⁷³. If migrants are not supported by their employers, they often stay several months in Turkey and pay a fine while crossing the border.

The frequency of home country visits is affected by the sector in which the migrant works. As one respondent (3) says, “Those who work in textiles don’t visit home very often. It’s because they don’t make much money”⁷⁴. The cost of the journey also affects the frequency of visits, as one respondent (9) says: “we used to visit every 6 months, but now we go one a year because the plane tickets are more expensive”⁷⁵. These examples show how the position of a migrant in the labour market affects the frequency of home country visits.

The migration to Turkey and then having a working life is often not a gradual process. When I listened to the migration history of Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants, I realized that while some (especially male) migrants’ first experience abroad was working in Moscow, some other migrants came to Turkey and then went back to their country or to Moscow. In this latter pattern of migration, migrants started to work in Turkey in their second or third visit. A Ukrainian Gagauz respondent (15) said that “I stayed two weeks and returned home. I didn’t like Turkey. I worked 3 days of those two weeks. This was when I was young; I went back home”⁷⁶. A Moldovan female migrant (22) described her migration story:

⁷³ Memlekete gidiyorum senede iki sefer, öyle yani. Vize için Moskova’ya gidip gelme ayda bir.

⁷⁴ Tekstilde (üretimde) çalışanlar çok sık sık memlekete gidip gelmiyorlar. Az para kazandıkları için.

⁷⁵ Yani eskiden 6 ayda bir gidiyorduk da, şimdi uçak biletleri pahalı olduğu için, senede bir gidiyoruz artık.

⁷⁶ İki hafta kaldım geri gittim yani, memlekete gittim. Türkiye hoşuma gitmedi. İki haftada, üç gün çalışmıştım ben, o zaman daha gençtim, gittim memlekete gittim geri.

During that visit I worked for 1 month and a half because it was boring to stay home all the time. Secondly, I came 3 months ago. I had another friend living here (in Istanbul). When I came we first went to Antalya. But, we only stayed there for 1 week because all we made in that week was 30 dollars. Then I came to Istanbul.

Another male Moldovan man (8), who has a complex migration story, worked in Moscow, Istanbul and Moldova several times. Lastly, he migrated to Turkey for the third time and has worked in Turkey for two years without a cross border. 5 out of 11 foreign respondents have such a multi-directional migration story.

In this section, finally I would like to mention what kind of plans the migrants have for their future in Turkey. An employee (21), who has worked in Osmanpaşa for several years, gave his observations about how long these migrants stay in Turkey and about the circulation of them: “There are many who stay and many who leave. Many save up money and return home. Many of the first people who came to Turkey have gone home and bought a house. When you look around, you always see new faces”⁷⁷. A Turkish female employee (4) in Osmanbey, who had known many female Moldovan migrants, said that “I know a Moldovan woman. She can be a good example in terms of future plans. She got divorced and then came to Turkey. Her ideal was to buy a house in Moldova. Usually, migrants work 3-5 years to buy a house”. All the migrants, except the ones who had Turkish citizenship, plan to come back to their country after accumulating some money. Nevertheless there are different ways of saving money. Relatively young migrants have no plan for a final arrival to their home country. For example, a 17-year-old Moldovan migrant (17), who recently graduated from high school, said that he is planning to go back to Moldova next year and then continue to education. Another young Moldovan woman (22) explains her future plan:

I'll stay here for sometime. I really like living on my own. I don't know how long, maybe I will go to Moscow. My brother has now got Russian citizenship, and he is in Moscow, so I can go there to him...What I don't like is my salary. It is very low. But in Turkey it's usually like that. For example, if I was able to go to Italy, I would make much more. There you

⁷⁷ Kalan da çok var dönen de çok var. Belli bir parayı topladıktan sonra çok var. Yani orada evini falan alan ilk girenlerden dönen çok oldu. Zaman zaman zaten piyasada bakıyorsunuz, hep yeni insanlar var.

work hard, but you get paid well. But it is difficult to get there. Legally, I mean. And, illegally it's not good, not safe. So for now I am here.

These young migrants probably do not intend to save money for now. It can be said that they may come to Turkey again as a worker after working and studying in other countries.

Some other migrants intend to enter into trade between his or her country and Turkey. The Russian female respondent (7) and the male Ukrainian (15) explained to me how they plan to make suit case trade between their country and Turkey. A male Moldovan migrant (8) explained his plans for opening a shoe shop with the support of his Turkish citizen sister. This migrant respondent, related to his plans, tried to bring his wife to Turkey. This group of people' relationship with Turkey probably will last long years either as a suit case trader or as a worker in Turkey. A migrant respondent (34) explained the difficulties of staying in Istanbul, saying that "Everyone is scattered. Migrating is hard, your mother is left behind. I think you should go back home. I plan to. Istanbul is a big city; you always have to rent a place"⁷⁸. I can generalize that most of these migrants do not intend to raise their children in Turkey. As I was told, although Moldovan migrants as a group are permanent, Moldovan migrants as individual are temporary in Istanbul. Furthermore, as I observed, the duration of stay in Turkey can vary according to the aim, life style, and the sector in which immigrants work. A male employer (3) said that if they work in the sex industry or if as a sales person they have sexual relations with their employer, probably they go back to their country in a few years.

6.2.2 Living Conditions of Irregular Moldovan Migrants in Istanbul

In this sub-section, before describing and discussing the working life of irregular Moldovan (and Ukrainian) migrants, who are working in the textile/clothing sector, I will try to describe the main characteristics of living conditions. I think that this description will be complementary to my explanation about the working life of these migrants.

⁷⁸ Herkes her yere göç etmiş. Göç zordur, annen kalıyor geride. Bence memlekete dönmek lazım. Planlarım var dönmek için. İstanbul büyükşehir, sürekli kiradasın burada.

Like every international migrant, Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants are experiencing many difficulties in everyday life. Turkey, in the beginnings of the 90s, as a country whose economy had been restructuring for ten years, had many differences in terms of labour markets and the structure of the state from old Soviet Bloc countries that try to transform their economic and political structures. Related to these differences, especially the first migrants, who did not have social networks, had many difficulties in adapting to labour and housing markets in Turkey. One of the earliest Moldovan migrants (9) in Turkey explained what she lived through in her first days in Turkey: “We had difficulties of course, you have nothing when you first come, no fork, no knife, no bed, nothing. They all come slowly...”⁷⁹. These conditions were valid also for the following migrants if they do not have enough networks support. A Ukrainian male migrant (15), who came to Turkey five years ago, stated that:

When I first came I had difficulties. We stayed in a tree here. We had nothing; no money, just onions. We would cut the onion into four pieces and eat it. That’s how hard it was. Back then we knew no one, had no friends. We ate bread and onions⁸⁰.

An employer (21) interpreted the adaptation problems in terms of rural and urban differences:

They used to work in the fields there: Actually it was worse than when we worked in the village. When they came here, I hired a worker. He would be happy when he got a pair of shoes, I would wonder why. A t-shirt would make him happy. He had never had such things before⁸¹.

Besides these economic problems, the problem of language and housing were (and are) other common problems for the new migrants. In terms of language, Gagauz Turks from Moldova and Ukraine were luckier than other Moldovan migrants

⁷⁹ Zorluklar çektik tabi, geldin mi hiç bir şeyin yok, ne çatalın, ne bıçağın, ne yatağın, hiç bir şeyin. Bunlar her şey yavaş yavaş.

⁸⁰ Hemen gelir gelmez. Ama mesela ben zorluk çektim. Biz burada ağaçta kaldık. Bak şimdi var ya, hiçbir şey yoktu, para da yoktu, sade soğan vardı, soğanı dörde bölerdik, soğan yerdik. Yani bu kadar da zorluk geçirdim ben. O zamanlar tanıdık arkadaş da yok. Ekmek vardı, soğan yedik.

⁸¹ Orada yani sonuçta tarlada çalışıyorlarmış, biz nasıl köyde çalışıyorsak onların daha kötümüş daha doğrusu. Buraya geldiklerinde ayakkabı ile bir yıl önce ben bir eleman almıştım, ayakkabıyı görüyordu seviniyordu, niye diyordum, bir t-shirt çok seviniyordu, görmemiş çünkü.

because their mother language is Turkish with a slightly different accent. As one Gagauz from Ukrainia (15) said that:

You don't have problems with the language. Gagauz people like us speak about 70% Turkish. My grandfather spoke 90% Turkish. He would say some words and we wouldn't understand them. His Turkish was very good.⁸²

However, another Gagauz from Moldova (9) stated why their Turkish is different from the Turkish in Turkey:

We had problems when we first came. Okay, we are of the Gagauz Turks, but everything is different here, reading and writing; because we read in Russian. And speaking; okay the spoken language is similar but (the language spoken in cities is different) in Turkey it is different. It was very hard at first⁸³.

In terms of housing, they usually live in rented flats with home mates. Mostly they live in the neighborhoods, which are near to the working place. When they worked in the ateliers, it was common that they lived together in one part of the atelier. An employee (11) explained how a group of Moldovan workers stays inside an atelier:

"because it was so big, they had divided the 60-70 square meter space into rooms. That's where they were staying, in the basement; it had air conditioning and everything. When the office closed, they would lock the doors and stay inside. It was better than the outside"⁸⁴.

Since they do not want to have a problem with the police and they do not have enough money, they have to stay in these "houses". However, as I was told, in recent years this type of "housing" is not common. Nowadays, 4-5 Moldovan migrants rent a flat near to their work place in order to save the money. In Istanbul, they mostly live in the neighborhoods such as Kurtuluş, Fatih, Laleli and Aksaray.

⁸² Dille ilgili sorun yaşanmaz: Biz şimdi Gagavuzlar, %70 Türkçe konuşuruz. Benim dedem %90 Türkçe konuşuyordu. Benim dedem bazen bir kelimeler konuşuyordu, biz anlamıyorduk. Dedem Türkçe iyi biliyordu.

⁸³ Sıkıntı çektik yan, önceden geldik, tamam biz Gagavuz Türk'lerinden, ama her şey farklı burada, yazma okuma; çünkü Rusça okuduğumuz için. Ve konuşma, konuşma tamam biraz benziyor ama, (şehirdeki farklı yani), şehirdeki gibi, Türkiyedeki gibi, çok farklı yani, çok zor oldu.

⁸⁴ Orası büyük olduğu için, 60-70 metre kareyi odalar halinde böldü, orada kalıyorlardı, bodrum katında, havalandırması falan hepsi var yani. iş yeri kapanınca, anahtarlarıyla kitleler, içeride kalıyorlardı yani. Dışarıdan iyiydi.

This spatial proximity is useful both for the transportation costs and for the police threat. In other words, this spatial proximity decreases the possibility of being arrested by the police, especially the new migrants trying to be invisible as much as possible. A Turkish employee (14), who works with Moldovan migrants, summarizes these factors as the following:

Because they can't go very far, because they can't rent a house far from here, they don't like their houses. They don't like the houses in this area. In fact, most don't have a visa. They work illegally. They can't go out easily. They have problems of that sort⁸⁵.

As many migrants complain, one problem in recent years is increasing rent rates in Istanbul. As I heard, the prices of houses have increased in Moldova too. Because of high rents, all of my respondents live with a home mate. While single migrants live with other single migrants, migrants, who have partners, prefer living with other married migrants. One married Ukrainian migrant (4) described these flats: "Spouses and the like stay together as a family. Four families live in a house with four rooms. Our house has four rooms and two living rooms. There are four families living there"⁸⁶. Moreover, the issue of security might affect the decision of a flat as a young Moldovan (22) migrant said:

We rent an apartment with 4 other girls. In fact, we just moved to a nice newly refurbished big apartment. It is more expensive, but that's OK, because our previous apartment was robbed 3 times – cash was stolen, jewelry. But this one is safer. Also, the living conditions are better.

Another major characteristic of Moldovan migrants' social life, related with their migration patterns, is their divided family structures. However their divided family structures, as we see in the examples of the temporary and seasonal migration of single men or women, are not static ones; on the contrary, these transnational linkages are very dynamic and changing year by year. Since it is very difficult to raise a child in Turkey, all of respondents (8, 9, 10, 15, 34), who have a child, said

⁸⁵ Çok fazla uzağa gidemedikleri için, evlerini çok fazla uzakta tutamadıkları için, oturdukları evleri yadırgıyorlar. Bu civardaki evleri yadırgıyorlar. Hatta birçoğunun vizesi de yok. Kaçak çalışıyorlar. Çok rahat gezip dolaşamıyorlar; o tarz problemleri var.

⁸⁶ Yine karı kocalar filan ailece kalıyor. Şu anda (böyle bir yerde) oturuyoruz. Dört odalı ev, dört tane aile kalıyor. Bizim ev 4 odalı. 4 oda iki salon kalıyor, her odada bir aile kalıyor.

that their children are not in Turkey. As I was told and as it can be seen in Çelik's (2005) thesis about Moldovan domestic workers in Turkey, migrants' children are being raised, depending on the conditions, by the woman's or the man's family. The fact that migrants have different plans for their children will affect the migration patterns of the second and third generation. A female migrant respondent's (9) son, who is 18 years old, works in Moscow, and probably will not go to school, and it is possible that his son may come to Turkey for working. I observed this "migrant mother-then-migrant son" trend in the migration patterns of other respondents. As I was told, while a young male Moldovan's (19) mother works as a domestic workers in Istanbul, another respondent's (30) mother works in a shoe atelier. Furthermore, I learned that the other two young respondents (23 and 31) received help from their sister and aunt respectively while migrating to Turkey. On the other hand, another Moldovan woman explained how she spends lots of her money that she earned in Turkey on her child. A worker (11) in a shoe factory supported this phenomenon: "Those I know put their children through school.... She earned a good bit of money; she was able to send her child to private schools there, providing him with better opportunities. We can't do this"⁸⁷. Thus, I can say that many Moldovan migrants have a matrilineal migration pattern.

For the younger migrants, marriage and childbirth are two crucial moments, affecting the migration patterns and their living conditions. Two male migrants explained how marriage and childbirth have affected their stay in Turkey. A male respondent (34) explained how his wife migrated to Turkey after their marriage, then went back to Moldova, and lastly migrated to Turkey again after the birth of their child. Another Moldovan (8) respondent explained in detail the complex migratory history of his family: His father and mother went back to their country because of old age. His wife, with whom he had lived in Turkey until last year, went back to Moldova because of her pregnancy. Because of this complex and dynamic divided family structure, most of the migrants send money to Moldova or Ukraine either for their father and mother or for their children⁸⁸. Thus, I can say that there is not only close

⁸⁷ Benim bildiklerim hep çocuklarını okuttular. Aldığı para çok büyük bir para, orada özel okullarda okutabiliyor, daha büyük olanaklar sağlıyor, biz onu yapamıyoruz.

links with Moldova or Ukraine but also the characteristics of these links are changing continuously. I can conceptualize these transnational family networks and non-family networks as part of the incorporation into the host society. As I explained in the third chapter, in this mode of incorporation, migrants have dense and dynamic transnational family networks while working in a host society. These networks enable migrants both to incorporate to the host country and maintain ties with home country.

Lastly, in this sub-section, I shall briefly describe what Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants do in their everyday life. As I mentioned in the methodology chapter, the Protestant church in Gedikpaşa is a meeting place for Protestant Moldovan migrant. The fact that religious ceremony is made in Turkish, Russian and Armenian shows that there are migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries. This church can be seen as a site of social networks for Moldovans where the information for new jobs circulates. In addition, I guess that this place is perceived as a “safety” haven compared to other places in Istanbul. Although the religion of Moldovan is orthodox Christian, I could not reach any information about whether they go to an orthodox church in Istanbul and use here as a meeting place. When I asked Turkish employers and employees about what Moldovans do outside work, while some said that they like night clubs and bars, some others said that Moldovans are quite economical and are careful about spending money. More importantly, I realized that the respondents, who have a valid visa and have a good position in the workplace, said that they visit different places in Istanbul (the Prince Islands and the Bosphorus). As I mentioned, the need for “being invisible” for the young Moldovans affects their non-work activities.

⁸⁸ One interesting anecdote related with the remittances was stated by a woman Moldovan respondent (11) while discussing the issue of visa fine:

Turkey requires a lot of money. 1500 dollars. How am I supposed to find 1500 dollars? Your mother and your father get upset when you don't send them money. They think we make a lot here. This is because, to be frank, the girls come, they sleep with men, they take home lots of money, and buy houses and cars. My father said, look at how much the girls are bringing in. Father, I told him, I can't do that. This is all I can do. I send you money, I can't do any more. You raised me differently. That quieted them. There was no choice. You have to have integrity. Girls work the same amount and make this much money; that's not true. It's not. Are they truly working? That's why they make this much, admit it.

6.3 Moldovan Migrants, “Illegality” and Turkish State

Before starting the discussion of labour market incorporation of Moldovan migrants in the following section, in this section I will explain major findings about the relationship between Moldovan migrants and the Turkish state in the light of my theoretical discussion that I have explained in the first section of the third chapter. According to Portes’ (1995) categorization of levels of incorporation, the first level was the governments’ immigration policy towards different migrant groups. Schierup et. al. (2006) on the other hand conceptualizes these immigration policies as “political-administrative frameworks”, which mean different regimes or “modes of incorporation” control and manage the influx of migration and incorporation processes of migrant groups.

As I discussed in the fourth chapter, the Turkish state has applied a “pragmatic” migration policy towards migrants from old Soviet Bloc Countries. There exists relatively a loose visa policy towards Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants. Inside Turkey, I can say that police and civil servants have a neutral attitude towards these migrants. In other words, they systematically and consciously disregard or overlook⁸⁹ the migrants. Based on Schierup and his colleagues’ categorizations, it can be assumed that Turkey’s migration policies fit best into the differential exclusionary mode of incorporation. In this mode of incorporation, migrants are seen as temporary settlers both by the state and the migrants themselves. While the need of employers for migrants is continuing, these “back door” policies toward migrants result in the incorporation of migrants into only some certain sub-system of society (such as the labour market) without being incorporated into political life or the welfare system. Now I shall discuss how migrants experience these migration policies.

While discussing the relationship between the Turkish state and Moldovan migrants, the contact points among these actors can be accepted as the two dimensions of this relationship: borders and everyday life. The first dimension includes work permits, residence permits and citizenship. As I discussed in the fourth chapter, the main

⁸⁹ Göz ardı etmek

difference between migrants, who come from post-Soviet countries, from the other migrants, who come from Middle Eastern or African countries, is that nearly all the first groups of migrants are crossing the Turkish border via legal ways. Moreover different from refugees or transit migrants, Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants mostly have a tourist visa and enter Turkey without aiming at going to any other third country. For the Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants the problems begin when the due date of visa ends.

The renewing of the tourist visas is a major problem for all Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants. As I mentioned in the discussion of migration patterns, some migrants have a chance to renew their tourist visa with the support of their employer. A Moldovan migrant (22) explained this support: “We have tourist visa. We have to renew it every month. Before we could just extend it for three more months, when I was here in 2005. (Anyway) we extend visas through Moscow. We fly there every month, with cargo. So I went 3 times already”. As we can guess, some migrants had such a chance after a long period of time staying in Turkey. A Ukrainian migrant (15) from the same shop compared his previous years with the current situation:

(Until two years ago), it was 20-30 dollars. I didn't do much. I decided to go, to pay my fine, then to leave and to enter the country again. However this has been happening regularly for two years. They grant you a two month visa in the Ukraine. I go up to Moscow every two months. We go to Moscow, bring back goods and take some there. We bring back some things by plane. 50-60 kilos. They pay for our ticket, then we don't have to pay for our travel. Yes, we renew the visa⁹⁰.

Without giving a definite percentage, it can be guessed with the observations and interviews that most of the Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants have not a chance of renewing their visa. Thus, many migrants stay one year in Turkey as an over-stayer. In other words, the due date of their tourist visa ends and when they come back to their country, they have to pay a fine. Usually, Moldovan migrants stay one year or more than one year in Turkey and then visit their country by paying fine according to

⁹⁰ İki yıl öncesine kadar, 20-30 dolardı. Çok şey yapmıyordum. Gideyim diyordum ben cezamı ödeyeyim, ondan sonra çıkış giriş yapayım. 2 senedir ise düzenli oluyor. Vize, Ukrayna'dan iki ay veriyorlar. İki ayda bir ben Moskova'ya çıkıyorum. Moskova'ya. Şimdi Moskova'ya gidiyoruz, mal getiriyoruz, mal götürüyoruz, müşterilerin malları mesela uçakla getiriyoruz, 50-60 kilo, onlar bizim biletimizi ödüyor, bize bedavaya çıkıyor gidiş geliş. Evet. Vizeyi yeniliyoruz.

their duration of overstay. A female Moldovan (10) explained this strategy of migrants: “We were paying the fine at the aliens’ office. I would stay here for a year then pay the fine. Then I would leave the country accordingly”⁹¹. Then she started to mention a recent change in the legal framework and how she deals with this new situation:

But now I am going to go home and return; I have a visa. I will leave the country every month now. I don’t want to overstay my visa because there is a new law now. You pay a fine depending on how long you have overstayed but you pay for a six month overstay. They don’t ask you to pay again. Other friends have stayed but paid 190 YTL. They can’t stay more now because it is strictly monitored. That’s why I couldn’t do it then. You have to pay a lot money in Turkey. 1500 dollars. How are you supposed to find 1500 dollars?⁹²

Two critical points of recent change in the legal framework about the visa regime between Moldova and Turkey have affected the Moldovan migrants directly. Until two years ago, the fines for overstayers did not cost so much. But the fines increased according to which a one year over-stayer fine cost approximately 1500 \$. A second change is that while until two years ago the tourist visas were given for a three-month period, nowadays these period is one-month. In other words, Moldovan migrants have to renew their tourist visas every month, which is very difficult for many of them. Although in my sample, out of 8 Moldovan respondents, 4 had a valid tourist visa, I guess that 60-70% of Moldovan migrants are over-stayer. Thus, the issue of visa seems to be one of the biggest problems for migrants, as a Turkish employee (14) mentions:

As far as I can see, they (foreigners) have problems. First, they have the visa problem. Moldovans have to exit and re-enter one a month. That’s what they have to deal with. They want to extend this period. By 3 or 5 months. They have those kinds of problems. There are those who leave and those who don’t⁹³.

⁹¹ Cezayı ödüyorduk yabancı şubesine. Bir yıl burada kalıyorum ondan sonra yabancı şubeye ceza veriyordum, ona göre, şeyime göre çıkış yapıyordum.

⁹² Ama şu anda memlekete gidip geleceğim, vizem var. Şu anda her ay çıkacağım. Geçmek istemiyorum. Çünkü yeni kanun çıktı. Ne kadar kalmışsan burada yabancı şubeye veriyorsun ceza ama altı ay oranın. Ha, tekrar almıyorlar. Diğer arkadaşlar da kalıyor ama 190 YTL koydular. Artık fazla kalamazlar çünkü onun ciddi bir kontrolü var. Onun için zamanında yapamadım. Türkiye çok para alıyor. 1500 dolar alıyor. 1500 doları nasıl toplayacaksın?

The second dimension of contact points of migrants with the state can be accepted as work and residence permissions. When I look at my sample from this point of view, I see that all Moldovan migrants and one Ukrainian migrant have not any work permit. Before discussing the explanations of my respondents on this issue, I would like to share some statements of an officer (1), who is working at the Ministry of Work and Social Security. He explained the work permission processes for foreigners in Turkey:

There are many who get rejected when they apply for permits. Here is how it works: If there is a Turk who can do the same job they usually don't get the permit. Some of the applications are rejected and some are sent back because the documents are old. If they can complete the documents of the rejected application there is a chance. The employer applies on behalf of the applicant. Another important factor in the permit process is the company's structure⁹⁴.

Actually, this comment about work permissions was interesting for me, since I had thought that most of the applications for work permission were accepted by the Ministry. Furthermore, he added that in this permission process the key actor is General Directorate of Security: "The word, 'illegal work', brings to mind the General Directorate of Security. They deal with these matters. They grant residence permits. If you don't have this permit, the ministry of Labor can't give you a permit"⁹⁵. The result of giving work permits rarely is that in Turkey only 106 Moldovan migrants have a work permit. Despite the difficulty of getting a work permit, I think that the responsibility of employers for getting a work permit for their employees should not be forgotten.

⁹³ Ya benim gördüğüm kadarıyla, onların (yabancıların) sorunları, şey var. Bi, vize problemleri var. İşte Moldovyalılar ayda bir defa giriş çıkış yapmak zorundalar. Ukraynalılar, iki ayda bir giriş çıkış yapmak zorundalar. İşte onların problemleri bu bence. Bu süreyi daha da uzatmak istiyorlar. 3 ay 5 ay gibi. O tarz problemleri var. (Sonuçta) Ya çıkanlarda oluyo, çıkmayanlar oluyo.

⁹⁴ İzin için başvurulardan red alanlar epey fazla. Mantık şu: Türk varsa aynı işi yapacak, pek izin verilmiyor. Gelen başvuruların bir kısmına red veriliyor, bir kısmı ise eski belge olduğu için geri gönderiliyor. Geri gönderilen başvurunun belgelerinin tamamlanması durumunda izin alma durumu var. İşçi adına işveren başvuruyor. İzin verme sürecinde bir diğer önemli koşul şirketin yapısı.

⁹⁵ Yasadışı çalışma diyince akla emniyet geliyor. Onlar ilgileniyor bu işle. Emniyet İkamet tezkeresini veriyor. Bu tezkere yoksa çalışma bakanlığının izin vermesi mümkün değil.

It is very difficult to estimate the percentage of Moldovan migrants, who have not any work permit. An employee (17) said that “70% of the foreign sales assistants are illegal”⁹⁶. I estimate that this percentage was near to 100% for the migrants, who are working in ateliers and cargo/press shops. As I was told, not all of my migrant respondents have a work permit, except a female Russian migrant (7), saying that:

I have a work permit. I do not have social security but I have one in Russia. I have to renew my residence permit every two months. Once, I overstayed my visa and had to pay fine. This is normal, there is something called ‘Staying on foreign lands freely’. An agreement was signed with the Russians regarding the related period. The work permit is granted for a year. My employer got me a permit. I didn’t have one in my previous job.

She added that her firm was a big and serious one. If I think that most of the firms in Laleli and Osmanbey are medium or small-scale firms, few migrants have a chance to get a work permit, which is actually the responsibility of employers. A Moldovan respondent (22) stated how difficult it is to get a work permit: “Some patrons get work permits for their employees, and in that case they have medical insurance, etc. But this is very rare. Usually you have to work for many years with the same employer to get work permit”. I conducted one of my interviews with a sales person in a shop where his employers work too. When I asked whether he has a work permit or not, he said that he has no work permit and then pointed out his employer with his eyes. He tried to mention that it is employer’s responsibility to get a work permit.

One result of the absence of work permits is that these migrants have not any social security in Turkey. When they have a health problem, they either have to pay on their own, or their hospital costs may be paid by their employers. However, as I was told, these migrants have social security, which can be seen as one of the reasons why these migrants do not want to cut their ties with home country.

If I remember that, the condition of getting a work permit is that migrants have to have a residence permit, besides the responsibility of employers for the work permission; the possibility of getting a residence permit must be looked at. Two

⁹⁶ Laleli’deki yabancı tezgahçıların %70’i kaçaktır.

respondents (3, 4) in Osmanbey stated that it is very rare that a Moldovan migrant had a residence permit and added that most of migrants got a residence permit by getting married to a Turkish citizen. It seems that getting married to a Turkish citizen is the only way of becoming a Turkish citizen. As I was told, in the previous years many female Moldovan migrants became Turkish citizen by “marriage of convenience”: A migrant and a single Turkish man agree to make this marriage. According to this informal contract, the migrant gives an amount of money to the man, and then they get married. After one year the Moldovan migrant, get the right of being a Turkish citizen. Then they get divorced. Of course, there are some examples of real marriages. In recent years some changes in the citizenship laws made it difficult to get a Turkish citizenship via these marriages. Besides getting married, a couple has to prove to the police that they are living together. In other words, this channel of getting a residence permit or Turkish citizenship has been blocked by the Turkish state. As a result of this legal framework, most of the migrants do not have any hope of getting these permissions although they want them.

According to the laws related to the foreign migrants in Turkey, a foreign migrant in Turkey cannot work without a work permit. Nevertheless, in practice, almost all the foreign migrants in Turkey do not have any work permit. It seems that there is a very limited state control of these “illegal” foreign migrants. One crucial point is that state controls vary according to time and sector. As many respondents mention, the state controls in ateliers increased at the end of the 90s. In some cases, foreign migrants were arrested on the streets, then police found the work place of the foreign migrants with the help of the information that they obtained from them. A respondent (11), who worked in a shoe atelier with many foreign migrants, explained this period:

State officials came a few times. Then our employer let them (the illegal aliens) all go maybe around the year 2000. When they came from the ministry of finance, and they still do this, they would all hide. Now it is illegal to work without being insured even for Turks. They have cameras everywhere. When the ministry people come, they immediately send the uninsured away, leaving only those insured to work. We used to be very close to the Police; the tram stop was 600 meters or so from us. They would catch foreigners getting on or off the tram. They would ask where we work and we would tell them. They would go to the work place with this information. Then after a couple of days a group would come, then another; they keep coming. This was in 1998-99. Then they laid them all

off. They had only one left. They tried to get citizenship for that person but couldn't do it⁹⁷.

After this high level of state control period, many migrants (especially Romanian and Moldovan migrants) either left the atelier or they were fired.

The state control of the shops and cargo firms in Laleli and Osmanbey, I was told, is quite limited. A Russian sales person (7) states explicitly: "The police doesn't come. Of course, how would it look if they came while there were customers there? The textile employers cut deals with the police"⁹⁸. This informal contract between employers in the textile sector and the police enables employers to hire foreign workers without work permits. Since this "contract" does not have any formal sanction, the control of police or inspectors can increase at any time. During my fieldwork, I tried to make an interview with an employee, whose employer is a relative of a friend. This request for an interview was rejected because my friend's relative said that "nowadays the control of police is high, there is no necessity for such an interview". It can be estimated that the informal contract between employers and police and some other factors such as bribery affect the possibility of police arrestment. However, I could not exactly understand the dynamics of police arrestment for "illegal" migrants.

Nevertheless, I understand, this contract is not valid for the shops in other districts of Istanbul. During the first step of my fieldwork, I did a short interview with an employee (26) working in a cargo/press shop in Bağcılar. He said that there are no foreign migrants in their shop. I was not satisfied with his answers and attitudes. My experiences during the second step of my fieldwork strengthened this feeling of

⁹⁷ Bir iki defa geldiler çalışma bakanlığından. Ondan sonra bizim işveren hepsini birden bıraktı 2000 senelerinde. Maliyeden geldiklerinde, halen şu anda bile yapıyorlar, mesela geleceği zaman hepsi saklanıyordu. Şimdi sigortasız olanlar, Türk işçisi de olsa yasak. Maliyenin geleceği zaman adamlar zaten her yere kamera koymuş. Öbürü geldiği zaman hemen tak, sigortasız ayırıyor, sigortalılar çalışıyor. Biz o zaman, polisler ile aramız çok azdı, tramvay durağı ile aramızda en fazla 600 metre filan, tramvaya binerken mi yakaladı, inerken mi, yakalıyor, yabancı. Nerede çalışıyorsun, burada çalışıyorum. Gidiyor iş yerlerine polis alıyor istihbaratı gidiyor. Ondan sonra iki gün sonra bir grup geliyor, iki gün sonra bir grup geliyor, devamlı başlıyorlar gelmeye. 98-99 sonları filan. Ondan sonra zaten hepsini çıkardı, tek kişi bıraktı dediğim gibi Türk vatandaşlığına geçirmeye çok uğraştı ama geçiremedi.

⁹⁸ Polis gelmiyor. Tabi müşteri varken polis gelirse olur mu? Tekstil işverenleri polisle anlaşıyor.

mine. An employer in this district said that police arrested some migrants in that shop a few weeks after my interview. In this sector, some ateliers are unregistered. As it can be estimated, the possibility of police arrestment for “illegal” migrants in an unregistered firm is more than for a registered firm. In other words, the level of informality may affect the possibility of police arrestment for a migrant.

Besides, at the workplaces, there is always the possibility of making contact with the police for a migrant. There are many stories about this contact on the streets. These “contacts” were more common in previous years. A Ukrainian respondent (15) explained his experiences:

Back in the old days, they would stop me all the time when I didn't have a visa. They would ask for my passport and my visa. I had neither. You know the police; give them “soup money” or bribe them. You wouldn't believe some of the things. ‘Sir’, I said, ‘I have no money. I had 10,500,000 lira (10.5 YTL) on me’. I would give him the ten million lira and he would still ask me for the rest. I swear, my wife had just arrived, I didn't have a visa. I said, sir, I have 10,500,000 lira, and I gave him the ten million and he told me to give him the 500 as well⁹⁹.

Another respondent (34) said that “I don't want to live far from where I work. When I lived in Laleli and went to work in Beyazit, the police would see me”¹⁰⁰. A Turkish employee (32) in a cargo shop described another aspect of the relations between police and foreign migrants: “Around these parts, the police might stop foreigners and ask for money but they usually don't bother them. It's hard to send foreigners (who are refugees) away and they'll have problems in their home country, anyway”¹⁰¹.

Concerning this legal framework and the already existing practices of the state, it can be said that Moldovan migrants' incorporation into mainstream society can be called

⁹⁹ Eskiden, yani benim vizem olmadığı zaman her zaman durduruyorlardı. Pasaport, pasaport. Vize var mı, vize de yok. İşte polisleri biliyorsun, bir çorba parası, rüşvet alıyordu. Ya öyle şeyler var ki... Ağabey dedim, param yok dedim, 10.500.000 Türk lirası vardı üzerimde adama on milyonu veriyorum o beş yüz bin lirayı da istiyor. Yemin ediyorum, eşim gelmişti o zaman memleketten, vizem yoktu, ağabey dedim on milyonu beş yüz param var dedim, on milyonu verdim, beş yüzü de istedi.

¹⁰⁰ (Evin işten) uzak mesafede olsun istemem. Lalelide otururken Beyazıt'a gidince polis görüyordu.

¹⁰¹ Buralarda polisin yabancıları durdurup para alabilirler ama genelde karışmıyor, zaten (mülteci konumundaki) yabancıların gönderilmesi zor ve ülkelerinde de sorunları olacaktır.

as “de facto integration”. As I have discussed in the third chapter, this concept is used when many migrants work in informal working conditions and do not have any legal rights. Moldovan migrants, except for their tourist visa (and remember: most of migrants do not have even a valid tourist visa), do not have any legal relationship with the state. During my pilot study, I furthermore realized that Moldovan migrants did not have any relationships with NGOs, as the refugees have. Of course, this situation does not change the fact that the general socio-economic conditions of refugees are worse than those of Moldovan migrants. Another concept, which is useful for my case is “fractional incorporation”. By examining this concept, I can understand better how Moldovan migrants are incorporated into some segments of mainstream society and they are clustered in some niches of the labour and housing markets.

6.4. Moldovan Migrants in Textile and Clothing Sectors in Istanbul

In this section my major aim is to discuss the labour market position of Moldovan migrants in Istanbul. In this discussion, I will keep in mind that my research question is about what “factors” and “agents” affect the position of Moldovan workers in the labour market in Istanbul in general and in the textile/clothing sector in particular. While discussing this, I would like to make a periodization and distinguish the period of garment ateliers from the period of shops and cargo firms. In this regard, I will try to answer the question of how and why this position changed historically. First of all, I will try to describe and discuss the period when Moldovans mainly worked in ateliers.

6.4.1 Moldovan Migrants in Textile/Clothing and Shoe Ateliers

As I indicated in the fourth chapter, Turkey’s changing economic structure, from the middle of the 80s on, has increased the role of the textile and clothing sector in the articulation process of Turkey’ economy in the world capitalist system. The growth of this sector has gone along with the increasing role of informal work in the labour market. In this context, many foreign migrants started to work in the textile/clothing

sector. The informal conditions and lack of state control made this entrance easier. Moldovan migrants, like many other migrant groups, had work experiences in these ateliers. But these experiences, as we will see in the following paragraphs, did not last until nowadays.

Firstly, I would like to demonstrate the experiences of my respondents in textile/clothing and shoe ateliers. Out of 11 migrant respondents, five had work experiences in shoe or clothing ateliers. A female respondent (10) working in a textile factory one and a half years when she came to Turkey, explains the situation:

When we came to Turkey, we worked and slept in the factory. We slept in the workshop at the harbor. I did the quality control of the products in Gungoren. I learned this job there. When I came here I didn't know anything. I went to school, so I am a little smart, so I learn. My Turkish may not be great but.. Then I worked there as a secretary. There was a two-storey factory¹⁰².

She received help from a Romanian couple while finding this job. I will mention what commonly happens to Romanian migrants, who are working in the textile/clothing atelier. This Moldovan female respondent explained why she left the job:

I couldn't stay very long, they paid me very little. No insurance or anything. And there was another problem that made me leave. The employer would drink and treat the foreigners differently. That's also why I quit¹⁰³.

A male Moldovan respondent (8) has worked in a shoe factory for two years. As he explained, he did not have a specific and skilled job in this factory. However many other respondents worked less than two weeks. One extreme example is that a Ukrainian Gagavuz respondent (15) worked only half and a day in an atelier. He explained how he found and why he left this job:

¹⁰² Türkiye'ye gelince, fabrikada, orada çalıştık, orada yattık. Atölyede yattık. Liman var ya orada. Güngören'de. Malların kalite kontrolünü yapıyordum. Orada öğrendim bu control işini. Geldik buraya hiç bilmiyorduk, okuduk, onun için biraz kafa çalışıyor, öğreniyoruz. Tam Türkçe konuşamıyorum belki ama. Sonra orada sekreter olarak çalıştım. Fabrika vardı, iki katlı.

¹⁰³ Bilmem ne onun için ben dayanamadım yani, az para veriyordu, görmedik. Sigorta filan yok. Yemek verdiler, ücret verdiler, o kadar. Az para verdiler. Bir de, bir problem çıktı ben ayrıldım. Patron içki içiyor, yabancılara farklı davranıyordu, o yüzden de ayrıldım.

I worked in a workshop in Esenler. There was this woman I knew; she helped me get the job. I only worked for two days. There were 3-4 more Ukrainians there. But we quit after 2 days. The work was bad, tiring and hard. We cleaned threads. There were a few Moldovans and lots of Romanians. The Romanians were doing the ironing. Sometimes they would faint with the heat of the irons. The employer was terrible. He would yell and swear. I left that place before I had found another job¹⁰⁴.

A friend of this respondent (34), who I interviewed, summarized this short experience: “People are strange. That’s another reason we left. When it’s strange there, you pack your bags and leave. But somehow, those who treat foreigners badly can sometimes change their behavior”¹⁰⁵. Another similar atelier experience was described by a young Moldovan respondent (31):

Then I went into a textile workshop in Kucukcekmece. We did pressing and packing there. We were 7 people. Some were women. We only worked there for 15 days. They never paid us that whole time. They told us, go to the store, buy 150 lira’s worth of things. I couldn’t buy my cigarettes. We slept in the workshop. There were 4 women. Then one of our friends got us out of there; we couldn’t stand it there¹⁰⁶.

Since few respondents had an atelier experience and these experiences are quite limited, I tried to learn from other respondents whatever they know about the foreign migrants in general and Moldovan migrants in particular. While many respondents gave general information about the relationship between ateliers and foreign migrants, some Turkish respondents tried to explain their own experiences with foreign migrants in ateliers. A Moldovan male respondent (8), who worked in a shoe producing atelier, said that “there aren’t many migrants because the pay here is low.

¹⁰⁴ Esenlerde bir atölyede çalıştım. Kadın bir tanıdığım vardı, onun vasıtasıyla buldum bu işi. Sadece 2 gün çalıştım. Yanında 3-4 ukraynalı daha varmış. Ama 2 gün sonra işi bıraktık, iş çok kötüydü, yorucuydu, zordu. İplik temizleme işi yaptık. Birkaç Moldovalı ve bir sürü Romen vardı. Romenler ütü yapıyordu. Ütüden bayılma durumları olabiliyordu, sıcaktan. Patron kötüydü; bağırıyordu, küfrediyordu. Bir iş bulmadan çıktım.

¹⁰⁵ İnsanlar cins. O yüzden de bıraktık. Cins olunca ortam, hadi topla çantayı. Ama bir şekilde yabancılara kötü davranan bir süre sonra davranışlarını düzeltebiliyor.

¹⁰⁶ Sonra, bir tekstil atölyesine girdim, Küçükçekmece’de. Burada ütü-paket işi yapıyorduk. Orada 7 kişiydik. Birkaçı bayandı. Sadece 15 gün çalıştık. 15 gün hiç para vermediler. Dediler ki, gidin bakkala 150 milyonluk alın bişeyler. E böyle olunca ben sigara içemiyordum. Atölyede yattık. 4 bayan vardı. Sonra bir arkadaşımız hepimizi oradan aldı, dayanamadık orada.

That's why they don't prefer to work in factories. There used to be more Moldovans. Now there are fewer"¹⁰⁷. An employer in Osmanbey (21) made a similar observation:

I haven't run into many (migrants in workshops). They will be making a certain amount of money working in workshops and spending time in a certain environment. This makes a difference. I used to see some at first, but now I don't"¹⁰⁸.

Another employer (12) gave more specific information about ateliers and foreign migrants: "Apparently foreigners used to work in workshops between 1995 and 1999"¹⁰⁹. But it is quite difficult to get definite information about what percentage of these foreign migrants are Moldovan migrants. It can be estimated that compared to the work of Romanian migrants in ateliers that were common in this period, the employment of Moldovan migrants was quite rare and they were working only in some ateliers.

Compatible with this statement, few respondents described his/her experiences with the Moldovan migrants in ateliers. For example, a Turkish employee (13) in Osmanbey described the employment of Moldovan migrants as follows:

Before, there were those who worked in workshops. There were Moldovan ladies. They would come and work. They would work here, too. Back then. But not now. That was about ten years ago"¹¹⁰.

The ateliers that this employee mentions are very small ateliers on the top floor of the apartments in Osmanbey where some sewing and designing is carried out. Another employee (11), who was working in shoe production, asserted that there were many Moldovan workers in that sector in that period:

¹⁰⁷ Fabrikalarda çalışan göçmen az. Çünkü buralarda ücret az. O yüzden fabrika çok tercih edilmiyor. Önceden fabrikalarda çalışan moldovalı vardı. Şimdi daha az.

¹⁰⁸ Çok rastlamadım yani, atölyelerde göçmene, yüzde bir ancak. Atölyede çalıştığı zaman alacağı maaş belli, ortamı belli daha doğrusu. Çok fark ediyor. İlk zamanlar oluyordu ama şu an rastlamadım. İlk zamanlar tabii vardı biraz ama şimdi yok.

¹⁰⁹ Atölyelerde yabancıların çalışma işi, söylediğine göre, 1995-1999 arasında olmuş.

¹¹⁰ Önceden atölyelerde çalışanlar da vardı. Önceden vardı mesela. Moldovalı bayanlar vardı. Gelirler, çalışırlardı. Burada da çalışırlardı. Gelip çalışanlar oldu. Zamanında. Ama şimdilerde, yok. 10 önce. 10 sene olmuştur.

They all had Moldovan workers. There was at least one Moldovan in those buildings and stores. They would do the cleaning and so on. In my previous work place there were 14-15 Russians. I worked there with them for 4-5 years. They are nice people. I don't know, they were nervous about Turks working with them. Why? Because they might be out of their jobs. But the Armenian, boss, didn't cheat them out of their job. They came in 1995-1996, I left in 2000. They were all laid off at the end of that year. There were more of them in those days. Now there are only 15 % of how many there were then¹¹¹.

According to these experiences and observations, it is difficult to make a generalization but it can be said that more Moldovan workers were employed in the shoe sector than in the textile/clothing sector. One point in these statements, which needs to be clarified, is that most of the respondents confused any foreign migrants with Moldovan migrants (or Moldovan migrants with Russian migrants) although I tried to state continuously that I am interested in Moldovan migrants. As a result of this, while I was transcribing my interviews in some cases I could not decide whether they were talking about Moldovan migrants or other migrant groups.

An employer (12), who knows the textile/clothing sector quite well, compared the amount of Moldovan workers with Romanian workers and gave some clues about the decrease of foreign workers in this sector:

Before, about 10 years ago, there were many Romanians. Of course there were many Moldovans, too, but there were more Romanians. For example, there were 8 Romanians in my brother's furniture workshop. These workers knew each other. They worked there between 1998 and 2003. Then, a cop found one of these workers outside and found the workshop. My brother ended up having to pay a large fine¹¹².

¹¹¹ Moldovalı çalışan hepsinde vardı. Atölyede dediğim gibi, o apartman gibi şeylerde, her dükkanda mutlaka bir Moldovalı çalışıyordu. Temizlemesidir şusudur busudur, bu işleri yapıyorlardı. Bizim önceki iş yerinde de 14-15 kişi Ruslar vardı. Ruslarla ben 4-5 sene çalıştım aynı atölyede. Çok iyi insanlar yani ben bilemiyorum, şimdi Türklerin çalışmasıyla onlar korkarak çalışıyordu. Çünkü neden, aç kalma korkusu var. Ama Ermeni, patron, onların haklarını yemedi. Onlar, 95 yılından itibaren, 96 yılından itibaren geldiler, ben oradan çıktım, 2000 senesinde, senesinin sonunda (da) mı ne hepsini çıkardılar. O zaman çok lardı hemen hemen, o zamanın şeyi, yüzde yüzse şimdi yüzde on yüzde beş belki var belki yok. Yani Türkiye genelinde.

¹¹² Eskiden, bir 10 sene kadar önce, Romen çoktu. Tabi Moldova'lılar da çoktu ama Romenler en çoktu. Örneğin, benim abimin mobilya atölyesinde 8 Romen vardı. Birbirlerini tanıyordu bu işçiler. 1998-2003 arasındaki dönemde çalıştılar. Sonra, çalışan bir işçiyi polis dışarıda yakaladı ve atölyeyi buldu. Bunun üzerine epey yüklüce bir ceza ödedi abim.

Another employee (11) also elucidated the increased control of the state and its implication in the following way:

They are not employed in production in this sector anymore. In this period, there weren't many problems back then. Now it is harder; the fines are a lot. In those days when the controls got strict, they tried to make one of the migrants a Turkish citizen. We had a very good employee. The police would come and extort money saying there was a Russian working there. Then two days later, another cop would come and he would also extort. The Armenian said, this can't continue and went all the way to the Consulate for the citizenship of the foreign employee. Our employee wasn't able to. So our boss never had any foreign workers again¹¹³.

A skilled employee (25) experienced a very similar event in the clothing sector: "I worked in the textile industry in Gunesli under an Iranian employer. There were 3-4 Romanians around 1997. But then the police raided the place and the company was fined"¹¹⁴. Thus, a Ukrainian migrant (15) summarized this transition period:

The Moldovans and Ukrainians left these jobs. There were more Moldovans at some point. Yes, there were more. Some went to America, to Italy, to Germany. They went all over¹¹⁵.

When I look at today's labour market, I think that the "reality" about the Moldovan migrants and ateliers is between two observations. The first comment was made by an employer: "There were some at first, but now there aren't many"¹¹⁶. A Moldovan worker (8), on the other hand, interpreted this situation: "There were more Moldovans working in factories before. There are fewer now"¹¹⁷. Compatible with

¹¹³ Şimdi şu anda onlar bu sektörde imalatta çalıştırmıyorlar. O zaman fazla bir şey yoktu zannedersem. Fazla bir sıkıntı yoktu şimdi fazla bir sıkıntı var, cezaları çok büyük. O kontrollerin arttığı dönemde, hatta göçmenlerden birisini Türk şeyine soktular. Çok iyi bir elemanımız vardı. Türk pasaportu alsın da bıraksınlar peşini amacıyla, çünkü polisler habire gelip haraç alıyorlardı. Diyordu burada Rus çalışıyor alıyordu gidiyordu. İki gün sonra arkadaşı geliyordu alıyordu gidiyordu. Böyle olmayacak dedi Ermeni de. Bu eleman Türk vatandaşı olsun diye konsolosluga kadar gitti. Olmadı ondan sonra da olmadı. Bir daha da ne çalıştırdı ne bir şey.

¹¹⁴ İran'lı bir işvereni olan bir yerde, ve Güneşli'de bir tekstil işinde çalıştım. Burada 1997 civarı 3-4 Romen vardı. Fakat sonra polis baskını oldu ve ceza yedi firma.

¹¹⁵ Moldovalıların Ukraynalıların ayrılması bu işten: Şey diyorlar, bir dönem daha çok çalışıyordu Moldovalılar. Evet, bir dönem daha çoktu. Yani bazen Amerika'ya gittiler, İtalya'ya filan gittiler her tarafa gidiyorlar yani. Almanya'ya.

¹¹⁶ İlk zamanlar tabi vardı biraz ama şimdi yok.

¹¹⁷ Önceden fabrikalarda çalışan moldovalı vardı. Şimdi daha az.

the second observation, an employer (20) of a small atelier in Osmanbey said that there are some foreign workers in Çağlayan, which is one of the important neighborhoods in Istanbul for the textile/clothing sector: “There are some working. No, we don’t have any but there are some. There are more around the Caglayan area. Here (Osmanbey) there are more working in clothing stores. They don’t bother working here”¹¹⁸. Unfortunately, I could not reach any foreign workers in Çağlayan. Another Moldovan woman migrant (10) stated how the socio-demographic characters of foreign workers have changed: “Older women usually work in factories, the young people don’t. They all work in stores”¹¹⁹. Similar information came from an employer (24) in Bağcılar: “There aren’t many workshops with foreigners working; in some pressing and packing places there are middle aged Moldovan women and young men”¹²⁰.

After this period of high-level state control, it seems that almost all Romanian and Moldovan migrants in the textile/clothing sector left their jobs. As I was told, some Moldovan migrants continued to stay in Turkey but changed their jobs. As a respondent (11) told me, after this period some Moldovan migrants went back to their country. About the Romanian migrants, we know that most of them went back to their country due to the economic growth in Romania. After this state control period at the end of the 90s and at the beginning of 2000s, it may be estimated that the percentage of foreign workers in the textile/clothing sector has decreased. Nevertheless this does not mean that nowadays there are no foreign migrants in the ateliers of this sector. It seems that new migrant groups from old Soviet Bloc counties have begun to migrate to Turkey for the last 5-6 years, as a Turkish sales person (17) in Laleli said: “These days there are Armenians and Georgians in workshops”¹²¹. An employer (20) in Osmanbey supported this observation:

¹¹⁸ Çalışıyor. Yok. Bizde yok, ama çalışıyor. Çağlayan tarafı burdan daha çok. Çalışıyor. Burda (Osmanbey) konfeksiyon mağazasında çalışıyor. Burda fazla uğraşmıyor.

¹¹⁹ A fabrikada var. orada yaşlı kadınlar genelde çalışıyor, 45-50 yaşında kadınlar, gençler çalışmıyor. Gençler hepsi mağazada çalışıyorlar.

¹²⁰ Yabancıların çalıştığı atölye pek fazla yok, bazı ütü-paketleme yerlerinde orta yaşlı moldovalı kadınlarla genç erkekler çalışabiliyorlar.

Well, foreigners, eastern Europeans, Azeris and Turkmens come, then Afghan and Iraqis come. For example, there are many men from Mongolia who are workers here. Not in every business place, but in some. Like, a man just arrives, and decides to work here. He works. There are many from Mongolia¹²².

Some of my employer respondents (12, 35) already are hiring these groups of migrants:

There are Turkmen and Azeri people working here. There may be some foreigners working in the Bağcılar industrial area, in the food factories. There are 4 Azeris whom I know to work in textile factories. I think they have permits¹²³.

How can we interpret the change from Moldovan and Romanian migrant workers to Azeri or Turkmen migrant worker in the labour market of clothing production? Firstly, it can be seen that the employment of foreign migrants in the production units has continued although the migrants groups have changed. However, it should be pointed out too that the work of new migrant groups is not as explicit as the old migrant groups in urban spaces. I mean that the employment of, say, ten migrants in one atelier was quite common until 6-7 years ago. Nowadays, however, employers of ateliers do not want to hire more than two or three foreign migrants because ten migrants in an atelier create a risk of police' or other state officials' control. From the side of the state, although it is difficult to find out a "rationale" for this transformation, the existence of foreign migrants in "acceptable" limits may decrease the possible problems in Turkish public opinion. It should not be forgotten that the changing visa regime between Turkey and Turkic Republics of the old Soviet Bloc, according to which a migrant from these countries can stay in Turkey without any visa three months, have affected this transformation too. From the side of employers, beside the advantages of applying the de facto compromise on the hire of foreign

¹²¹ Şimdilerde atölyeler Ermenistan'lı ve Gürcistanlı'lar var.

¹²² Yani, yabancı, doğu Avrupalısı, Azeri. Ondan sonra Türkmeni geliyor, ondan sonra Afganlısı, Iraklısı geliyor. (Mesela) Moğalistan, moğalistan'dan buraya mesela kaç tane adam gelmiş. Çalışan, işçilik yapıyor burada. Her işletmede değil, ama bazılarında. Ya adam mesela yeni gelmiş, diyo işte, burda çalışayım. Yapıyo yani, çalışıyo. Moğalistan'dan bayağı geliyor.

¹²³ Bu atölyede Türkmen ve Azeri çalışıyor. Bağcılar sanayi sitelerinde, yemek fabrikalarında bazı yabancılar olabilir. 4 Azeri var, tekstil atölyelerinde çalıştığını bildiğim. Galiba izinleri var onların.

migrants with the state, I was told that hiring Muslim migrants (Azeri, Turkmen) is preferable.

The second crucial point while interpreting the changing place of foreign migrant in this labour market is what the individual and collective role of Moldovan migrants is in this change. As I explained in the previous paragraphs, the working conditions of ateliers and low wages led many Moldovan migrants to change their jobs. One interesting difference in these “escaping” stories from ateliers is that while some migrants decided to leave the work place individually, some other Moldovan migrants leave their job collectively. It seems that if one group of Moldovan migrants work in an atelier it is possible that they leave this workplace together. The reason for this “escaping” can be state control as we saw in the experience of the 11th respondent, or they can make an individual or collective decision without being affected by state controls. Another important point is that leaving an atelier does not directly mean that these migrants change the sector in which they work. As some respondents explained, some Moldovan migrants could go to Italy or back to their country. Some others started to work in other sectors, say, as domestic workers. Nevertheless, since I have not enough information, it is difficult to estimate how many Moldovan migrants changed their sector and how many of them went back to their country. Lastly, it should not be forgotten that the employment of Moldovan migrants in production units continue. During my fieldwork, I was told that some middle aged female Moldovans work in ateliers as pressers. In addition I could make interviews with some young Moldovan migrants, who were working in small shoe ateliers. What kind of jobs Moldovan migrants work in the textile/clothing sector nowadays is the question of the following section.

6.4.2 The Employment of Moldovan Migrants in Laleli and Osmanbey

In this sub-section, I firstly would like to describe the position of foreign migrants in the labour market, and then put what kind of jobs Moldovan migrants do in general. Following this depiction of the labour markets, I will try to explain how Moldovan migrants have changed their jobs. Then, more importantly, I will try to find out

which factors have affected the new position of Moldovan migrants in the textile/clothing sectors.

Before discussing the comments of respondents about which migrant groups do which jobs, it is worth mentioning that these comments should be seen as only informal “guesses” about foreign migrants although some of these respondents have worked in these sectors for many years. An employer’s (3) description about the position of the foreign workers in the labour market offers a general outlook:

Russians work in trade and the Moldovans and Ukrainians are mostly in wage paying jobs. There are male sales assistants in Laleli from Romania. There aren’t many Moldovan men. There aren’t many male migrants in textile. More men are in jobs like construction, porting, gardening and car washing. There is a high rate of prostitution among Romanian women. Now they have started going to Europe along with Bulgarian women¹²⁴.

Following these comments, he additionally gave some percentages about the foreign migrant workers: “If 70% of Ukrainians are working in ‘normal’ jobs, 70% of Moldovans are in prostitution. In terms of the migrants’ countries of origin, 70% Moldova, 20% the Ukraine and 10% Russia”¹²⁵. Another employer (21) in Osmanbey gave some specific information on the “male jobs”:

I can’t say there aren’t any working around here, in factories. The men usually work as porters. Some carry materials from the textile factory, some work with coal. They are covered in black dust. They work in tea gardens. They work underground. They are involved in all kinds of dirty work. They work as garbage collectors. As you know, that work was given over to the private sector¹²⁶.

Considering both these general comments and the comments of other respondents, I assume that most of the female Moldovan migrants work as sex workers or as

¹²⁴ Ruslar ticarete, Moldovalılar ve Ukraynalılar daha çok ücretli işlerde. Laleli’de Romanyalı erkek tezgahhtarlar da var. Moldovalı erkek az. Erkek göçmen tekstilde az. İnşaat, hamal, bahçivanlık, araba yıkama gibi işlerde daha çok erkekler. Romen kadınlarda fuhuş oranı yüksek. Bunlar şimdiler Bulgar kadınlarla birlikte Avrupa’ya daha çok gitmeye başlamışlar.

¹²⁵ Ukraynalıların %70 çalışıyorsa “normal” işlerde, moldovalıların %70’i fuhuşta. Göçmenlerin geldikleri ülkelere göre nasıl dağıldığı genel olarak: %70 Moldova, %20 Ukrayna, % 10 Rus.

¹²⁶ Bu tarafta yani fabrikalarda çalışan insanlar yok değil. Erkeklerin yaptığı iş dediğin (genelde) Hamallık. Hamallık aynı, konfeksiyon fabrikasında kumaş geliyor, onu indiriyor, kömürde çalışan var. Kapkara olmuşlar. Çay bahçesinde. Arka işlerde, bütün pis işlerde varlar aslında. Çöp arabalarında var erkekleri, o özel şirketlere devrolmuş ya.

domestic workers¹²⁷. In addition it is obvious that most of the Moldvan migrants are women. This situation is compatible with the studies on the emigration from old Soviet Bloc countries. However I also saw that migrants, working as a sales person or as carrier, is quite common especially for some neighbourhoods of Istanbul.

In addition to these general comments on labour markets, many respondents admitted that there are a large number of migrants, who are working as sales persons, and that they work generally in Laleli and Osmanbey, as a Moldovan migrant (13) explained that “foreigners usually work in shops”¹²⁸. A Turkish employee (4) in Osmanbey explains this phenomenon in detail: “They work as models (in the shops) and sales assistants. Their knowledge of Russian is an important factor in their employment. They do the easy work, the simple tasks. They do these jobs because they don’t know about textile or sewing”¹²⁹. An employer (16), who has a shop in Zeytinburnu, gave roughly the percentage of different migrant groups: “20% of those working here as sales assistants are Russian-Crimean, 45% are Moldovan and 30% are Ukrainian”¹³⁰. A Russian sale person (7) in Osmanbey told me that “around here there are more Moldovans and Russian sales assistants. Russian sale assistants are not many, just a few”¹³¹. As I observed, a similar picture was valid for Osmanbey.

Besides working as sales persons, I was told that many migrants worked in cargo firms. The employment of male migrants in cargo firms creates a gender division of labour. A Moldovan migrant (8) clarified this division of labour: “Ladies work in sales and men work in packing and cargo”¹³². Compatible with this observation, an

¹²⁷ Although it is obvious that most of the domestic workers are women, I was said that some Moldovan couples came to Turkey and they work in a luxurious private house together. While the woman works as domestic worker, the man work as a bodyguard or as a gardener.

¹²⁸ Yabancılar genelde mağazalarda çalışır.

¹²⁹ Mankenlik/modellik (dükkan içinde) ve satış elemanı olarak çalışıyorlar. Rusça bilmeleri işe alınmalarında oldukça etkili. Kolay işleri, ayak işlerini yapıyorlar. Tekstil ve dikiş işiyle ilgili bilgileri olmadığı için bu işleri yapıyorlar

¹³⁰ Burada tezgahlar olarak çalışanların %20’si Rus-Kırım’lı, %45’i Moldova’lı, %30’u ise Ukraynalı’dır.

¹³¹ Burada daha çok Moldovalılar ve Ukraynalı tezgahlar var. Rus tezgahlar çok az birkaç tane var.

¹³² Bayanlar satış işinde, erkekler de poşetleme ve kargo işinde çalışıyor.

employer (21) asserted that 90% of foreign sales persons are women. According to my observations in cargo firms, some female migrants (probably Moldovan) work in cargo firms as secretaries. In recent years, the population of Azeri and Turkmen migrants in cargo firms has increased, as an employer (28) admitted: “These days many migrants come from Turkmenistan to work in the cargo business. Azeris come, too. And of course there are Moldovans”¹³³. Another owner of a cargo firm (employer of 31) made a similar comment on the employment of Moldovan migrants: “Actually, they could be migrants from any group as long as speak Russian. These days there are lots of Moldovans working here (in cargo firms). There are Ukrainians in stores, too”¹³⁴. A Turkish employee in a cargo firm (32) shared an interesting observation which shows that there is an ethnic division of labour between the migrants from ex-Yugoslavian countries and Moldovan migrants. He asserted that:

In large cargo firms like this, where 30 people can be employed, there could be Muslims from Yugoslavia working. They can get insured here, too. Moldovans usually work in smaller cargo companies¹³⁵.

Based on these observations, it can be said that most of the foreign workers in cargo firms in Laleli are male Moldovan, Azeri and Turkmen migrants.

After such a general discussion of the labour market position of foreign migrants, now I would like to share my respondents’ experiences in this labour market. While exploring these work experiences, I will focus on how they find their current and previous jobs. A young Moldovan migrant’s (22) first job in Turkey was in Antalya as a sales person. Then she changed three jobs because of different reasons:

¹³³ Şu aralar Türkmenistan’dan birçok göçmen kargo işinde çalışmak üzere geliyorlar. Azeriler de çalışıyor. Tabi Moldova’lı da var.

¹³⁴ Valla Rusça bildiği sürece herhangi bir gruptan bir göçmen olabilir. Bu aralar buralarda (Kargo işinde) Moldovalılar çokça. Mağazalarda da Ukraynalılar var.

¹³⁵ Büyük kargo şirketlerinde 30 kişi çalışabiliyor buralarda mesela tamamen Yugoslavya’dan Müslümanlar çalışıyor. Buralarda sigorta da olabiliyormuş. Moldovalılar genelde küçük kargo şirketlerinde oluyormuş.

The shop we worked in Antalya had no new clothes, and also they paid commission from the sales. The commission was 7 per cent, but because the clothes were not good there were very few customers. So we returned after 1 week, and within 3 days I found another job. I only worked here for 1 month. Before this one I worked in another shop.

As she explained, she found her last job with the help of a friend. We can conclude that this migrant has a strong network among sales persons so as to find another job easily.

For a migrant, not only the type of job and the structure of the firm are important, but also it is crucial in which area of Istanbul the shop or firm is. I realized that for the migrant sales person, especially for women, there are differences between Osmanbey and Laleli, two different neighbourhoods of Istanbul. A female Moldovan migrant (9), who has been living in Istanbul more than fifteen years, explained the spatial differences and the meaning of these differences:

When you first come to the city, Istanbul, you come to Laleli. Everyone comes to Laleli anyway. I stayed there for a month. I couldn't find a job, actually I did, but the conditions weren't right. Well, you know (*here, the respondent was probably trying to imply the sexual harassment common in those kinds of jobs*). Because the people are different. After that we moved to Osmanbey and we are very happy. I worked in Laleli for a month. In a shop. We are much happier in Osmanbey. The people are different. They are more cultured¹³⁶.

Based on this experience, we can conclude that the spatial dimension in the labour market should be considered and added to the analysis.

Contrary to this female migrant, many migrants start to work in a shop as a sales person after many other jobs. A Gagauz Turk from Ukraine (15) explained how he starts to work in a shop while working in a cargo firms and how his friends in the cargo firm continue to work there:

Because we went there, we drove, did the loading. There were two people there working. And I have been working here for 7 years. One of my

¹³⁶ İlk şehre (İstanbul) gelince Laleliye geliyorsun. Zaten herkes geliyor Laleliye. 1 ay orada kaldım. İş bulamadım, daha doğrusu buldum da, şartlar olmadı. Hani, olur ya? (*burada görüşmeci o işlerde cinsel tacizin olduğu söylemeye çalışıyordu sanırım ki*) Yani insanlar biraz farklı olduğu için. İşte biz sonra Osmanbey'e yerleştik ve çok da memnunuz. Laleli'de 1 ay çalıştım. Mağazada çalıştım. Osmanbey'de daha çok memnunuz. İnsanlar farklı yani, daha kültürlü.

friends was working here, I visited him occasionally and the boss convinced me. Then my friend left, they needed someone so they called me and hired me¹³⁷.

As I understand, similar to previous respondent, this respondent left one shop because of similar reasons:

The store is empty; the man gives me weekly wages. I told him, look, I am looking for another job. He said, no, we are bringing in the goods. One week, then two, then three weeks went by, and no customers. They weren't a big company. Then I told them I wouldn't be coming in anymore¹³⁸.

It seems that the existence of networks based on friends, enabled this migrant to leave both the cargo firm and a shop where he did not want to work.

A male Moldovan migrant (34), who is a friend of a previous respondent, explained why he did not like the jobs in cargo firms and how he refused to work in another cargo firm:

I went into the cargo business later. I worked here for 4-5 months. The work was hard. I used my language skills there a bit. Because of my language skills, I got offered a job from a new cargo firm. But I didn't want it. I didn't like the cargo business¹³⁹.

After the work in cargo firms, he explained that he managed to start working in a shop. Then, he explained how he started to work in another shop with the help of his friend:

My friend was working. I was in a shop selling children's clothes. When the season was over, the boss told me, there's no work. I had decided to rest for a week. My current boss's nephew was working at X's store. I was there, too. They called me over to work at their old store because they were going to open a new store¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁷ Çünkü biz şey gidiyorduk oraya, arabayla gidiyorduk, yüklemeyi yapıyorduk, orada iki tane arkadaş vardı orada çalışıyorlardı. Burada ise 7 senedir çalışıyorum. Benim bir tane arkadaşım burada çalışıyordu, onun yanına gidip geliyordum, ondan sonra patron kandırdı beni, arkadaş sonra gitti, adam lazım oldu beni aradılar, beni buraya aldılar.

¹³⁸ Dükkan bomboş, adam bana haftalık veriyor. Ben dedim, bak dedim, başka iş baktım, yok dedi malı getireceğiz filan, bir hafta iki hafta üç hafta, söylüyorum yani müşterisi yok bir şeyi yok, onlar da büyük bir firma değildiler yani, ondan sonra ben işe gelmeyeceğim dedim.

¹³⁹ Sonradan kargo işine de girdim. Burada 4-5 ay çalıştım. İş biraz ağırdı. Dilimi biraz kullanıyordum orada. Dili kullandığım için, yeni bir kargodan teklif aldım. İstemedim ama. Kargo işini beğenmedim.

Besides working in these jobs, migrants, if they have not enough social capital, can work in other jobs. The work history of a young male Moldovan (31) can be a good example of working in different jobs in a limited time:

I first came here by plane. First I worked at a coffee house for a week. Back then I couldn't speak any Turkish, and the boss didn't want me. Then I went to work at a baker's in Kocamustafapasa. I worked there for about 6 months. Then I went into the construction business. We built a tennis court in Izmir and Tekirdag with a subcontracting company. There were three more Moldovans. There wasn't much money in the construction business. The work was hard. I was barely making 500 dollars so I left. I also worked as a gardener for some people living in a villa¹⁴¹.

After this work history, this migrant's last two jobs are in cargo firms. Another migrant (15) explained how he found a job in a parking garage before working in Laleli:

For my first job, I had to look everywhere to find one. I had a friend. We had met here and he was looking for a job, too. Then we talked to this girl; she was from our village. She told me about a job opening at a parking lot in Sişli. She gave us the number and told us to call. We said, okay, and we called them. They said they wanted to see us and that a car would come to pick us up. Then, God bless him, he took us to his restaurant, we ate and then we worked in the parking garage for two years. Then we went on to Laleli¹⁴².

Similar to these stories, another migrant (34) explained how he started to work in Laleli after changing more than ten jobs (including working in a shoe atelier and in a watch repair shop).

¹⁴⁰ Arkadaş çalışıyordu. Ben ise, daha önce çocukçuydım. Sezon bittiğinde 1 yıl çalışmışım. Patron dedi ki ona: İş yok. 1 hafta dinleneyim demiştim. Şu an çalıştığım dükkanın yiğeni X'in dükkanındaydı. Ben de oradaydım. Beni yeni açılacak dükkanları olduğu için eski dükkana çalışmam için çağırdılar.

¹⁴¹ Buraya ilk uçakla geldim. İlk önce 1 hafta bir kahvede çalıştım. O zamanlar Türkçe konuşamıyordum, patron da beni istemedi. Sonra bir fırına girdim, Kocamustafapaşa'da. Orada da yaklaşık 6 ay çalıştım. Sonra inşaat işine girdim. Bir taşeron firmayla tenis kortu yaptık İzmir ve Tekirdağ'da. 3 Moldovalı daha vardı. İnşaat işinde çok para yoktu. İşler zordu, 500 dolar ancak alıyordum, buradan da çıktım. Ayrıca bir ara, bir villada bahçevanlık yaptım.

¹⁴² İlk işi işte gezdik yani çok gezdik, bir tane arkadaşım vardı burada tanıştık, o da iş arıyordu. Gezdik. Ondan sonra bir tane kızla görüştük, bizim köylü kız vardı burada, dedi bir tane iş var dedi, otoparkçı dedi, şişlide, istiyorsanız dedi telefon var, arayın görüşelim. Biz tamam dedik, aradık, adam dedi, görüşelim, bir araba gelecek sizi alacak. Sonrasında, Allah razı olsun hemen lokantasında getirdi, hemen yemek yedik, şey yaptı, ondan sonra orada, otoparkta, iki sene çalıştık. Ondan sonra laleliye geçtik.

At this point, after these descriptions of labour market in Laleli and Osmanbey and the individual work stories of my respondents, I would like to discuss the main factors that affect the position of Moldovan migrants in the labour market. A respondent's (15) explanation about the position of foreign migrants can be an interesting starting point for this discussion:

Well, everyone did different work. It was a matter of luck. The lucky ones got the good jobs. Some come and find a job easily. For example, they might find jobs around here in Laleli after just arriving¹⁴³.

Although "chance" might have a role in the labour market position, I would like to analyze the role of other factors.

As it can be seen from the discussions on the migration patterns of Moldovan migrants in the previous sections and on the work histories of some respondents, social networks have a very crucial role for the migrants while migrating to Turkey and searching jobs there. In order to analyze the social networks of Moldovan migrants, it would be useful to look briefly at how they use their network in migration processes so as to understand the continuing role of these networks. One of the Turkish respondents (4) said that "They come in groups. They know each other and take care of each other"¹⁴⁴. Throughout this analysis, we will see to what extent this statement is true.

Firstly I understood that almost all migrants have a friend or a relative in Turkey before coming to Turkey. It seems that while some networks are depended on relatives some others are depended on friends. Two respondents (8 and 10), for example, asserted that they had had a relative in Turkey and they had helped them while migrating to Turkey. As I understand, some respondents had close relatives (especially their aunt) in Turkey. Three respondents (7, 31, and 34) said that they had received help from their aunt or by the daughter of their aunt. It can be guessed that the high percentage of women among Moldovan brought about the formation of

¹⁴³ Şimdi herkes farklı işi yapıyordu, herkes de o işi yapmıyordu yani, şansına göre. Şanslı hemen güzel bir iş bulmuş, çalışıyor. Şey yapıyor yani, böyle. Şansa göre. Mesela bazıları geliyor çok rahat iş buluyor. Buralarda mesela Laleli'de, mesela yeni geldi memleketten, Laleli'de çok güzel iş buluyor.

¹⁴⁴ Ekip halinde geliyorlar. Birbirlerini tanıyorlar. Birbirlerini sahipleniyorlar.

networks depending on female relatives. Related with the transformation of networks, the statement of a respondent (31) was interesting: “They brought me here and left me. All alone. My aunt was here. Now my whole family, except my father, is here”¹⁴⁵. Another Moldovan migrant explained how the number of his family members in Turkey has increased year by year. One statement of an employer in Osmanbey (3), I think, includes a good comment on the transformation of the scope and power of networks: “They were worse off at first. Now they are smarter. Those coming from Moldova were more dependent on the mafia in the beginning. Then they became more street smart and formed their own network”¹⁴⁶. Thus, it seems that the scope of networks in terms of relatives is larger than others. In other words, some migrants have many relatives in Turkey. However this scope does not guarantee that he or she finds a “good” job.

Some other migrants received help from her/his friends. Moreover they could find “better” jobs compared to the migrants, who received help from their extended family. One of first Moldovan migrants (9) in Turkey explained the help of his friend:

I had a girlfriend here. She told us she would help us if we had any difficulties. That’s how we decided to come and we did. My friend was Moldovan. She had arrived a month before me. That’s how it happened. I don’t know who helped her¹⁴⁷.

Some other respondents (15 and 22), who were working as sales persons, explained how they had received help from one of his/her friends. Lastly, I was told during my fieldwork that some Moldovan migrants came to Turkey with the help of formal or informal “tourism” agencies. But I guess that this type of migration is common among Moldovan workers, who came to Turkey in order to work as sex workers.

¹⁴⁵ Beni getirdiler, bıraktılar. Tek başıma. Teyze vardı burada. Şimdi, babam hariç bütün aile burada.

¹⁴⁶ İlk başlarda daha mağdur durumdaydılar. Şimdi daha açığöz oldular. Moldovadan gelenler ilk zamanlar mafyaya daha bağımlıydılar. Sonradan açığöz oldular ve kendi ağlarını kurdular.

¹⁴⁷ Burada bir tane kız arkadaşım vardı, işte, durumunuz zor olursa gelin yardımcı olurum dedi, işte öyle karar verdik, geldik. Moldovalı arkadaş. O da benden 1 ay önce gelmişti. Öyle oldu. Ona kim yardım etmiş, bilmiyorum artık.

When we look at the role of these networks in finding jobs, two different modes of operation of networks needs to be distinguished. While many Moldovan migrants were working in ateliers, it seems that it was common that many relatives were working in the same atelier. A Turkish employee (11), who had worked with Moldovan migrants, explained the hiring processes: “We would phone them a week before the work started. The Moldovans bring their own people. They have their own car in Laleli. They drive that”¹⁴⁸. In recent years, working in an atelier as a group has continued as I pointed out in the previous section. Nowadays, the employment of Moldovan migrants in the shops necessitates more individual types of networks. In other words, it is common that migrants help other friends to find a job in a shop, which is near to their shops. One Ukrainian migrant answered my question of how his wife found her job: “Of course, I found it. It is across from my other shop. I have been there for many years. I had known the boss there for some time and we got along well. My wife came and now she works here”¹⁴⁹. It can be said that if a migrant has a close friend working in Laleli as a sales person, she/he has a more chance to work in such a shop. Besides networks based on friendship and relatives, there are some areas where the networks of migrants are concentrated. In the previous section, I have mentioned how the Protestant Church in Gedikpaşa is used as a meeting place by Moldovan migrants. In addition, there is a “market place” where Moldovan migrants, who want to work as domestic workers, come and wait for an employer.

Another possible factor that may affect the position of migrants in the labour markets is human capital of migrants. As I have discussed in the chapter on conceptual framework, while some scholars are focusing on observable skills such as education, occupational skills, and language and unobservable skills such as ability and motivation of migrants, some others are dealing with socio-cultural resources of migrants such as values, orientation, skills, and knowledge that they bring from their

¹⁴⁸ İşler başlamadan bir hafta kala biz telefon ediyorduk. Hepsi birbirinin akrabalarını getiriyor. Laleli’de mesela onların arabaları var, kendilerinin, Moldovalıların gelip giderler.

¹⁴⁹ Tabi, ben buldum. Benim öteki dükkanın karşısında. Ben orada kaç senedir, tanıdık patron çok iyi, aramız da iyiydi, eşim geldi, şimdi burada çalışıyor.

home country. Concerning these approaches, I had some questions about skills and language to make in order to explain the role of different factors in the position of foreign migrants in the labour market.

Many respondents answered my questions related with skills of foreign migrants by saying that there are many Romanian migrants, who have skills on interior decoration and metal cutting work. A respondent (6), who had worked with Romanian workers in a factory producing metal models, explained how two experienced Romanian workers worked as lathe operators. As for Moldovan migrants, I was not told that they have any specific skills, known in the labour market. At this juncture, two points should be asserted. Firstly, although many Moldovan migrants have an occupational skill such as nursing, construction or driving, they cannot use these skills directly in Turkey. Secondly, as it is known, most of the workers are “unskilled” or “semi-skilled” in the textile/clothing sector. Related with this issue, many respondents said that Moldovan migrants, if necessary, learn the skills that this job necessitates. In the clothing production, for example, an employer (20) said that “No, they learn. You learn (like Turks). Like, you work a machine. You learn. But there are many working”¹⁵⁰. An employee (29), who is working in a shoe atelier, made a similar comment: “After working for sometime, the foreigners learn the job, too”¹⁵¹. Another worker (33) in shoe sector said that migrants generally work as unskilled labour but some migrants get skills and become skilled labour workers. In many cases, as one Turkish employee (4) says that “They do the easy work, the simple tasks. They do these because they don’t know anything about textile or sewing”¹⁵², migrants do not even learn the basic skills related to textile/clothing production.

In addition to “unskilled” workers in ateliers, I learned that some Moldovan work as designers or as accountants. A Turkish employee (4) in Osmanbey mentioned that

¹⁵⁰ Yoo, öğreniyorlar, öğrenirsin. Bizim Türkler gibi, neticede mesela, makinaya geçecen. Neticede, öğrenirsin yani. Ama çalışan çok.

¹⁵¹ Bir süre çalıştıktan sonra yabancılar da işi öğreniyor.

¹⁵² Kolay işleri, ayak işlerini yapıyorlar. Tekstil ve dikiş işiyle ilgili bilgileri olmadığı için bu işleri yapıyorlar.

there are some migrants working as designers. A Moldovan migrant (9) working as salesperson explained how her friend became a designer:

For example, if someone is good at drawing, he can be a designer. But not everyone can draw well. Like, I can't. Someone I knew started here as a store clerk, then decided to move up. He was good at drawing, so why shouldn't he? It's better than being a clerk¹⁵³.

Thus, it can be said that Moldovan migrants, compared to other migrant workers and native workers, in general do not have any skill that they bring from their home land. But that most Moldovan migrants have at least a high school diploma and can be counted as cultural capital.

Language, that is Russian, seems to be one of the most important factors that affect the labour market position of Moldovan migrants. Since almost all migrants from the old Soviet Bloc countries can speak Russian, they are preferable as sales persons in the shops, which export goods to these countries. The importance of language in the recruitment of migrants from old Soviet Bloc countries was explained by many Turkish workers and employers. An employer (21) said explicitly: "It's because of the language skills. That most of all¹⁵⁴". And one designer (4) explained that: "they work as models and sales assistants in the shop. Their knowledge of Russian is an important factor in their employment"¹⁵⁵.

Besides the knowledge of language, I would like to explain to what extent the socio-cultural resources of Moldovan migrants that they bring from their home country affect their labour market position. A Turkish designer in Osmanbey (4) mentioned the well-known recruitment reason of migrants from old Soviet Bloc countries: "Other reasons for hiring them: they are hardworking, they are healthy and they are

¹⁵³ Mesela bir insan, çizim beceriyorsa, o modelistlik yapar. Ama herkes, ben mesela çizim çizemem. Modelistlik yapan. Tanıdık vardı, burada mesela başladı, tezgahlar çalıştı, ondan sonra, ben daha yükseklerle çıkayım, dedi.. Elinden gelen bir şey. Çizim güzel olduktan sonra, neden yapmasını yani. Tezgahlardan daha iyi bir şey.

¹⁵⁴ Dil yüzünden yani. Öncelikle dil. Tabii.

¹⁵⁵ Mankenlik/modellik, dükkan içinde, ve satış elemanı olarak çalışıyorlar. Rusça bilmeleri işe alınmalarında oldukça etkili.

honest. Our natives cause problems”¹⁵⁶. An employer (27) in Gedikpaşa, based on his observations, tried to explain why foreign migrants are preferable for employers compared to Turkish workers:

They are preferred as workers because they are generous and unselfish. They are also smart people. They learn in 11 days what a Turk might in 5-6 months. Those from Moscow are better educated and cultured. Because these workers are illegal, they are more desperate and can not afford to demand much¹⁵⁷.

As one of the “real socialist” countries, we know that Moldovan workers have different attitudes towards work compared to workers in liberal/capitalist countries, and have different kinds of work ethic formations. But I think that this “generous” attitudes towards work is highly related to being in a foreign country without having any legal documents, as the employer mentioned in the last sentence of his explanation. Here, I think, the statement that Russian migrants are preferable point out that there may be some categorizations among old Soviet Bloc countries based on “cultural” characteristics. The statement of one Ukrainian sale person in Laleli (15) gave some clues about such a categorization:

For example, there were never any Azeris working for our company. Never one Georgian. Only Moldovans, and Ukrainians. Georgians and Azeris are very, they are bad people. They are not decent. Not all of them but most. Like, once we put up a want on the door and lots of Azeris came, and Armenians, but we didn’t hire them. They speak Russian but we didn’t hire them¹⁵⁸.

This interesting statement shows us that Moldovan migrants have “a good label” compared to migrants from other old soviet countries.

¹⁵⁶ Diğer tercih edilme sebepleri: Çok çalışkanlar, sağlıklılar, dürüstler. Bizim yerliler sorunlular.

¹⁵⁷ İşçi olarak da kabul edilir çünkü bu işçiler, ‘cömerttir’, ‘bonkördür’. Bunlar aynı zamanda zeki insanlar. Bir Türk’ün 5-6 ayda anladığını bunlar 11 günde anlayabilirler. Moskova’dan gelenler daha eğitilmiş ve kültürlü oluyorlar. Bu işçiler kaçak oldukları için boynu bükükler ve fazla talep edemiyorlar, mecburiyetten.

¹⁵⁸ Örneğin, işte bizim firmada hiçbir zaman bir tane Azeri çalışmadı. Bir tane gürcü çalışmadı. Sadece, Moldova ve Ukrayna’lılar. Gürcüler de Azeriler de çok şey oluyorlar. Onlar pis insanlar yani. Temiz şeyli değil. Onların hepsi değil de çoğunluğu yani. Mesela biz ilan astık kapiya bir sürü Azeri geldi, ermeni geldi ama almadık yani. Rusça biliyorlar ama almadık.

In the previous paragraphs, I have mentioned that there is a gender division of labour between Moldovan men, who are generally working in cargo firms, and Moldovan women, who are working in shops. I assert that such a gender division in the labour market is highly related to the “necessities” of the jobs in the shops. More importantly, as we will see, the “demands” of employers also affect this gender division of labour. In these shops, in Laleli and Osmanbey, most of the exported goods are clothes for women. Additionally, as I was told during my fieldwork and as I read in Yüksekler’s (2003) study, most of the suit-case traders from old Soviet Bloc countries are women and Russian. Because of these reasons, mostly migrant women are preferred by employers of these shops. An employer in Osmanbey (21) explained the advantages of hiring female migrants in detail:

The woman sales assistant just takes one look at the customer and makes a sale right then. And the girls here and these women warm to each other immediately, ask each other how they are and so on. Woman to woman. That’s why I think they are useful. I have seen it. We have had Russian men work for us. One of them ruined the way everything was arranged. We work with women. It is obviously easier for a woman to dress and approach a female customer than it would be for a man. A female customer comes in to try on a coat; it is an advantage for her to be able to put it on immediately. That is why we have to employ them¹⁵⁹.

In shops, where male clothes are sold, female migrants can be preferable. For the employers, some women are more preferable since I was told that after three years as a sales assistant migrant women become professional. An employer (21) in Osmanbey said that there are few female migrants who have a long work experience:

But of course there are some people in the market who have been working long; they are very different. They are more experienced, they are better at making sales. Their sales make a big difference. Some don’t even speak Turkish when they first arrive. Then it is harder on you¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁹ Kadın tezgahlar bir bakıyor tak hemen satıyor yani. Ondan sonra burada kızlar onlarla daha iyi kaynaşıyorlar, a nasılsın, falan diye. Kadın kadına. Bence o yüzden çok işe yarıyor. Ben gördüm mesela bizde çalışanı gördüm Rus erkeği bizde çalıştı. Tezgahı bozuyor. Sonuçta bayan işi yapıyoruz, erkeklere göre giyinmesi çıkarması, müşteriye yaklaşması daha kolay oluyor kadının. Bayan müşteri geliyor burada bir mont deneyecek, hemen giyebilmesi bir avantaj yani. Onun için yani mecburen çalıştırmak zorundayız.

¹⁶⁰ Ama tabi uzun zaman çalışan insanlar var piyasada, onlar çok farklı. Yani deneyimli, daha iyi satış yapar gibi. Çok fark ediyor onların satışları. Örneğin buraya yeni gelmiş Bazen Türkçesi bile olmuyor. O da sizin için daha zor.

Beyond the importance of being female and being experienced, migrant women are preferable to Turkish women because of their non-work and family life. As a Turkish employee in Laleli (17) said that “A female native sales assistant starts slacking after a certain hour saying her husband is expecting her but this sort of thing doesn’t happen with foreigners”¹⁶¹. The fact that most of the migrant women do not have any family life affects their employment possibilities.

In addition I learned that the attributed cultural differences between foreign migrant women and native women are another factor for migrants’ employment. As I was told, some of the women’ clothes that they sell are “sexy” and “fantastic” in style. Since migrant women generally do not refuse to be a model for these clothes, they are preferable to native women. The same employer (17) made a comment on cultural differences between native and migrant women: “Also, the native sales assistant would not like to model the clothes we sell. They are too revealing. Natives don’t wear these types of clothes. The foreigners are over some things. They don’t mind”^{162,163}.

As I have mentioned, migrant women work in these shops not only as sales assistants but also as models. This issue, which is highly related with the issue I have explained in the previous paragraph, brings us to the usage of the “body” in the work place. In the fashion retail industry, the importance of aesthetic labour was mentioned in the chapter on conceptual framework. I realized during my fieldwork that “body aesthetic” is an important dimension of migrant labour in the shops. In Laleli and Osmanbey, I saw many job announcements on the windows of the shops. It was

¹⁶¹ Yerli bir kadın tezgahı belli bir saatten sonra ‘kocam bekliyor’ diyerek işi kaydırmaya başlar ama yabancılar da böyle şeyler olmuyor.

¹⁶² The last sentence of this statement, I think, points out an important perception of Turkish males towards foreign women. As a result of an ethnocentric world view, many Turkish men think that if the moral and cultural values do not fit into “Turkish culture and moral values”, then these values are evaluated as “non-moral”. So, they think that it does not matter for the foreign migrants whether they wear sexy clothes. We know that this attitude towards foreign women may be used, unfortunately, for the legitimation of assaults or sexual aggressions.

¹⁶³ Ayrıca yerli tezgahı her kıyafeti üstünde denemek istemez. Bizim sattığımız kıyafetler açık seçik. Yerliler giyemez uçuk saçık kıyafetleri. Onlar bazı şeyleri aşmışlar. Yabancılar için bir şey farketmez ki

written: “Wanted: Size 38 (woman) to model clothes”¹⁶⁴. Besides the size of body, many employers said that they take care with the clothes, diction and make-up of migrant women. Thus, the migrants’ body becomes an important dimension of their labour-power. I also realized that in some cases the demand of employers for appearance is not limited to the necessities of the job. Some employers, as one in the shoe industry (27) explained “Some employers sometimes try to hire the prettier women. This is about the attitude of Turkish men towards women”¹⁶⁵. It is quite difficult to say what percentage of employers is interested in the “beauty” of migrant women. Related to this “hiring criteria”, I was also told that many employers have “friendship” or “sexual relationships” (mistress) with their migrant female employees. An employer (21) asserted that “This is because of the general tendency. It’s also because they use them for different things. This is true for 90%. They are involved with either the director of the company or the sale assistant or the employer”¹⁶⁶.

According to another employer (3), three major factors constitute the employer’s demand for foreign migrant women: “Language skills are an important factor. But the desire to have relationships with foreigners and the possibility of employing them for low wages also impel them to employ migrants”¹⁶⁷. As we have seen from the examples, these factors cannot be reduced only to the shops. Concerning all these factors, the Moldovan and Ukrainian female migrants are the most preferable groups in the shop labour market. In the cargo firms, however, nearly half of the foreign workers are male Moldovan migrants.

One important dimension is the wages of migrants. In the following section, I will mention the issue of wages while discussing working conditions. At this point it can

¹⁶⁴ 38 beden prova mankeni aranıyor.

¹⁶⁵ İşverenlerde güzel kadınları alma gibi bir çaba da olabiliyor. Bu Türk erkeklerinin ‘kadınlara meyilleri’ ile ilgili.

¹⁶⁶ Genel eğilim çünkü. Şimdi farklı şeylerde de kullandıkları için, bir de o var yani. Yüzde doksan öyle. Ya o firmadaki ya müdürüyle ya tezgahlarıyla ya patronuyla ilişkisi var.

¹⁶⁷ Dil önemli bir etken oluyor. Ama göçmenlerle beraber olma isteği de ve düşük ücrete çalıştırabilme imkanı da işverenleri göçmen çalıştırmaya itiyor.

be said that the advantages of hiring a migrant because of low wages are not specifically true of Moldovan migrants. I mean that all migrant groups can be preferable from the point of view of employers. This advantage, it seems, is more valid for the production units. An employer from the clothing sector (12) explained the wage factor in hiring migrant workers:

One Moldovan is equal to 2 Turks in terms of the work completed. The Turk gets 800 lira and the Moldovan gets 500 lira. So it is more profitable for those who want to hire Moldovans. Moldovans are smarter. They barely make 100 dollars back in Moldova. They work harder than our workers. The Turkish worker works well for 15 days and then starts slacking. But Moldovans work at the same level even if they have been working for two years¹⁶⁸.

An employee (29) from the shoe sector made a similar observation: “When you need an assistant, you can hire a Turk or a foreigner, but because the weekly wage of a foreigner is 100 YTL, foreigners are preferred”¹⁶⁹.

Before starting the discussion of this section, I would like to answer one more question about the foreign migrants in the labour market: If the wages of migrants are generally lower than wages of native workers and if the different dimensions of female migrants’ labour-power are used by employers, what kinds of factors do exist that limit the employment of foreign workers in general and Moldovan migrants in specific? For the ateliers, I have mentioned how the state control in the end of the 90s decreased the employment of foreign migrants. I asked an employer (35), who hires one Turkmen and one Azeri migrant in his atelier in Bağcılar, why he hires only two foreign migrants. He gave some reasons: “Having more than a few foreigners draws attention. It increases the chances of a police raid. Also, it is harder to find these foreigners a place to stay. It is hard to find a place for more people to stay in the

¹⁶⁸ 1 Moldova’lı=2 Türk, yaptıkları iş açısından. Türk 800 lira maaş alıyor, Moldova’lı 500 lira maaş alıyor. Yani Moldova’lı çalıştırmak işveren için, beklenileceği üzere, karlı. Moldova’lılar kafa olarak daha akıllılar. Memleketlerinde 100 dolar ancak kazanıyorlar. Bizim işçilerden çok çalışıyorlar. Türk işçi 15 gün iyi çalışır, sonra kaytarmaya başlar. Ama Moldova’lılar 2 senede çalışsalar, aynı tempoyla devam ediyorlar.

¹⁶⁹ Bir çırak ihtiyacı olduğu zaman Türk veya yabancı alınabiliyor ama yabancının haftalık ücreti 100 ytl kadar olabildiği için yabancılar tercih ediliyor.

workshop”¹⁷⁰. Although it is difficult to make a generalization, for the Moldovan migrants there is one additional obstacle if he or she wants to work in an atelier. The same employers said that “I prefer Muslim migrants to Moldovan migrants. Muslim workers are better”¹⁷¹. It seems that the demand that exist for female Moldovan in Laleli and Osmanbey is limited in Bağcılar where conservative employers exist although some Moldovan migrants are identified themselves as “Gagauz Turks”. In Gedikpaşa, a doorkeeper of a building, where a lot of shoe ateliers are, said that “None in this building can employ foreigners. Because the turn over rate is high and they cause problems”¹⁷². I could not learn explicitly what these problems are.

6.4.3 Concluding Remarks on the Changing Labour Market Position of Moldovan Migrants

In this sub-section, I have tried to describe and analyze two periods separately. This division was made according to the different labour market positions of Moldovan migrants in the textile/clothing sector. In the first period, we saw that many Moldovan migrants were working in clothing or shoe ateliers. When we come to nowadays, we saw that the picture changed and nowadays many Moldovan migrants work either as sale assistants or as carriers. In order to understand the dynamics of this change, I think, three points should be discussed.

Firstly I think that the Turkish state, with its institutional and legislative structure, provides a context in which the major dynamics of the labour market in terms of the position of foreign migrants’ are determined. With regard to the migration policies of the Turkish state towards the migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries, on the one hand, the state enables these migrants to enter Turkey easily at least compared to the ones from other countries. On the other hand, the difficulties in getting work and

¹⁷⁰ O da, birkaç taneden fazla göçmen olması, etrafta fazla dikkat çeker. Polis baskını yeme olasılığı artar. Ayriyeten, bu göçmenlere yer bulmak sorunu büyür. Çok kişiye, atölye içinde kalacak yer bulması zordur.

¹⁷¹ Müslüman işçiyi Moldovalıya tercih ederim. Müslüman işçi daha iyidir.

¹⁷² Bu handa kimse çalıştırmaz yabancı dedi, çünkü sürekli girip çıkıyorlar ve sorunlu oluyorlarmış yabancılar.

residence permits leads them to work as irregular migrants. In this context, I have discussed how the relations between the state and Moldovan migrants cause a “de facto integration” or “fractional incorporation” of these migrants.

Our second point is the role of employers and capital accumulation in this sector, which affects the context that is provided by the state too. As it is known, one major characteristic of the textile/clothing sector is that informal working conditions especially in small and medium sized enterprises is very common, which is necessary for the reproduction of capital under the pressures of global markets. Sassen’s (1995) demand-driven theory, that deals with restructuring urban economies, I think, explains to some extent the relationship between informalization and migrant labour in Istanbul. However the case of Istanbul is different in the sense that most of the labour demand of the restructuring economy is supplied by the migrants from other cities and villages of Turkey. Furthermore, it is impossible to talk about an ethnic economy realized by foreign migrants. Specifically for the textile/clothing sector, it seems that foreign migrants in Turkey concentrate on some segments of this sector like an occupational niche. Moldovan migrants have changed their position from one segment of this sector (production) to two other segments (shops and cargo firms). If I interpret this transition by using two dimensions of informalization (status of labour and working conditions), it is seen that Moldovan migrants experienced an improvement in terms of working conditions but no change in terms of labour status. Concerning these two points, it can be said that while the polarization between Moldovan migrants and native workers in terms of working conditions has increased in favour of the former one, the polarization in terms of labour status has remained almost the same. The “illegal” status of foreign migrants, although they work in formal shops, has continued. In this continuation of informality in terms of labour status, employers affect the position of Moldovan migrants by preferring them as sales assistants in the shops and as carriers in the cargo firms. In the ateliers, it seems that new migrant groups are preferred. The role of physical appearance (and the role of the perception about “beautiful Moldovan migrants”) in the hiring processes can be seen as one of the factors that create a gender division of labour between different segments of the textile/clothing sector.

Thirdly, from the side of Moldovan migrants, it can be asked how they use their social networks and what the main dynamics of these networks are. According to the human capital theory, migrants use their skills in finding jobs and in increasing their status in the workplace individually. For the Moldovan migrants, there are some opportunities for working as skilled labour in the textile and clothing sectors such as, as an accountant or designer. However, in my case, I saw that few Moldovan migrants work in these capacities. If I count “aesthetic labour” (including the beauty of body) as a part of human capital, it seems that some female Moldovan migrants use this “human capital”. Beyond human capital, I think the socio-cultural resources of Moldovans or the perceptions about this migrant group might increase the chance of getting a good job compared to other Russian-speaking groups. When I look at their networks, we see that some migrants have “networks among friends” and some have “networks among family members”. I cannot make a generalization but I might assume that the first types of networks are more effective in finding a “good” job such as sales assistant. The ones, who use and mobilize family networks, elaborate family strategies in migrating and finding jobs. Historically I can say that they have developed their networks but since they have not any legal rights or properties in Turkey, any change in the labour market would affect directly their employment. In terms of the gender dimension of networks, I saw that many migrants came to Turkey by using a female relatives’ network assistance. Lastly I would like to share one observation about what kind of relationship exists between global capital flows and social networks. It is obvious that when a flow of trade capital begins between two points then the social networks and the flow of labour between these two points starts to develop. For example, the trade between Russia and Turkey caused a flow of labour. Nowadays the growing trade between Arabic countries and Turkey can be seen as one the major reasons for the Arabic-speaking sales assistants in Laleli and Osmanbey.

6.5 Labour Processes of Moldovan Migrants

6.5.1 Labour Processes in Ateliers:

In this section, I try to discuss the labour processes of Moldovan migrants in clothing and shoe ateliers. As I have mentioned in the chapter about conceptual framework, I will approach the labour process by using the concepts of control and resistance in these workplaces. In order to do this, I will firstly describe the main characteristics of working conditions in these ateliers, then continue with how the processes of control and resistance operate by explaining the changing status of labour of foreign migrants and workplace interactions in these workplaces.

Before discussing the physical and organizational conditions of the work place, it can be shown what foreign migrants and native workers are actually doing at there. Many Turkish respondents said that foreign migrants in general and Moldovan migrants in specific work as “unskilled” labour in ateliers like many native workers in the same work places. Some called this type of job as (running) errands¹⁷³ which means that workers perform different tasks such as bringing something from another shop or cleaning the clothes at the same time without having any specific skill. Because of the nature of these tasks, I was told that migrants (like many native workers) acquire the necessary skills after they start to work there. These processes are called by Bailey and Waldinger (1991) as “informal training systems” or “on-the-job-training”. A worker (13) in a small atelier of Osmanbey, who learned how to use a sewing machine by informal training systems, described these skills and language acquisition processes:

They would do it when they were shown. The men come, they start speaking Turkish as well as me in three months. Only 3 months and this man who knows no Turkish starts to speak it like you and me. They are very determined. They don't complain about work. They do whatever you ask them to. That's because the work places are already crowded. There are lots of workers there. You put them next to someone and do what you tell them to. Then they eventually learn everything¹⁷⁴.

¹⁷³ Ortacı, Getir götür işleri

When I asked whether they learned to use a sewing machine, he said that:

They do, of course. The machine is nothing. You can learn it in a couple of days if you want. There are more foreigners. It is a woman's work. Take things, brings things, put them here or there, clean the threads of this, the collar on this one needs fixing. These types of things. But of course there are Turks who do this type of work, too¹⁷⁵.

At this point, it is important to point out that these small ateliers in Osmanbey are actually not clothing ateliers. They are used as storage and for designing and sewing the first example of a garment as this worker explains his job: "Now I sew patterns. Ready-made ones come. I make the pattern and I cut and I stitch. A prototype pattern. The pattern I make goes to the workshop"¹⁷⁶. Nowadays, only a few Moldovan migrants are working in these small design ateliers.

In medium-sized clothing ateliers, according to the observations of an employer, foreign migrants worked as "running errands" too: "They work as assistants. I give them the article and they clean it. There aren't many who are experts. No"¹⁷⁷. In the previous sections, I have already mentioned that some Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants worked in a clothing atelier as "cleaner of clothes" and Romanian migrants worked as pressers. My respondents explained how they escaped from these ateliers because of hard working conditions. On the other hand, a female Moldovan migrant (10), different from her co-nationals, described what she did in a clothing atelier and how their working conditions were: "There were 15 people there; girls and boys from Romania. You stayed right there near the factory. All the workers did. Boys and girls stayed separately. I did the quality control of the incoming goods"¹⁷⁸. Although she

¹⁷⁴ Gösterince yapıyorlardı. Adamlar geliyorlar, Türkçeyi, 3 ayda, benim gibi konuşmaya başlıyorlar. 3 ay geliyor, hiç Türkçeyi bilmeyen adam, senin benim gibi konuşmaya başlıyorlar. Azimliler. İş ayırt etmezler. Ne verirsen, onu yapar. İşyerleri zaten kalabalık olduğu için. Orda çalışan var. Onun yanına verirdin, sen de onu yap, diyorsa. O da artık, zamanla her şeyi öğreniyor.

¹⁷⁵ Oluyo tabi, makine bişey değil, istersen, 1-2 günde öğrenirsin. (Ama onlar, daha çok), Karı işi yani. Getir, götür, şunu şuraya koy, onu oraya yap, şunun ipini temizli, şu yakası bozuk, orayı bir., onu bir getir. Öyle işler yani. Ama aynı işi yapan Türk'lerde vardı tabi.

¹⁷⁶ Burada ben şuanda model dikiyorum. Dışarıdan kalıplı hali gelir. Kalıbı çıkar. Çıkartırlar. Ben şey yaparım. Kesip, dikip. Numune. Atölyeye gider, benim diktiğim modele göre.

¹⁷⁷ Ortada, atıyorum mesela, temizleme yapıyorlar. Haa, tabi ortada, ortada, onlar. Yani böyle pek usta olan. Yok, yok.

had a skilled job compared to many foreign workers in this period, she insisted that she did not want to remember this period.

In the ateliers, where shoes are produced, the labour conditions of foreign workers are similar to the ones in clothing ateliers. An employer (27) in the shoe sector offered us a general overview of the job that foreign migrants do:

In the shoe business, they do the unskilled work like cleaning, putting the laces on or boxing. The prettier ones among them might become secretaries. Of course, there are those who do the more important and complicated tasks requiring expertise as well¹⁷⁹.

In the shoe sector, there are mainly two types of production units. In the first type, titled as “subcontractor”, shoes are produced informally in very small ateliers without using machines. A worker (11), who worked in these ateliers many years, described these ateliers:

Imagine a building with 4-5 stores. There were rooms. Let’s say there were 3 foremen per room and 2 rooms, that makes 6. 4 skilled workers, their assistants; that would be a total of 10-15 people. Now, I have worked where there were 15 people and where there were only 2. We did the work manually. There were no machines at all. Whatever had to be made was made by hand. When it was about retail¹⁸⁰.

As I have mentioned, I conducted some interviews with foreign workers in these “old” types of ateliers. In the beginning of the 90s, however, most of these ateliers started to produce shoes by machine. The same worker explained this transformation:

I worked in retail too then. Over time, they bought machines and we started working for a monthly salary and that’s how it slowly became a

¹⁷⁸ Orada 15 kiři vardı, Romanya’dan kızlar erkekler. Hemen fabrikanın orada kalıyordunuz. Tüm çalışanlar kalıyordu. Kızlar ayrı erkekler ayrı. Gelen malların kalite kontrolünü yapıyordum ben.

¹⁷⁹ Ayakkabı işinde temizleme, bağ takma veya kutulama gibi beceri istemeyen işleri yaparlar. İçlerinden güzel olanlarının sekreter olma olasılığı vardır. Tabi ayakkabı üretiminin en önemli noktaları olan saya dikimi, montoloma gibi işlerde çalışanlarda var.

¹⁸⁰ 4-5 katlı bir han düşün. Odalar vardı. Hani diyelim ki bir odada 3 tane kalfa, 2 tane oda olsa, altı yapar. Dört tane de tezgahçı, e bunun yanında çırakları mırakları, (yaklaşık) 10-15 kiři, belirli bir kısımlara göre, büyüklüklerine göre. Şimdi ben 15 kişilik yerde de çalıştım, iki kişilik yerde de çalıştım. Elde (yapıyorduk) hepsi elde. Bir tane makine yoktu. Ne olup bitiyorsa hepsi elde. Yani fason dediğin zaman öyle.

factory. This happened in 1993-94. They had to buy machines to keep up with the market. I work a machine now¹⁸¹.

After this transformation, related to the emergence of labour-power demand, Moldovan workers began to work in these small machine-based ateliers or factories. The worker (11) that explained the transformation to small factories described briefly the foreign workers in this workplace:

We were about 27 people total. We worked together with them Moldovans. All together, we were about 40. They would come as a family; their relatives, like their sister, her husband, the uncle, they would all come. At the end of the season they would go to their village in Moldova. We would call them a week before the work started. They all brought their relatives¹⁸².

In this workplace, like in the clothing ateliers, Moldovan migrants learn the necessary skills after they start to work, as this worker said that: “No, they have no knowledge but they left with knowledge, of course; they had gained 4 years of experience. If they came now, they would be able to work in any shoe factory”¹⁸³. In shoe production, they prepare the necessary materials so that skilled workers can start to produce the shoe.

Another issue related to the skills and the jobs that foreign migrants perform are gendered division of labour. The division of labour between migrant women and migrant men in ateliers actually reflects the general gendered division of labour in this sector. In small factories or ateliers, women work as the cleaner of the final version of shoe as one experienced worker in this sector said that:

¹⁸¹ Ben de fasondaydım o zaman, dedi ki biz makine alıyoruz, makinede de biz o zaman aylıkla çalışıyoruz, öyle öyle fabrikaya döndü. Bu olay 93-94 arasında olur. Ha, evet şimdi bak piyasa, şimdi şey diyemedi, fason cevap veremedi. Ne yaptı, gitti makine aldı, makine da şu anda ben makinedeyim zaten.

¹⁸² Orada toplamda 27 kişi falandık. Moldovalılarla beraber kırka tamamlıyorduk onlar da mesela bir kişi geldi onun akrabası, diyelim ki ben gittim oraya diyelim, benim ablam ablamın kocası, enişte bunların hepsi aile olarak gelirdi. Sezon değişikliği oluyor ya, onlar da Moldova'daki köylerine gidiyordu. İşler başlamadan bir hafta kala biz telefon ediyorduk. Sayacının yanındaki Moldovalılar. Hepsi birbirinin akrabalarını getiriyordu.

¹⁸³ Yok, hiçbir bilgileri yok, ama bilgili olarak gittiler tabi 4 senelik bir deneyimleri oldu. Şu anda gelseler, hangi ayakkabı fabrikasına girseler iş yapamazlar diye bir şey yok.

There are no women working with shoes. Only in cleaning. They work in cleaning in the sector in general. Foreigners and Turkish women, both. In the shoe production business, 70% of them use simple machines; women work those. It's easy. But men do heavier work. A woman couldn't do what I do. The men might, for example, hammer nails into the large brush machines¹⁸⁴.

From the side of foreign migrants, a worker (29) in a small ateliers said that “there are both men and women. Women do cleaning tasks. Other tasks are done by men due to odors”¹⁸⁵. A cafe owner (33) in Gedikpaşa on the other hand said that while female migrants in some cases do the sewing, male migrants work as “running errands”.

Before starting to discuss the workplace interactions where foreign migrants work, I would like to describe how the physical conditions, working hours and rhythms of work were (and are) in the clothing and shoe ateliers. A good description of working in a factory was made by a Moldovan migrant (8), who worked both in a shop (three days of a week) and in a shoe factory:

Working in a shop is easy. You dress in clean clothes. The factory is hot. There's a bit of a temperature problem, the air conditioning is insufficient. 50-60 people work there. There is a foreman on the pattern machine. He tells you what to do¹⁸⁶.

Insufficient air conditioning, I observed, was a problem in small clothing ateliers too. In this workplace, this migrant worker, like other workers, worked 9 hours a day with a high air temperature. In Osmanbey, while the workers in the small clothing atelier may work up to 11 hours a day, in a designer atelier, like in the shops in this district,

¹⁸⁴ Ayakkabıda kadın yok. Ancak temizlemede var. Sektörün genelinde de temizlemede kadınlar; yabancı olsun Türk kadınları olsun. Ayakkabı piyasasında yüzde yetmiş, bizim onları çalıştırdığımız kullanımı basit olan makineler vardır, onlarda kadınlar çalışır. Basit işte. Ama erkeğe geldiğin zaman erkek daha biraz ağır iş yapar. Şimdi benim yapacağım işleri kadınla yapamaz. Ne bileyim erkeğe büyük fırça makineleri vardır onlara çivi çaktırır.

¹⁸⁵ Bayan da erkek de var, ama kadınlar sadece temizleme işi yapıyorlar, diğer işler (kokudan dolayı) onlara ağır gelir.

¹⁸⁶ Mağaza rahat. Temiz giyiniyorsun. Fabrika sıcak. Sıcaklık sorunu var biraz, havalandırma yetersiz. 50-60 kişi çalışıyor. Tek yabancı benim burada. Çok fiziksel güç kullanmıyorum. Kalıp makinasında ustabaşı var; ustabaşı bana, şu işi yap filan diyor.

working hours start at 8.30 and end in 19.00. As I observed, the long and indefinite working hours are typical of most of the small clothing ateliers in Bağcılar, too.

When I look at the working conditions of foreign migrants in terms of wages, it seems that there is not very much difference between the wage level of foreign migrants and of native workers. As an employer (35) in Bağcılar says, “Actually when it comes down to it, the wages of foreign workers and Turks are the same. But foreigners’ living expenses are higher”¹⁸⁷. A similar statement was made by a worker (13) in a designer atelier: “It is usually more or less the same. But they are not insured. It’s because they are not citizens. Still, they would get the same pay as those doing stitching”¹⁸⁸. A worker (11) in a shoe atelier explained the issue of wage in a shoe factory:

They used to get monthly salaries. Plus, they had bonuses. Therefore, they earned the same as Turks. Discrimination? Well, let’s say the foreigner gets 200 dollars; the Turk is paid 240-250. That’s the extent of the discrimination. They get less because they are illegal. But there isn’t much of a difference. Only 50-60 lira difference. Here, Turks won’t work for less than the official minimum wage because they are insured¹⁸⁹.

As a migrant respondent (15) said, a migrant can earn by working in an auto part shop, similar to ateliers, for 200 \$ in a month. So, I was told, the wages of native and migrant workers are quite similar in terms of real wages although they are nominally different. Moreover, this difference comes from the expenditures (if any) on social security of native workers and on the accommodation costs of foreign workers. However, some other respondents (12) said that nowadays there are wage level differences between native and migrant workers: “Azerbaijanis get 550 the most. A

¹⁸⁷ Aslında göçmenlerle yerli işçilerin ücretleri eşit gibi real olarak. Çünkü göçmenin kalma masraflarıyla ilgili biraz da göçmenin ücretinin biraz daha düşük olması.

¹⁸⁸ Genelde aşağı yukarı aynıdır. Ama bişey var, onlara sigorta yapılmıyor. Tabi, onlar vatandaş olmadığı için. Gene de, dikişçilerle aynı parayı alırlardı.

¹⁸⁹ O zaman onlara aylık veriyordu, dolar olarak. Artı primleri vardı. Yani aynı işi yapan bir Türk ile yaklaşık aynı parayı alıyorlardı. Öyle bir ayrımcılık? Şöyle bir şey, diyelim ki o 200 dolar alır, bizim Türk işçisi de 240, 250 dolar alır. Ayrımcılık odur yani. Onlar kaçak olduğu için daha az alır. Ama aralarında fazla bir fark yok, hesaplıysan 50-60 milyon bir şey var. Türk burada asgari ücretten aşağı çalışmaz, onlar sigortalı olduğu için.

Turkish machinist may get 850 lira”¹⁹⁰. Another respondent (33) said that Azeri migrants, in some cases, earn 48 dollars a week. In addition many migrants could do extra work in order to increase their wage, as a worker (11) said:

Let's say he does overtime. It comes out to a good deal of money when he gets his overtime pay as a bonus. For example, I would leave work at 7 pm; they would take the equipment to this place they had, to stay and eat there. They would work there until 3-4 am. Every night. They would come to work in the morning. They would work on 3-4 hours of sleep¹⁹¹.

For the Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants, the wage level differences between ateliers and shops are important, as a Gagauz Ukrainian (15) said explicitly: “The wages are better in shops, of course”¹⁹². I could not make a generalization but it is explicit that foreign migrants can earn more money in the shops than in ateliers unless they work as skilled labour in a factory or in an atelier.

Based on the conditions of work that I have explained in the previous paragraphs, I try to discuss the workplace interactions in general and the power relationships between employers and employees in particular in the workplace where foreign migrants work. If we look at the workplace interactions at these ateliers in terms of control regimes of labour processes, paternalism and paternalist social relations seems to be one of the major characteristic of the existing control regimes. As Burawoy (1987) defines, paternalism facilitates an employer like a patriarch and worker families as the main unit of labour-power supply. In some of my cases, although workers do not have (real) familial relations, the work relations between employer and employees are based on traditional patriarchal relations. For example, a worker (11) explained the relations in one of his earlier work places (a small shoe atelier) like a family: “I had no problems. We were like friends, there were no bad words exchanged. It was like a family environment. It was like coming home in the

¹⁹⁰ Azeriler en fazla 550 alıyor. Bir Türk makinacı ise, 850 lira alabiliyormuş.

¹⁹¹ Diyelim ki mesaiye kaldı, mesai paralarını da prim olarak aldığı zaman çok büyük para oluyor. Mesela be akşam 7de paydos ediyordum, onlar alıyorlardı malzemeleri belirli bir yer yapmışlar onlara orada kalıyorlardı, yemek yatak filan. Orada saat 3e kadar çalışıyorlardı, 3e 4e kadar. Her gece. Sabahleyin de işe geliyorlardı. İş başı. 4-5 saat uykuyla.

¹⁹² Dükkanda tabi maaşlar daha iyi. Atölyelerde maaşlar biraz daha düşük.

evening”¹⁹³. The same worker described the relations between foreign and native workers in his previous work place (a medium-size shoe factory) with a similar perception: “We were like brothers. There was no yelling when you couldn’t do something. They were nice and helpful when you couldn’t do something”¹⁹⁴. As it is known, paternalistic relations with their multiplicity of versions are quite widespread in small ateliers in general and in the textile/clothing sector in specific (White, 1994).

In my view, another major feature of the labour control regimes in small ateliers is “direct control” (Friedman, 1977 in Grint, 2005: 183) of labour processes. This type of control can be defined as a labour control process in which every aspect of this process is controlled through strict rules and codes. Besides this concept, the concept of “simple control” can be recalled, which is defined as direct intervention of employers who have the power to hire, fire, threat or compensate the workers. Although we cannot assume absolute control as this definition assumes, the power of the employer enables us to use these concepts. I asked whether there are some objections of workers about the task he/she has to perform. A worker (13), who has a 30 year working experience in small ateliers, said that:

No. You couldn’t object. You didn’t have the right to say something. If you weren’t up for it, you had to leave. Whatever the foreman tells you to do, you do it. You can’t complain¹⁹⁵.

Actually, the compulsion of performing the given task (or direct control) is highly related to paternalistic relations, as an employee (11) in the shoe sector here explains how migrants should behave: “They treated their foremen the way they should and their brothers like brothers. If they didn’t, they couldn’t work there, anyway”¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹³ Hiçbir sorunum yoktu. Arkadaş gibiydik, hiçbiriyle kötü konuşulmazdı. Yani bir aile ortamı. Akşam eve gelmişsin gibi.

¹⁹⁴ Biz orada ağabey kardeş gibi, yani öyle bağırarak çağırarak değil, güzel yollarla hani, yapamadığın işleri, böyle tatlı sözlerle.

¹⁹⁵ Yok, itiraz edemezsin, alternatifi yok yani, şey demeye hakkın yok, işine gelirse, işine gelmezse dersin, gidersin. Usta ne der, şu işi yap der, o işi yapacaksın. Yok ben bunu yapmıyım da, onu yapayım demeye hakkım yok..

¹⁹⁶ Yok yok, ustaysa ustasına göre davranır, kardeşse kardeşine göre davranır hepsi birbirine güzel davranır. Zaten öyle davranmazsa çalışamaz.

The mechanisms of direct control in terms of social relations are related to the size of the workplace. As I observed, the employer of a very small clothing atelier (7-8 employees) was working in the same physical conditions and even carrying the finished clothes to a pickup truck, although this division of labour does not change “the power of the boss”, as he (20) said that: “When there’s a problem, I should be the first one to know. We are like brothers. If there’s money, there is, if not then we don’t have any. Everyone does the same work in a small factory. But in a big factory it’s different”¹⁹⁷. In medium-sized ateliers, on the other hand, it is more possible that the labour process control is practiced by a foreman, as a skilled worker (11) describes the hierarchy in their work place: “The boss didn’t get too involved. He would greet us and go off. Then there were certain foremen. Like me; I am in charge”¹⁹⁸. Furthermore, workers share their objectives and demands with this foreman. In some cases, there exist a mediator between a foreman and employer, as a foreman (25) explains: “A man and his brothers owned the company. A relative of the boss was the go between (for the workers and) for the boss. He monitored mistakes related to work. When someone made a mistake, they got told off”¹⁹⁹.

Since these control regimes (paternalist, simple, direct) are usually used by scholars in analyzing early capitalism in which markets did not develop very well and the mechanisms for state intervention were limited, the intensification and spatial extension of global markets in recent years led many scholars to elaborate new concepts for analyzing the effects of global markets on labour processes. Despite a skilled labour shortage in the textile/clothing sector, employers can fire a worker easily. A Turkish respondent (11) explained a dialogue with his employer:

Now, let me tell you; I have been working for 1.5-2 years without a raise.
When I tell him this, the man says, don’t work if you don’t want to. Then

¹⁹⁷ Sorun olduğunda, ilk ben biliyim. Abi kardeş gibiyiz, para varsa var, yoksa yok. Fabrikada herkes ayrı işi yapar. Ama ufak fabrikada böyle işte

¹⁹⁸ Patron fazla karışmıyordu. Selam veriyordu, çekip gidiyordu. Ondan sonra belirli bir ustaları vardı, mesela ben sorumluyum.

¹⁹⁹ Firmada bir patron ve onun kardeşi sahipler. Patronun bir yakını daha çok kendiyile patron arasındaki ilişkiyi kuruyordu. Kendisi de işle ilgili hataları denetliyordu. Hata yapan olunca ‘firça’ oluyordu.

there's nothing you can do. You have to take it. The last time they told me that, I hadn't received overtime pay for a year. One year! So having gotten irregular payments for the last 4-5 months, I finally just quit²⁰⁰.

Flexible employment relations without formal work contract cause, as Özüğurlu (2008) says, both the reduction of labour costs and increasing control over labour processes simultaneously. These processes can be conceptualized as “hegemonic despotic production regimes” in Burawoy's (1985) theory on factory regimes. Besides these control regimes, we can remember Boss's (1991) two concepts, benevolent autocracy and sweating, about the labour process control. Under the pressures of global and national markets, the benevolent autocracy as an employer control technique, like many Moldovan migrants in ateliers, necessitates workers, who move between different tasks, and a hiring policy, which is dependent on “take it or leave it basis”. However, in this type of labour process, different from sweating in which coercion prevails and employers do not aim at concealing conflicts, there is always possibility of persuasion of workers without emergence of conflict, as one of my respondents will put in the following paragraph.

Based on these descriptions and explanations about the control regimes in small ateliers, I would like to start a discussion on how the labour process controls operations for the foreign migrants. According to the interpretations of two Turkish employees, it seems that there is no difference between foreign and native workers in terms of labour process control. The former one (13), who worked in a small clothing atelier, said that: “That's how it is in workshops. It doesn't matter if you are one of our Turks. The foreman says to do something, you do it”²⁰¹. The latter worker (11) from shoe sector said that “they were nice and helpful. They would speak to you kindly when you couldn't do something. It didn't matter if you were Moldovan or whatever. They treated everyone the same. They weren't treated like strangers or

²⁰⁰ Şimdi ben sana söyleyeyim, şöyle söyleyeyim, ben 1,5-2 seneden beri zamsız çalışıyorum. Bunu söyleyince de adam da diyor ki, ee, işine gelirse çalış işine gelmezse çalışma. Bu sefer ne yapıyorsun, mecbur onun dediklerine katlanıyorsun. En son dediklerinde ben bir seneden beri mesai parası almamıştım. Bir sene! Eee, aylıklarım aksamış, şu son dört-beş aydan beri aylıklarım aksamış. Ben de sonunda işi bıraktım.

²⁰¹ Atölyelerde öyledir yani, bizim Türk vatandaşı gene, fark etmez. Usta şu işi yap der, o işi yapacaksın.

foreigners”²⁰². Since the labour market pressures and the fear of unemployment are valid for native workers, a comparison between native workers and foreign workers in terms of the possibility of objection makes us suspicious about the “same” labour process control for different nationalities. As the worker (11) from shoe sector puts:

There’s nothing Moldovans can’t do. Maybe it is fear; fear of being fired. They would do whatever you told them to. They would sit down and cry when they couldn’t do something. Because they are in a strange land, they are afraid of not having a job. When I told them to finish something in a half hour, they would try to do it in 20 minutes. There were never any problems with them. When you give that kind of a task to a Turk, they tell you to go to hell, that they won’t do it. Turkish workers don’t work for less than what they think they deserve. Female workers say they won’t work, they won’t do this or that, they won’t work standing up. They do one hour’s worth of work in three. Then when they are hired, they leave within days. Three Turkish women couldn’t do what a Moldovan woman does²⁰³.

This interpretation points out not only the different work ethic formation between two groups of worker but also the differences in terms of fear of being fired. This fear, it seems, is less valid for the Turkish workers than Moldovan migrants. This “level of fear” seems to affect the possibility of objection and resistance. Additionally, it should not be forgotten that the work ethic for extra work is highly related with wages at least in this workplace. The need to accumulate money in a limited time probably forces Moldovan workers to do additional work.

In the above paragraphs, although it is difficult to make a generalization, we saw that there are some differences between two groups of workers in terms of the possibility of resistance. In order to understand the different place of foreign workers in the operation of labour processes, lastly, it can be looked at the answers to my question about the problems in workplaces and the existence of objections to these problems.

²⁰² Güzel yollarla hani, yapamadıkları işleri, böyle tatlı sözlerle, o Moldovalı diye bir şey yok, sana bana nasılsa, ona da öyleydik yani yabancı bir insan gibi değil.

²⁰³ Moldovalıların yapamayacağı iş yok. Belki korkudan, belki atılma korkusundan. Onlara bir iş verdiğin zaman yapıyordu. Yapamadığı zaman oturup ağlıyordu. Bunlar gurbette olunca herhalde, çalışmadan, her şeyden korkan kişi, mesela ben diyorum ya bunu yarım saatte yap, o yirmi dakikada yapmaya çalışır. Hiçbir sorun da olmadı işte o Moldovalılarla; Türk işçiye vereceksin, o, cehenneme git oradan, diyor. Yapmıyorum diyor. Türk işçisi bugün parayı beğenmiyor. Kadın işçi, ben çalışmam diyor, ben ayakta duramam ben bunu yapmam ben şunu yapmam, bir saatlik işi 3 saatte yapar. Girince bu sefer, yarın öbür gün çıkıyor. Bir Moldovalı kadının yaptığı işi, bizim üç tane Türk kadını koyacaksın yapamaz.

An employer (20) of a small clothing atelier asserted the difference of migrants in terms of objection although we learned that the possibility of objection is limited for native workers also: “They are not as open, they don’t cause as many problems. Employees here (even Turks) can’t complain. They get their pay. When there’s a problem, I should be the first to know”²⁰⁴. As we will see in the following subsection too, the major problems of foreign migrants are the police. A Moldovan migrant (8) explained briefly how he attempted to remain silent in the factory: “Ben kendi işime bakıyorum”. He then added when he needs money, he can talk about this problem with his foreman. In another work place, the time of the demand for higher wages is definite and valid for both groups of workers, as a worker said: “No. You can not ask for a raise. They get a raise when the Turkish workers do. Even though they don’t get a raise, they don’t have concerns when they are paid in dollars in terms of the value of the currency”²⁰⁵.

While some foreign workers try to solve their problems inside the workplace or to remain silent, some others prefer to leave the job immediately. For example, a female Moldovan migrant (10) explained why she left the job because of the possibility of sexual harassment: “I was happy but then I had to leave because of a problem. Because of the work? No. He drank and treated foreigners differently, that’s why I left”²⁰⁶. Escaping from problems are not always possible. For example, as a worker in a clothing atelier asserts, the possibility of leaving a job might be dependents on the conditions of the market:

It happened. When there was a lot of work. When they needed workers everywhere, they would come and work a week, and they wouldn’t like the pay. They would leave and work elsewhere. This happened very often. Daily things²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁴ Onlar daha kapalı, pek fazla sorun olmuyor. Burda çalışan eleman Türkiyeli eleman da bana diyemez yani, parasını alıyor yani. Sorun olduğunda, ilk ben biliyim.

²⁰⁵ Yok, yok, zam istemek yok, şimdi Türk işçisine zam olduğu zaman onlara da zam olur. Ha gene zam yok, şöyle yani, onlar dolar üstünden aldığı zaman bir kaygı olmuyor paranın değeri bakımından.

²⁰⁶ Memnundum ama sonra bir problem çıktı ben ayrıldım. İş yüzünden mi? Hayır, iş için değil. İçki içiyor, yabancılara farklı davranıyor, o yüzden ayrıldım.

From this statement, we can assume that foreign workers experienced some difficulties in changing jobs in the periods in which there was a shortage of job opportunities.

6.5.2 Control and Resistance in Shops and Cargo Firms

In this sub-section I will firstly describe what foreign migrants actually do in the shops and cargo firms in Laleli and Osmanbey. Then I will explore the working conditions of these workplaces before starting on the discussion of labour process control and resistance in the work places. The responsibilities of foreign migrants in different shops are very similar to each other. As a sales assistant, their main task is to sell clothes. However, as a Moldovan female migrant (9) described, there are some additional tasks:

As a sales assistant: Actually, we distributed packages and even made gunnysacks. We cleaned toilets, did all kinds of things. I am not necessarily hired as a sales assistant. You are in charge, meaning you make sales to customers. You work as a translator.²⁰⁸

It seems that packaging part of the job is difficult for some migrant workers (22) because of the extreme physical labour:

Sales. And also, this is a hard part of the job, we have to put the products into these plastic bags. Because of the dust from the street the bags get dirty, it doesn't look good, so we have to repackage them all the time. Most of the day I am alone, but other sale assistant or main patron's nephew sometimes help me when there is a lot of customer. I also have to clean the shop, every day.

Besides being an ordinary sales assistant, female migrants especially work as models, as a female Russian migrant (7) said:

²⁰⁷ Oluyodu mesela. İşler çok olduğu zamanlar. Her yerde işçiye ihtiyaç olduğu zamanlar, geliyordu mesela: 1 hafta çalışıyordu, senin verdiği parayı beğenmiyordu. Gidip başka yerde çalışıyordu, çıkıyordu. Böyle çok oldu. Günlük şeyler.

²⁰⁸ Tezgahtar olarak: Tezgahtar diyince, koli dağıtıyoruz, çuval da yapıyoruz. Tuvalet de temizliyorsun, her işi yapıyorsun yani. İlla ben tezgahtar olarak girmiyorum ki bu mağazaya. Sorumlu dediğin, sorumlu diyince şey: müşteri gelince mal satıyorsun. Yani öyle bişey: sen tercüman olarak öyle çalışıyorsun.

I model as a size 38. I man the store myself. I think that translator and sales assistant are two different things. The sales assistant only works the cash register. The translator knows more about the products. I enjoy working. When I need to, I bag the products and deliver packages²⁰⁹.

It is interesting that she distinguishes her job as “translator” from sales assistant in terms of status.

One factor that determines the overall working conditions is the size of the firm. The Russian sales assistant (7) of a big firm with several shops described her firm:

The company has 2 stores in Osmanbey. And there're a total of 4 stores in Istanbul. There are 2 in Afyon and 2 in Kutahya. The boss comes by a few times a day and inquires. Sometimes an additional worker comes when I need help. I call them when it is very busy. About 20 people work for the company. Everyone is insured. Sometimes there are bonuses²¹⁰.

A Moldovan sale assistant (9), who is working in a small firm, interpreted the possible differences between small and big firms:

There is no difference. The only one is that large companies are stricter, smaller companies are more relaxed. There is no difference. You do the same work at the same company. Some larger companies pay less, while smaller companies pay more. There is no difference²¹¹.

In the cargo firms, which are spatially very close to the shops in Laleli, the tasks of foreign migrants are harder than working in the shops. During one of my interview, I observed what a worker (31) does in a cargo shop. He cleaned the table of the boss and tidied the shop up. After a customer came to the shop, he helped his boss talk with the Russian customer. Since their “information card of firm” gave out, he went somewhere to get new ones. Thus, this worker was doing, as his boss said, *running*

²⁰⁹ Burada 38 beden modellik yapıyorum. Bu dükkanda tek kişi olarak duruyorum. Tercümanla tezgahtar bence farklıdır. Tezgahtar sadece kasada durur. Tercüman ise ürünleri daha iyi bilir. Çalışmayı seviyorum. Yeri geldiğinde, poşet yapıyorum, koli götürüyorum.

²¹⁰ Şirketin 2 mağazası var Osmanbey'de. İstanbul'da da toplam 4 mağaza var. Afyon'da 2, Kutahya'da da 2 mağaza var. Patron günde birkaç kez gelip soruyor. Yardıma ihtiyacım olduğu zaman, bazen ek eleman geliyor. Yoğun zamanlarda telefon ediyorum. Firmada yaklaşık 20 kişi çalışıyor. Firmada herkes sigortalı. Bazen prim filan oluyor.

²¹¹ Arada hiç fark yok. Arada şey farkı var: Büyük firma işte böyle daha ciddi oluyor, ufak firma daha rahat oluyo. Fark hiç yok, sonuçta aynı firmada, aynı işi yapıyorsun. Aynı, hiç fark yok. Bazı büyük firmada daha düşük ücret veriyorlar, daha ufak firmada daha iyi ücret veriyorlar. Yani hiç fark yok.

errands and translations between his boss and customers. But the main task in these shops is carrying the clothes packages, pressing and packaging the clothes, as a Ukrainian migrant (15) described his previous work experiences: “We drove there, and loaded the goods. There were two friends of mine working there. The others did packing and different tasks²¹²”.

Another Moldovan migrant (34) mentioned the difficulties of this job:

I worked in the cargo business for 4-5 months. There were no set working hours. They would call when there was cargo. We waited at the headquarters. We went to the branch office when a shipment came in. Sometimes we worked the whole week and sometimes we worked 2-3 days a week. There was no discrimination between Turks and foreigners there. Here, the employer would divide our share of the money amongst us. I put my language skills to use here to some extent. I got a job offer from a new cargo company. But I didn't like the cargo business²¹³.

According to my observations, some foreign migrants were working only as secretaries in the cargo firms. For example, one of my respondents (28)' secretary was a female migrant, who was probably Moldovan. She was sitting in a different room from the storage room, answering the telephones, and taking notes. While I was looking for respondents by entering the shops and asking for an interview, I saw many male migrants who were around their forties and working as secretaries. Most of them did not speak Turkish and were probably from Russian, Ukraine or Moldovan.

In order to explore the working conditions of these shops and storage places, the wage levels can first be discussed. In the shops, a designer (4) in Osmanbey said, wages are relatively high for a sales assistant especially if we compare the wage levels with the ones in old Soviet countries. The wage levels are between 320 \$ and

²¹² Çünkü biz şey gidiyorduk oraya, arabayla gidiyorduk, yüklemeyi yapıyorduk, orada iki tane arkadaş vardı orada çalışıyorlardı. Diğer arkadaşlar işte mal paketliyorlardı orada, değişik değişik işler yapıyorlardı.

²¹³ Kargoda 4-5 ay çalıştım. Kargo işinde saat yoktu. Kargo olunca çağırıyorlar. Biriktirince taşıyorduk. Biz merkezde bekliyorduk. Mal gelince bayiye gidiyorduk. Bazen bütün hafta bazen haftada 2-3 gün çalışıyorduk. Bu işyerinde Türk ve yabancılar arasında ayırım yoktu. Burada işveren kazanılan paradan bize verilecek olanını aramızda dağıtıyordu. Dilimi biraz kullanıyordum, yeni bir kargodan teklif aldım. Ama kargo işini beğenmemiştim.

400-500 \$. A Russian sales assistant (7) in a big firm said that the employees in their firm earn approximately 1300 YTL in a month. An experienced Moldovan sales assistant (9) explained the differences between Turkish and Moldovan sales assistants:

We are paid in dollars. We also get weekly wages. The Turkish workers get monthly salaries. Actually some get salaries and some get weekly wages. But the pay is more or less the same. There might be maybe 10-20 dollar differences. There's not much of a difference²¹⁴.

In some shops, instead of a fixed salary, as one Moldovan sale assistant (22) said, "The commission was 7 per cent, but because the clothes was not good there were very few customers".

Many respondents said, an increase in wage levels is closely related to the experience of employees, as an employer (27) in Gedikpaşa said: "The newcomers might have lower wages than the natives, but as they got better at it the pay would sort of even out"²¹⁵. It seems that the lack of work experience also explains the wage level differences between Turkish and foreign sales assistants. Besides experience, as an employee (14) explains, wage levels are related to "I think it is sort of related to the performance of the worker. They are evaluated accordingly. Or according to the year you work in. Your performance within that period also has an effect"²¹⁶. In many shops, as I was told, employers can give pre-payment to the employees if they need. In some big firms, they are given extra money in Ramadan (holy month of Islam). Lastly, according to my observations, there is no overtime payment in the workplaces. In cargo firms, on the other hand, wages are slightly lower compared to shops. As I was told, weekly wages levels are between 80 \$ and 120\$.

²¹⁴ Biz dolar olarak alıyoruz. Ayrıca haftalık alıyoruz. Türk işçi o aylık alıyor. Gerçi bazıları aylık alıyor, bazıları haftalık alıyor. Ama aşağı yukarı maaşlar aynı. Yani oynayan, 10 dolar 20 dolar. Çok fark etmiyor yani.

²¹⁵ Ücretleri ilk geldiklerinde yerlilere göre daha az olabiliyorlar ama biraz ustalaştıkça ücretler yaklaşık olarak eşitleniyor.

²¹⁶ Biraz çalışan kişinin performansı ile alakalı galiba. Ona göre değerlendiriliyor. Şeyin mesela, çalışılan yılın. Onun da etkisi var. O dönem içindeki performansının etkisi var.

The physical conditions in the shops are quite good compared to ateliers. Most of the shops are air conditioned. In some cases, the physical conditions of shops are quite unbearable, as a Moldovan sales assistant (22) described “There’s no air conditioning. So it is very hot and I get headaches. You see there’s this construction in the street, so all the dust gets into the shop, and we can’t close the door because there is no air conditioner”. In terms of accidents, employees may be damaged while carrying packages, as a Ukrainian male sales assistant mentioned: “We were carrying sacks last year and I busted open my head right here. I just stood up and hit it right here. They brought me to the hospital and the boss paid for my expenses”²¹⁷. Like in this case, if the employee is lucky, his/her medical expenses are paid by his/her boss. The possibility of such accidents is high in the cargo firms.

Lastly, I would like to describe the working hours and the working rhythms in the shops and cargo firms. There are two districts, Osmanbey and Laleli, where the shops are, and they have different working hours. In Osmanbey, the working hours are quite definite. Throughout the week, the work starts at 9.00 a.m and ends at 7.30 p.m. On Saturday, the work end at 1.00 p.m. Sunday is the day off. In Laleli, however, although the work starts at 9.00 a.m and end 8.00 or 9.00 p.m. in normal months, they can work until 11.00 p.m. in busy periods. The busy periods are dependent on the type of clothes they sell. For example, if a shop sells school clothes, they have a busy period at the beginning of term. They have generally no lunch break. They order food and eat it at the shop. As a Turkish sales assistant (14) said, they have only one weeks holiday per year. However foreign migrants may have a three week holiday since they probably go to their homeland. In cargo firms, working hours are quite flexible. As a worker (31) in one of these shops said, they cannot quit until 9 p.m. Moreover they are sometimes waiting for the truck until 11 p.m.

At this point, I would like to discuss the workplace interactions and labour processes in the shops and cargo firms. I firstly will explore the major characteristics of labour

²¹⁷ Biz geçen sene çuval taşıyorduk, işte kafayı buradan yardım. Yani bir zıpladım şuraya vurdum. Beni hemen hastaneye getirdiler, masraflarım ödendi patron tarafından.

processes in these workplaces, and then discuss the problems that the workers experience in them. Since I have more data about the foreign workers in the shops and cargo firms compared to clothing and shoe ateliers, I will argue the work interactions of foreign workers there in more detail.

Compared to ateliers, it can be said that there is a relative autonomy of foreign workers in shops. A Russian sales assistant (7) in Osmanbey explained his autonomy and responsibilities in the shop:

A year after I started working here the boss started leaving me to man the store. I was the only one there. I don't want the boss to interfere with my work when I am in the shop. Sometimes he would interfere when I had a customer. And I would wish he didn't. I do the cleaning of the store, too. We do everything in the shop, we clean it and so on. We have to be aware and not let anyone shoplift anything. I am responsible for this store²¹⁸.

Although she insistently asserted her autonomy in the shop, she also defined her limitations: "I can give a customer a certain discount (20%) if I want to. I can't do anymore. If the customer is insistent, I call the boss"²¹⁹. A description of her "responsibility" was made by another Moldovan sales assistant (34) in Laleli:

As I said in the beginning, it is as if this is my own store. I work here like I would at my own store. I see what needs to be done and do it. There is no need for the boss to give me orders²²⁰.

This responsibility may bring some risks also, as the same Moldovan sales assistant (9) talked about: "When something happens or goes missing, we divide it into two and pay for the product. I am responsible. So if something is missing, you can not just say you don't know about it or you didn't see anything"²²¹.

²¹⁸ Çalışmaya başladıktan 1 yıl sonra da bu dükkana bana emanet etmeye başladı patron. Bu dükkanda tek kişi olarak duruyorum. Ben dükkandayken patronun benim işime karışmasını istemem. Bazen karışıyordu müşteri yanında. Ben de karışmamasını istedim. Dükkanın temizlik işini de yapıyorum. Dükkanın her işini yapıyoruz, temizliyoruz, birilerinin dükkana gelip birşeyler çalmasına karşı uyanıp olmalıyız. Burası bana emanet.

²¹⁹ Bir ürün için eğer müşteri isterse belli bir oranda (%20) indirim yapabiliyorum. Daha fazlasını yapamıyorum. Müşteri çok isterse, patronu arıyorum.

²²⁰ Başta da söyledim. Ben burada kendi mağazamda gibiyim. Ben kendi mağazam gibi burada çalışıyorum. Gerekli işi görüyorum ve yapıyorum. Patronun direktif vermesine gerek kalmıyor.

This relative autonomy is related to the assumption of the employer that the new employee already knows how to be a sales assistant. A Moldovan sales assistant (9) discussed this issue:

There is no need for the boss to tell me what to do. I do the translating, the cleaning and so on. If you work there, you know what needs to be done. You do whenever there is something that needs doing, no matter what it is²²².

It seems that there is no well-defined on-the-job-training in the shops since the tasks in the shops are not complicated. However, as the Russian sales assistant (7) puts it, the relative autonomy of a new employee can be realized only after one year in a shop. This issue brings us to think of the importance of “trust” in the employee-employer relationships. A Ukrainian Gagauz sale assistant (15) told me about this issue in detail. First of all he described how he, as an experienced foreign worker, has been used by the employer while hiring a new employee: “He says I am the one who works with them. That’s what he would say when we needed to hire someone”²²³. During the interview, another employer, by interrupting our dialogue, explained this issue: “Because they are from the same country, they get along better and they know who would be useful and who wouldn’t. He even has the authority to fire them. So sometimes he just lets them go”²²⁴. This hiring technique is described by Bailey and Waldinger (1991) as a screening mechanism, which is often used by employers in these sectors. Then my respondent (15) explained how his boss trusts him:

For example, the big boss came the other day to one of the meetings and said ‘How many years have you been working at this store? You work like it was your own store. So we will give you a raise accordingly.’ They

²²¹ Ya mesela, bişey olduğunda, kaybolduğu zaman, iki kişiye bölüyoruz, o malın parasını veriyoruz. Yani ben sorumluyum. Öyle yok yani, mesela kayıp oldu bişey, ben bilmiyorum bişey, karışmıyorum, görmedim diye bir şey yok yani.

²²² Zaten ne iş yapılacağını, zaten tercümanlık yapıyorsun, işte, temizliğini yapıyorsun, onu gerek yok söylemeye. Sen madem giriyorsun oraya çalışmaya, sen biliyorsun zaten, ne iş yapılacağını; yani iş olduğu sürece, her şeyi, her bir işi yapıyorsun yani.

²²³ Muhatap olan sensin diyor yani. Öyle bir tane adamı işe alacakken bana böyle diyordu.

²²⁴ Şimdi bu onlarla şey olduğu için, onlarla kendi vatandaşları olduğu için, daha iyi anlaşıyor, hangisi işe yarar hangisi işe yaramaz o daha iyi biliyor. Bunun işten atma yetkisi bile var yani, yolluyor hemen.

can't trust everyone here easily. Then you have a certain pull. They even give me the responsibility of keeping track of the cash register. He also said 'if this employee does anything wrong, let us know immediately and we will fire them right then. If they do something wrong today, they will do something else later'²²⁵.

Then he gave an example about why he, different from some other employees, is a trustworthy employee:

There was another employee here. One day I come to the store, he is using the cordless phone- back then we had one. If he had asked first, it wouldn't have been a problem. It's important to ask. Today he uses the phone without permission, tomorrow it might be the cash register. I looked at the calls that had been made, they were international calls. Then the boss finally came and said to fire him right then. But I have been working here for 7 years, and I still ask the boss when I need to make a call. The boss tells me not to ask him and just call, but I still do²²⁶.

Since there is no formal work contract between employer and employee, employees attempt to be a trustworthy sales assistant in the eyes of his/her employer, which strengthens the "formality" of work contract and affects workplace interactions between employees. In terms of labour processes, on the other hand, this relative autonomy may provide a base on which foreign employees can change the way they work, and raise their hand although they cannot change the aims of firms in the labour market.

At this point, I would like to discuss how the organization and division of labour take place in these workplaces. In the previous sub-section, I have pointed out the importance of paternalistic relations. During interviews in the shops some of my respondents emphasized the paternalistic relations too. The Russian sales assistant

²²⁵ Mesela geçen bir toplantıda bizim büyük patron filan geldi, bana dedi ki: 'sen bu dükkanda kaç senedir çalışıyorsun' dedi. 'Sen bu dükkanı kendi dükkanın gibi şey yapıyorsun' dedi. 'Biz de sana o kadar zam yapacağız' dedi. Şimdi herkese güvenemezler tamam mı, burada çok şey oluyorsun. Bana kasayı da şey yapıyorlar. Ayrıca dedi ki: 'eğer yanlışını görürseniz' dedi, 'hiç affetmeyin hemen söyleyin bize biz çıkartalım o elemanı', o bugün bu yanlış yaptıysa, yarın öbür gün başka yanlış yapar.

²²⁶ Başka bir eleman vardı burada. Dükkana bir geliyorum bir bakıyorum telsiz telefon elinde, o zaman telsiz telefon vardı. Hani sorsa hiç sorun olmayacak. Sormak önemli. Bugün telefondan izinsiz ararsan yarın öbür gün kasayı da şey yapar. Bakıyorum aramalara, yurtdışını arıyor. En son işte patron geldi, böyle böyle, hiç şey yapmayın dedi, hemen çıkartın dedi. Ama, ben mesela 7 sene çalışıyorum, ben bir telefon açacağım zaman ben hemen soruyorum. Ya ne soruyorsun diyor, ama ben yine de soruyorum.

(7), who worked in a big firm, said that “Here, the boss is like an older brother to the employees”²²⁷. Another Moldovan sale assistant (10) said also that they are like a family in the workplace. Besides paternalistic relations, we might focus on the hierarchical division of labour in these workplaces, which provides the operation of labour process control. If the employer is not present in a shop where an untrustworthy employee is working the labour process controls are practiced by a “mediator” like the foreman in an atelier. My Ukrainian respondent (15) explained this process: “When a mistake is made by the employees, the boss doesn’t say anything. He is not concerned with the employees. He tells me I am in charge and to take care of it. He says that’s my job”²²⁸.

During my interviews, I had some questions on whether there is an ethnic-based or gendered division of labour in the workplaces. In a shop, where three foreign employees work together, firstly there is a gendered division of labour. Also, the hard tasks are done by the youngest employee. An experienced sales assistant (15) explained this division of labour with his own words:

I usually tend to the customers. When I was the only one, I would do the cleaning, and so on. Now there are two men. A boy carries the sacks. We help when we need to. The other lady does the cleaning. That’s how it is here. You carry sacks and you make sales at the same time. As long as I have a job (it’s fine). The boss is not condescending. As long as I have a job²²⁹.

I also observed that usually the youngest employee prepared the tea and coffee in the shop.

My respondents gave different answers concerning discrimination in the workplace towards foreign migrants. An experienced Moldovan sale assistant (9) said no:

²²⁷ Burada patronla çalışanlar arasında kardeş-abi ilişkisi var.

²²⁸ Elemanlar tarafından bir yanlışlık yapıldığında, bir hata yapıldığında, patron birşey söylemiyor, bu çalışanlara patron bakamıyor. Bana diyor ki sen onlara bakıyorsun, sen şey yap diyor. Muhatap olan sensin diyor yani.

²²⁹ Genelde ben müşteriyle ilgileniyorum yani. Biz tekken biz temizlik yapıyorduk, ama şu anda iki tane adam geldi başladı burada. Çuval taşıma işini şu an çocuk yapıyor. Gerekirse biz yardım ediyoruz. Diğer bayan da temizlik yapıyor. Bizim burada böyle, çuval da tutar mal da satar. İş olsun. Yeter ki iş olsun. Patron öyle ağalık yapmaz yani, iş olsun yeter ki iş olsun.

No, there is none. I don't know; as long as you do your job, no one treats you differently or says anything. But if you are sitting around while someone else is working, then they tell you are not doing a good job and lay you off²³⁰.

Another Moldovan sales assistant (10), on the other hand, pointed out that it depends on the shop and the employer of this shop:

No, no. Not at our workplace. That's because our boss worked abroad for 4 years so he knows about working abroad as a foreigner. That's why he doesn't treat us any differently. This place is different than others: No one says they can't do something. The rule is that if you don't like it, you leave. But we are like a family here. It's rare to work at a store like this. In other stores some may mop the floors while others are sitting around. No respect at those places for each other. I see sometimes that they don't respect foreigners but I don't ever sit around. I pick up the mop when I need to. If you are busy, then I will do it. But if you are going to sit around while I work, then sorry but I am human, too. Whether you are a Muslim or Christian makes no difference, there's only one God, isn't there? You divide up the work. No one does only this or that²³¹.

As an experienced sales assistant, it is important that (if any) she would refuse to enter into an unequal division of labour with other employees. A Turkish sales assistant (14) pointed out that there is ethnic-based division of labour but it is not too much:

Well, yes, there is, of course. There's some but how should I put this? It's not like 'let's do the easy work and give them the hard stuff.' When there's work to be done, we all do it. When it's time to rest, we all do²³².

²³⁰ Yok öyle bir şey olmuyor yani, bilmiyorum, sen işini yaptığın sürece, hiçbirisi de farklı davranmaz, hiçbirisi de bişey demez yani. Ama, ha, başkası çalışırken, sen oturuyorsundur. Tabi sana derler o zaman, yapamıyorsun, olmuyor.

²³¹ Hayır hayır bizim işyerinde yoktur. Çünkü neden, bizim patron yurtdışında çalıştı dört sene, o bilir bir yabancı olarak yurtdışında çalışmayı. Onun için bizi ayırmıyor. Diğer işyerlerinden farklı bir işyeri: Ben yapmayacağım diye bir şey yok. Buranın bir kuralı var, beğenmiyorsanız gidin, ama biz burada bir aile olarak. Çünkü çok nadir öyle mağazalar bulabilirsiniz. Diğer bazı mağazalarda, bazıları oturabilir, öbürü eline alıp paspas yapabilir. Saygı yok. Görüyorum ben bazen, yabancılara saygı yok ama ben susmam, gerek varsa paspas da yaparım. Sen müsait değilsen ben yaparım. Ama sen oturacaksın ben paspas yapacağım, kusura bakma ben de bir insanım. Müslüman Hristiyan hiç fark yok, sonuçta bir Allah var yalan mı? Yani işleri paylaşıyorsunuz. Paylaşıyoruz tabi ki..Sen o işi yap, ben bu işi yapayım yok.

²³² Yani nasıl söyleyim. Yani tabii ki var ama. Çok da böyle nasıl anlatsam. Ağır işleri onlara yaptırırım da, biz şey yapalım gibisinden bir şey yok. Çalışmak gerekiyorsa, hepimiz birlikte çalışıyoruz. Dinleneceğimiz zaman da hepimiz dinleniyoruz, öyle.

To sum up, it seems that foreign employees in some shops may be forced to make some hard tasks because he or she is a foreigner. But the hierarchical division of labour does not always take an ethnic-based division of labour. In some other shops, experienced foreign sale assistants can work as mediators between employers and other employees.

In order to understand the control and (if any) resistance process in these workplaces, I will analyze the “problems” that the employees witness related to labour processes or other employees. Some problems can be categorized as the ones which are related with the labour process, that is, selling clothes. For example, a Moldovan sales assistant (9) described the problem and the following advice of her boss: “Of course, when you make a mistake, like doing something wrong when sending these products, then it is resolved”²³³. In a similar case, the Ukrainian sale assistant (15) explained how his boss solved the problem with the help of paternalistic relations:

I only remember the boss telling me off once in the seven years I’ve been working here. We were three people then. A bag was missing. I told him I wasn’t there at the time. I was the only one who was definitely not involved. I told him I would quit then if he wasn’t happy with my work and that I couldn’t work there. It was a religious holiday, he called and called. He said that he was my boss and an older brother to me, that it was his place to even slap me as well as support me. He didn’t treat me like he was my boss. It was more like a friendship. He is quite a bit older than me; he is 37²³⁴.

Then, he compared his boss with other bosses:

There are problems at all workplaces. The people in the neighboring stores yell at their employees in the street in front of everyone and swear at them, but that would never happen here. There are young bosses, who inherited the store from their fathers. They act like kings when they are only 25-30²³⁵.

²³³ Tabi yanlış yaptığın zaman tabi söyler işte bunu yanlış yapmışsın, bu malı yanlış göndermişsin. Yani oluyo nasıl olsa, o da çözülyo yani.

²³⁴ 7 senedir ben bir kere hatırlıyorum patronun bana laf söylediğini. O da bir poşet kaybolmuştu. Üç kişi idik o zaman, bir poşet yanlışlıkla almışlar gitmişler, patron bana soruyor. Ben dedim, ben tek değilim ki burada, yani bir tek bana söylenmez. Ben o zaman işi bırakıyorum, eğer memnun değilseniz benden, burada çalışmam. Ondan sonra bayramdı, aradı aradı, ben dedi senin patronun değil miyim dedi, ben senin ağabeyimin, yeri gelirse ben sana tokat da atarım. Burada patronluk yapmadı bana yani. Yani arkadaşlık. Benden bayağı büyüktür, 37 yaşındadır.

In another big firm, which has many shops, a Russian sales assistant (7) described what he witnessed:

There were problems with the employer here because the workers were going on the internet very often, using MSN (Messenger). The boss gave them a warning and told them to do this outside working hours. They didn't do it again²³⁶.

In some other cases, if an employee continues bad behavior such as late coming, she or he probably is fired. A Moldovan sale assistant (10) explained such a story:

Some people were fired. Why? They weren't working. They had no discipline. What kind of discipline? You come in the morning, you go up to your station, you do your work, you sell the product. But some just sit around. The boss gives you a warning. When you come in late, or you speak on the phone angrily, or when you don't take care of the customers of course that bothers the customers. He is, after all, paying you so you have to work²³⁷.

Then, like the Ukrainian sale assistant, she explained the good attitudes of her boss because he gives a two week holiday a year without deducting it from her wage.

Besides the problem related with labour processes, I got some answers about the problems arising between employees. Almost all respondents, who are working in the shops, said that they may have some little problems among employees but they solve these problems among themselves without notifying the boss. These problems are caused mostly by the complaints about the existing division of labour inside the workplace. An experienced Moldovan sale assistant (9) explained the reasons for some of these problems:

²³⁵ Her iş yerinde problem oluyor, diğer dükkanda komşular var, sokakta elemanlara bağıyorlar, küfür ediyorlar affedersin, ama bizde hayatta böyle olmaz. Genç patronlar var ya işte babalarından kalmış şey yapmış, 25-30 yaşında işte ağalık yapıyorlar işte.

²³⁶ Bu firmada çalışanlar çok internete girdikleri için huzursuzluk olmuştu patronla aralarında. Msn'e giriyorlardı çalışanlar. Patron uyardı ve mesai saatleri dışında girmemizi istedi. Sonra bir daha yapmadı çalışanlar.

²³⁷ Atılan oldu. Neden? Çalışmıyorlar. Geç geliyorlar. Disiplinleri yok yani. Nasıl bir disiplin? Sabah geliyorsun, dükkanda, yerine çıkıyorsun, işini yapıyorsun, malı satıyorsun, bazıları oturuyor. Patron söylüyor. Geç gelince belki, veya çok sinirli telefonda konuşunca, belki, müşterilerine bakmayınca, tabi ki patronu rahatsız ediyor. Sonuçta sana, para veriyor, çalışacaksın.

Well, everyone at the workplace is a different person and until you get to know them, there might be some disagreements. But later everything is resolved. We resolve issues amongst ourselves without involving the boss. The boss is the employer. He already has to deal with lots of things. He shouldn't also have to deal with employees' problems²³⁸.

For the women sale assistants, one major problem in the workplace is the possibility of sexual harassment. A Turkish female designer (4) in Osmanbey, who knows many Moldovan sales assistant, pointed out this problem: "There usually aren't many problems between the migrants and the natives. Sometimes there might be issues if the employer requires that a lot of work be done. Or sometimes the employer starts hitting on the migrant women. If the woman doesn't respond to that then some problems might occur"²³⁹. A young Moldovan migrant (22) talked about this harassment possibility too:

You can find job in 1 day. But there is a problem that often patrons harass girls. It depends on the patron. For example, in my previous job the patron was a very nice man, his attitude to us was very good. His wife was also one of 'us' – from Ukraine.

One of the oldest Moldovan sales assistants (9) in Istanbul explained why she changed her first job: "Well, the people are a bit different. I changed jobs after one month. The people in the old workplace were mostly Kurdish and their attitude towards Russians was different. That's why we didn't tolerate those circumstances"²⁴⁰. It seems that while some female migrants prefer to change their job when they witness harassment, some others, as I was said, enter into a sexual or friendship relationship with the boss.

All these problems or the conflicts between employers and employees result in different solutions. In some cases, as we have seen, the boss tries to prevent the

²³⁸ E, iş yerinde herkes değişik bir insan ve tanıyana kadar, bazı şeyler oluyor yani, tartışıyorlar. Ama sonradan her şey düzeliyor. Kendi aramızda çözüyoruz sorunları. Bu sorunları patrona iletmiyoruz. Çünkü, zaten, patron işveren, birsürü işle uğraşiyor, bir de, elemanın sorunu mu çözmeye çalışacak.

²³⁹ Genellikle çok sorun olmuyor işte göçmenlerle diğerleri arasında. Bazen işveren çok iş isteyince sorun olabiliyor. Veya bazen işveren kadın göçmene asılıyor. Eğer kişi yüz vermezse sorun çıkabiliyor.

²⁴⁰ Yani insanlar biraz farklı olduğu için. 1 ay sonra iş değiştirdim. Eski yerdekilerin çoğu Kürt olduğu için, onların bakışı Rus'lara çok farklıydı, o yüzden de biz o şartları kabul etmediğimiz için.

employee from leaving the job; in some other cases, the boss fires the employee immediately. At this point, we can look at how the employee makes demands on their boss such as higher wages, permissions. As a Moldovan sales assistant (10) puts it, some “good” bosses ask whether the employees have any problem: “They just don’t give us money but they ask if we need anything”²⁴¹. This employee explained how they gain what they want at the end of a negotiation process:

We tell the boss ‘we need this.’ And we ask them why the others get a raise and we don’t. Depending on the answer, we act. We earn money here. But our boss is happy with us. He accepts all of our demands²⁴².

In another workplace, as the experience of a Moldovan sales assistant (9) explained, the negotiation process may result in failure for the employee:

You start with a certain wage, and of course after some time you ask for a raise. You tell them how much you want. The boss says ‘this is all I can do; you can leave if you can find a better place.’ So they send you off. So you leave the job when you can’t agree on the pay. You have to because you’ve been working and every year you ask for a raise but they won’t give you one, then you have to leave. You get another job offer from somewhere with higher wages. You end up having to go. The fact of the matter is that you are here to make money²⁴³.

A similar failure in the negotiation process was described by a Ukrainian sale assistant (15): “In my previous job, I asked for a 50 dollar raise on my weekly wages even though it had been only a month since I had started. They said they were going to give us a 20 dollar raise soon anyway. We had a disagreement. So I quit”²⁴⁴.

²⁴¹ Bir tek para vermiyor, soruyor, bir şeye ihtiyacı var mı?

²⁴² Biz patrona bunu istiyoruz diyoruz. Ayrıca gidip söyleyeceğimize, neden onlara yaptığınız zam bize yok diye soruyoruz, ne cevap verdiyse ona göre harekete geçiyoruz. Sonuçta burada para kazanıyoruz. Ama bizim patron bizden memnun, biz ne dersek o. Kabul ediyor.

²⁴³ Sen bir ücretle başlıyorsun, işte bir süre sonra tabi zam istiyorsun. Yani tabi söylüyorsun, işte ben bu kadar istiyorum diye. Yani söylüyo işte, veriyorum, benden bu kadar, daha iyi bir yer bulabilirsen gidebilirsin. Yani postılıyorlar. Yani maaş konusunu anlaşıyor, ayrılıyor. Mecbur çünkü bazen görüyorsun, her sene, çalışmaya zam istiyorsun, yapmıyo, olmuyo, mecbur. İşte başka yerde teklif ediyor, işte daha yüksek maaşla. Mecbur gidiyorsun. Sonuçta, buraya gelmişsin yani para kazanmaya.

²⁴⁴ Önceki işte, daha işe girmesi bir ay olmasına rağmen haftalık 50 dolar daha fazla almak istedim. Kendileri bir süre sonra haftalık 20 dolar zam yapacaklarmış zaten. Sonuçta anlaşamadık. Ben de ayrıldım.

In a big firm, as I understand, the boss asks more systematically if his employee needs anything. A Russian employee (7) explained this process and how they demand wage increases:

Sometimes we have meetings. The boss asks us if we have any complaints. He tells us what is lacking. The employees usually don't get what they want. At least they don't when they ask for things individually. But we all try to make our demands known as a group during the periods when we get a raise. Actually, here's what happens: the employees discuss it among themselves and come to a common decision. Then they inform the boss of the amount²⁴⁵.

In other firms, the experienced employee (15) proposes to the boss that it is time to increase the wages of the new employee:

For example, a new boy is hired and is paid 100 dollars. When we see that he works hard -and you can tell from his work- we immediately give him a 20-30 dollar raise. The boss is fine with this. He asks if they are working well and doing everything²⁴⁶.

In the same workplace, another employee (22) believed that there are no ways of solving problems: "I never had any problems. But as far as I know no one deducts anything. If you have a problem with your patron, you just turn and find another job. People either talk, or they maybe fired". If this employee thinks that she cannot find a new job in better conditions, she probably prefers remaining silent. In the second step of my fieldwork, I saw that this Moldovan migrant was working in another workplace. Probably, she preferred changing her job to remaining silent. In a cargo firm, while I was conducting an interview with a young Moldovan worker I found out that the wages in some other cargo firms are 200 \$ monthly. Then his boss said that there is no such thing and they probably are lying. A few minutes, after the Moldovan worker went outside, the employer said: "Migrants work here; if they

²⁴⁵ Toplantı yapıyoruz arada. Patron şikayetlerimiz olup olmadığını soruyor. Eksikleri söylüyor. Çalışanların pek istekleri olmuyor. En azından tek başına olmuyor birşeyler isteme. Ama maaşların artacağı dönemler topluca hissettirmeye çalıştığımız oluyor isteklerimizi. Aslında şöyle oluyor. Çalışanlar öncelikle kendi aralarında konuşup ortak karar alıyorlar. Sonra bu fiyatı patrona söylüyorlar.

²⁴⁶ Mesela (yeni) çocuk girdi ya, 100 dolar aldı, baktık çalışıyor, kendini işe veriyor yani, hemen belli oluyor zaten çalışmasından, bazı şeylerinden falan, hemen ona 20-30 zam yapıyoruz yani. Patron soruyor, hiç sorun olmuyor yani. Yani, işin hakkını veriyorlar mı, şey yapıyorlar mı?

don't, they are fired. It's up to them"²⁴⁷. A Turkish sales assistant (14) talked about "silent foreign employees": "They don't let you see these kinds of problems much, they don't say much so I guess there isn't much he can do. They never object to the work or not do it. This never happens"²⁴⁸.

It seems that if foreign employees do not have any chance to make a negotiation related to wages or permissions, then they prefer either remaining silent or changing their job. In such a situation, "firing" or "changing the job" becomes a trump both for employer and employee. A Ukrainian sales assistant (15), as the foreman, explained explicitly the conditions of firing:

Because they have to do something when I tell them to. See if they don't! There was this girl who worked one or two months. She wasn't half bad as a sales assistant but she would use the phone without asking for permission. She would come in late. When no one comes in to work, I am left here alone. When two or three customers come in, what am I supposed to do all by myself? Do hold a bag or do the calculating? I have been working here for 7 years, I have never neglected my work, not even for a day. I come even if I am sick. I come²⁴⁹.

Another Turkish sales assistant (17) described a similar condition for firing: "When we don't like the way someone works, like if someone doesn't tidy the clothes around here, we have many replacements. If it is untidy here, we fire them after a few warnings. But usually they comply"²⁵⁰.

The problems such as low wages, permissions, sexual harassment, competition or conflict between employees, and end of season can be seen as the major reasons for

²⁴⁷ Burada çalışanlar göçmenler, olmadı sepetleriz. İşine gelirse.

²⁴⁸ Yani bu tarz problemlerini çok fazla yansıtmıyorlar, çok fazla söylemiyorlar, ki onun da yapabileceği çok fazla bir şey yok sanırım. İtiraz etmek, yapmamak denilen işe: Yok, olmuyo böyle şeyler.

²⁴⁹ Çünkü ben bir şey söylediğim zaman onlar yapmak zorunda yani. Yapmazsa!.. Bir kız vardı, bir-iki ay çalıştı. Tezgahtarlığı fena değildi izinsiz telefon kullanıyordu. Geç geliyordu. Kimse gelmeyince ben burada tekim. İki üç tane müşteri geliyor, ne yapacağım tek başıma. Poşet mi tutacağım, hesap mı yapacağım. Ben burada yedi senedir çalışıyorum, ben bir gün bile bırakmam işimi yani. Hasta da olsam geliyorum iş yerine. Geliyorum yani.

²⁵⁰ Beğenmediğimiz, örneğin şu etraftaki kıyafetleri toplamayan birinin yerine alternatifimiz çok. Dağınksa etraf, birkaç uyardıktan sonra kovarız. Ama genel olarak onlar uyumludur.

changing jobs. Although some respondents (8, 29) said that foreign migrants change their jobs continuously, there are difficulties in changing jobs. In a labour market where there is an abundance of workers, as an employer (27) in Gedikpaşa said “Around here, if there are 5000 Russian speaking workers, there are only 50 sales clerk positions. So some stay even if they don’t want to be sales clerks”²⁵¹, it is difficult to find a new job. Additionally, changing the job does not guarantee better working conditions. So many employees, like a Moldovan male sales assistant (34), prefer remaining silent and working harder in order to earn more money:

It’s hard to change jobs. The employer won’t pay me if I don’t make sales. If I don’t make a sale I don’t get money. But if I make a lot of sales, he might even give me a present. I am tired of their complaints. To me work is work. For example, the employer provides breakfast and lunch. So I tell myself to shine during the season. You just sit around mid-season anyway²⁵².

In other words, he expresses gratitude. This dialogue shows how the workers, at least practically, internalize the “rules” of the employer.

6.5.3 Concluding Remarks on Labour Processes of Irregular Moldovan Migrants

In the first sub-section of this Chapter, I focused on the labour processes in the clothing and shoe ateliers. Although I have very little information about the labour process controls and resistance because of the limitations of my fieldwork, it seems that the objection of foreign workers to the labour process control or any attempt to solve their problem is quite rare. During my theoretical discussion about resistance in the work place, I described the collective and individual forms of resistance as two main forms of resistance. Besides these variations, the forms of resistance can be in subtle or explicit form. Of course, resistance is not the only choice for workers. As

²⁵¹ Buralarda 5000 rusça bilen çalışan varsa, tezgahçılık için ihtiyaç 50’dir. E bu yüzden de kalıyor bir kısmı burada tezgahçı olmak istese de

²⁵² İşi değiştirmek zor. Ben satmazsam işveren para vermez. Ben satmazsam para olmaz. İşveren hediye de verir çok satış yaparsam. Yoruldum şikayetlerinden, iş iştir diyorum. Örneğin sabah kahvaltısı ve öğle yemeği veriyor işveren. Sen de, sezonda kendini göstereceksin diyorum. Boş zaman olunca, sezon ortası olunca zaten oturuyorsun.

Burawoy (1987) explains in detail, it should not be forgotten how the “manufacturing consent” or internalization of capitalist ideology by the workers helps the operation of the labour process control regimes. As I have mentioned in the previous subsections, Moldovan workers, if they have problems with the work they do, can leave the job collectively. In other cases, according to my fieldwork findings, if only one Moldovan employee work in an atelier, he/she has to find his resistance strategy individually. I could not reach any information about how all the workers from different nationalities create collective strategies in the ateliers. If they have any objection related with labour processes or working conditions, then they prefer either remaining silent or sharing their problem with their employer. As I understand, since there prevails direct control and paternalist relations in the small shoe and clothing ateliers, the possibility of objection for changing existing labour process is quite difficult both for native and foreign worker. However, workers, if they have problems related with wages, extra money, or permissions, have a chance to share this problem with their boss or foreman. This chance in some cases can be equal for native and foreign workers. Nonetheless, the possibility that foreign workers have additional problems with wages and permission transforms this equal chance into an unequal form.

As I was told, most of the foreign workers have an industrious work ethic. This is a capital advantage, and can be conceptualized as “manufacturing consent” or internalization of capitalist ideology. The different socio-cultural contexts of Turkey and the old Soviet Bloc countries can be seen as one of the reasons for work ethnic differences between Turkish and Moldovan migrants. Besides this, Moldovan migrants have to earn a set amount of money in a limited time. Also, they have an “illegal” position in Turkey. These are the other factors that contribute to these work ethic differences. In other words, the industrious work ethic should be evaluated along with these pressures to migrants. Lastly, the lack of explicit and collective forms of resistance does not mean that there is not any resistance at all. As I have discussed, there are subtle forms of resistance. In order to understand subtle forms of resistance, more detailed ethnographic knowledge of these workplaces are needed.

In order to understand the dialectic of control and resistance, I think, the concept of “work contract”, as Tilly and Tilly (1998) use it, can offer us some additional insights into this issue. As it is known, the lack of social security in the small and medium-sized textile/clothing ateliers is quite common. According to my observations, except for some skilled workers and foremen, most of the workers in these ateliers do not have any social security. Related to the lack of social security, there are no trade unions or formal work contracts, which enable employers to create flexible employment relations. Because of the necessity of trust in employment relationships, this informality goes hand in hand with the work-based and non work-based social networks, which reproduce paternalistic relationships. When paternalistic relations (real or imaginary familial relations) prevail in the workplace, it might probably result in “little bargaining power” for employees. On the other hand, paradoxically, the limitations of these networks decrease the possibility of resistance or turnover for foreign migrants. In terms of informality, foreign migrants additionally witness a “double informality”, that is, not only in their workplace but also in their social life. Again paradoxically, the paternalistic relationships in the workplace, which are based on hierarchical power relations, might mean for the migrants a “safe haven” compared to outside work.

In the second sub-section of this section, I explored firstly what kinds of tasks are performed by the foreign migrants in shops and in cargo firms. Although the tasks in cargo firms are harder in terms of physical labour-power, the rhythm of the job sometimes is faster in the shops. In terms of working conditions such as wages, the sales assistants who are working in the big firms, and the sales assistants who have a long working experience are in better situations. Additionally, it seems that the employees who are working in Osmanbey have more definite working hours and a better environment compared to Laleli. In cargo firms on the other hand the working hours are quite flexible.

When I look at the labour process in these workplaces, paternalistic ideology prevails like in the ateliers. However, different from ateliers, many employees in the shops have a relative autonomy while they are selling goods. I saw that the employees, who

have a relative autonomy in the labour process, work like foremen between employer and other employees. This position gives them a chance to affect the decisions such as hiring or firing of other foreign employees. Furthermore, I realized that these experienced employees are happy with their boss and criticize the “non-disciplined” employees like a boss. Therefore we can say that manufacturing consent is quite valid for these employees. In terms of division of labour, as I was told, foreign employees in some shops may witness discrimination and have to perform some hard tasks. But the hierarchical division of labour in these workplaces is based not only on ethnicity, but also on experience in the shops. In the cargo firms, on the other hand, the division between foreign migrants and employers is stricter. In some cargo firms, female migrants, who are working as secretaries, can be seen as the only exception with regard to this strict segregation.

All these workplaces are very small shops, where 3-4 persons work. In terms of type of employer control, benevolent autocracy is a prevalent way of controlling the labour process of employees in these shops. It seems that while the problems among employees are solved without the intervention of a boss, employers solve the problems that affect the labour process by firing the “problematic” employees. Therefore the conflicts in the workplace do not become apparent. In the cargo firms, on the other hand, since there are more flexible conditions and the employees are less skilled, it can be said that the firing of problematic employees is less difficult for the employer and the firm. In the shops, when employees have demands for higher wages or permission for leave, employer and employee(s) may enter into a negotiation process. I think that this negotiation process may be affected by the position of the employee and the situation of the labour market. An experienced and “indispensable” employee would probably gain what he or she wanted. However, it should not be forgotten that the limits for permission for time off or wage increments are determined by the “good intention” of the boss directly, more than with the employee’s situation in the labour market. On the other hand, foreign sale assistants, who do not have any chance to enter into a negotiation, probably prefer either changing their job or remaining silent. Thus, “firing” from the side of employer and “changing the job” from the side of employee become a common strategy in different

names. While the first one practices this strategy in order to apply the necessary labour process control and to continue surplus extraction, the latter should practice this strategy in order to escape from given working conditions and to continue survival.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

My subject in this thesis was the changing labour market positions and workplace interactions of irregular Moldovan migrants in the textile/clothing sector in Istanbul, Turkey. In addition I tried to explore the labour market dynamics and the labour processes of this sector in general. For this aim, I conducted a small-scale fieldwork in Istanbul by using a qualitative and flexible research methodology. In this sense I conducted 17 in-dept interviews and 18 informal interviews with Moldovan migrants and Turkish workers and employers.

In this last chapter of my study, firstly I will briefly discuss both the historical context of this study and the place of Turkey in this context in terms of global transformations and international population movements. Then I will start to answer my research questions based on my findings. I also will try to relate these findings/answers to the theoretical arguments that I discussed in the second and third chapters. Lastly, this chapter will indicate the theoretical and empirical limitations of this study, and make some suggestions for further studies.

The new phase of capitalism not only has transformed the old international divisions of labour to the new ones but also it has shaped new modes of dependency relations. In order to understand the mechanisms of dependency relations, the theory of global commodity chains would give some initial insights. According to Gereffi et al. (1994), one feature of this new era is that there has taken place a disaggregation of stages of production and consumption across national boundaries. This disaggregation process has been produced under the organizational structure of (hierarchical) networked firms or enterprises. Therefore the tendency of monopolization and the pressures of global competition can be accepted as two characteristics of the “networked firms” and “global commodity chains”. These

“networking” systems can be conceptualized as “hierarchical networking of subcontractors” or “bloody subcontracting” (Schierup, 2007). Associated with these new dependency relations, new forms of inequalities that cut across the (old) boundaries of nation-states, societies and regions have emerged. If emergence of these new inequality structures is accepted as one dimension of globalization process, a worldwide commodification and the intensification of networks would be seen as the second dimension of globalization. These theoretical approaches about the new phase of capitalism were the subjects of my second section of the first chapter and the fourth section of the third chapter.

Although the articulation process of the Turkish economy into global markets began in the 19th century and accelerated in the 1950s, the post-1980 period has different characteristics in terms of modes of capitalist accumulation. Associated with the new international division of labour, many countries no longer produce only raw materials or agricultural products for global markets. During this transformation of the global economy, Turkey, like many newly industrializing countries, has experienced a transition from import-substituted economy to an export-oriented whose conditions were prepared by the military coup in 1980. The deregulation of markets, the rise of financial services, and privatization as the major neo-liberal structural adjustment policies went hand in hand with the growing class inequalities in Turkey. From these years on, Turkey has specialized in the labour-intensive textile/clothing products, and capital-intensive car industry and consumption products. The production units in the textile/clothing sector can be categorized into three forms: Firstly, “global factories” as the subcontractors of global enterprises produce for the markets in developed countries. Secondly, many small and medium size enterprises produce for the internal markets without having subcontracting relations with global markets. Thirdly, some other production units produce for the markets in Arabic and former Soviet Bloc countries. Although these firms do not have subcontracting relations with big enterprises in global markets, they are affected by the pressures of global markets and competition amongst them. These enterprises have subcontracting relation with small size informal firms. In recent years, however,

the economic crisis in 2001, the EU quotas and cheap Chinese products has affected the textile/clothing sector in Turkey negatively.

For my purpose, it is important to explore how these “global commodity chains” and “networking of subcontractors” has transformed the labour markets and labour processes in various countries. To be more specific, the question of how the relationships between capital and migrant labour are shaped might be answered. According to many theorists, the dependency relations transformed the labour processes into a more fragmented form and made the labour-power less skilled in developing countries. These fragmented and unskilled workers are usually employed either in “free production zones” or in “small/medium-size production units” in urban areas, where export-oriented goods are produced. Along with the emergence of these new production spaces, two new trends are observed especially in the European labour market: I) deregulation and loss of workers’ power in political and economic spheres, II) flexibilization of the workplace and increasing of immigrant employment (Schierup, 2007).

Flexibilization and deregulation in both developed and developing countries have gone hand in hand with the growth of informal economy. As I have discussed in the third section of chapter 3, the employment of immigrants in informal production spaces of some sectors such as agriculture, construction, food-processing and textiles is quite common. In US labour markets, for example, the socio-economic inequalities between non-migrant and migrant workers in informal production spaces are developing; since the latter group usually do not have any valid visa or residence permit. Furthermore, there has been observed a polarization among migrant groups since the informal ethnic economy enabled some migrant groups to experience a socio-economic mobility. Sassen (1998) relates the urban restructuring to the increasing demand of migrant labour in the informal economy. Slightly different from this demand-driven migration theory, Light (1998), in his supply-driven theory, points out the growth of ethnic business as the first reason for migrant employment in informal economy.

Since the labour market structures in Southern European countries and Turkey have some things in common, I made a comparison of these. Firstly, Turkey and these countries have similarities in terms of a conservative-corporatist welfare regime with a regulated labour market and of the presence of a large informal sector. In Italy, for example, the rise of post-Fordist flexibility has gone hand in hand with the exploitation of undocumented migrants. While foreign migrants did not produce a new trend in the Italian economic structure, the employment of foreign migrants became a structural element of the Italian economy. In Turkey however it seems that foreign migrants are not a structural element of the Turkish economy. It is known that most of the labour-force demand for informal production units is supplied by the first or second generation internal migrants. On other hand, it might be said that the employment of foreign migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries is a “necessity” in some sectors such as domestic services and the sex industry. In the following paragraphs, I will try to give a detailed account of the labour market position of foreign migrants in the textile/clothing sector.

Therefore, the transformation of the social and economic structures, which can be described as “new economy”, created the conditions for the new patterns of international migration. As I have discussed in the third section of chapter 2, one of the strategies in the capitalist accumulation process for increasing the rate of surplus is the reinforcement of exploitation and increasing productivity (Castells, 1975). The former strategy might be realized by the separation of maintenance and renewal of labour (Burawoy, 1981). The presence of temporary migrant labour, which has often less negotiation power, has been always a strategic role in this separation processes. In addition to this classical relationship between capital and foreign migrants, the restructuring of capitalist economy (new international division of labour, flexibility, deregularization and informalization) have given way both for new routes and new forms of migration. Until the ends of the 1980s, while Turkey was a country which received migrants of Muslim/Turkish origin from the old Ottoman Empire lands, it became a transit and irregular migrant-receiving country from those years on. Castles and Miller (2003) conceptualize the emergence of new migration regimes as the “globalization of international migration”. In this process, like many countries,

Turkey became a migrant-receiving and transit country in addition to a migrant-sending one. Associated with this new economy, another new trend is the diversification of international migration. During this era, considerable numbers of asylum seekers, refugees, female migrants, temporary migrants, and irregular migrants have been on the move on a global scale. One interesting new trend is that many people migrate to other countries as a result of “non-economic” motivations such as self-realization and life-style. These complexities of routes, forms and motivations of international migration coincided with the restrictive migration policies of nation-states. The reluctance of governments for new migrants goes hand in hand with the demand of flexible accumulation processes of capital. In my view, these divergent and convergent policies of state and capital have mostly resulted in an increase of irregular and temporary population movements. One example of these migration regimes is the irregular migration from former Soviet Bloc countries to European countries. As a result of this “temporary” and “irregular” migration, “transnational” and “invisible” communities have emerged in different cities of Europe.

I now shall try to answer my research questions by discussing the main findings of this thesis. At this point, I would like to discuss the major points of my theoretical arguments about the labour market’s incorporation of foreign immigrants. Firstly, I pointed out the obligatory aspects of labour markets under capitalism instead of the “opportunities” it offers. Then I discussed theories about the differences (segmented labour market) between native and migrant workers in the labour markets, namely. In addition to this traditional theory, Sassen (1995) emphasized the importance of “local markets” and offered a simultaneous analysis of the labour markets and housing markets. As one of the dynamics of local markets, she indicated how the limitations of local labour markets, namely, the closure of local labour markets, affect the mobility chances of foreign workers. Some other scholars emphasized the role of human capital in the labour market incorporation of foreign migrants. While some pointed out the importance (as individuals) of foreign migrants’ observable and unobservable skills, some others focus on the socio-cultural resources such as values, orientation, skills, and knowledge that migrants have. In recent years, the human

capital theory have been challenged by emphasizing the role of the family, ethnic community (Nee and Sanders, 2001), and forms of capital in labour market incorporation. For example, Bauder (2006), from a Bourdieuean perspective, explains how “forms of capital” that migrant groups have, create “distinction” between different groups. The (already-existing) workplace conventions and hiring practices might prevent the employment of migrant groups in some jobs although they have the necessary skills and credentials. Lastly I discussed in the first section of chapter 2 how “sexual” and “aesthetic” considerations affect the labour market incorporating female migrants. The use of these forms of labour can be conceptualized as the “commodification of embodied capacities” or “sexualization of women’s bodies”. However in many cases “aesthetic” values are demanded not in terms of “beauty” but of “embodied disposition” in Bourdieuean sense.

Based on these theoretical discussions, I would like to summarize my analysis of the changing labour market position of Moldovan migrants in Istanbul. “The sector”, “the job”, “the status of labour” and “working conditions” of a migrant or a group of migrant can be accepted as the labour market position. According to the statistics and to my observations, most of Moldovan migrants started to come to Turkey in the middle of the 90s. Although it is difficult to give accurate numbers, it is estimated that most of the Moldovan migrants in Turkey work in the sex industry or in domestic services. However it is known that many Moldovan migrants work in the textile/clothing sector. There are many Moldovan migrants in the foot-wear sector too. In these workplaces, some of which are unregistered, they mostly work as “unskilled” labour without having work and residence permits. In terms of gender division of labour, the division of labour between male and female migrants is similar to the gender division of labour between native workers. Due to the pressures of global and national markets, many employers are enforced to intensify the rate of exploitation by means of low wages, long working hours, and bad working conditions. Although there are some similarities between native and migrant workers in terms of the informality, the labour status and working condition of foreign migrants should be distinguished from the former group because of their “illegal” position. As a result of lack of residence permits and (in many cases) a valid visa,

there is always a possibility of being captured or being asked for “money” by the police in everyday life. This possibility is limited for the migrants, who were living in the ateliers, because of their lack of a “home”. The possibility of sexual harassment in everyday life should be counted too. Therefore, it can be said that foreign migrants worked and lived under “doubled informal conditions” between the years of 1996 and 2000.

Since the beginnings of the 2000s, the number of Moldovan (and Romanian) migrants in the clothing and shoe ateliers decreased dramatically. According to my fieldwork findings, some of the Moldovan workers went back to their country, and few of them migrated to other countries such as Italy or Germany. Along with these migration processes, many Moldovan migrants continued to stay in Turkey and tried to find jobs in other sectors or in other segments of the same sector. The sample in my fieldwork included many Moldovan migrants from the latter group. Nowadays several hundreds of Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants (mostly woman) work as sales assistants in the shops in Laleli and Osmanbey, Istanbul²⁵³. These shops can be accepted as a “station” between textile/clothing production units in Istanbul and the markets in the former Soviet Bloc countries and many Arabic countries. Besides the positive attributes such as “submissive” and “hard-working” that these migrants have, some other skills played an important role in their employment in these trading spaces. In the shops most of the woman migrants work both as a sales assistant and a model. Few of them in Osmanbey work as a designer. Compared to the ateliers, they can be accepted as “skilled” labour in terms of their job experiences and language skills. If I look at these spaces in terms of informality, the shops are generally registered although it is known that most of the international trade activities are unregistered. In terms of status of labour, almost all foreign sales assistants do not have a work permit. Only one of my respondents (the Russian sales assistant) has a work permit. These migrants in some cases have a chance to renew their tourist visa if their wages are high enough or if they receive support from their employer for regular border-crossing. Their working conditions (including physical conditions and wages), compared to production spaces, can be accepted better except for some long

²⁵³ Although I had no precise information about the ethnic composition of sale assistants ten years ago in these areas, I was said that there were more Russian sale assistants in 90s.

working hours in the periods of seasonal change in the clothing sector. In terms of living conditions, although most of them stay in rented flats with several of their friends, they are “visible” in these districts since the presence of foreign migrants (especially) in Laleli are quite “normal”. In the cargo firms, many foreign migrants work as “semi-skilled” labour. Although Moldovan migrants use their language skills while communicating with Russian-speaking customers, they mainly press and carry the clothing packages in these workplaces. Because of their language skills, foreign migrants oppose to native workers can be accepted as “semi-skilled” workers. However, few foreign migrants have a work permit (none of my respondents have a work permit), and have less chance to renew their visa regularly. Furthermore, their working hours are very flexible, and the tasks that they perform are quite hard with low wages. Thus, the working conditions and status of labour of foreign migrants in the cargo firms can be accepted as similar to the ones in ateliers. One exception is that there are some Moldovan female migrants in these cargo shops working as secretaries.

At this point, I would like to explain these changes in the labour market incorporation by answering my first and second research questions. My first research question was: *What are the “sociological factors” that affect the changes in labour market incorporation of irregular Moldovan workers in Istanbul in general and in the textile/clothing sector in specific?* The changes in the working conditions and status of labour of some Moldovan migrants from ateliers to shops are closely related with the language skills and aesthetic and sexual “values” they have. The former value, to some extent, is associated with the importance of “gendered bodily performance” in sale activities while contacting customers. However the importance of the latter, comes directly from the “sexual” demands of employers. In other words, the “commodification of embodied capacities” goes hand in hand with “sexualization of women’s bodies” in some workplaces. I do mean that all the sales assistants in these trading spaces are preferred according to their aesthetic and sexual “values”. As I was told, the experienced and successful sales assistants have more chance of working in a “good” position since they are few in number due to the circular migration patterns and the high rate of turnover. Besides these skills and attributions

that are related to human capital, the migrant women from Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine are more preferable because of their socio-cultural resources that they “brought” from their countries. I was told that, these migrants are found more “educated”, “clean” and “disciplinary” by employers compared to migrants from Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Armenia. Many studies discussed the existence of the discriminatory perceptions among the native population according to which some migrants are perceived as “dirty migrants”. If the aesthetic values and socio-cultural resources are thought in a mixed form, it can be said that the employment of Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants in these shops are closely related with “embodied disposition” in Bourdieuan sense. The fact that migrant women work both as models and as sale assistants throughout long working hours, which are non-acceptable for many native women, can be seen as another reason that most of the sale assistants in these shops are female foreign migrants. Despite the demand for these female characteristics, the employment of male migrants because of their language skills and job experiences is also the case in some shops. However, male migrants from Moldova, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan can find a job in cargo firms as Russian-speaking “semi-skilled” labour easier than in shops.

Associated with the “sociological factors” that affect the labour market incorporation of Moldovan migrants, the role of different actors in this change needs to be elaborated by means of answering the second research question with its sub-question. My second question was: *What are the relative roles of “actors” in the changing labour market position of Moldovan migrants?* The first sub-question was: *How (and by which ways) have Moldovan migrants changed their labour market position (from clothing ateliers to shops and cargo firms)?* Before exploring this question, it would be useful to remember how I described the social networks, which is one dimension of my conceptual framework. Not only are the flows of people and commodities, but also of knowledge and cultural interactions realized in many cases with the help of social networks beyond national boundaries. Firstly, social networks are used by actors with different forms of social capital. Secondly, social networks are transformed by migrants continuously. Lastly social networks are used both by migrant and non-migrant actors such as employers. In this sense, many foreign

migrants realize their informal economic and non-economic strategies by means of international social networks. In my case, I observed that Moldovan migrants have elaborated their social networks in Turkey since they first came to Turkey. Some studies indicate that the Moldovan migrants in domestic services no longer use the “formal networks” of travel agencies, instead they use their own network based on their relationship with family and friends. In my case, almost all Moldovan migrants received help from their family members or friends in migrating and changing their jobs (for better working conditions). However, I found that some migrants, who started to work in a shop just after their arrival in Turkey, received help from their friends or family members. Some others, however, migrated to Turkey and could find a better job only after they established some new networks in Turkey. Thus a distinction can be made between “friendship networks” and “family networks”. Although it is difficult to make a generalization, it seems that networks based on friendships are more effective for a “good” job in a shop.

Additionally, it can be assumed that while the social networks of the Gagauz Moldovan migrants from rural areas are based on family ties, the ones of Moldovan migrants from urban areas depend on friendship ties. The spatial dimension of networks should be concerned in the sense that Laleli is a center where networks are concentrated. I talked about the role of the Protestant Church in Gedikpaşa for some migrants in establishing new networks. Also, studies of domestic workers point out the role of an autopark²⁵⁴ in Laleli in the concentration of networks. In addition, the concentration of networks in Laleli, where the shops and the cargo firms are located very closely, enable some migrants in cargo firms to find a job in a shop as a “skilled” sales assistant with the help of friends. In terms of gender dimension of networks, I observed that many respondents used the “woman relative-based” networks such as mother and aunt while migrating to Turkey.

My second sub-question of the second research question was: *How do migration policies of the Turkish state affect the labour market/employment position of Moldovan workers?* While answering this question, I will also indicate how I used another concept of my conceptual framework: modes of incorporation. In the third

²⁵⁴ Dadaş Otoparkı

section of chapter 2, I discussed how nation-states are transforming in a globalizing world. In my view, the question of how the power of nation-states reacts under the pressures of globalization is meaningless to answer. Instead, it would be better to understand how the power, authority and functions of national governments are reconstituted and diversified in a new configuration of global power relations. In terms of migration policies, there is a global trend in migrant-receiving countries according to which nation-states are reluctant in welcoming new immigrants because of the community formation problems. On the other hand, a new immigrant labour-force is demanded by the new modes of capitalist accumulation. This contradictory situation produces “a segmented demand for immigrant workers”. Out of different modes of incorporation (or political-administrative frameworks), the migration policies in Turkey towards irregular population movements is best suited to the model of “differential exclusion”. This model means a “fractional incorporation” for the irregular migrants. In Turkey, in my view, the so-called “unsystematic” migration policies were determined by three major factors. Firstly, although the numbers of migrants of Turkish/Muslim origin have decreased in recent years, the Turkish state has continued to see these immigrants as “first class” ones. Secondly, the neo-liberal economic policies, which mean the unprohibited cross-border flows of capital, seem to reflect on the “liberal visa regime” especially for the migrants from western world and former Soviet Bloc countries. Thirdly, Turkey, as an EU candidate, tries to harmonize its border policies with the ones of EU countries. This process might enforce Turkey to focus on “irregular transit migration” and “smuggling” issues instead of “irregular labour migration”. Thus, all these “contradictory” policies can be seen as the new face of the neo-liberal state in a globalizing world. Based on these factors, it seems that two major criteria affect the attitudes of the Turkish state towards foreign migrants. Firstly, the Turkish state ignores or overlooks the employment of foreign migrants in sectors, such as domestic services, the sex industry and the service sector (especially sales assistants) where there is no competition between native workers and foreign migrants. However it seems that state control is dense in the sectors, such as the textile/clothing sector, where there is competition among native workers too. Secondly, besides the criteria of competition, the level of state control is associated with whether any sector is export-oriented or

not. The State's ignorance of the existence of sales assistants in the shops can be explained, to some extent, by this criterion.

Thus, it can be asked: what do these policies mean for Moldovan migrants? This question can be briefly answered by analytically defining two levels. At the Turkish borders (first level), Moldovan migrants, although the duration of the tourist visa decreased to one month four years ago, have more chance to enter to Turkey compared to the ones from Asian and Middle Eastern countries. However, in the everyday life (second level), the difficulties in getting residence and work permits reproduce the "illegal" status of Moldovan migrants although a new law about the work permits for foreigners was enacted in 2003. The police threat in everyday life is another problem. However the dose of state control varies according to the position of an immigrant in the labour market. According to my findings, the possibility of a police arrest of a Moldovan sales assistant in Laleli (actually there is always a possibility) is less compared to a Moldovan presser or carrier in Bağcılar.

My third sub-question of the second research question was: *What factors affect the recruitment strategies of employers in this sector when hiring immigrants?* I explored the recruitment strategies of shop owners above. Here, I would like to discuss the recruitment strategies of the employers of clothing ateliers although I have limited data. For an employer of a clothing atelier, the employment of a foreign migrant means a "submissive", "hard-working" and "low cost" labour force. Until the year 2000, many employers of small and medium sized ateliers in Istanbul hired Moldovan and Romanian because of these reasons. At this point, however, the question of why there were not any ateliers whose workers were all foreign migrants in this period should be answered. These limitations can be conceptualized as "constraints on employers" (Tilly and Tilly, 1998). I found one real and two speculative reasons: Firstly, as some employers explained, the accommodation costs of these migrants and physical limitations in ateliers affected the numbers of foreign migrants in an atelier. A second reason might be the limitations in the supply of foreign migrants. Thirdly the organization of production processes might have been difficult in an atelier where all workers were from a "foreign culture". With

increasing state controls after 2000, it can be understood why employers preferred only one or two foreign migrants in a workplace. The employment of limited numbers of foreign migrants, as one employer said, provide the “invisibility” of the employment of foreign migrants, which decrease the possibility of police control. Lastly, I observed that the Muslim origin foreign migrants from Turkmenistan or Azerbaijan are preferred to Christian Romanian and Moldovan migrants by some employers due to their “cultural preferences”. This tendency might have affected the employment of the latter group in textile/clothing ateliers too.

I said above that the employment of foreign migrants is not a structural element of Turkish labour markets except in some sectors. In addition the increase in informal employment is actually a process of “informalization” of the Turkish economy. However the informalization process provides the conditions of labour market incorporation of foreign migrants in Turkey. Foreigners are only a little part of this process. In Turkey, different from the United States, there is no ethnic economy unique to foreign migrants. While analyzing the relationship between informal economy and the employment of irregular migrants, Sassen’s (1998) demand-driven theory can be used. In my view, the structure of the labour markets are mostly determined by the preferences of employers, the needs of capital accumulation, and the migration policies of the Turkish state although the social networks and human capital of Moldovan migrants plays a role in their labour market position. Thus, foreign migrants in Turkish labour markets can be understood by the concept of the “occupational niches”. If I evaluate the labour market position of Moldovan migrants in terms of polarization and segment labour markets theories, it seems that there are no big differences between native and foreign workers in the construction sector and in the textile/clothing ateliers. This situation is quite different from the case of Italy where there are big differences in terms of labour market positions between native workers and foreign migrants working in the informal economy. However, the employment opportunities (especially for woman migrants) in the shops create a polarization between the native and foreign migrants in terms of working conditions. This polarization can be better imagined if it is thought that a job opportunity in a shop for an “unskilled” Turkish worker in a clothing atelier is quite difficult. On the

other hand, some “unskilled” Turkish workers, contrary to the foreign migrants, might have a chance to be a clothing atelier owner.

My last question was related with workplace interactions of Moldovan migrants with other employees: *How do “control” and “resistance” in the labour processes operate in the workplace where Moldovan migrants work?* In the fourth section of chapter 3, I tried to elaborate the concepts of labour process control and modes of resistances in order to understand the workplace interactions. I assumed that the modes of the labour process controls in the workplace are mediated by power relations between different actors. Following Burawoy (1987), I defined production regimes as the combination of organization of work (labour process) and the political/ideological apparatus of production. Thus it can be assumed that production regimes are determined by the labour process, enterprise relations to state and (national/global) markets and the mode of reproduction of labour power. These factors (including resistance of workers) shape the type of labour process control in a given workplace. Out of different production regimes defined by Burawoy (1987), I focused on the paternalist, market despotic and hegemonic despotic forms of labour control regimes. In addition to Burawoy, I explored some other forms of labour process control such as simple/structural and direct/autonomy. Since most of my respondents were working in small size workplaces, I also discussed the importance of benevolent autocracy and sweating as two modes of labour process control in small businesses. In the fourth section of chapter three, I explored the theories about “worker resistance”. In addition to the explicit and collective forms of resistances at the workplaces, some theories point out the subtle, unorganized, and subjective/individual ways of workplace resistance. They advocated the importance of counter-identification, contested subjectification, and sub-cultures of employees at workplaces. For my purposes, I indicated how informal resistance strategies enable workers to reduce the level of dissatisfaction and to create a space in which a relative autonomy from employer control can be gained. Then I pointed out the importance of the negotiation process in low-trust and informal work contracts. Lastly I assumed that workplace interactions and the modes of labour process control are more open to market pressures when there is no formal work contract.

At this point I would like to answer the sub-questions of the third research question by distinguishing the processes in the ateliers from the ones in shops and cargo firms. These sub-questions were:

1. What kind of control mechanisms exist at these workplaces?
2. What is the role of the absence of formal work contract in the bargaining power of workers and in the working conditions of Moldovan migrants?
3. What kinds of resistance strategies (if any) are developed by migrant workers in order to change the conditions at the workplaces and to challenge these control mechanisms?
4. What are the differences and similarities between native and foreign workers in terms of labour processes?

In terms of labour process control mechanisms, I found that the labour process is controlled directly by the employer or by a foreman in the clothing and shoe ateliers, where Moldovan migrants work. According to the statements of almost all the employers and employees in these ateliers, there are (hierarchical) paternalistic relations between different actors based on the ownership of the enterprises and on the experience of the employee. In many clothing ateliers only “skilled” workers (for example: designers and foremen) have social security. This brings a high rate of turnover not only for foreign migrants but also for native workers. Despite this high rate of turnover, informal contracts based on “low trust” between different actors are constituted mostly by means of social networks dependent on family and friendship ties. Although these paternalistic relations are informal and hierarchical, these relations could provide a “safe haven” inside the workplace for the foreign migrants. Another major characteristic of these workplaces is that the pressures and necessities of the “markets” determine the type of clothes, the workload and the working hours. For this reason, I can conclude that the “hegemonic despotic” and “sweating” forms of labour process control, which is valid both for the native and foreign migrants, prevail in these workplaces.

If I analyze the labour processes in terms of resistance of workers, one remarkable thing is that the workers in many cases have “little bargaining power” as a result of the paternalistic relations. As I was told, the possibility of the objection of foreign workers (like native ones) to the labour process or working condition is quite rare. In many cases, workers generally remain silent. However, when they have problems with wages, extra money, or leave permissions, they might talk with their employer or with the most experienced worker. At first sight, it can be assumed that the possibility of objection is not equal for the native and foreign workers. Really, I was told that Turkish workers might reject the given task in some cases. This kind of objection is quite rare for the foreign migrants. According to my findings, however, the difference between two groups of workers comes from the fact that foreign workers might have additional problems such as permission being granted for home country visits. Lastly I found that “leaving the job” is one of the important resistance strategies of Moldovan workers in clothing and shoe ateliers. For example, when a group of Moldovan migrants have problems related to working conditions or wages in an atelier, they probably leave the job collectively. However, the limitations of social networks, which means the lack of new job opportunities, might decrease the possibility of resistance, namely, “leaving the job”.

In the shops, with regard to a customer service job, the embodied performance of the worker and the labour power is part of the product. Furthermore, the relationship between the worker and customer is more interpersonal. Despite these differences from the production of manufactured goods, in my view, the labour process in the shops can be analyzed with the help of the concepts that I used above. Like the workplace interactions in the ateliers, according to my findings, the interactions between employer and employee is mostly based on paternalistic relations. However, one of my remarkable findings is that some experienced Moldovan and Ukrainian sales assistants have a relative autonomy in sales activities. In these shops, these foreign migrants have a position between employer and other employees like a foreman. In in-depth interviews, I also found that these foreign migrants could reprimand the “non-disciplinary” employees like an employer. This fact can be conceptualized as the “internalization of employer’s ideology”. According to my

findings, three variables (gender, ethnicity and job experience) affect the division of labour in the shops in Laleli and Osmanbey. Firstly, as I observed, if there is more than one employee in a shop, the tasks such as cleaning and tidying up might be done by woman employees. Secondly, I got varieties of findings related with the ethnic division of labour. As I was told, in some jobs, foreign employees might be enforced to do hard tasks such as cleaning and carrying of goods since they are foreign migrants. In some other shops, however, all tasks are done collectively without any division of labour. Lastly, an experienced employee might have a better position compared to other employees although he/she is a migrant. Thus, I can conclude that the dominant labour process control in the small shops is benevolent autocracy according to which the problems in the workplace are solved generally by means of hiring of a “problematic” employee.

If I look at the labour processes in the shops in terms of resistance of workers, one interesting finding is that some experienced foreign employees might negotiate with his/her boss about the working conditions and wages. In these cases, the informal work contract between the experienced sale assistant and employer are based on a “high trust” since the employment of the experienced employees, in a labour market where there are few experienced sales assistants, might affect the sales activities especially in busy periods. However, although some employers are more “generous” in terms of additional benefits, the wage levels are mostly determined by the “labour market” conditions in Laleli and Osmanbey. In many cases, it seems that foreign migrants solve their problems in workplaces either by remaining silent or finding another job as is the case in the ateliers.

Thus, it can be said that “changing the job”, although it does not guarantee better working conditions, seems to be one of most preferable “resistance” strategies of foreign migrants in the shops and in the cargo firms. In latter ones, on the other hand, the labour process control mechanisms are very similar to the ones in ateliers. This mode of labour process is related to the labour markets conditions where there are lots of “unskilled” foreign migrants. In these workplaces, like in the ateliers, the informal contracts are characterized by high turnover, little power of employee, few

benefits, low promotion ceilings, and less training. Therefore, it seems that the “labour market conditions” affect the power relations in the shops and in the ateliers/cargo firms in different manners. While the power relations between employers and employees are shaped by the fact that there are few “skilled” sale assistants (giving a chance to Moldovan migrants) in the labour market, the power relations between these actors in ateliers/cargo firms was determined mostly by the fact that there abundance of “unskilled” Turkish and foreign workers in the labour market. All in all, a statement of an employer (Goss, 1991: 85) summarizes the power relations in small shops and ateliers: “*if you are not coming in Saturday, you are not coming in Monday*”.

At this point, I would like to discuss briefly what I found out related to the three dimensions (modes of incorporation, social networks, informalization) of my conceptual framework in order to make my conceptual contribution. While answering the second sub-question of my second research question above, I discussed how state policies affect the labour market position and everyday life of Moldovan migrants. Like every migrant-receiving country, Turkey, although it seems contradictory, has a migration policy or a mode of incorporation. The differential exclusion mode of incorporation in Turkey results in a fractional incorporation of foreign migrants which means most of the foreign migrants live in Turkey without having legal rights. In this thesis, I advocated that the political modes of incorporation should be analyzed with the labour market or economic modes of incorporation. The latter are shaped by various factors such as human capital, socio-economic resources, forms of social capital and aesthetic/sexual forms of labour. Thus, it can be said that any discussion about modes of incorporation should include both political and economic factors. On the other hand, the second dimension of my conceptual framework, namely, social networks indicates how foreign migrants as “agents” determined (to some extent) their position in the labour market. I mean that any analysis of social networks and social capital can explain the labour market position if only the mode of incorporation (context) is added to the analysis. In addition I can say that the differential exclusionary mode of incorporation limits the effectiveness of the social networks in my case. And lastly, the concept of

informalization indicates how globalization as a macro phenomenon affects labour market dynamics in the mezzo-level and the labour processes at the workplaces in the micro level. Secondly, this concept points out the dynamism and complexity of labour markets and labour process control regimes as endless processes. Thus, I can say that the dynamic relationship between modes of incorporation as a given structure and social networks of agents are understood with the help of the concept of informalization. That is why I tried to use these three concepts in my analysis together.

I would like to discuss briefly five theoretical contributions that I extracted from my findings:

Firstly, the flows of capital and goods between former Soviet Bloc/Arabic countries and Turkey gave the way for the flows of labour migrants. The visits of traders from these countries went hand in hand with the labour migration to Istanbul. Thus, the flows of capital, goods and labour should be analyzed together in migration studies.

Secondly, although I conceptualized the migration from Moldova as “temporary migration” or “irregular migration”, in my view the concepts such as “temporary”, “permanent”, “irregular” and “illegal” should be questioned too. First of all, informalization processes affect the dynamics and patterns of international migration continuously. As one of my findings indicates, the changing labour market dynamics of the sectors where foreign migrants work, causes new patterns of migration such as the trend of “migrant mother-then-migrant son”. Secondly, I conceptualize the migration patterns of Moldovan migrants in Istanbul as “permanency of temporality”. I mean that although the faces are changing in the labour market, the exploitation (whatever its degree is) remains the same. The continuation of the “temporary and irregular” status of these migrants without having even substantive citizenship or denizenship rights is one of the biggest problems of Turkey although many people do not think so.

Thirdly, I found that the employment of foreign migrants is determined mostly by the job opportunities in some specific sectors as the demand-driven migration theories say. I mean that almost all foreign migrants in Turkey could not create job opportunities by means of ethnic economies as is the case in developed economies as a result of differential exclusionary modes of incorporation. In addition the demand for foreign migrants is closely related with the restructuring Turkish economy. While the growth of informal jobs in export-oriented industries has created the conditions for the employment of foreign migrants, the emergence of a new middle class has determined the employment of foreign migrants in domestic services. Thus, the informalization processes in Turkey creates the conditions of the employment of foreign workers but not vice versa. In other words, different from Southern European countries, the employment of foreign migrants is not a structural element of the Turkish economy. However, the conditions of the labour market in my case are determined mostly by the capitalist accumulation regimes, by the migration policies of state and by some cultural preferences of employers.

Fourthly, the foreign migrants (Moldovan migrants in my case) should not always be seen as “victims”. Actually, they continually try to find informal ways of survival by means of social networks based on family and friendship ties. In many cases, they save money. In addition, in some cases, they could find “good” jobs in the labour market. In other words, they might experience an “upward mobility” in a given “context”. On the other hand, Turkish workers, some “new” foreign migrants and (even) employers can be accepted as “vulnerable” groups in exploitative working conditions of the textile/clothing sector in Istanbul. From the side of Moldovan migrants, different ways of escaping from “hard working conditions” can be accepted as an “act of resistance” despite of its limitations. To sum up, these findings question some assumptions about the “vulnerability” of migrants.

Fifthly, related to the third remark, I found that “informal working conditions” does not mean only the “pure exploitation” of “vulnerable” migrants. On the one hand, informal working and living conditions might include some opportunities that a formal relation does not, as I have put above. On the other hand, the dynamics of the

labour market, the monopolization tendencies in the sector and the migration policies of the Turkish state might constrain the demands of employers for more exploitation. In other words, although the capitalists have “a utopia of endless exploitation” in the neo-liberal age (Bourdieu, 1998), it seems that the dominant modes of exploitation in everyday life are of a “culturally and politically mediated” form.

Lastly, I shall put forward some of the limitations of this thesis which can be accepted as suggestions for further studies. *Firstly*, this study could have included the dynamics of internal migration in Turkey and analyzed how these dynamics affect the labour markets in textile/clothing sector. *Secondly*, the new immigrant groups from Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, and Armenia and their place in the textile/clothing sectors could be studied so as to understand the preferences of employers better. *Thirdly*, in order to get a detailed knowledge about the social networks of Moldovan migrants in Turkey, the networks of migrants, working in different sectors (construction sector, domestic services and sex industry) needs to be explored in further studies. *Fourthly*, the theoretical approaches about the spatial dimensions of the labour markets and of the formation of migrant communities could have been added to my theoretical arguments. Related with this spatial dimension, further studies might focus on new informal production units in rural areas of Turkey in order to understand spatial decentralization of the informal economy.

And finally...Production, circulation, distribution, and consumption of clothes, namely, extraction of surplus and realization of commodities, in Istanbul, Turkey, as it is explored throughout this thesis, should first be related to a definite moment in history: the global capitalist society economy of the early 21st century. Furthermore, it seems that the labour market incorporation and labour processes on a local level, where migrant and non-migrant men and women “sell” their labour-power, are affected by the pressures of the global markets, by the restrictive and exclusionary migration policies of the Turkish state (for the former ones) and by the patriarchal cultural patterns of everyday life. Although it is difficult to define a definite “agent” and “solution” to change these already-discussed “commodification” and “informalization” processes, from a revolutionary point of view, it can be said that “new” forms of social relationships are emerging out of the already-existing informal

and commodified structures not only with the help of the new employment and migration policies but also from a “collective agent” constituted by “migrants” from different localities...

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A Questionnaire

A.1 Questionnaire in English

A- Socio-Economic Background

A1 Gender

A3 Where have you grown? City.....Village.....

A4 What is your mother language?

A5 Which languages could you speak?

A6 How long did your education life last?.....The level of your last school?

1-Primary education (6-10) 2- Lower Secondary School (10-15) 3- Upper Secondary School (14-16) 4- Upper Secondary School (15-18) 5- Higher education (universities, academies and institutes) 6- Other.....
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A7 Do you have any occupational education? (*such as driver, plumber*)

A2 When were you born?

A11 Where were your father grown?

City.....Village.....

A12 The last school that your mother was graduated from?

A14 If your father is working now, what is he doing? If he is retired, what was the last job of your father?

A16 Where were your father grown?

City.....Village.....

A17 The last school that your mother was graduated from?

A19 If your mother is working now, what is he doing? If he is retired, what was the last job of your mother?

A20 Are you married?

A22 Where were your husband/wife grown?
City.....Village.....

A23 The last school that your wife/husband was graduated from?

A24 Is your wife/husband working? Where? What is he/she doing?

A27 Do you have children?

A28 Are your children studying? Or, are they working?

A30 When you are children, did your family have a house/flat? Now, do you have any house/flat? Do you have any car?

B- Migration Story and Migration Experiences

(Migration story of Moldovans)

B15 How did you decide to migrate to Turkey? What were the main reasons?

- Before migration, did you have any information on Turkey (*prior information*)?
- While migrating, who helped you? (in terms of money, network, information)
- With which vehicle did you come here? (*by bus/boat/car/air/on foot*)
- How much did your journey to Turkey cost?
- What was your main problem that you have witness while migrating? (*deception*)
- How long have you been in Turkey?
- Before migration to Turkey, did you any other migration experiences? Why did you select Turkey instead of any other European country?

B17 How often do you go to your country? What are the reasons for these journeys to your country? Do you send money to your country?

C- Questions on work and work relations:

C1 What is your occupation?

C2 When did you start your first job? How did you find this job?

C6 Until your last job, in which jobs have you worked? In which sectors? What were you doing in these jobs? What was your job status (*unskilled labour, formen, employer*)? Did you have social security? Working conditions?

C10 Have you witnessed any unemployment experiences in Turkey? When, why?

Employment Conditions:

C24 How many people are working in your work place? What kind of goods are you producing in this work place? Or where are you taking these goods? To whom are you selling these goods? Do the employees have any social security? How is the level of income in this working place?

C25 How did you find the job that you are currently working? Did you know some people from this firm?

- Why were you selected by your employer? In other words, which characteristics of you played a role in your hiring process? While you were entering to this job, have you witnessed a trial period?

C26 Do you use any skill in this job? What are you doing in an ordinary work day? (*Please ask in details*) Do you use any machine or physical power? What kind of expectations does your employer have? (*Appearance, speech, discipline*)

C30 Working conditions

- What is your status in this job? Where is your place in the hierarchy of staff? By whom are you taking the command for the job? Could you behave independently in working process? (*Autonomy*) Could you participate to the decision process in working place? (*participation*)
- Usually, how is your working hours? Do you have holidays? Overtime works?
- Can you explain your physical conditions in the job? (*air, smell*)
- How do you take your payments? (*weekly, monthly*) Do you have any extra payments?

C36 How do you appreciate the working relations among staff? Between native and foreign workers? Between employers and employees? (negative, positive, solidarity, competition)

C35 (*Segmentation between native and foreign employees*)

- When you compare the working conditions of immigrants with native employees, what are the main differences between two groups?
- (*Gender dimension*) What are the main differences between men and women employees in terms of working conditions? Have you witnessed discrimination in working life?
- In this firm, who are the people that organize the organization of working place?

C37 (*Problem solving*), What kind of problems do you witness in this working place? (*Two kind of problems: the ones which is related with the work process such as working hours and the ones which is related with the relations among staff*) When there appears a problem in working place, how do you solve this problem? To whom do you complain about the problem? Who is the most powerful figure in this problem solving process?

- In working place, are there problems which are unique to immigrant employees?
- Are the employees in your working place attempting to solve their problems individually or collectively?
- In order to control the employees in work process, what kind of precautions are your boss/employer taking? (*control mechanisms*)
- What kind of sanctions???
- Are there some employees who don't complain although they witness some difficulties in work process?
- (*Resistance*) If your boss regrets your demands (*for example, extra payments*), what would you do?
- Are you happy with your working place?

C38 (*Collective Action, Trade Unions*)

- In order to solve the problems; do you try to solve this problem collectively?
- Have you had any trade union experience?

C39 (*Social security*) Do the staff in this working place have social security? Do your boss/employer help you when you have a health problem?

- In your country, are you member of any social security system? The member of your family? Would like to have a social security in Turkey?

(*Social life, living conditions*)

B18 How did you find your first residence in Istanbul? Were you helped? How were the conditions of this house?

- Nowadays, in which district are you living in Istanbul? How are your living conditions? Do you have home mates? From which countries?

- How is your relations with neighborhoods?.....How is your relations with your home owner?

B19 How are your relations with other Moldovans/Russians? Do you friends from other ethnic groups? Do you have Turkish friends?

- (*Incorporation*) Generally, have you been accustomed to Turkey? Have you witnessed problems when you first came to Turkey? What kind of problem have you been witnessed? (*language problems, accommodation problems, problems in job finding*)

C40 (*Social life outside of work*) How do you spend your free time outside the working hours? Where? Do you have friends that you met at work?

B20 (*Legal Status*) Do you have work permit or residence permit? Do you expire the due date of your visa? Do you go to your country in order to extend your visa? Do you pay fine because of overstaying?

- Have you witnessed any problem with police in Turkey?

C42 (*Future*): What is your plan for the future? Would you like to enter another job? In which job would you like to work? How long are you planning to stay in Turkey?

A.2 Questionnaire in Turkish

A- Sosyo-Ekonomik Bilgiler

A.1 Cinsiyet?

A.2 Doğum yeriniz neresidir? İl: İlçe: Köy:

A.3 Evde aile bireyleri arasında hangi dil/diller konuşulur?

A.4 Siz hangi dilleri konuşabiliyorsunuz?

A.5 Öğrenim hayatınız kaç yıl sürdü?.....En son gittiğiniz okul hangisidir?

<i>(Türkiye’li çalışanlar için)</i> 1-Hiç okula gitmemiş / Okur-yazar değil 2-Okur-yazar ama ilkokulu bitirmemiş 3-İlkokul mezunu 4-Ortaokuldan terk 5-Ortaokul mezunu 6-Liseden terk 7-Lise mezunu 8-Meslek lisesi mezunu 9-Meslek lisesi terk 10-Üniversite veya meslek okulundan terk 11-Üniversite mezunu 12- Yüksek lisans ve üzeri 13- Diğer.....	<i>(Moldovalılar için)</i> 1-Primary education (6-10) 2- Lower Secondary School (10-15) 3- Upper Secondary School -Atestat de studii medii de cultură generală (14-16) 4- Upper Secondary School -Diploma de Bacalaureat (15-18) 5- Higher education (universities, academies and institutes) 6- Diğer.....
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A.6 (*Meslek lisesi ve üniversite mezunlarına sorulacak*): Uzmanlık alanınız/okuduğunuz bölüm nedir?

A.7 Bir meslek edinmek yada mesleki becerilerinizi geliştirmek için katıldığınız kurslar/seminerler oldu mu? Ne tarz kurslara katıldınız? (*Hayırsa, neden?*)

A.8 Doğum tarihiniz nedir?

A.9 Babanızın doğduğu yer neresidir? İl:..... İlçe:..... Köy:.....

A.10 Babanızın bitirdiği en üst seviyedeki okul nedir?

A.11 Babanız şuan çalışıyorsa, ne iş yapıyor? Veya Babanız emekli olmadan önce en son ne iş yapıyordu?

A.12 Annenizin doğduğu yer neresidir? İl:..... İlçe:..... Köy:.....

A.13 Annenizin bitirdiği en üst seviyedeki okul nedir?

A.14 Anneniz şuan çalışıyorsa, ne iş yapıyor? Veya anneniz emekli olmadan önce en son ne iş yapıyordu?

A.15 Evli misiniz? (*Hayır ise A27’e geçin.*)

A.16 Eşinizin doğduğu yer neresidir? İl:..... İlçe:..... Köy:.....

A.17 Eşinizin bitirdiği en üst seviyedeki okul nedir?

A.18 Eşiniz şu anda çalışıyor mu? (*Hayır ise A26'e geçin.*)

A.19 Çalışıyorsa, bu işin ne olduğunu öğrenebilir miyim? Nerde çalışıyor, hangi sektörde?

A.20 Kaç yıldır evlisiniz?

A.21 Eğer varsa, kaç çocuğunuz var?

A.22 Peki çocuklarınızın sırayla hangi okula gittiklerini ve eğer gelir getirici bir işte çalışıyorlarsa ne işte çalıştıklarını söyleyebilir misiniz?

A.23 11-12 yaşlarındayken oturduğunuz konutun türü ve mülkiyet durumu neydi? Buraya göç etmeden önce oturduğunuz konutun türü ve mülkiyet durumu neydi? Ailenin sahip olduğu, ev, tarla, araba var mı?

A.24 Hangi yollarla edinmişsiniz bu malları?

B- Göçle ve Göçmenlik Deneyimleriyle İlgili Sorular:

(Türkiyeli çalışanlar için göç süreci)

B.1 Şimdiye kadar yaşadığınız göç deneyimlerinizi anlatabilir misiniz? Hangi yerlerde ne kadar süreyle kaldınız? Göç etme nedenleriniz nelerdi? Kimlerle göç ettiniz?

B.2 Göç süreçlerinde size kimler yardım etti?

B.3 Sizden daha önce buraya gelmiş arkadaş, tanıdık veya aileden biri var mıydı?

B.4 Ailenizin diğer üyelerinin (anne, baba, kardeşler, eş, çocuklar) göç deneyimlerini kısaca anlatabilir misiniz?

B.5 Bu göç süreçlerinde, ne gibi sorunlar yaşadınız?

B.6 Ne kadar süredir İstanbul'dasınız?

B.7 İstanbul'dan ne sıklıkla çıkıyorsunuz? Nerelere gidiyorsunuz? Gidiş-gelişmelerinizin nedenleri ne oluyor?

B.8 İstanbul'da ilk kalınacak yeri nasıl buldunuz? Kimler yardım etti? İlk kaldığınız yer nasıl bir yerdi?

B.9 Şu an hangi semtte kalıyorsunuz? Nasıl bir yerde kalıyorsunuz? (*kiralık ev, otel*)

B.10 Şu an oturduğunuz evi nasıl buldunuz? Birileri yardımcı oldu mu?

B.11 Genel olarak İstanbul'a alıştınız mı? Buraya uyum sağladınız mı? Hangi konularda uyum sağladınız? Hangi konularda uyum sağlayamadınız? (*İş hayatı, gündelik hayat, dil, din sorunları*)

B.12 Şimdide İstanbul'daki yabancı göçmenler hakkında sormak istiyordum: Daha çok ne amaçla geliyorlar? Ne kadar süreyle kalıyorlar?

B.13 Sizce göçmenler hangi konularda sorunlar yaşıyorlar?.....Daha çok nerelerde kalıyorlar?..... Hangi konularda uyum sağlayamıyorlar?

(Moldova'lı göçmenler için göç süreci)

B.14 Türkiye'ye göç etmeye nasıl karar verdiniz? Hangi nedenler rol oynadı? Göçün nedenleri neydi?

- Göç etmeden önce, göçmenlerin Türkiye hakkında bir bilgisi (*prior information*) var mıydı?

- Göç sürecinde size kimler yardım etti?

- Hangi araçla geldiniz, sınırı hangi araçla geçtiniz? (*by bus/boat/car/air/on foot*) İlk İstanbul'a mı geldiniz?

- Buraya gelmeniz size ne kadara mal oldu?

- Bu göç sürecinde, herhangi bir sorun yaşadığınız mı? (*deception*)

- Ne kadardır Türkiye'desiniz?

- Peki Türkiye'ye gelmeden önce, hem yurtiçinde hem de yurt dışında başka göç deneyimleriniz oldu mu? Göç etmek için bir Avrupa ülkesi yerine neden Türkiye'yi seçtiniz? Avrupa'ya giden Moldova'lular var mı?

B.15 (*Göç örüntüleri*) Doğu Avrupa'dan Türkiye'ye yapılan göçlerin genellikle kısa vadeli/geçici olduğu söyleniyor. Çoğu göçmenin amacının Türkiye'ye temelli yerleşmek yerine belli bir para biriktirdikten sonra dönmek olduğu söyleniyor. Ayrıca, Göçmenlerin çoğunluğunun bekar olduğu, evli olanların ise ailelerini geldikleri ülkelerde bıraktıklarını duyuyoruz. Ne kadar doğrudur bu gözlemler?

B.16 (*Uluslararası bağlar*) Ülkenize hangi sıklıkla gidip geliniyorsunuz? Başka ülkelere gidip geldiğiniz oluyor mu?

- Gidiş-gelişmelerinizin nedenleri ne oluyor?

- Ülkenize birşeyler götürüp getirdiğiniz oluyor mu? (*money-goods-information flows*)

(Moldova'lı göçmenler için barınma, sosyal ilişkiler ve uyum)

B.17 İstanbul'da ilk kalınacak yeri nasıl buldunuz? Kimler yardım etti? İlk kaldığınız yer nasıl bir yerdi?

- Şu an hangi semtte kalıyorsunuz? Bu evi nasıl buldunuz? Nasıl bir yerde kalıyorsunuz? (*kiralık ev, otel*) Buraların koşulları nasıl? Komşularımızla ilişkileriniz var mı?

- Göçmenlerin ev sahipleri veya otel sahipleriyle aralarındaki ilişkileri nasıl? Ev arkadaşlarınızı nerden tanıdınız?

B.18 Sizin buradaki diğer Moldovalı'larla ilişkileriniz nasıl? Diğer göçmen gruplardan tanıdıklarınız var mı? Türkiyeli arkadaşlarınız var mı?

- (*Uyum*) Genel olarak Türkiye'ye alıştınız mı? Hangi konularda uyum sağladınız? Hangi konularda uyum sağlayamadınız? (*İş hayatı, gündelik hayat, dil, din sorunları*)

B.19 (*İş dışında sosyal hayat*) İş dışındaki vakitlerinizi nasıl, nerelerde geçirirsiniz? Arkadaşlarınız daha çok işten buralardan mı, yoksa mahalleden mi?

- Oturduğunuz mahallede işten arkadaşlarınız var mı?

- Çalıştığınız işyerinde mahalleden tanıdıklarınız var mı?

- Peki iş yerinizin bulunduğu mahalleden tanıdığımız başka çalışanlar var mı? Bu işyerlerindeki çalışanlarla aranız nasıl? Buralardaki işçilerden yardım aldığınız olur mu?

B.20 (**YASAL DURUM**) Sizin şuan ki yasal durumunuz nasıl? Çalışma ve oturma izniniz var mı? (*overstaying/false-missing passport*) Eğer yoksa, almayı düşünür müsünüz?

- Vize sürelerini sık sık geçiriyor musunuz? Böyle bir durumda ceza ödüyor musunuz? Vize süresine uzatma gibi olanaklarınız oluyor mu?

- Peki, izniniz olmadığı için sınır dışı edilmemek için ne gibi tedbir aldığınız oldu mu? Örneğin, polisle, zabıtayla, müfettişlerle aranız nasıl?

C- İş, İşyeri, İş İlişkileri Soruları:

C.1 Tam olarak mesleğiniz nedir?

C.2 İlk işinize kaç yaşınızda başladınız? Peki bu işe nasıl girmiştiniz? Bu işinizin ne olduğunu anlatır mısınız?

C.3 Şimdiye kadar çalıştığınız işler? Bu işlerde neler yaptığınızı, işteki konumunuzu/statünüzü, sosyal güvence durumunu, işyeri büyüklüğünü, hangi iktisadi işkolunda olduğunu başlayarak öğrenebilir miyim? Bu işlere nasıl girdiniz?

C.4 Şu anda, yaptığınız esas işinizin yanında **ekstra gelir elde etmek için** yaptığınız ek bir işiniz var mı? Bu işin ne olduğunu öğrenebilir miyim? Peki şimdiye kadar hiç ek iş yaptınız mı?

C.5 Hiç **işsizlik** yaşadınız mı? En uzun süre yaşadığınız işsizlik ne kadar sürdü? Bir işsizlik yaşasanız, neler yapardınız?

C.6 Sizin çalıştığınız işyerinde ne **tarz ürünler üretiyor**? Nihai ürün üretiyor musunuz? Yoksa ara ürün mü üretiyorsunuz? Ürettiklerinizi kime satıyorsunuz? Ürünleriniz piyasaya nasıl ulaşıyor? Yurtdışından veya içinde **herhangi bir firmaya fason iş** veriyor musunuz?, bir firmanın fason işini yapıyor musunuz?

C.7 (*İşyeriyle ilgili genel bilgiler*) Çalıştığınız işyerinde **kaç kişi çalışıyor**? Kabaca kim ne yapıyor? Çalışanların örgütlülükleri var mı? Kayıtlılık ne düzeyde? Gelirler nasıl?

İstihdam Koşulları:

C.8 Şuan çalıştığınız işe nasıl girdiniz? Nasıl buldunuz bu işyerini? İşe girmeden önce, bu iş yerinde tanıdıklarınız, tanıdığınız kişiler var mıydı?

- Sizce işvereniniz sizi hangi özelliklerinizden dolayı işe aldı? İşe girerken bir deneme süresi veya sınav oldu mu?

C.9 Sizin özel bir vasfınız var mı, bunu kullanabiliyor musunuz? Peki yaptığınız iş tekdüze mi, yoksa bir çeşitliliği var mı? (*yapılan işlerin çeşitliliği*) **Dükkanlarda çalışanlar için:** İşverenin, dükkan sahibinin çalışanlardan ne gibi beklentileri oluyor? (*Görünüş, Giyim, Davranış, konuşma, güleryüz*)

C.10 Tam olarak ne iş yapıyorsunuz? Yaptığınız işte makina kullanımı ne kadar? Kullanıyorsanız, bu makinaların teknoloji düzeyi ne? Fiziksel güç kullanımı var mı?

C.11 (*Çalışma koşulları*) Şimdide işinizdeki konumunuz ve çalışma koşullarınız hakkında sormak istiyorum.

- İşteki konumunuz nedir? Altınızda üstünüzde kimler var? Kararları kimler alıyor? İş sürecinde bağımsız karar verme durumu oluyor mu? (*otonomi*)
Örneğin, işin yapılma hızını veya işin yapılış biçimini değiştirebiliyor musunuz? İstedığınız zaman işi bırakabiliyor musunuz? Yapılan işe dair prosedürleri veya ürünlerin değişimine dair alınan kararlara katılabiliyor musunuz? (*katılım*)

- Genel olarak nasıl bir **iş düzeniniz**?

- **Çalışma temposunun** ve yapılan işin algısı? (*ilginç – monoton/rutin– sıkıcı – eğlenceli - zevk veren; sürekli devam eden*)

- **Fiziksel çalışma koşullarını** kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? (*sağlık ve güvenlik şartları: temiz – kirli – pis; sessiz – gürültülü; yorucu – rahat*) (*işin güvencesinin olması*)

- **Ödeme usulleri:** (*yan ödemeler / fazla mesai / ikramiye / servis ve yemek durumu ile ilgili bilgiler / ortalama aylık / parça-başı ödeme var mı? (ayakkabı sektöründe çift başı)*)

C.12 Siz ve ailenizdeki diğer bireyler, düzenli olsun veya olmasın haneye gelir getiriyor mu? Ailede kim ne kadar gelir elde ediyor? Hangi kaynaklardan?

(İşten Gelen // Kira, Hisse Senedi // Düzensiz İşler (Yarı Zamanlı, Marjinal, Ek iş, Evde Yapılan İşler, Tarla Bahçeden Gelen gelir) // Yardım (Kurumsal veya herhangi bir bireyden alınan her türlü yardım, sakatlık maaşı) // Emekli maaşı

C.13 İşyerlerinde çalışanların birbirleriyle ilişkileri nasıl? Örneğin, göçmenlerle yerli işçilerin, işverenlerin ilişkileri nasıl? Türkiye’li çalışanların işveren, yönetici ve idarecilerle? Kadın işçilerin erkek işçilerle, kadın işçilerin kadın işçilerle? Bu işyerinde işverenin hemşehrisi veya akrabası olan işçiler var mı? Var mı farkları?

C.14 (*Göçmenler ve yerli göçmenler arasındaki ayrışma*)

- Göçmenlerin iş koşulları sizce aynı işletmelerde çalışan yerli işçilerle karşılaştırıldığında nasıl? Daha mı iyi, daha mı kötü? Hangi yönlerden?

- (*Cinsiyet boyutu*) Çalışma koşullarını ve yapılan iş açısından kadın ve erkek işçiler arasında ne gibi farklar var? İş bulma sürecinde veya işyerinde, kadın göçmenlere yönelik olarak ayrımcılık yapıldığını düşünüyor musunuz?

- Bu iş yerinde kimin ne iş yapacağına kim karar veriyor? (*strategic groups of workers – less powerful groups*) Siz bu kararları etkileyebiliyor musunuz?

C.15 (*Sorun çözüme*) İş yerinde **iş ile ilgili** veya **çalışanların arasında** ne tarz sorunlar, rahatsızlıklar çıkıyor?. Sorun olduğu zaman genelde nasıl çözülüyor? Daha çok kimin istediği oluyor? Nasıl hakkınızı arıyorsunuz? Sorunları önce kime iletiyorsunuz?

- İşyerinde **göçmenlere özgün sorunlar** oluyor mu? Bu sorunları çözmek için neler yapıyorlar göçmenler?

- Genelde çalışanlar sorunları **tek başına mı yoksa topluca mı** çözmeye çalışıyorlar?

- Patron işçileri **denetlemek için ne gibi yollara** başvuruyor? (Örneğin sürekli izin almaya çalışan işçilere karşı ne yapıyor?)

- İş disiplinine uymayan çalışanlara nasıl **yaptırımlar** uyguluyor işveren?

- Bazı işçilerin (*göçmenlerin mesela*) yaşanan sorunlara, sıkıntılara **daha sessiz kaldığı** söylenebilir mi?

- Örneğin çalışan, bir talebini işverene bildirdiğinde ve reddedildiğinde ne gibi yollara başvurabiliyor? (*işi yavaşlatma, talep olmadan işi yavaşlatma*)

- Bu işyerinde çalışanlar sizce bu işten **memnunlar** mı?

C.16 (*Kollektif hareketler, Örgütlenme ve Sendikal deneyim*)

- Sorunların çözülmesi ve koşulların düzelmesi için kolektif bir çaba oluyor mu?

- Çalışanların ortak bir hareketi olduğunda işveren ne gibi önlemler alıyor, nasıl cevap veriyor?

- Ortak hareket etme açısından/buna yatkınlık açısından yerli ve yabancı veya kadın-erkek çalışanlar açısından farklar var mı?

- Bu işyerinde somut bir işçi örgütlenmesi var mı? Bunun için bir deneme oldu mu? Bir grev oldu mu? Sizin bunları desteklediniz mi?

- Peki genel olarak çalışma hayatınızda sendikal deneyim veya kolektif bir eylem yaşadınız mı? Grev ve senkikaya nasıl bakıyorsunuz?

C.17 (Sosyal güvenlik) Bu işyerlerindeki çalışanlara sosyal güvence, iş güvencesi var mı? İşveren formel güvencelerin dışında başka güvenceler sunuyor mu çalışanlara?

- (*Türkiye’li çalışanlara*) Sizin bir sosyal güvenceniz var mı? Ailenizin diğer bireylerinin sosyal güvenceleri var mı? Ne gibi avantajları var bu güvencelerin?

- (*Göçmenlere*) Memleketinde işyerinde sosyal güvence durumu nasıldır, kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? Hala varolan bir sosyal güvenceniz var mı? Ailenizin diğer bireylerinin sosyal güvenceleri var mı? Ne gibi avantajları var bu güvencelerin? Türkiye’de de bir sosyal güvencenizin olmasını ister misiniz? Bunun için imkanlarınız var mı?

C.18 (İŞİN ANLAM) Sizce iş nedir? İnsanlar neden çalışırlar? Yaptığınız işten tatmin olmanız sizin için önemli mi? İş kendinizi gerçekleştirdiğiniz bir alan olarak görür müsünüz?

C.19 (GELECEK): Başka bir işyerine ve/veya sektöre geçmek ister misiniz? Sizce ne gibi engeller var böyle bir geçiş için? Hayatta hangi işi yapmak isterdiniz? Türkiye’de ne kadar süre kalmak istiyorsunuz?