

**The New International Migration from a Gender Perspective: A Case  
Study of Post-Soviet ‘Servants of Tourism’ in Antalya**

**by**

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## **STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP**

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any award or any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. It is affirmed by the candidate that, to the best of his (or her) knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the determinants and consequences of the migration of women from the former Soviet Union countries to Turkey by adopting a gender perspective. The theoretical and analytical framework of the study is built on the assumption that migration is a gendered and a gendering process. The major argument of the thesis is that the basic determinant of migration of women from post-Soviet countries is economic, and women gain economic opportunities in Turkey either through wage labor or marriage. Secondly, the position of migrant women in the host country, the way people think about and act to them, is determined by different power hierarchies which they have not themselves constructed, such as class, age, race, ethnicity and nationality all which mediate with relations of gender. The third argument is that, migrant women do not take their situation for granted; instead they display resistance by getting organized, by developing strategies and constructing identities that lead to empowerment of women through redefinition of gender relations and other power relations

The empirical part of the thesis is derived from the fieldwork conducted in Antalya which includes self-completion questionnaires, non-participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with migrant women in Antalya from the former Soviet Union countries who are working in tourism industry as low-paid service laborers. They are shortly called 'post-Soviet servants of tourism'. The findings of the fieldwork are that women migrate to Turkey for a variety of reasons; either for labor or marriage. For women whose major motivation for migration is to work and increase economic opportunities, the ease of visa requirements, the weather and their networks are the major reasons for choosing Turkey. Secondly, the experiences of migrant women are context-dependent. The dynamics of tourism industry in Turkey influence women's status and experiences to a great extent. Among the post-Soviet women working in Turkey in different types of work, women in tourism are the most integrated to the society due to the social relationships surrounding their work. Thirdly, women in tourism display signs of resistance to the problems related to their migrant status by cooperating and networking with their home and host societies.

### **Keywords:**

Gender, women, international migration, post-Soviet servants of tourism, Turkey

## ÖZET

Bu çalışma Eski Sovyetler Birliđi ülkelerinden Türkiye'ye gerçekleşen kadın göçünün sebep ve sonuçlarını toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifinden irdelemektedir . Çalışmanın teorik ve analitik çerçevesi göçün cinsiyetlendirilmiş bir olgu olduđu fikri üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Çalışma üç temel amaç çerçevesinde şekillenmiştir: Birinci olarak, eski Sovyetler Birliđi ülkelerinden Türkiye'ye olan kadın göçünün temel sebepleri ekonomiktir ve kadınlar ekonomik beklentilerini ücretli emek ya da evlilik yoluyla karşılamaktadırlar. İkinci olarak, göçmen kadınların Türkiye'deki statü ve konumları toplumda var olan ırk, yaş, cinsiyet, sınıf gibi hiyerarşik güç ilişkileri ve bunların cinsiyet ile ilişkileri tarafından belirlenmektedir. Üçüncü olarak, kadınlar misafir ülkedeki konumlarını kabullenmek yerine farklı stratejiler üreterek ve kimlikler yaratarak güçlendirmeye çalışmaktadırlar. Bu nedenle, göçmen kadınlar toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin dönüşmesinde ve kadınların güçlenmesinde önemli bir role sahiptir.

Tez Antalya'da yapılan bir saha çalışmasına dayanmaktadır. Araştırmada gözlem, anket ve derinlemesine görüşme tekniđi kullanılmış, bu bağlamda turizm endüstrisi içinde düşük ücretli işlerde çalışan eski Sovyet Ülkeri'nden olan kadınlarla görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu kadınlara, 'turizm hizmetkarları' adı verilmiştir. Araştırma temel olarak kadınları Türkiye'ye gelişinde en büyük etmenlerin çalışmak ya da evlenmek olduğunu ve Türkiye'ye giriş-çıkışların görece kolaylığı, ulaşım ve haberleşme ücretlerinin düşüklüğü ve kadınların Türkiye'deki sosyal ağlarının varlığı olduğunu göstermiştir. İkinci olarak, çalışma Türkiye'deki kadınların göç deneyimlerinin çalışmakta oldukları iş kolunun dinamikleri ile belirlendiđi ve turizm dinamiklerinin göçmen kadınların topluma entegre olması ve kabullenilmesinde önemli rol oynadıđı saptanmıştır. Son olarak, çalışmaya katılan kadınların 'göçmen'liklerini kabul etmek yerine, haklarını savunmak ve şartlarını iyileştirmek adına örgütlü ya da bireysel mücadele ettikleri gözlemlenmiş, bu da kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerindeki dönüşümün aktörleri olduğunu göstermiştir.

### **Anahtar Sözcükler:**

Toplumsal cinsiyet, uluslararası göç, Sovyet-sonrası 'turizm hizmetkarları', Türkiye

*To My Mother, Nursen Gebelek*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACSFA	Association of Culture and Solidarity among Foreigners in Antalya
FSU	Former Soviet Union
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
SCQs	Self Completion Questionnaires
SECs	Southern European Countries
TUIK	Turkish Institute of Statistics

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

International migrants would now constitute the world's fifth most populous country if they all lived in the same place – after China, India, the United States and Indonesia (United Nations, 2003). This imagined country would, most probably, be a developed country, considering that majority of the migrant population in the world is living in developed countries of the West, particularly in the United States and Western Europe. What about the female population of this imagined country? UN Population Division has reported in 2006 that, female migrants accounted for 49.6% of all international migrants, and there were an estimated 95 million female migrants and 96 million male migrants in the world (UN, 2006). What these numbers indicate is that, about half of the population in UN's imagined country would be female. It is also possible that the number of women may be slightly more than men, if we consider that female migrants outnumber men in the developed regions, namely in Europe, Northern America, Australia, Japan and New Zealand (Zlotnik, 2003). In these regions, there were 60 million female migrants in 2005 compared to 55 million male migrants. In the less developed regions, there were 35 million female migrants, 6 million less than 41 million male migrants estimated in 2005. As UNFPA reported, "Currently, there



are slightly more female than male migrants in *all regions of the world, except Africa and Asia*" (UNFPA, 2006).

The global trend about female international migrants is that the increase in their number is more rapid than the increase in the number of migrant men in the last two decades. The UN (2006) report indicates that between 1990 and 2005, the global number of female migrants increased by 19 million while that of male migrants increased by just 17 million. Female international migrants concentrated in countries with more equitable gender relations, thus their number is higher in developed countries (UN, 2006). As Hania Zlotnik (2003) has broadly discussed, among the developed regions, North America is exceptional in that female migrants have outnumbered male migrants since 1930 and still do in both Canada and the United States (Boyd & Wickers, 2000; Houstoun, Kramer & Barret, 1984). Europe and Oceania are also reporting increasing proportions of female immigrants surpassing the number of males since 2000 (UN, 2006). Among migrants to Australia, women have outnumbered men for the last three decades.

On the other side, Asian countries are among the top migrant sending countries, due to many structural factors and low status of women in these regions. In Asia the number of women migrating has surpassed that of males. In 2005, over 65 percent of the nearly 3,000 Filipinos that left the country every day for work or residence abroad were women. From Sri Lanka in 2002, there were two women for every male migrant and between 2000 and 2003, an average of 79 per cent of all migrants leaving Indonesia to work abroad were women (United Nations, 2006). Also in Latin America and Caribbean women are highly mobile. As Hania Zlotnik (2003) argues, by 1990, women migrating from Latin America were the first in the developing world to reach the same rate with male migrants (Zlotnik, 2003). In

Africa, widespread poverty, diseases and high male unemployment are all contributing to a steady increase in migrating women, at a rate that is faster than the global average (Zlotnik, 2003).

This statistical data set clearly reveals that the overall number of female international migrants is increasing rapidly and it will continue to increase in all regions of the world. There are two more important facts about international migration of women. First, currently women are participating in every type of migration, they move to another country as permanent immigrants, labor migrants, highly-skilled migrant professionals, students, refugees and also irregular migrants. Secondly, women are migrating as a part of the 'family reunification' stream, to join their husbands or families and this has constituted the biggest female migration stream around the world especially after the mass male labor migration of 1960s. However, in recent decades, the number of women who are migrating 'autonomously' primarily as labor migrants, has increased, and the majority of these women migrated informally or they found themselves in informal status in the destination countries. Thus, changing volume, forms and composition of international migration in general, have been referred to by influential migration scholars Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2003) as 'feminization of migration' which is a characteristic of the new age of migration in the era of globalization. The term 'feminization of migration' refers both to the increasing quantity of female international migrants around the world and also to the changing patterns of female migration, thus well captures the current trend.

It is obvious that, international migration of women has become an important component of the global migration phenomenon. Equally important is that women's international migration is a different phenomenon and unable to be

explained by referring to men's migration experiences. Why women migrate, where and how this migration takes place and what they experience throughout their migration in relation to the sending and receiving countries reflect the existing gender order in the society. Thus, gender is an important analytical tool to explain female international migration, to understand distinctive migration patterns of men and women and to identify how relations between men and women evolve within the migration process. In that sense, international migration of women can only be understood by applying a gender lens. Gender relations define what women experience throughout the migration process and why they experience it, together with other socially constructed categories of difference such as class, race, age and ethnic/national background (Chant, 2000; Tyner, 1996).

In this study, female international migration is examined by asking how gender and other categories of power such as class, race and age interact and influence the migration experiences of women. In this respect, the study explores how gender and other social differences influence the migration experiences of women, but at the same time asks how women's experiences influence existing relations of gender in the societies of destination. In the dominant approach on women's international migration, women's negative experiences within migration are emphasized and women are portrayed as passive victims of migration. However, female international migrants are also contributing to the economies and societies of their countries of destination and origin to a great extent. They are also active agents of change, as they contribute to the redefinition of gender relations. In that sense, international migration of women empowers women in many respects. This study takes a positive attitude on international migration of women, describing their migration as 'gendered' in the dual sense of both being influenced

by the existing gender order and at the same leading to the redefinition of gender roles on more egalitarian grounds, in other words empowering women.

In the last decades the question of gender in migration has found more space within the migration scholarship. Also the policy making institutions have dealt with the gender dimension of migration as a result of the rapid increase in the number of female migrants in various regions of the world. Feminist migration scholars have contributed a lot to the scholarship as they initiated studies on migrant women and displayed why and how female migration is distinctive. As a consequence of the increasing visibility of female migrants in the migration scholarship, *gender* has begun to be an important central analytical tool in theorizing about migration. Although it is developed slowly, the literature which evaluates the relation between migration and gender does now exist and gender is viewed as a central analytical tool to understand dynamics of migration, which always interacts with other social hierarchies such as class, race, ethnicity or age (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000) Today, it is misleading to study migration unless it is situated as a 'gendered' phenomenon. In that sense studies on international migration of women have become important to see the interrelatedness of gender and migration, if we consider that the existing gender order is built on the immobility and stability of women, and mobility/flexibility of men. Regarding this distinction, it can be assumed that women's migration experiences, their vulnerabilities and their agency in migration process, tell much more about the stabilities and transformations of the gender order in the society.

## 1.1 The Statement of the Subject

*"The economic conditions in my country [Ukraine] were very bad. I was earning just 70 dollars there, but my wage is 400 dollars in here. This was really a big amount for Ukraine. I had no any other chance at that time"*

— Ukrainian woman who migrated (as an undocumented migrant at first) to Turkey to work in the tourism industry as a tourist agent. Within a year, she fell in love with a Turkish man, got married and received a Turkish citizenship.

In their 'State of World Population 2006' devoted to the subject of women and international migration, The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has used the term *a mighty but silent river* to describe the international female migration phenomenon. After a long silence and neglect, women crossing international borders and the gender aspect of international migration in general, have become an important area of inquiry in many disciplines.

International migration of women is not a new phenomenon. Women were inside the migration process either as stayers or movers throughout the history of migration. However, until 1980s, studies on migration have always treated women as passive dependents of mobile men, either following or waiting for them within the migration process (Brettel and Simon, 1986). In the last decades, the number of 'autonomous' migrant women has steadily increased due to various interrelated factors such as the demands of the labor market for traditionally feminized labor, unemployment and poverty or the downturn in the economic opportunities of women within the transition or restructuring economies of developing countries, the rapid development of communication and transportation technologies all of which are in fact, processes embedded in the global capitalism and its manifestation as free market economy. In addition to these macro-structural factors, women have migrated autonomously as a result of their own individual choices to escape exploitation, to gain freedom, to increase their economic or career opportunities or to get married.

As the title of the UNFPA (2006) report 'mighty but silent river' underlines, women are silently flowing between borders and changing many things both in their countries of origin and settlement in a mighty manner. Turkey is one of those countries whose female migrant population has steadily increased in the last decades. Turkey is hosting a considerable number of migrant women from different regions of the world, but especially from the newly independent states of the Former Soviet Union, which will be referred to as 'post-Soviet' states throughout the study. These women not only supply the demand on their labor in various service sector works, but I argue that they become agents of change in gender relations. So, it is important to explore the migration experiences and their current status in Turkey in order to fill in the gap in migration literature of Turkey.

Turkey has become a migrant receiver country in recent years, while it was known as a migrant sender (guest-arbiter) country for long years and started to receive migrants from various destinations (İçduygu, Sirkeci & Muradoğlu, 2001; Kirişçi, 2003). Women from the Former Soviet Union countries constitute the majority of these migrants, the majority of whom have migrated to Turkey either for labor or marriage through irregular ways. In the existing studies these women are classified as domestic workers, sex workers and shuttle-traders according to the category of their labor. Women domestic workers usually work in Turkish middle or upper middle class houses and responsible from the domestic reproductive tasks at home such as cleaning, cooking. Sometimes they are employed just to take care of the children or sick and elderly people. In some cases they carry on all of these activities and the most important point about these women is that they are usually live in domestics that they live with their employers in the same house. Women who are working as sex workers usually carry on their labor alone or with some

mediator men who are called pimps. However, as sex work is criminalized and sex workers are stigmatized in the society, these women are more vulnerable to exploitation and exclusion. Shuttle traders are those women who come to Turkey to buy some goods and sell them in their home countries. These women circulate between the borders of two or more countries irregularly on tourist visas. They usually become informal migrants shortly after their tourist visas expire and stay informally in Turkey for some period of time. In the last decades, the growing trend among all of these migrant women, either domestic and care workers, sex workers or shuttle traders is to engage in marriages of inconvenience to become legal residents due to the legal and financial constraints on gaining residence or work permits. The outflow of women from FSU countries to various destinations is an important migration flow and Turkey is one of the most preferred destinations for these women because of a variety of reasons, such as existing labor demand, migrant networks, ease of entry, comparably less transportation costs, good weather and living conditions compared to most of the FSU countries. Thus, this thesis attempts to investigate the dynamics of international migration of women and migrant women's experiences through a case study on post-Soviet women in the tourism industry in Turkey. The case study is based on a fieldwork conducted with post-Soviet women employed in the tourism industry in Antalya, a southern province of Turkey in the Mediterranean shore and a center for tourism. The thesis investigates the underlying reasons of their migration to Turkey, their relations within the workplace, family and community and their agency in changing the dynamics of their relations.

Tourism industry is an important determinant of migration experiences of women, and its dynamics differentiates the experiences of women in tourism

industry from other migrant women who work as shuttle traders, who are employed in domestic and care works or sex work. Migration of these post-Soviet women is gendered, in a sense that all macro, micro and meso-level explanations of their migration stem from the organization of institutions such as economy, family and society according to the existing gender order. In addition, migration of women is gendering, shaping the existing gender norms, relations and hierarchies. Gender relations are always in interaction with other social hierarchies such as class, race, age and ethnicity. So, in this thesis I do not only explore how gender is operating in women's migration experiences, but also consider how other hierarchies of power influence these experiences by interacting with gender.

In order to be able to answer these questions, the study relies on rich qualitative data, acquired from female migrant respondents and their close networks. Finally, the thesis attempts to discuss the agency of the migrant women in changing gender order by questioning how 'mighty' is the migration river of women who overcome obstacles, build networks and connections, develop strategies and seize opportunities in the countries of destination and display a potential for maintaining gender equality and empowerment of women.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Study**

This thesis is based on the theoretical premise that migration is a gendered and gendering phenomenon, and has the aim to display how gender operates within the migration experiences of women. Considering that, informal female migration streams especially from the restructuring economies, such as the post-socialist ones, well indicate the dynamics of current migrations and their gendered character; I chose to study this new international migration phenomenon from a



gender perspective through a case study on post-Soviet women working in tourism industry in Turkey. I believe that the case study not only displays how gender is central to our understanding of the current migration processes, but also emphasize that gender relations are fluid and contextual so what a woman working as a domestic worker experience as a gendered being may not be the same with the experiences of a woman working within the context of tourism industry. At that point I tried to emphasize how other categories of power interact with gender and shape women's experiences. Also, with this thesis I aim to shed light on the interrelatedness of concepts such as migration, transnationalism and tourism and I argue that transnationalism and tourism are two key terms which explain the impact of gender order in women's movements.

The study has three main objectives: *First*, it attempts to explore the determinants and outcomes of migration of women in the Turkish context and understand how 'gender' as a set of dynamic and contextual relationships of power influences the migration processes and outcomes. In order to accomplish this objective I conducted fieldwork in Antalya, based mainly on non-participant observation and in-depth interviews with migrant women from the former Soviet Union (FSU) countries who are employed in the tourism industry in Antalya. Hereafter I call them *post-Soviet 'servants of tourism'*, as I have been inspired from the distinguished work of Rhacel Salazar Parrenas (2001), *Servants of Globalization: Women Migration and Domestic Work*. The study revolves around the following major research questions: (i) what are the underlying reasons of the migration of post-Soviet women to Turkey (ii) how do the norms, relations and hierarchies associated with *gender* influence the experiences and status of migrant women throughout the migration process (iii) to what extent women internalize the

ideas and relations of gender in the host society or display resistance and lead to redefinition of gender relations? Regarding the case study of the thesis, by focusing on women working in the tourism industry, I have aimed to answer (iv) what are the distinctive migration experiences of women in tourism industry and how do their migration process differs from women working in other migrant occupations such as domestic work, sex work or shuttle trade (v) how does tourism as an economic activity affect the life experiences of these women?

The *second* objective of the thesis is to provide a rich qualitative analysis on post-Soviet migrant women working in tourism as I argue that the relations of gender and other socially constructed categories in the host country is context-dependent, so that the experiences of a migrant woman working as a domestic servant is different from the experiences of a woman in tourism. For instance, domestic servants are much more bound to the private sphere due to the nature of their labor, however as the case study in Chapter IV indicates, tourism workers have higher interaction rates with the local community and with their own community compared to domestics.

Becoming a migrant receiver country in the last decades, Turkey is the host of a considerable amount of post-Soviet women most of whom migrated after the collapse of the Soviet Union and working in various traditionally feminized occupations as domestics, maids, nannies, sex workers. Their increasing visibility also influenced the academic interest on these women and their experiences, leading to the flourishing of important case studies on the subject.<sup>1</sup> This thesis differs from previous studies in two aspects: First, in the literature the focus is

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<sup>1</sup> See for instance Keough (2003, 2006), Eder (2007) and Kaşka (2005) for Moldovian domestics, Yüksekler (2003), Eder (2003, 2004) and Yakovlev (2005) for Russian traders [chelnoki], Erder and Kaşka (2003) and Gülçur and İlkaracan (2002) for sex workers moving from the FSU and Eastern European Countries to Turkey.

usually on women from one home country, most of the time Moldavians, as they are highly visible as migrant domestics. In this study, the focus is post-Soviet women without discriminating between them and the sample group consists of women from different ethnic and national backgrounds. But, in order not to fall into the trap of essentialism the study recognizes the differential experiences of them, while emphasizing their shared Soviet past and the impact of post-socialist transition process on their experiences. Secondly, while the previous works have almost always focused on woman domestics, sex workers or shuttle traders, this study focuses on a different group of women, namely those working in tourism industry in various occupations as shopkeepers, sales assistants, masseurs, tourist guides, clerks, entertainers. The particular characteristics of their work and their work environment differentiate their experiences from that of the others so that it is important to examine them as a separate group in order to escape from faulty generalizations about post-Soviet migrants in Turkey.

Thirdly, the thesis aims to explore the agency of women in resisting their conditions and status in the host country and discuss the impact of migration in changing gender roles and leading to empowerment of women. As it is discussed in the literature (Morokvasic, 1987; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991), as migrant women obtain a purchasing power due to their paid labor, they gain a certain degree of independence and autonomy in the household, which is an important step in their empowerment. Also, the paid labor of women, and their absence from the household in a certain period of time leads to some transformations in the household division of labor, as men take the responsibility of more household tasks, especially childcare in the absence of mothers. This can be evaluated as a positive gain for women, leading to the redefinition of gender relations. In

addition, women's migrant status itself is empowering because when women gain mobility through migration, which they are not granted according to the gender order, they utilize their mobility as a resource to gain more autonomy and equality.

Also on theoretical grounds, the study attempts to provide a comprehensive and integrative theorizing of international migration as a gendered phenomenon, a theoretical framework that recognizes experiences of men and women distinct but not mutually exclusive. In order to accomplish this purpose, this study critically engages the historical evolution of the scholarly attempt of bringing *gender* from the periphery to the core of the migration studies and shifting the conceptualization of *gender* from being a static, dichotomous variable to being a fluid and contextual set of relations. By reviewing the existing mainstream theoretical approaches to international migration, the study emphasizes that a comprehensive migration theory should incorporate gender as a constitutive element of migration and should integrate macro, micro and meso level explanations of migration to understand the particular feminized migration streams. It can be argued that, although this study may be presented as largely descriptive, a closer examination indicates that while studying a specific migrant group, an important part of the research is implicitly, if not explicitly, theoretical.

### **1.3. Methodology of the Study**

This thesis is based on the field study that I have conducted in Antalya from August 2006 to November 2006 and shortly repeated in various time intervals in 2007 and 2008. The field study consists of a self completion questionnaire (SCQs) distributed to post-Soviet women in *Antalya* and in-depth interviews conducted with 25 women from different FSU countries (see Appendix I), as well as other

people who are related to the tourism economy in various ways either as employers, colleagues, friends or relatives of these women. I have reached the sample of the study and the other related people through *snowball sampling method*. The sample group consists of post-Soviet women who are either currently employed in various occupations within the tourism industry or had worked in tourism in the initial years of their migration and temporarily ceased working. Having known my first informant long before the study has begun, it became easier to have a contact with others through her assistance. Snowball sampling has been chosen for this study as the informants were asked quite personal questions, having known a friend or a contact of the informant as a researcher, I have tried to make her feel confident about the interview. On the other side, considering the debates on ethical considerations about snowball sampling, I have told the respondents that they have the right to reject to participate. Although most of the women I have approached have accepted my request, some of them did not participate by giving lack of time as an excuse or simply rejected it. I have also taken assistance of the *Association of Culture and Solidarity among Foreigners in Antalya (Antalya'daki Yabancılar Arası Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği)* which operates, in general, as an association of post-Soviet women. I have consulted them usually for having contact with the informants and gaining qualitative and quantitative data about post-Soviet women in Antalya.

Throughout the field study, I have complemented the tape-recorded interviews with off-the record talks with many people related to the subject and observations. Most of my informants were living in *Kemer*, which is a small tourism town of Antalya district; thus people have easily become used to me, which is important in maintaining trust relationships between the researcher and

the informants in order to gather reliable data. Depending on these trust and friendship relations, I have gained more qualitative data through off-the-record conversations in addition to those I have collected in recorded interviews.

Another important point regarding the research phase of this study is the reflexivity of the researcher to what is being researched. Reflexivity is considered to occur when the observations or actions of the researchers affect the very situation they are observing. The researcher and his/her worldviews has influence over the people or situations that are researched therefore, for instance, an anthropologist studying a certain group in a designated place may affect the behaviors of people living in that place. This leads to questions of objectivity of the researcher, which led Bourdieu to think about to “objectify the objectifying subject” (Bourdieu, 1992). Reflexivity has been discussed both as a methodological problem (Giddens, 1994) but also as a solution for the researcher to get rid of his/her biases (Bourdieu, 1992). Pierre Bourdieu argues that that social scientist is inherently laden with biases, and only by becoming reflexively aware of those biases can the social scientists free themselves from them and aspire to the practice of an objective science. Similarly for Evans (1988), reflexivity is vital for participant observation and other observational and ethnographic techniques. The use of participant observation, for example, leads to the very questioning of the objectivity of the researcher, the status of the observation of social phenomena and the scientific and ontological standing of social research (Evans, 1988). Participant observation requires a profound level of introspection on the part of the researcher with respect to his or her relationship with what is being researched and how the process of ‘othering’ takes place.

I have been involved in this study as a feminist researcher, which has an influence over the choice of the subject to study, the methodology that is applied and the focus group that is interviewed. I chose to conduct in-depth interviews with women because I believe that I need to hear the stories from the first mouth and make their voices heard. I have approached the migrant women as a 'woman' who is not one of them, but who closely knows their lives and experiences, and sometimes constructed relations which goes beyond the relation between researcher and being researched, so that I was able to learn about their private and personal experiences throughout their migration process. So, my position as a researcher in this study is not detached from my identity as a feminist woman having friendship networks among the group which is researched. Regarding the objectivity / reflexivity dilemma in social sciences Vivien Burr (1995) claims that objectivity is:

"an impossibility, since each of us, of necessity, must encounter the world from some perspective or other (from where we stand) and the questions we come to ask about that world, our theories and hypothesis, must also of necessity arise from the assumptions that are embedded in our perspective (...) The task of researchers therefore becomes to acknowledge and even to work with their own intrinsic involvement in the research process and the part this plays in the results that are produced. Researchers must view the research process as necessarily a co-production between themselves and the people they are researching".

So, the process of giving voice to others is never neutral and works itself through power structures as Said (1989) reminds that 'the scrubbed, disinfected interlocutor is a laboratory creation'.

Lastly, in addition to the qualitative data gathered from the interviews and the quantitative data developed from the questionnaires, throughout the thesis I have also used secondary data collected from the official statistical accounts from

Turkish Statistical Institute, former studies and newspaper archives. Throughout the study, I have also made a broad library and internet research for reviewing the existing literature on the broad subject and on my case study. It is important to note that, studies conducted on migrant women in Turkey is newly evolving and concentrating on women in care work or sex work. The data was considerably limited; therefore I used my own findings in explaining most of the phenomena.

#### **1.4. The Structure and Content of the Thesis**

In this introductory chapter, I have briefly introduced the subject of *women, gender and international migration* as it finds a place in the scholarly debates and tried to build my own analytical and methodological approach to the subject by introducing the research questions and the research methodology that I have applied. Also, I have briefly summarized the aims of the study in terms of its contribution to the scholarly literature on tourism economy and women working in tourism through the case study.

In the second chapter, the major attempt is to construct an analytical framework of the migration of women to Turkey from a gender perspective. This thesis recognizes “gender” as the principal analytical construct and argues that the whole migration process is gendered. Women’s migration experiences are complex and different than men’s experiences as they are shaped by the unequal gender relationships. Gender relations influence the identities and subjectivities of migrant women both at home and in the host societies throughout the migration process. Therefore, a theoretical discussion that brings “gender” into the center is crucial, particularly for this thesis which investigates international migration phenomenon and gender relations through a case study on women.



Having this purpose, after constructing an analytical division about international migration as 'gendered' and 'gendering', I begin with a brief discussion of how mainstream migration scholarship has neglected *women and gender* in both theoretical and empirical accounts for so long and secondly, continue with the discussion on historical evolution of the incorporation of *gender* in migration studies with its different conceptualizations.

In the second part, I have introduced the mainstream theoretical frameworks on migration by distinguishing them in terms of their levels of analysis. After introducing existing macro, micro and meso level explanations on international migration, I have argued that three levels of analysis of migration should be integrated in order to explain migration by incorporating all factors influencing the process. Migrations occur as a consequence of macro level factors which influence individual reasons for migration. After a migration stream exists, it perpetuates due to meso factors such as societal factors and social networks. Therefore, we need to evaluate migration by incorporating all three level factors. The major aim of this chapter is to construct the basis for an integrative theory on migration and include gender as a central analytical principle in migration research and policies.

The last part of the chapter, discusses women's movements for labor within the migration-transnationalism-tourism nexus. The informal movements of women to another country for labor usually have a transnational character, as they move between borders of their home and host country mostly in order to continue their motherhood practices and other roles within the household which are usually determined by the gender ideology. Also, women move to another country with a 'tourist' label as they have otherwise no access to the paid labor in that country.

So, the blurred boundaries between tourism and migration are highly evident in women's experiences. In that sense, transnationalism and tourism become important tools to explain women's international movements.

In the third chapter, entitled 'women's international migration to Turkey', after situating Turkey as a migrant receiving country in the last era, I briefly introduce descriptive data on migrant women in Turkey by answering questions like who they are, the type of their migration and what they do. The data reveals that post-Soviet women are the majority and the most economically active among the migrant women in Turkey. In the remaining part, I will first discuss the post-Soviet transition which has a considerable impact on the migration of women. Transition from state socialism to a free market economy was an uneasy process sponsored by international fund-raising institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, led to unemployment, social and political conflict which has influenced lives of many women. In the chapter, I try to evaluate the changes and continuities after transition in terms of their effects on women's lives and understand how much they are able to explain the migration of women. Here, it is important to build a bridge between post-socialism and neo-liberalism, and Keough's (2006) argument of their embedded relation. In the second part of the chapter, I introduce post-Soviet women in Turkey, by relying on the previous case studies which explore shuttle-traders, domestic workers and sex workers. Then, I introduce the sample group of this thesis, servants of tourism", which follows the discussion on tourism economy in Turkey and its demand on Russian-speaking female labor. The chapter also summarizes the demographic characteristics, the determinants and consequences of their migration through the

previous studies and the one in question; thus intends to do a soft transition to the following chapter.

In Chapter Four, I analyze the empirical data derived from the fieldwork conducted in Antalya, based on non-participant observation and in-depth interviews. In the first part of the chapter, I first introduce the research methodology and explain why it is the relevant methodology for this study. Then, I explain the analytical and practical reasons behind choosing the sample group from post-Soviet migrant women employed in the tourism industry, namely the “post-Soviet ‘servants of tourism’, and the reasons behind choosing Antalya as the location of the fieldwork. Thirdly, I analyze the sample group in terms of its demographic characteristics such as nationality, age structure, marital status, number of children, education level, socio-economic status, former place of residence (rural-urban), former employment status and occupation and so on, through the data that I have collected from the self completion questionnaires (SCQs) and present them in tables and figures for analysis.

In the second part of the chapter, I focus on the determinants of their migration and analyze how the existing gender ideology influenced their decision to migrate by relying on their own expression of their migration stories. In this part, I first try to answer the question of *why did they move to Turkey*, by formulating the question in two parts as *why did they move* and *why did they choose Turkey*. In doing this, relying on the answers given in the questionnaire, I try to measure the most emphasized determinants of their migration. But, in order to voice the individual experiences, this part mostly analyses the qualitative data and answers the “why” question through the individual expressions of the respondents. The importance of qualitative analysis arises in this study,

considering the fact that economic determinants are highly definitive in women's international migration, different responses of the informants were able to enrich the findings of the study.

The third part of the chapter presents the experiences of migrant women in the host country in various different settings such as in the workplace, the household, the community, neighborhood as well as in their relations with the state and provides insights about the gender relations in the host country via the migrant women's relations with their employers, husbands, neighbors, local people and state officials. Women's experiences in all these domains reveal that gender is a central principle shaping their migration, but not in isolation from other principles such as race, class, age and nationality. In this part I argue that women are not only negatively affected from their 'migrant' status as ethnic/national 'others' of the host country, but they are also discriminated according to their gender, class and age. The last point discussed in this part is that, women are decisive actors in the whole migration process. They display resistance to the discriminatory practices of the state, society and they also resist the unequal power relations within the household. Migrant women construct identities and develop strategies in order to integrate the host society without losing their own sense of belonging to the society of origin. As the fieldwork findings suggest, women are shaped by but also shape the gender relations in the host community and therefore they are potential agents of transformation in gender roles.

The last chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I introduce a broad discussion which brings the theoretical and empirical parts of the study together. Suggesting that migration is a gendered phenomenon and the migration of women is much more complex than that of men as the patriarchal social

structure is built on the 'immobility' of women, I ask the question of *[w]hether international migration of women is emancipatory/ empowering or subjugating/ oppressive for women?* There is a broad debate revolving around this question having the proponents of the argument that migrant women move from one system of gender discrimination to another, therefore their status in the society and the prescribed gender roles persist and those who argue that migrant women are negotiating their gender identity as they participate in the labor market, send remittances and exchange gender roles in many cases. By relying on the observations and interviews of the fieldwork I argue that migrant women raise consciousness about gender equality through their experiences and potentially influence gender relations in the host and home countries.

The second part of the chapter, aims to provide a coherent evaluation of the whole study. It makes a self-criticism and an objective discussion of its strengths and weaknesses. In this part I try to answer how much the study could reach its purpose, how much relevant is the empirical study to the theoretical and analytical discussions, how much could the study capture the research questions and was it able to answer these questions, is the research methodology, the case and the sample group relevant to study the subject of gender and international migration. I also discuss the contribution of the study to the broad field of international migration and its contribution to the literature on international migrant women in Turkey. The thesis ends with the concluding remarks and suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER II

### **‘ENGENDERING’ INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

As the statistical data in Chapter I suggests, the participation of women in temporary migration streams has become more evident, with rapid increases in some regions. In the so called “age of migration”, Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2003) has described the new mobility of people as “globalizing, accelerating, diversifying and feminizing”. In the literature on migration, the changing dynamics of the international migration after the Cold War has been described with the term ‘new international migration’. One of the important aspects of this ‘new’ era in the mobility of people is that women were dominant agents as international migrants and their number has increased especially in temporary and irregular migratory movements. These changes in cross-border movements of people has turned the attention of migration scholars into the phenomenon of female international migration and migrant experiences, but the scholarship has not developed as fast as the actual developments and changes (Kofman et al., 2000). Although women have long been recognized as agents of international migration (Morokvasic, 1984), migration theories have been gender blind until the end of 1980s. Then, ‘gender’ has gradually become an important analytical tool of research, as the scholarship has recognized that it is the ‘gender

factor' that creates distinctive migration experiences between men and women migrants. So, 'engendering migration', as some of the migration scholars (Pessar, 1999; Mahler, 1999; Indra, 1999) call, is the new tendency among many social science disciplines, which brings the experiences of migrant women and the relations between migrant men and women from the periphery to the core of the research.

This chapter has the objective to bring the important studies in the migration scholarship which incorporates gender into the center of the scholarly discussions. In doing so, I have divided the literature into three parts by taking into account the steps which begin with the incorporation of women into the mainstream migration studies and continue with turning of the focus from women to gender from various different perspectives. Migration scholarship has begun to discuss the gender aspect of migrations, gradually, as women have started to dominate in many temporary migration streams and become visible as 'autonomous' migrants in many regions. Although women have always been the agents of the international migration process, whether as stayers or movers, they are much more mobile than ever before and increasingly involved in new types of mobilities, especially in transnational movements, circular and seasonal migrations most of which are considered as informal migratory movements.

Their increasing visibility in many migration streams has pushed the scholars to question why these women migrate in huge numbers, and how the existing gender order influences the initiation of these migrations. What are the structural, state and society level and individual factors that lead to female international migration? This was followed with the questions of how the relations between men and women are influenced by the migration process, how do

existing gender relations endure or transform during migration, how gender affects the experiences of migrants together with other social inequalities such as class, race, age and ethnicity. All these questions led the migration scholarship to define migration as a 'gendered' phenomenon which can not be understood by referring to the existing relations of gender within the social order.

This thesis is built on the theoretical assumption that migration is a "gendered" phenomenon, which suggests that migration processes reflect differential social positioning of men and women in economic, political and social processes and structures. Gender is the basic category of power and hierarchy which is socially constructed according to the biological differences of sex and this in turn form the basis for the formation of roles of and relations between men and women. In that sense, gender is another category of social stratification similar to other categories such as race, class, ethnicity and age. Gender however is not a static, unchangeable category which is maintained and reproduced through the practices of men and women, but it also changes these practices and their outcomes. The gender analysis of migration in this study aims to emphasize this fluid, dynamic and changeable understanding of gender so that the gender ideology and roles and relations of gender within the society are able to change and be redefined when they operate within another dynamic social process such as migration. But also gender as a structural category of power in the society shapes the whole migration process; it is an important social force that determines why a particular migration stream starts and perpetuates, who migrates and what patterns their migration takes. Thus, we can argue that migration and gender mutually influence each other so that migration is not just shaped by the gender order in the society, but it is also a social catalyst of change that is able to transform the roles



and relations of gender defined by the existing order. Regarding this, sociologist Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2000) argues: “We now have a clear understanding that migration is gendered and that gender relations change with migration processes”.

In this study, I have made an analytical division and conceptualized migration as a gendered and a gendering process in order to underline that migration is not passively shaped by gender (gendered), but also it is an active force to change gender (gendering). In reality, these two dimensions can not be separated as they mutually influence each other, but for practical purposes this division helps to analyze the existing literature and understand what the studies emphasize within the broad scholarship of gender and migration.

The second theoretical premise of this study is that migration theories which address the gender aspects of international migration are conducted in different levels of analysis, and thus they just focus on one aspect of the migration process. Instead, in this study I have used “the integrative approach” of Nana Oishi (2002) which adopts three levels of analyses: macro-level, micro-level (individuals) and meso-level (society) in order to explain international migration. Macro level analysis stresses the structural factors that affect the initiation of migratory movements, such as the impact of restructuring of economy within global capitalism and the changing state policies on migration which reflect these global economic factors. Meso level analyses emphasize the impact of the perceptions of sending and receiving societies on migration and how the relations within the community influence the perpetuation of migration. Micro level analysis explain the role of individual agency in migration processes and stress how the macro and micro factors influence individual or household perceptions

and decisions on migration. An integrative approach on migration has the objective to build a coherent explanation of migration which all three levels of analysis are utilized in relation to each other.

Within this analytical and theoretical framework, in this chapter I first begin with introducing the historical evolution of the scholarly attempts of incorporating gender into the migration scholarship. This historical perspective is important in order to display the changes in the conceptualization of gender within the scholarship, so that the studies turned their emphasis from *women in migration* to *gender in migration* and paved the way for studying the ‘gendering’ character of migration. Then, the chapter follows with the discussion on existing literature on gender and migration and analyzes different perspectives on migration as a ‘gendered’ phenomenon. In the last part, the chapter focuses on the integrative theoretical approach on migration. First, the existing theories on migration in three levels of analyses are introduced, then I discuss that current migrations need to be explained by adopting an integrative approach in which all theories on migration speak to each other, as they explain different phases of the international migration of women.

## **2.2 The Emergence and Development of the Gender and Migration Scholarship: A Brief Review**

Until so recently, migration scholarship was gender blind, which reflects the fact that ‘gender’ has been out of the agenda of the migration scholarship for long years. The migration theory claims itself to be universal and gender neutral but in fact it was built on an assumption that the typical international migrant is a male and rational human being who is seeking economic opportunities out of the borders of the nation-state he belongs to. Thus, women’s agency in the overall

migration process has been overlooked in most of the studies; even if they were considered at all, they were acknowledged only as passive actors who followed their husbands as “associational migrants” or as non-economic “marriage migrants” (Anthias, 2000 Buijs, 1993).

In 1980s and 1990s, when the number of women migrating from developing countries of Asia, Latin America and Caribbean to the United States has dramatically accelerated, the scholarly attention on gender dimension of migration has been increased. The ‘feminization of migration’ debate has been generated as a result of the fact that the number of women has steadily increased due to the global economy’s increasing demand on women’s labor especially in the traditionally feminized service sector jobs such as domestic work, sex work or emotional work. The increasing movement of women largely into the informal labor markets of the receiving countries has been an important turning point for the scholars to consider the reasons and outcomes of women’s migration, in general.

Secondly, the feminist movement around the world, especially the second wave of the movement in 1970s, has caused the establishment of Women’s and Gender Studies programs. The feminist research called attention to the unequal power relations between men and women, and adopted a perspective which acknowledges that the multiplicities of masculinities and femininities are interconnected and relational and they are enmeshed in relations of class, race and nation. As a consequence, migration scholars recognized that migration is a gendered social process that involves women and men differently and embedded in, as well as impacting on, the power relations between men and women in sending and receiving countries.

Although gender has begun to be studied by the migration scholars recently, the first gender analysis regarding migrant women and their labor market participation was made by an early migration theorist, E.G. Ravenstein:

Women is a greater migrant than man...Nor do women migrate merely from the rural districts into the towns in search of domestic service, for they migrate quite as frequently into certain manufacturing districts, and the workshop is a formidable rival of the kitchen and scullery (1885, p.196).

Despite this early attempt of Ravenstein, who also suggests that women dominate in short distance movements (1885), migration has long been considered as a male phenomenon which is initiated by men just for economic purposes. Women were either “dependents” moving for family unification, to perpetuate the reproduction of family, or they were the ones who waited in the countryside, assuming many of the responsibilities that had once been in the hands of men. As Brettel (2000) nicely claims, “This particular conceptualization of the relationship between women and the process of migration suited modernization theory – women represented the traditional pole of the continuum and men the pole of modernity”, so women were seen as irrelevant to understand the migration phenomenon. Even when their independent migration was recognized, Koffman (1999) argues that it was not given special attention because it was simply thought to mirror the independent economic migration of men. In other words, women were seen as either following men, or behaving just like men<sup>2</sup>. Thus they were almost absent in the mainstream migration theory since 1970s.

In this study, I have examined the evolution of the scholarship on gender and migration in three stages. In the first stage the focus is just incorporating

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<sup>2</sup> Examples of studies on women who remain behind in the home country to manage remittances and maintain the reproductive and productive activities of the home can be seen in Brettell (1986); Connell (1984); Georges (1992); Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992.

women into the migration research and to underline their agency within the whole migration process. In the second stage, scholars recognize that women and men experience migration in different ways and the central determinant of these differences is gender which is dynamic and changing set of relations. So that the focus should be on gender, and the migration and its outcomes should be studied by taking both men and women as gendered beings. In the third stage, gender is regarded as a constitutive element of migration with other relations of power such as race, class, ethnicity, so that when a claim on migration is made, it includes a social inquiry on all systems of power and inequality such as gender, race, class and others.

### **2.2.1. Incorporating ‘Women’ into the Migration Research**

In the first stage, incorporating women into migration scholarship, I have examined the period between 1970s and early 1980s, when the focus was on involving and writing women into the migration research picture. This is called as an ‘add and stir’ approach whereby women were added as a variable into the research and measured with regard to education, labor market participation etc. and then simply compared with migrant men’s patterns (Chant,1992; Lawson, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Crawford, 1999). This approach was adopted in quantitative studies, but it failed to recognize gender as fundamentally about power which is impossible to be measured in quantitative terms.

Studies in this stage focus exclusively on migrant women. As Morokvasic (1984), in the special issue of International Migration Review (IMR), *Women and Migration*, emphasized that “birds of passage are also women”, the dominant concern was making migrant women visible during that era. These studies have

revealed the fact that women migrate for a variety of complex reasons which can not solely be explained by viewing them either as dependents or economic labor migrants. As Morokvasic (1984) notes, these reasons include economic incentives and family unity but also the desire to escape marital problems or marriage prospects and opportunities for more social independence or to escape political problems and war. The recognition that many women and probably always had been autonomous migrants also came from the analysis in mid 1980s. However this approach prompted several problems such as the tendency to produce just “women only” portraits of migration experiences. As Hondagneu-Sotelo (1999) puts it, “differences between female and male migrants are often simply compared rather than interrogated or understood as interrelated parts of a system.” So, in the 1980s there was a bunch of literature on migrant women.<sup>3</sup> Commenting on this trend in an introduction of an edited volume on migrant women, Gabaccia observed that “the numbers of volumes exploring immigrant women separately from men, now exceeds the volumes that successfully integrate women into general accounts” (Gabaccia, 1992). Paradoxically, this approach further marginalized migrant women into a segregated subfield, separate from major social dynamics of migration.

Equally problematic is that, as Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford (1999) pointed out, ‘add and stir’ or ‘women only’ approaches were often aligned with the sex-role theory which maintains that women and men have different sex roles and their activities are different but complementary and which views gender as a relatively static attribute. Accordingly, women’s migration is understood to be a

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<sup>3</sup> See for instance Phizacklea (1983); Morokvasic (1984); Simon and Brettel (1986), Pedraza (1991), Chant (1992), Gabaccia (1992), Zlotnik (1993), Grieco and Boyd (1998), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1999), (2003).

set of stable practices and values, rather than as a fluid and mutable system which intersects with other social institutions.

So, it can be said that 'women only' and 'add and stir' approaches limit our understanding of how gender as a social system influences the whole migration process and experiences of both men and women. As Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) argues, in these approaches only women, not men are 'gendered' and other institutions with which they interact such as family, education, employment are all gender neutral. This initial step for bringing 'gender' into the focus of migration research was far from having a sophisticated gender analysis but it was a pioneer for further studies.

### **2.2.2. Shift from 'Women and Migration' to 'Gender and Migration'**

Since 1990s the focus was on women, rather than gender and many scholars claiming that they are studying gender have examined only women, including a few feminist ethnographers who did so intentionally (Parrenas, 2001; Erel, Morokvasic and Shinozaki, 2003). However, the second phase of research displays an exclusive focus on women with recognition of gender as a set of social practices shaping and being shaped by migration. Rather than an understanding of gender as a dichotomous binary of male and female, as in the sex-role theory, gender has been conceptualized as a part of social relations that organizes and shapes the identities, social practices and institutions influencing migration (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991, Mahler and Pessar, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Boyd and Grieco, 2003). The scholars of 'gender and migration' emphasize that gender should be understood as relational, fluid and contextual power relations between women and men which not only influence migration but also change with migration as they intersect with other social institutions. They argue

that “migrants often become particularly aware of the relational and contextual nature of gender as they attempt to fulfill expectations of identity and behavior that may differ sharply in the several places they live”. The proponents of this body of literature, Grasmuck and Pessar (1991), Kibria (1993) and Hondagneu-Sotelo (1993) have criticized the ‘household strategies’ approach, in their studies, which treats household as a unit undivided by gender and generational hierarchies of power, authority and resources. Instead, they argue that families and immigrant social networks are highly gendered institutions.

This body of research also drew attention to the ways in which men’s lives are constrained and enabled by gender, and also the ways in which migrant gender relations become more egalitarian through the process of migration. However, the most important weakness of this research is that gender resides almost exclusively in meso-level institutions such as family, household, community institutions or social networks and suggested that gender is somehow enclosed within the domestic arena. For instance, in her study which underlines the extent to which Mexican migration is gendered by focusing on family relations and networks, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) argues that while the origins of undocumented Mexican migration lie in the political and economic transformation of Mexico and the United States, it is gender operating at the family and community levels which shapes distinctively gendered patterns of migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). However, other arenas and institutions such as jobs, workplaces and labor demand, citizenship and migration and refugee policies were ignored by these scholars. More recently, these arenas are also included and researchers analyze gender in the lives of both female and male migrants, and in the politics and governance of migration, in the workplaces of migrants, in neoliberal and welfare



state policies. Shortly, gender analysis of migration is now being undertaken across a wide variety of scales, from local and familiar to national and global as Mahler and Pessar conceptualized in their studies as 'gendered geographies of power' (Mahler and Pessar, 2001).

### **2.2.3. Gender as a 'Constitutive' Element of Migration**

Since women have been acknowledged as independent actors in the migration process a wide range of approaches and perspectives have been applied by feminist scholars. Studies have moved from focusing solely on women to examining gender as a constitutive element of migration and from studying gender in the framework of migrant families and households to analyzing migration process through intersecting system of gender, class, age and ethnic/national inequalities and diversities while studying the migrant labor market, migration policies and how migration leads to social change. In recent studies of migration, gender has been considered as the central element of migration and after recognizing migration as a 'gendered' and 'gendering' phenomenon lots of studies have been conducted.

First, scholars have focused on explaining how migration is shaped by the gender ideology, gender norms and practices. For example, Sassen (1984) has examined restructuring of the societies under the influence of global economy, how this induced migration from the less developed to the developed countries and concluded that restructuring had different implications for female and male migrants. Economic restructuring in advanced capitalist societies and the subsequent growth of employment opportunities for women in the low paid work especially in the service sector led to gender specific migrant labor demands and this was reflected in the feminized migration movements. Many women have

moved from the underdeveloped and developing regions in order to hold jobs in the newly emerging service labor market characterized by informality. These jobs usually include domestic work, caring for dependent children, elderly and disabled people and sex work (Kofman et al. 2000). In addition, migrants' experiences in receiving countries were also examined in gendered terms. In estimating gendered ways of coping, various researchers have shown that migrant women prove to be more adept at locating and using financial and social services available in the new society and in using social-networking skills to gain extra sources of support (e.g. Franz 2003a; Kibria 1993; e.g. Ong 2003; Pessar 1994).

Regarding the gendering dimension of migration processes a lot of studies have been conducted. For instance, Kofman has analyzed the gendered impacts of migrant women's presence in the receiving societies and she argued that migration has helped to sustain the "hegemony of the white male breadwinner model" in Western Europe. In post-war Europe, migrant women "filled a gap in the labour market that indigenous women might otherwise have been expected to fill" and thus allowed them to remain in the position of housewives, outside of the regulated labour market. On the other side, many studies have argued that migration has led to changes in the gender relations as women migrating abroad has become the major earners of the family and gained autonomy. Also in these cases men who were left behind started to do household tasks or take care of the children in the absence of the mothers. Looking at migration as an active force challenging gender relations in migrants' families and social networks, Diana Kay (1988) for instance explored Chilean refugees in Britain and stresses the importance of differentiating the exile experience by gender as well as by social class.

After focusing on the evolution of research on gender and migration, in the rest of this chapter I introduce the existing theoretical accounts on migration according to their levels of analysis – macro, micro and meso levels. Although these theories are constructed from a mainstream approach without recognizing the gender aspect of migrations, it is important to revisit these theories in order to make an analytical distinction between studies exploring gender and migration. Secondly, to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the theories helps to build an integrated analytical account on migration. In this study, what I argue is that studies at different levels should not be treated as separate stories which are dealt with separate disciplines such as sociology, political science or social anthropology, but instead they should speak to each other and try to build an integrative approach to migration as a ‘gendered’ phenomenon. In order to build a bridge between different theoretical approaches, I use a gender-integrative approach which was developed by Oishi (2002), in order to interpret migration from a comprehensive perspective.

### **2.3. Towards a Gender-integrative Approach on International Migration: A Selected Review and Analysis**

Migration scholars have, recently, agreed that none of the international migration theories have reached to the status of being distinctively exploratory (Massey et al. 1993; Arango, 2000). In their comprehensive review of the international migration theories, Massey et al. (1993) have emphasized “the fragmented nature of the existing theories which have developed in isolation from each other, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries” and they pointed out the need for a comprehensive theory of migration by concluding that:

“Current patterns and trends in international migration,....., suggest that a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels and assumptions.”

In their overview, Massey et al. (1993, 1998) and School (1995) distinguish theoretical approaches of international migration into two categories: theoretical approaches explaining the initiation of migration and theoretical approaches explaining the perpetuation of migration. Regarding this distinction, initiation of migration theories are neoclassical economics (with macro and micro variants), new economics of migration, dual labor market theory and world systems theory. Theories of perpetuation of migration are network theory, cumulative causation and institutional theory. All of these theories have strengths and weaknesses in explaining international migration, but they focus on structural and economic causes of migration, and the push/pull factors of sending and receiving countries, not emphasize individual motivations behind migration. Secondly, these theories were developed primarily for understanding and predicting the existing migration flows, but not for improving the status and living conditions of already migrants and they are also unable to explain the contemporary mobilities in the global era that the boundaries between migration/travel/tourism are blurred. A third critique, which creates the ultimate objective of writing this chapter, is that these migration theories have been developed to understand migration of male workers, by adopting a male-stream approach, and therefore they are all gender-blind.

In order to develop a comprehensive theory of migration, integrating gender into the analysis, this part of the chapter begins with a theoretical

overview. Instead of, distinguishing theories into initiation/perpetuation approaches, I have made a distinction between theories according to their levels of analysis, such as macro (structural), meso (or intermediate level) and micro (or subject level) theories of international migration.

### **2.3.1. Macro Level of Analysis**

Macro theories emphasize the structural conditions which act as “push” and “pull” factors for migration. ‘Push factor’ is a factor which relates to the country from which the person decides to migrate, which can be economic, political, cultural or environmental. Unemployment, low salaries, few opportunities, political fear, natural disasters, slavery, poor chances of finding courtship or racial, ethnic or gender-based discrimination are considered as push factors for migration. “Pull factor” is anything concerning the country to which the person decides to migrate, such as job opportunities, better living conditions, enjoyment, education, security, family unification or marriage/courtship prospects.

There are many theories utilizing macro level analysis in explaining international migration. The oldest theory of migration is the *neoclassical economic theory* which is developed by Lewis (1954) and supported by Ranis and Fei (1961). According to this theory, international migration is a consequence of poor countries’ response to the labor demand in high-capital countries, in the form of labor supply. Wage differentials cause workers from the low-wage country to move to the high-wage country, thus the movement leads to equilibrium in wages. This perspective considers the labor market as the major factor leading to international flows (Haris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1976). The *Dual labor market theory* argues that international migration is mainly caused by pull factors in the developed migrant-receiving countries. According to this theory, segments

in the labour markets in these countries may be distinguished as being primary or secondary in nature. The primary segment is characterised by capital-intensive production methods and predominantly high-skilled labour, while the secondary segment is characterised by labour-intensive methods of production and predominantly low-skilled labour. The dual labour market theory assumes that international labour migration stems from labour demands in the labour-intensive segment of modern industrial societies (Piore, 1979). *World systems theory*, which was heavily built on Wallerstein's work (1974), and developed by Portes and Walton (1981), Castells (1989), Sassen (1988, 1991) and Morawska (1990), argues that the international migration process exists as a result of the unequal impact of global capitalism. According to this theory, international migration is the consequence of a world economy that is structured in capitalist countries that penetrate in the economy of peripheral or less developed societies. Industrial nation states invest in less developed countries by taking advantage of low wages and, at the same time, they find new markets for their products. Furthermore, this incursion of foreign capital limits men's opportunities to work so they are forced to migrate. Regarding this process, Massey et al. (1993) state that:

“Much of the labor demand is female, however and the resulting feminization of the work place limits opportunities for men (...) The insertion of foreign-owned factories into peripheral regions thus undermines the peasant economy by producing goods that compete by those made locally; by feminizing the work place without providing factory-based employment opportunities for men; and by socializing women for industrial work and modern consumption, albeit without providing a lifetime income capable of meeting these needs.” (Massey et al. pp.445-446)

### **2.3.2. Meso (Intermediate) Level of Analysis**

Intermediate level of analysis, which were developed by Douglas Massey and his colleagues (1987), build from and depend on the macro theories for the structural

context of their discussions but they diverge from the macro level approach by recognizing agency in their systematic view of migratory processes. As Pedraza (1994) mentions, “[B]y amending the conspicuous absence of agency in the macro level approach, various intermediate level studies have been able to expand the scope of our understanding of migratory processes”.

Among the meso level theories, *network theory*, developed by Taylor (1986) and Massey (1990), examines social networking as a major force sustaining the flow of population movement across national borders. Networks refer to a set of individual and collective actors (such as actual and potential migrants, their families, firms or social groups) and the multiple social and symbolic ties that link them together (Faist, 2001). Once formed, networks can substantially influence the direction and volume of migration flows, providing resources that help people to move, such as information, contacts, economic and social support. Networks may lower the costs of migration and risks of unemployment, so the expected net returns of migration to a country in which large migrant network is present are relatively higher (Boyd, 1989; Massey et al. 1993, 1998; Bauer and Zimmerman, 1995). The *institutional theory* suggests that a large inflow of international migrants induces profit and non-profit organizations, which can be legal or illegal, to provide, for instance, (clandestine) transport, labor contracts, informal documents, dwellings or legal advice for migrants (Massey et al., 1993). Thus a black market is created among informal and illegal migration circuits and organizations promoting international movement for profit through undocumented migrants. *Cumulative causation theory* is developed by Myrdal (1957). According to this theory, once the process of international migration begins the social context of the origin community is altered in ways that

lower the costs of international migration and increase the likelihood that an individual in that community will migrate. According to this framework, there are six socioeconomic factors that are potentially affected by migration: the distribution of income, the distribution of land, the organization of agrarian production, the culture of migration, the regional distribution of human capital and social labeling (the labeling of certain jobs as “immigrant jobs”, for instance), which are explained by Massey et al. (1993) in detail.

The *migration systems theory* is developed by Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) as an attempt to integrate some of the macro and micro level theories. The central idea of the systems approach is that the exchange of capital and people between certain sending and receiving country takes place within a particular economic, social, political and demographic context. An international migration system consists of a group of receiving (core) countries that are linked to a set of sending countries by relatively large flows and counter flows of migrants (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987; Massey et al., 1993). Fawcett (1989) argues that countries in a migration system are not only connected by people but also by other types of linkages, which are historical, cultural, colonial and technological as distinguished by Kritz and Zlotnik (1992).

### **2.3.3. Micro (Subject) Level of Analysis**

Drawing largely on the rational choice theory, micro theories emphasize the importance of agency by focusing on the factors influencing individual or household decisions to migrate, analyzing how potential migrants weigh up the various costs and benefits of migration. Costs could include the financial and psychological resources invested in moving and integrating in the country of destination, while benefits could include a higher salary or physical safety.



*Neoclassical economics theory, from a microeconomic perspective* (Todaro 1969; Todaro and Maruzsko 1987), states that individual rational actors decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return from movement. In that sense, international migration is conceptualized as a form of investment in human capital (Massey et al., 1993; Sjaastad, 1962). Individuals migrate because of prospective improvement in their living standards which may be guaranteed through investing in schooling, on-the-job training, acquiring information about the economic, political or social system, and investments to improve emotional and physical health (Becker, 1962). *The new economics of migration* theorists, Stark and Bloom (1985), argue that the decision to become a labor migrant can not only be explained at the level of individual workers, wider social entities have to be taken into account, as well. One of the social entities to which they refer is the household. One way of increasing household income is the migration of one or more family members and sending remittances back home. So, these remittances have a positive impact on the economy of the sending country and the sending household, as well (Stark and Levhari, 1982; Katz and Stark, 1986; Taylor, 1986). So, as a major difference, while in neoclassical theory, it is the individual who gives the decision to migrate or not, the new economics of migration theory emphasizes that migration is an outcome of household decision making process.

#### **2.3.4. A Gender-Integrative Approach on International Migration of Women**

The contribution of the above theories into our understanding of the complex phenomenon of migration is evident, but they are unable to draw the big picture of international migration which includes both men and women, exists in many forms such as permanent, circular, temporary, informal and influences individual

migrants in many divergent ways. First, most of these theories try to explain migration from an economic/structural point of view and treat migrants as individuals whose life experiences are determined just by macro or micro economic factors. Therefore, these theories fail to address the experiences of migrants and their personal narratives, which are usually seen as irrelevant to understand a complex social phenomenon. Secondly, all of these theories assume that a stereotypical migrant is a young, male worker, and include women just as dependents or passive followers without any role in the migration process. Thirdly, these theories do not recognize the affects of constructed social differences such as gender, race, class, age, ethnic/national background which lead to changes in migration patterns in different contexts. The major aim of these traditional migration theories is to understand and predict migrations. However, in the last decades, international migration has become a very complex phenomenon which requires new analytical tools and conceptualizations to understand why, how and where current migrations occur and who participate in these movements. In this “age of migration”, as Castles and Miller postulates, the attempts to manage migration are equally important as to understand it.

As this chapter points out, existing migration theories lack a gender perspective, which means that they fail to recognize migration as a ‘gendered’ phenomenon, which has differential impacts upon men and women, and which influences gender relations in a broader sense. In this part of the study, I try to explain international migration from a gender lens and by integrating macro, micro and meso levels of analysis on migration. Migration of women is a complex phenomenon that economic, societal and individual/household factors all together explain why women migrate, where and how they migrate, how they are

positioned in relation to the labor market and what do they experience in their relations with the state, society and the community in the receiving countries. First, as mentioned before, macro level approaches on migration emphasize the structural economic factors that lead to migration. In the new global economy, goods, services and people move between state borders according to the rules of the global capitalism. This global economic restructuring created the demand on low paid labor especially in gendered jobs in service sector in developed economies which led to the migration of women from less developed to developed countries in order to carry on these low paid jobs. In that sense macro economic factors determine the initiation of migration of women from various regions of the world. However, in spite of the demand on female migrant labor in developed economies, women who initiate migration were from particular regions and countries of the world. There was not a female migration stream from every country in the world. In that stage, the societal factors influence the phase of migration. Gender ideologies of the states and gender relations in the society decide whether migration is promoted and supported for economic development, or restricted for the persistence of traditional gender roles and relations. In addition, when a particular female migration stream started, it perpetuated due to the built networks between the migrants and the sending community, the process which is explained by the network theory. So, women followed those who migrated to a particular destination before, or they decided to migrate as they learnt the experiences of these initiators. In that sense, the meso level analysis on migration explain why particular female migration streams are dominant within the whole migration picture. Thirdly, the individual or household factors are important to explain the migration of women. The migration of women may be a

household strategy for survival, or an individual decision to reach better economic opportunities, independence or to escape from gender-based discrimination and exploitation. In cases when migration of women is more advantageous than the migration of men, women migrate as a result of a household decision.

The literature on gender and migration has involved studies conducted at various levels of analysis. To mention a few of them, for instance migration and gender relation was studied by examining structural conditions of today's societies: the ongoing restructuring of societies under the influence of global economy and its gender implications (e.g. Morokvasic 1993; Phizacklea 1983; Sassen 1984, 1998, 2003) or in the context of geopolitical transformations such as the fall of the communist regimes in the late 1980s and the dissolution of the Soviet Union (e.g. Kosmarskaya 1999; Morokvasic 2004; Pilkington 1997). It was also studied at the level of institutions mediating and shaping migration such as the welfare state or labour recruitment strategies, where particular and, indeed, gendered identities of migrants are constructed and negotiated (e.g. Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Kofman et al. 2000; McDowell 2003; Sharpe 2001); 3) and at the level of individual decisions and strategies embedded within family and wider social networks which brings us to the importance of in-depth, micro-level analyses of migrants' livelihoods (e.g. Abdulrahim 1993; Al-Ali 2002; Franz 2003b; Grasmuck & Pessar 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Chamberlain 1997; Kibria 1993; Ong 2003).

Having the purpose of constructing an integrative perspective on migration, it can be said that macro, micro and meso factors influence the migration process of women, but not in isolation from each other. It is important to emphasize that, the migration of women is influenced by all three level of

factors. For instance, if the migration of woman is a household decision, the demand on her labor in a particular destination is calculated. If there is a demand on woman's labor, instead of man's, the household probably agree on the migration of woman. Also, in some cases women may find their work abroad through their extended networks, and the potential migrant in the household becomes woman as her job abroad is ready. What appears out of these cases is that international migration of women is a multifaceted phenomenon; women migrate as a result of various complex but interrelated factors, all of which are bound to an existing gender ideology in the society.

#### **2.4. New Mobilities of Women: Migration-Transnationalism-Tourism Nexus**

In an attempt of exploring the international movements of women it is important to discuss some of the processes which are embedded in the migration process of women and which are important concepts to argue that the new international migration is gendered: transnationalism and tourism. In this part of the chapter I argue that new mobilities of women in the global era need to be discussed within the migration-transnationalism-tourism nexus. First, in order to construct the relation between women's migration and transnationalism it is important to reconsider the status and role of women within the patriarchal gender order. Women are the main responsible of the reproductive household tasks in the existing gender order and even if they have a paid labor, they are still assumed to continue their household and childcare activities at home. Thus, mobility is somehow new for women, who were associated with immobility and stability within the private sphere, according to the existing gender order. So, when women migrate alone, their migration usually takes an irregular, transnational form. They

usually move back and forth between borders, in order to carry on their gender roles, most importantly their motherhood practices. In that sense, the movement of women to another country for labor purposes is usually transnational, as they form relationships in the host country due to their multiple moves, but they also continue their relations and duties in the home. Another point which leads women to transnationality is that as women's labor in the host country is not considered as 'work' before the laws; their labor usually has an informal status. This situation is highly related with the gendered conceptions of work and their reflections on the laws and regulations. Although there have been some changes to the legal framework about foreign women's employment in Turkey, as I have mentioned in chapter III, most of the foreign women in Turkey work on informal basis (Ministry of Interior, 2001). Thus, they poorly have the chance to bring their family to the host country, as a part of the family reunification process. This is also related to the gender order which situates women as followers, rather than initiators of the migration process.

Secondly, to have a clear understanding of the relation between migration and gender, it is important to discuss the migration-tourism relation in women's cross-border movements. As I will discuss further in the chapters III and IV within the case of Turkey, although their initial aim is not tourism, that is to visit and travel around another country in its basic definition, foreign women usually move to another country under the 'tourist' label. These women, who migrate for labor, enter countries such as Turkey or Southern European countries like Italy, Spain, and Portugal with tourist visas, and thus they work on informal bases. Here, we should ask why these women enter another country by utilizing the tourist discourse. The most important reason is that migrant women are usually

mobilized into certain labor markets in the host country, such as domestic or care work, sex work or other low paid service sector works which are not considered as 'work' before the laws and thus usually fall into the status of undocumented economic activity, or they engage in shuttle trade which is itself an informal economic activity, as it will be discussed in detail in chapter III. The fact that migration policies in most of the countries are gender blind and treat the potential migrant as a young male laborer, there are limited opportunities for a woman to move to a country in order to work. So, the gendered policies of states push the majority of women work informally by taking the advantage of the blurred boundaries between migration and tourism in the era of globalization.

Regarding the above discussion, we need to point out the interrelatedness of migration, transnationalism and tourism and emphasize that their embedded relation is the most evident in women's cross border movements in the current migratory processes. Although transnationalism and tourism may be regarded as gender-neutral concepts, the diverse experiences of many migrant men and women indicate that their patterns and processes are gendered which is evident in women's experiences of migration.

#### **2.4.1. Migration and Transnationalism**

Migration today challenges some of the sociological assumptions which have existed so far. The first is about the static nature of migration, a once for all movement from one place to another. This still underlies much of the migration policy. We know however that migration is generally not a simple passage from A to B, but a complex phenomenon (Morokvasic, 1993). When they can, migrants can go back and forth, they make multiple moves (Tilly, 1986) before it becomes appropriate to speak of settlement or return. Through this perpetual mobility or

commuting migrants link the sending and receiving societies and create a new global migration space (Morokvasic, 1993).

As it is discussed in detail before, the mainstream migration theories, in general, perceive migration along the push-pull paradigm as a linear, unidirectional movement which begins in one place and ends in another, mainly for economic, social or political reasons. However, more recently, many migration scholars have begun to criticize the bipolar models of migration which treated individuals either as emigrants (the departed) or immigrants (the arrived) and they argue that these models misrepresent migrations historically (Foner 1997; Guarnizo and Smith, 1998) and in contemporary contexts (Basch, Glick-Schiller & Szanton-Blanc 1994; Rouse 1992). Instead, the dominant concern has become that migrants always can go back and forth and through this perpetual mobility or commuting they link the sending and receiving societies and create a new global migration space (Morokvasic, 1993).

So, the dissatisfaction of the scholars with the perspective that portrayed migrants as not active agents but as passive reactors in the migration process, has resulted in the new form of theorizing which is rooted in the concept of “transnationalism”.

Transnational theorizing began its development in the early 1990s, by a group of anthropologists, as a part of an effort to reconfigure anthropological thinking so that it will reflect current transformations in the way in which time and space [are] experienced and represented (Glick-Schiller et al. 1995). “Transnationalism” was first “defined by Basch et al. (1994) as “the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement”. Those migrants who “develop



and maintain multiple relationships – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political – that span borders are called “transmigrants” and Basch et al. emphasize that “the essential element of transnationalism is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies” (Basch et al 1994).

The most important contribution of the transnational perspective is the introduction of “transnational social fields” which are defined as a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organized and transformed (Levit and Glick-Schiller 2004) and which cross geographic, cultural and political borders (Basch et al. 1994). Conceptualizing the migration experience as taking place within the social fields moves the analysis beyond those who move to those who stay but are connected to migrants through the networks and social relations they sustain across borders. So, it shows that not only the movers but also stayers are influenced from the migration experience. This argument emphasizes the role of agency in the migration process and Basch et al indicate the importance of agency by saying that “transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation-states”.

Transnationalism perspective is also explained through the structural factors that lead to the transnational experience. Basch et al. (1994) propose that transnational migration is inextricably linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism and must be analyzed within the context of global relations between capital and labor. Harvey (1989) has pointed out that transnational migration is fostered by the time and space compression made possible by the technological

developments in communication and transportation. Basch et al. (1994), however, move this analysis a step further and claim that just technological innovations can not explain why immigrants invest so much time, energy and resources in maintaining home ties or why transportation and communication systems link particular geographic locations but not others. They, thus, suggest that the current moment of capitalism as a global mode of production has necessitated these transnational ties. Also, from a 'mesostructural' point of view, Guarnizo and Smith (1998) suggest that studies of transnationalism should 'start "start from the point at which institutions interact with structural and instrumental processes" to facilitate linkages to data on macro and micro level structures and practices.

As it is discussed, transnational migration perspective necessitates refer to both structure and agency in explaining the migration process which transcends national borders. Therefore, it can be concluded that, "transnational" implies macro level processes while not dismissing the existence of micro and meso level processes as well. Revolving around these arguments, transnationalism grow in importance as a central theoretical principle in migration scholarship and a as a key characteristic of the "new" international migration, especially the female irregular labor movements between international borders.

#### **2.4.2 Migration and Tourism**

The literatures on migration, transnationalism, tourism always emphasize new forms of mobility which can not be explained with the migrations of the 1960s, which starts at one place and ends in another and the migrants become more settled with the family unification process. In the last decades the movements of people across borders have took many shapes, which brought literatures on migration, transnationalism and tourism close to each other. Recently, temporary

movements away from home, including tourism but also travel for work or education, travel for health reasons and also overseas long travels, have begun to attract the attention of migration scholars (Bell and Ward, 2000). It seemed that all forms of mobility are highly interrelated in the global era, so what the boundaries between what constitutes a tourist and a migrant have blurred (Williams and Hall, 2000). A woman may visit another country on a tourist visa, but pay her trip by working in a tourist shop or by petty trading as Wallace et al. (1996) describes. Or a family may buy a second home in a country abroad and live in this country every year for a considerable amount of time. Similarly, a woman may go to another country with an initial aim to work, but stay informally in the country as she overstays after her tourist visa expires. Most of the informal migrants in Turkey for instance, enter Turkey on tourist visas and they become informal as their visas expire. As these situations entail, what constitutes a tourist and a migrant becomes an important question in order to understand migrations and new mobilities of the global era. Is a person who pays his/her travel by selling things a tourist or a migrant? Or is a person who spends three months in another country, works and make holiday a tourist or a migrant? These are the questions which need to be understood in order to understand the status of women migrants who are working in low-paid jobs with a tourist status. As the case study of this thesis suggest, women enter Turkey with a tourist status and it can be argued that the state ignores the informal status of women as they are considered to be temporary migrants. However, in the last decade most of the women who moved Turkey on tourist visas and worked there, have got married and settled in Turkey. As they are considered on temporary basis, policies did not target these women, and their needs as settled migrants were not met on policy level.

## **2.5. Concluding Remarks**

As this chapter indicates, women were absent from the migration scholarship and from migration policies for a long time, so gender was not a matter of consideration. The typical migrant as a male who is seeking labor or other economic opportunities was taken for granted in all migration studies. Beginning with 1980s, the question of gender has been incorporated into the studies on migration gradually, various different approaches and perspectives on gender and migration have been introduced in these studies. Currently, there is a quite comprehensive literature on migration and gender. It focuses on either the question of how gender order and gender-based differences between men and women influence the migration process or on the extent that migration processes lead to changes in gender relations and contribute the empowerment of women.

This thesis has situated the relation between migration and gender as multi-dimensional, by arguing that migration is a ‘gendered’ and ‘gendering’ process, migration processes and gender relations influence each other and change the experiences of both male and female migrants in every stage of migration. In that respect, this thesis examines how migration is ‘gendered’ and ‘gendering’ by investigating the experiences of a female migrant group in Turkey.

Secondly, this thesis has aimed to integrate three levels of analysis on migration – structural, societal and subject levels – in order to reflect the whole migration process of women and understand how gender operates in all three levels. Although in the migration literature, studies have been usually conducted by applying one level of analysis, this study combined all factors influencing the migration process to understand how and why a particular migration begins, how

it perpetuates and how people respond to structural and societal forces while giving the migration decision.

The migration of women is highly influenced from the structural macroeconomic factors and the demand created on female laborers within the global economy due to these factors. Macro approaches on migration are able to explain this dimension of women's movement. Secondly, the societal perceptions on migration, whether migration of women is celebrated or repressed, and whether women are able to form networks among a particular migration route are indicative in how migration perpetuates. Finally, how women respond to the structural and societal factors and give the decision to migrate or not tells us about the individual level determinants of migration. In this study, I have examined the experiences of post-Soviet women in Turkey by taking all three levels of determinants into account while analyzing their migration processes.

Moreover, I have situated the relation of migration with 'transnationalism' and 'tourism' in the last part, with respect to the fact that women who are migrating independently and for short-term informal labor participation overwhelmingly utilize the blurred boundaries of tourism and migration, and also their 'migration' is transnational in nature, considering that their mobility between the home and the host country persists, and they continue their economic, social and occasionally political relations with the home country.

Taking all into account, any attempt to understand the international migration of women, gender should be situated as the central concept of migration analysis. If migration is understood as a 'gendered' phenomenon distinctive experiences of migrant women may find a place in policy considerations of migration.

## CHAPTER III

### FEMALE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TO TURKEY

#### 3.1. Introduction

Turkey, traditionally known as a migrant sender country (particularly as a provider of *gastarbeiter* to Europe), has gradually become a receiver of migrants in recent years (İçduygu, Sirkeci & Muradoğlu, 2001; Kirişci, 2003). The 2001 estimates reveal that, over 254,000 foreign nationals were recorded as migrants in Turkey according to the four types of migratory flows, namely asylum seekers and refugees, transit migration flows, illegal labor migration and registered migration of non-nationals (İçduygu, 2003). As Ahmet İçduygu (2005) suggests, the first three types of inflow often overlap, and have ‘irregular’ character. Most of these migrants enter Turkey with a tourist visa but stay in the country after their visas expire and their informality begins consequently, or they cross the borders through illegal ways such as trafficking or with the assistance of illegal mediators such as gangs or mafia. Yet, in order to see the general picture of irregular migration to Turkey, we need to mention that although there are enough data and information about the existence of various types of trafficking activities in Turkey, it is not the major characteristic of irregular movements. Instead, the majority of informal migrants enter Turkey willingly and predominantly for employment, with tourist visas giving 1-3 months entry permit. Those migrants

who enter Turkey under the cover of tourism differ in terms of their composition in the last three decades. As can be seen from Table 3.1, in 1988 the majority of the arrivals are from Balkans, and they are estimated to be as ethnic Turks. However, in 2001 the main source of migrants has become the FSU countries and their number has been doubled in 2007 according to the data acquired from TUIK. Also, as the below table displays, the overall number of arrivals has more than tripled from 3 thousands to 10 thousands between 1988 and 2001 while the number has been doubled between 2001 and 2007. (General Directorate of Security of Ministry of Interior, 2001; TUIK, 2007). These numbers indicate that the volume, form, composition and dynamics of migration in Turkey have radically changed in the last three decades.

Table 3.1. Tourist Arrivals in Turkey

	1988		2001		2007	
	(000)	%	(000)	%	(000)	%
Balkans	708.8	20.3	1,270.1	11.6	2,446.7	10.0
Middle East (Iran, Iraq, Syria)	314.0	9.0	470.9	4.3	1,571.3	6.5
Ex - USSR	4.5	0.1	2,260.5	20.7	4,978.5	20.4
Subtotal	1,027.4	29.4	4,001.6	36.7	8,996.5	36.9
Other	2,470.6	70.6	6,911.2	63.3	15,351.6	63.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,497.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10,912.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>24,348.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Sources: General Directorate of Security, Ministry of Interior acquired from Erder, S. and Selmin Kaska. (2003). Irregular Migration and Trafficking in Women: the Case of Turkey. Geneva: IOM. and Turkey Statistics Institute (TUIK)*

According to official statistics by the Ministry of Interior, in 2005, among the post-Soviet countries, 2 million Russian entries, 410,000 Azerbaijani, 370,000 Georgia and Ukrainian, 110,000 Kazakh and 92,000 Moldovan citizens

were recorded in Turkey. However, the statistics are unable to give the exact numbers of migrants as they only show arrivals, and thus may include both circular migrants as well as genuine tourists. Unfortunately the official sources are not only insufficient to give the exact number of migrants in Turkey, but also they are far from giving sex distribution of these migrants as they are not classified by sex. However, relying on the scholarly studies, media reports and observations in various settings, it can be said that majority of the post-Soviet migrants in Turkey are women from various FSU countries, mostly from Moldavia, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Definitely, they are not the sole female migrant group in Turkey. Also, the studies of international organizations such as UNHCR, and the media reports suggest that a considerable amount of refugees or asylum seekers from Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan are woman. According to the data of UNHCR (2007); the numbers of Iraqi refugees in Turkey are 2,484 women and 3,466 men, the numbers of Iranian refugees are 775 women and 2,477 men.

Nevertheless, post-Soviet migrant women are not only the great majority among all migrants in Turkey; they are the most economically active migrant group as well. Post-soviet women in Turkey are extensively employed in service related occupations especially as domestic workers, sex workers, shuttle traders and in the tourism related activities. This chapter intends to discuss the similarities between the reasons of their migration, by relying on their shared past experiences during the socialist era. It is obvious that, women have been influenced from the economic, social, political and cultural transformations of the post-socialist era in similar ways. However, although they migrate primarily to reach better economic standards outside of the borders of their home, their



experiences in the host country distinguish to a great extent. In other words, a woman working as a domestic servant in an upper middle class Turkish household will definitely not have the same experience with the woman working in the sex industry in Istanbul. One of the important parts of this thesis, that distinguishes it from other studies, is that through the case study it reveals the migration histories of a particular female migrant group, namely the women working in tourism industry and indicates that the dynamics of tourism industry in Turkey determine the experiences of women in the destination.

In that sense, this chapter of the thesis begins with the analysis of the gender aspect of post-socialist transition, in order to understand the macro-structural forces that lead women to leave their countries of origin. This part gives details about the shared experiences of women living in formerly socialist countries before they migrate. Then, the chapter continues with the analysis of female migrants who are working as domestic and care workers, sex workers, shuttle traders and as ‘servants of tourism’ by relying on the argument that different work dynamics of these women differentiate their migration experiences. The relations of these women with the state, with the host community and with their employers are highly different from each other due to the different dynamics of the work they engage. In the last part, first I discuss the political-economic dynamics of tourism in Turkey and how the demand on post-Soviet women is created in tourism industry. Then, I introduce the “servants of tourism” and the dynamics of their work, as a soft transition to the following case study chapter which analyses the whole migration and labor dynamics of these women in detail.

### **3.2. Migration of Post-Soviet Women to Turkey**

As Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003) suggest for 'global women', international migration of post-Soviet women is, similarly, the result of economic decline in the FSU countries caused by policies associated with neoliberal restructuring and economic globalization during the 'transition' period (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003). Growing numbers of women from these countries migrated for economic, social and political reasons which influence each other. The most repeated intentions behind their migration are predominantly economic such as to escape poverty and economic hardships, to earn more money, as a household strategy to look after their family, or to escape from oppressive political conditions, to have better living standards and opportunities or to get married. As a result of these underlying factors, many post-Soviet women left their countries for Turkey, but also for Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain and Portugal, as well. In the rest of this chapter, I first discuss the postsocialist condition and the 'gendered' nature of the post-Soviet transitions which are important to understand the underlying reasons that push women to migrate and the conditions inherent to Turkey which need to be considered in explaining why these women moved to Turkey, but not to other countries.

#### **3.2.1. Women, Gender and Postsocialist Condition**

The era beginning with the collapse of the Soviet socialist system in 1988/89, and the following economic restructuring of the collapsed economies with neoliberal rules has been memorized with instabilities, crises and conflicts among all collapsed states. As referred to by Zayonchkovskaya (2000), the disintegration of the USSR and the breakdown of the state socialist system led to an acute economic crisis with high inflation, falling living standards and massive

unemployment. New structural adjustment policies promoted by international institutions such as IMF and WB have supported the states' withdrawal from job creation and social services which had already collapsed. In this context, men and women have been left unemployed, found themselves in economic deprivation and pressured to find new ways of coping, such as migration. The collapse of the communist regimes triggered an unprecedented mobility of people and heralded a new phase in migratory movements. The new forms of migration, in the post 1989 period, are trans-border and short-term movements, regular or undocumented, for purposes of employment or trade. People, rather than trying to immigrate and acquire permanent settlement in the target country, tend to stay mobile, in other words "settle in mobility", in order to improve their economic well-being and maintain a better quality of life in their home countries.

The new migrations, in the post-socialist era, are no longer male dominated as it was the case in the mass labor migrations to Europe in 1960s era (Koser & Lutz, 1997; Kosmarskaya, 1999; Morokvasic, 1993, 2002; Wallace, 2001). The post communist transition has resulted in the migration of a large number of women who are looking for better economic opportunities, either through employment, trade, or marriage. 'Gendered' nature of the post-socialist transitions in the collapsed states have generated this mass migration as women were the first to be unemployed and the increasing demand on traditionally feminized labor according to the existing gender roles has accelerated the movements.

The consequences of Soviet disintegration have been extensively severe for women, compared to men, due to the 'gendered' nature of the transitions (Gal and Kligman, 2000). Women were intensively mobilized into education and

employment, during the Soviet era, which are regarded as two important areas that state socialism of the Union deserves credit. There was universal literacy among women and women were generally slightly better educated than men (Pilginton, 1992). The labor market participation of women was close to a hundred percent, and women were mobilized into every sector of the economy, from heavy industries to finance. Even though women experience “double shift” as their “traditional” roles at home still persists, they were supported with safety nets provided by the state, such as childcare, healthcare and free schooling benefits.

Most of the scholars of ‘gender and post socialism’ literature claim that women get the hardest hit from the transition, in two respects (*see Gal and Kligman, 2000; Bridger, Kay and Pinnick, 1994, Buckley, 1997*). *First*, the biggest problem of the economic reforms, unemployment, has appeared with a female face. Women were the ones who were first dismissed from the labor market, even the highly educated women, or they were pushed into the periphery of the labor market with low-paid jobs having few career prospects or chances for promotion. The statistics suggest that women have consistently accounted for 70-80 percent of the unemployed during transition. This have supported the argument that, the labor market in the market economies are far from being gender neutral, and crises in employment are generally solved at the expense of women’s employment prospects (Hubner *et al.*, (1993); Redcliff and Sinclair, (1991)). *Secondly*, women were the primary beneficiaries of most of the services which were once secured by the Soviet state such as free schooling, health care and child care benefits and the withdrawal of these provisions have extremely affected women. A large number of women were forced to leave labor market or

shifted to part-time employment, in order to maintain their traditional roles of childcare and household maintenance.

In fact, the withdrawal of women from the labor market was not an unintended consequence of transition. Women who were intensively mobilized into the production process as 'heroines of the nation' in the Soviet era, have been encouraged to return home, return what Gorbachev (1987) called "their purely womanly mission". The promotion of the pro-natalist policies has the objectives of reducing unemployment by pushing half of the labor force out of the market, also strengthening the family and increasing the birth rate which was influenced from the migration and political conflicts after dissolution. Despite all these attempts to isolate women from the labor market, however, most of the women have remained at work and put up with terrible working conditions and extremely low wages rather than give up their jobs. In addition, many women started to participate in petty trade activities, selling things on the streets and bazaars after petty production at home. Likewise they have begun to travel to other countries and brought goods in their suitcases in order to sell in the home country. This activity of women have been called "suitcase trade" or "shuttle trade" after some time, because of the relatively short duration of movements and the use of suitcases in order to be exempt from tax and custom duties of importing goods. In most of the cases, women have conducted these trade or petty production activities even if they are employed either full time or part time. Women were not only the hardest hit in the post-socialist transition, but paradoxically they were the ones who struggle the most. As Mary Buckley (1997) suggested, "the transitions have not been easy for women, but it is problematic to consider them as victims of the post-Soviet collapse. They are much more than victims; they are agents of

change and reaction, who have inventively found ways of managing in the new and often difficult circumstances surrounding them”.

It is important to note that not only women but also men have suffered from the unemployment in the post-socialist era. Considerable number of men has also migrated for various employment opportunities abroad especially in the construction and manufacturing industries. However, the dominance of women in migratory movements can not be understood in isolation from the global restructuring of economy under free market rules which generated gender-segregated labor markets.

The changing patterns of women’s migration, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, in other words the “feminization of migration” phenomenon is predominantly linked to the changing dynamics of economic globalization in the last decades. Global restructuring of economy has significant impacts on the developing economies such as heavy and rising government dept, the growth in unemployment, sharp cuts in government social expenditures, the closure of firms oriented to local or national markets and the promotion of export-oriented growth which led to growing economic disparities between developed and developing states and pushed people to look for opportunities in the developed world. On the other side, restructuring has increased the demand on women’s labor in two respects. First, the mobilization of indigenous women into the labor market in advanced economies created a “care deficit”, and households have begun to rely on paid domestic and care work which were usually supplied by migrant women. Secondly, the demand on women’s labor has increased in developed economies, in all forms of service labor, as it is considered as cheap labor. So, the emerging gender segregated labor markets in the developed world

have pulled large number of women from collapsed states into these countries as migrant laborers, and the movement of post-socialist women to these countries was not an exception to this trend.

So, the migration of women from all collapsed states is a shared experience, having similar patterns. Keough (2006) argues that the experiences of post-socialist women and the third world (or “postcolonial”) women are similar as they are all experiencing the gendered dynamics of the new global economy in the same way. Global economic restructuring has created gross inequalities between regions and has placed increasingly heavy burden upon poor women, globally (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003; Sassen 2000). Regarding this, Keough (2006) emphasizes the need to have a common global analytic to frame the political-economic dynamics of migrant women by criticizing the literatures on “postcolonial feminism”, “third world women” and “gender and post socialism” for not speaking to each other and building a dialogue. This is a crucial point in order to situate the labor migration experiences of women within the context of economic globalization.

In addition to Keough’s (2006) argument about the need for a global analytic frame to examine women’s migration experiences, I would argue that although there are global gendered dynamics which apply to every migrant women, their experiences are also shaped by many determinants, such as the political-economic and social dynamics of the countries of origin and destination, the type of their labor in the destination. As I have discussed the political economic context of the countries of origin of post-Soviet women in the period of transition, in the following sections I turn to the reasons of women for moving to Turkey, by discussing the political-economic and social context that made

Turkey a potential destination for these women. It is crucial for the purposes of this thesis to discuss, why women chose Turkey as a destination, instead of the developed countries of, for instance, Western Europe where wages and living standards are higher. Afterwards, I evaluate the migration patterns of women who engage in different types of economic activity to understand in what ways their labor influence their experience.

### **3.2.2. The Reasons of post-Soviet Women for Migrating Turkey**

If 'feminization of migration' from the former Soviet Bloc countries is mainly the result of economic crises which influenced men and women and deprived the household economies, the basic reason of why these migrating women chose Turkey as a destination is the growing demand for low-paid, flexible and mostly female labor for Turkey's developing economy. Since 1960s, the labor market dynamics of Turkey has been influenced from the global economic restructuring. Women, in mass numbers, have begun to enter the labor market in various professional and managerial occupations. The shift of women from unpaid to paid work has created a care deficit in the households, increased the labor demand in domestic services, especially in the middle and upper middle class households in Turkey. Secondly, in 1960s, tourism has emerged as an important development strategy for Turkey and demand on foreign labor has increased in tourism sector not only because of the low-paid and flexible nature of the jobs, but also to exceed cultural and language barriers between the employers and the tourist customers. So, it can be argued that the migration of post-Soviet women to Turkey was, indeed, a response to the growing demand of their labor in the emerging market.



Besides these structural developments, there are other crucial factors which stem from the migration and employment policy of Turkey and have great influence over the choice of migrant women Turkey as a destination. As many scholars note, Turkey does not have a coherent migration policy and the existing legal framework is far from adequate to meet the necessities of recent migration flows. As stated elsewhere, the work and settlement of most of the post-Soviet women in Turkey has an informal character, even if not their entry is. Women declare that the ease of entry requirements and low costs of illegal residence and work are among the major reasons for their choice to migrate Turkey.

In general, the major destinations of post-Soviet migrant women are Southern European countries, such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Cyprus, which were traditionally been viewed as migrant sending countries, like Turkey (Anthias & Lazaridis, 2000). The weaker border surveillance and visa requirements have been among the explanatory factors for their migration to Southern Europe (Fielding 1993). As Gülçur and İlkkaracan (2002) argue, the pattern of post-Soviet women's migration to Turkey, as well as the types of work they engage, almost exactly mirrors the phenomenon described in Southern European countries (SECs). Turkey becomes among the second best alternative for these women, who were unable to reach the "Fortress Europe", namely the Western European countries which have more stringent migration policies compared to the SECs and Turkey as well.

The majority of the post-Soviet migrants started their migration story with an informal status, even if not in entry. They can gain entry as tourists to Turkey and stay for one-three month with possible extensions of another three months. However, as their visas have expired after this period and they continue to stay

and work in Turkey they fall into irregular status. The overstayers are charged fines according to the amount of time they have overstayed their visas. The first six month of their overstay costs \$400, and the fine doubles after six months. Also they are not allowed to return to Turkey on any visa for the period of time they overstay. The best option for these women is to obtain Turkish citizenship and settle in Turkey with legal status by that way. However, the easiest way to obtain citizenship is getting married, therefore women engage in arranged fake marriages with Turkish citizens who get married with women in return for some amount of money. However, recently The Amendment to the Turkish Citizenship Law (No. 4866) was enacted in order to eliminate these marriages by imposing a three-year waiting period before a foreigner obtains Turkish nationality. On the other side, women who do not choose the marriage method, continue their migration as overstayers which create a broad fear and anxiety among these women. Also, as I met during my field study, some of them fell into an extremely difficult situation when they want to exit the country but are unable to pay the fine. Nonetheless, although none of them are happy with their existing informality either as residents or workers, it is obvious that they will continue their stay in Turkey if the 'disadvantages' of their stay does not exceed the advantages and benefits.

When the migration of post-Soviet women to Turkey has accelerated in 1990s, they were usually circular migrants, like the shuttle traders who were moving between Turkey and postsocialist countries irregularly and staying shortly. Also they were encouraged by the laws and regulations to stay temporarily and working in Turkey was tried to be prevented by state sanctions. However, since 1990s there has been a growing tendency to stay longer in

Turkey which is evident in the increase of the number of residence permits issued by the state. According to the General Directorate of Security 2001 data, introduced in Table 3.2., the number of residence permits issued for the post-Soviet nationals have sharply increased from 325 in 1988 to 29,676 in 2001, and their share in the overall residence permits has rise from 0.7 to 18.4 percent. Although the data does not give the sex ratio, as far as the qualitative studies indicate, we can say that women are the majority among them.

Table 3.2.Foreigners Living in Turkey with Residence Permits

<i>Origin</i>	<b>1988</b>		<b>2001</b>	
		<i>%</i>		<i>%</i>
Balkans	8,868	19.9	73,393	45.5
Middle East (Iran, Iraq, Syria)	8,210	18.4	13,361	8.3
USSR	325	0.7	29,676	18.4
Subtotal	17,403	39.0	116,430	72.2
Other	27,241	61.0	44,824	27.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>44,644</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>161,254</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: General Directorate of Security, Ministry of Interior*

Even though the number of resident permits increase, the same increase does not exist for work permits. As table 3.3 indicates, only 13 percent of foreigners with resident permits also hold work permits. For instance, in 2001 it is recorded that just 1, 603 of the Russians have work permits, although the number who have residence permits is 6,235. These numbers point out that there is a large informal labor market in Turkey composed of post-Soviets who have no work permits and thus not allowed to work in Turkey although they have resident permits. The volume of this informal market increases when including those who also have no resident permits but work with tourist status.

Table 3.3. Foreigners with Residence and Work Permits in Turkey (2001)

	Residence Permits	%	Work Permits %		Share of those who have a work permit
Azerbaijan	10,044	-	866	-	8.6
Georgia	761	-	162	-	21.3
Moldova	855	-	268	-	31.3
Romania	1,304	-	354	-	27.1
Russian Federation	6,235	-	1,603	-	25.7
Ukraine	2,290	-	895	-	39.1
Subtotal	21,489	13.3	4,146	18.5	19.1
Other	139,765	86.7	18,270	81.5	13.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	161,254	100.0	22,416	100.0	13.9

Source: General Directorate for Foreigners, Ministry of Interior

Another indicator of the growing tendency of post-Soviet women to stay longer is the increasing number of women who obtain Turkish citizenship through marriage. Table 3.4 shows that almost half of the all foreigners who became citizens are from post-Soviet countries.

Table 3.4. Foreigners who Obtained Turkish Citizenship through Marriage (1995-2001)

Country	Numbers	%
Azerbaijan	3,876	15.9
Georgia	979	4.0
Moldova	1,292	5.3
Romania	2,894	11.9
Russian Federation	2,193	9.0
Ukraine	*	*
Subtotal	11,234	45.2
Other	13,066	53.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	24,300	100.0

\*Negligible and included in other countries in the original data

Source: General Directorate of Citizens and Citizenship Affairs, Ministry of Interior

All these percentages and numbers tell us that migration of post-Soviet women to Turkey is the major migration flow to Turkey, which have broad economic, social and political implications. It is obvious that post-Soviet women are settling in Turkey, forming families and having children. For instance, just in Antalya 15 thousand post-Soviets are living with women accounting for 80 percent of them and there are almost 4 thousand second generation children with Turkish-Russian origin. Unfortunately, the legal and political framework is far from adequate to meet the needs and solve the problems of either the legal migrants or the illegal settlers in Turkey.

### **3.3. Legal Framework Concerning Movement of Women to Turkey**

As Erder and Kaşka (2003) argue, Turkey was caught unprepared to manage and regulate the new migration movements, particularly the irregular movements, considering the existing legal framework with more than 70 laws concerning foreigners which were so old, conceived for legal migration movements and migrants with Turkish origin and therefore unable to meet the necessities of recent flows. However, just in the recent years, as a part of Turkey's efforts of harmonization of its legislation with the EU *acquis*, and with an objective of constructing a systematic and coherent migration policy, there have been some attempts to adapt the existing framework to the new situation.

In this part of the chapter, I try to evaluate the problems with the existing framework which lead to the informal status of these women or lead them to appeal formal but false ways of altering their informality. The most relevant laws for post-Soviet women in Turkey are the Passport Law, the Law Concerning Residence and Travels of Foreigners in Turkey, Turkish Citizenship Law and the

Law on the Work Permits for Foreigners. Considering that the women's entry to Turkey and their stay in Turkey are governed by, the Passport Law (No. 5682 of 1950) and the Law Concerning Residence and Travels of Foreigners in Turkey (No. 5683 of 1950), respectively, those women who enter Turkey on their visas and leave the country within their visa period do not experience any problem. However, women who continue to stay in Turkey after their visas expire, directly, fall into informal status and they are sanctioned by a fine for the period of their over stay. As mentioned before, there are many women who become unable to depart from the country as their duration of overstay is long and they are unable to pay the accumulated fine.

The Law Concerning Work Permits is one of the laws drafted in accordance with the EU *acquis* and put into force in September 2003. This law has brought novelties to the employment process of foreigners. First, it centralized the regulation of work permits and designated the Ministry of Labor and Social Security as responsible for issuing work permits for foreigners. Secondly, the law brought sanctions to prevent illegal employment of foreigners such as effective controls and high fines both for the employer and employees. As a third novelty, the law allowed the foreigners to be employed in domestic services while it was impossible within the previous framework. All these novelties brought to the regulation, however, is not adequate to prevent illegal labor completely. Considering the high demand on low-paid labor in various sectors, employers are reluctant to pay for the work permits; instead they devise strategies to uncover the informality of their employment standards. Thus, the difficulty in accessing the formal work, the incorporation of post-Soviet women into the informal labor market still prevails.

As a result of the difficulties in accessing formal labor, women have developed strategies to overcome this obstacle. Marriages which were organized in return for economic benefits or sexual favors with a Turkish man have become the initial strategy for migrant women in order to avoid their informal status. These marriages were usually organized by some mediators. I have also witnessed during my fieldwork that, sometimes the employer of the woman organizes the fake marriage which seems easier than getting the work permits and other legal documents. As a result of the recognition of the considerable increase in fake marriages, an amendment has been enacted to the Turkish Citizenship Law in 2003 which introduced some changes to the marriage of a foreigner with a Turkish citizen in order to eliminate the fake marriages. The law imposed a three-year waiting period before a foreign spouse obtain the Turkish citizenship and imposed some criteria to acquire the citizenship after three years in order to guarantee that the spouses are really married, share a house and know each other. Although it is assumed that the new regulation will reduce these marriages of inconvenience it is not possible to eliminate it at all.

After detecting all relevant frameworks about foreigners it is important to argue that the existing rules are not adequate to prevent irregular migration at all, and are they not able to prevent the difficulties that migrants experience and to protect them from exploitation. For instance, during my visits to the Association of Foreign Women in Antalya, I have learned that there are many women who fell into vulnerable situation when they divorce with their husbands within the first three years of marriage. The founder of the association has cited that these women lost their right of citizenship in Turkey, but as they have children from their husbands they wanted to stay in Turkey with their children. This example

reveals that the laws and regulations while trying to control the informal stays of migrants in Turkey, on the other side increase the vulnerabilities of women in the host society.

### **3.4. Post-Soviet Women in Turkey According to their Labor Types**

Post-Soviet women in Turkey tend to be segregated into particular occupations which are delimited by an ideology linking their activity to their gender, which can also be classified as 'gendered' occupations. As Moser and Young (1982) emphasize, the labor of these women have a structural resemblance to their 'family role' considering that women are responsible from the recreational activities such as housework, care work, sex work and other servicing activities within the household according to the gender based division of labor.

Although women have always worked, in the household if not in the formal labor market, they were socially constructed as 'outside of the labor force' (Morokvasic, 1993). The fact that their emotional, physical and sexual labor in the household is 'unpaid', it is not recognized as an economic activity and always undervalued. In the last decades, due to the changing dynamics of globalization and increasing participation of middle and upper middle class women to the formal workforce, the unpaid labor of women have turned into a paid labor. However, these occupations have always considered and remained as unskilled, poorly paid and often performed in the private domain or related to the expansion of the service industry. These jobs also tend to be looked down upon socially and devalued economically (Piper, 2005) and they are left within the informal sector of the economy to a great extent.



These jobs are predominantly performed by migrant women in all over the world, who are either internal or international migrants. In Turkey, rural to urban migration since 1960s and incorporation of women to the paid labor force has generated an increasing demand on paid domestic labor in middle class households which was fulfilled by migrant women who moved into the cities. In the last years, the number of foreign women performing domestic, care and other service related tasks in Turkey have extensively increased, the majority of them are post-soviet women from various formerly socialist countries, who are examined in detail throughout the thesis.

The common characteristics of these women, who engage in shuttle trade, domestic work, sex work and service work in tourism, are that their labor is low-paid, flexible, insecure and potentially do not guarantee any upward mobility and career prospects. Women working in these occupations usually work informally, without any residence or work permits, and therefore their vulnerability increases as being a woman and an informal migrant. Considering their shared Soviet past and 'gendered' and 'informal' character of their migration, it can be inferred that women have a lot of shared experience in Turkey. However, although there are similarities, the experiences of women in Turkey and their status within the host society is highly related to their labor dynamics.

The basic aim in classifying women in terms of their type of labor is to recognize the inherent dynamics of each labor market and emphasize the factors that lead to diverse migration experiences among these women. Secondly, although there is a growing literature on migrant traders, domestics and sex workers depending on case studies in different settings, there is no scholarly study on women working in the tourism industry. However, tourism and the

relations surrounding the tourism sector affect the experiences of women working in it in distinctive manners. For instance, although the labor of women in tourism is not necessarily constructed upon the traditional roles of women, it is 'gendered' in a different way. Also, the relations of women in tourism with the host community is different from the relations of a domestic servant whose labor necessitates immobility and gives less opportunity for social interaction and forming networks. On the other side, women in tourism are able to form constructive and long lasting relations with the host community due their presence in the public sphere because of the nature of their job. The last part of the chapter will set an introduction to the migration dynamics of women and tourism, which will further be investigated in the following chapter.

#### **3.4.1 Women as Shuttle Traders**

Turkey, especially, Istanbul has become an important site of shuttle trade, since 1990s (Yükseker, 2004), unfortunately the scholarship on this economic activity and its agents in Turkey is very limited. The most comprehensive research on shuttle trade in Turkey has been conducted by Deniz Yukseker (2000, 2003, 2004), who explored the shuttle trade between Istanbul and Moscow, the existing networks weaved around this informal economic activity and relations constructed between woman traders and the local people, such as entrepreneurs, mediators and the local community. As she identifies, the agents of the shuttle trade (*chelnoyki biznes* in Russian as unregistered and unregulated cross border trade), are small scale traders who travel abroad to purchase moderate quantities of consumer goods such as garments and leatherwear. Limited to suitcases in order to avoid taxation by states, this trade has been termed "suitcase trade" [*bavul ticareti*] in Turkey. In the migration literature, the type of mobility which

the traders engage between two or more states is named petty trade migration, shuttle mobility, circular migration or incomplete migration (Morokvasic and de Tinguy 1993, Okolski 1998 1999, Wallace et al 1996).

The majority of the shuttle traders ('chelnoki' in Russian) in Turkey are women from the former Soviet Republics such as Russia, the Ukraine, Belarus (Blacher 1996, Yukseker 2000). Also, during my fieldwork in Antalya, I have met women from Moldavia, who were once shuttle traders. As this part of the chapter intends to do, it is important to identify the major dynamics that lead these women to engage in shuttle trade and their distinct experiences in Turkey embedded in their work type. Before explaining the reasons behind the predominance of women in shuttle trade, it is important to note the approaches of Turkish state and the FSU states to this informal economic activity.

The shuttle trade has remained as an unregistered and unregulated informal economic activity as both the post-Soviet states and the Turkish state are unwilling or unable to regulate it considering the returns of this activity to the national economies. For instance, Russia which is home to the majority of shuttle traders has allowed billions of dollars of unrecorded imports as an unofficial response to the sharp decrease in consumer goods production after the collapse of the socialist economy at the turn of the last decade (OECD 1997). Likewise Turkey has turned a blind eye to unregistered small-scale trade (suitcase trade) by Eastern Europeans, which since 1990s has become a source of much-needed foreign currency for the national economy (Yukseker, 2004). So, the neglect of both parties to take action against this phenomenon has led to its rapid growth as an informal economic activity predominantly conducted by women.

The identification of shuttle trade mostly with women needs to be explained with the gendered policies of the postsocialist transition and the role of women in the economy and society during this period. First, as it is the case for most of the post-Soviet woman migrants, woman shuttle traders have also disproportionately influenced from the mass unemployment, increasing cutbacks and deteriorating economic conditions that 'transition' generates. Their marginalization from the formal labor market has pushed them into the informal and small scale trading sector (Bridger, Kay and Pinnick, 1994)). As Yukseker (2004) suggests, the overrepresentation of women in the informal economy is compatible with their previous role in the "second economy" which existed as a response to the deterioration of the state's social services and official distribution system since 1970s, in order to provide goods and services for people. Within this second economy, women developed 'entrepreneurial' skills and extended networks in order to acquire the consumer goods that were in short supply by exchanging these goods and services through reciprocity (Bruno 1997). So, the experiences of women within the second economy have led them to be active agents in the informal economic activities, such as shuttle trade, after the collapse of state socialism.

The experiences of female shuttle traders from the FSU, namely *chelnokis*, are considerably shaped by the nature of the economic activity they engage which necessitates long lasting relations between the women and the small local entrepreneurs based on trust, and mostly nurtured by sex and intimacy or repeat trading in order to minimize risks and uncertainties of the economic activity (Yükseker, 2004). The study of Yüksek (2004) explores how the female *chelnoki* and the male entrepreneurs strategically manipulate the idioms of trust,

sex and intimacy in order to achieve economic ends in an unregulated economic environment having potential risks for both parties. In the study she argues:

“The idiom of trust, ..., enable buyers and sellers to carry out repeated trade with one another by sharing risks. Likewise the idiom of sex and intimacy mediates market exchange between entrepreneurs of the opposite sex in several ways. Sexual intimacy may ground trusting relationships that facilitate regular, repeated exchange between male and female traders.”

So, it can be argued that the peculiar migration experiences of female shuttle traders are very much shaped by the informal nature of the activity and the social and gender relations evolve within the social field of this activity, which Deniz Yüksek (2000) identifies as a “public culture” constructed through the everyday encounters in various spaces (Yüksek, 2000). The migration experiences of female shuttle traders are based on the dichotomy of their constant mobility between two or more states and their ability to form long lasting relations with the local clients in Turkey. They are the most mobile female migrant group and their relations with the host community develop more than the relations of women in other jobs.

#### **3.4.2. Women as Domestic Workers**

The existence of domestic labor in Turkey dates back to the Ottoman years, when the domestic tasks were performed by either slaves, *evlatlıks* or waged servants as the study of Ferhunde Özbay (1999) indicates. However, the form and dynamics of domestic service in urban areas has been transformed throughout the years. The migration from rural to urban areas since 1960s has created a domestic worker group in cities which was composed of women of rural origin. The studies of Sibel Kalaycıoğlu and Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç (2001) and Gül Özyeğin (2001) have explored these women with rural origin who work as domestics in Ankara by emphasizing mostly the dynamics of class and status

evolving around this type of work. The migrant domestic workers and their experiences is comparably a new phenomenon in Turkey, which appeared as a response to the 'care deficit' existed with the intensive mobilization of Turkish women into paid labor and also as a response of women from the FSU countries who were marginalized from the employment in the postsocialist era and acquired a new mobility in order to escape poverty or make economic gains (Keough 2003).

Although the visibility of migrant domestics in Turkey is increasing, the research on these women and the dynamics of their migration is not growing in the same speed. Also possibly because of the fact that the majority of migrant domestics in Turkey are from Moldavia, the existing studies extensively focus on Moldavian domestics<sup>4</sup>.

Selmin Kaşka (2006), in her research gives a broad descriptive account on Moldavian domestic workers and by relying on the statistical data she emphasizes the emergence of a large informal labor market as there is a huge gap between the numbers of Moldavians with residence permits and work permits. Also the increasing number of marriages of Moldavian women in order to acquire Turkish citizenship is another indicator of the fact that Moldavian women migrate to Turkey to work, so the reasons for their migration is mostly economic. They find their employer in Turkey through various ways, such as informal employment agencies, mediators or through their own networks of friends or relatives in Turkey.

In her research on Moldovan mobile domestics in Turkey, Leyla Keough (2003) argues that most Moldavians who work in Turkey are members of the

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<sup>4</sup> The major studies on Moldovan domestics in Turkey are Keough (2006), Eder (2007) Kaşka(2006).

Gagauz ethnic group, a Turkish speaking community in Southern Moldova. There are many reasons for their being preferred as domestic workers in Turkish households. As stated above, the domestic work was usually carried out by local rural origin women; however these local women prefer not to work as live-in labor, as they have their own households to attend to. This raises the demand for Moldovan domestics, who usually seek live-in positions in order to keep as much money as they can. Keough (2003) also states that, the reputations of Moldovan domestics as upright people and good caretakers, cleaner, more literate and more civilized, thereby more “European” than their local villager counterparts increases the demand for them. Also, because they speak a Turkic language, Moldavians of the Gagauz ethnic group are considered more appropriate for these domestic jobs.

Domestic labor is a completely “feminized” labor sector as it evolves out of the gender-based division of labor in the society. Although the determinants of the migration of post-Soviet women are close to each other, what they experience when they move to Turkey differs to a great extent according to the conditions of their work environment. As domestic work is conducted in the domestic/private sphere, their work environment is conducive to social and cultural isolation, in other words they are not able to get incorporated into the public life like their counterparts in other jobs. Usually they have one day off, and they gather with the other domestics usually in Laleli, in Istanbul, which is the meeting point of the FSU women. Therefore their capacity to socialize is considerably limited compared to other women. On the other hand, being live-in workers, domestics have little space to act free, as they are working in a private sphere, mostly care for children, and necessitates high moral and ethical values to be employed.

### **3.4.3. Women as Sex Workers**

Just like the other types of migrant labor, such as domestic work, shuttle trade or other service sector works, sex work is also an informal economic activity for migrant women in Turkey as the sex work of non-nationals is prohibited by laws. Also, sex work is not only criminalized by law, but it is also stigmatized as an 'immoral' activity in the society, which leaves women in sex work in a vulnerable position and open to exploitation. The probability of gender based exploitation makes sex work the most 'risky' type of work to be engaged by migrant women in Turkey. However, although it is impossible to know the exact numbers, it is well known that a considerable number of migrant women from the FSU countries engage in sex work for a variety of reasons. According to the study of Leyla Gülçür and Pınar İlkaracan (2002), most of the migrant sex workers engage in sex work to gain social and economic advantages. Compared to the alternative types of work, women report that they earn comparably good wages from sex work and they are able to control their own resources, even they give some of their earnings to the pimps or bribes.

The major debate about the sex workers in general is about the 'forced' or 'voluntary' nature of their migration. Proponents of the 'forced' prostitution emphasize 'trafficking' in women, exploiting women's bodies by enforcing power on these women. On the other hand the proponents of 'voluntary' prostitution argue that women have the authority to control their own resources and make their own decisions to engage in sex work. In Turkey, as in elsewhere, it is possible to observe both 'forced' and 'voluntary' sex workers. There is a growing literature on trafficking of women in Turkey especially from the post-



Soviet countries (Erder and Kaşka, 2003), supported with legal documents, media reports and NGO research. However, this thesis considers the ‘voluntary’ post-Soviet migrants who enter the labor market not by enforcement of third parties, but as a “voluntary”<sup>5</sup> decision for economic ends.

Gülçür and İlkaracan (2002) focus on the experiences and work conditions of these ‘voluntary’ sex workers who usually reside and work in Laleli, a district of Istanbul which is the locus of most of the post-Soviet migrants in Turkey. They state that women choose sex work because it is better-paid than other jobs usually available to them and offers flexible working hours. For example, women can work periodically, save money, return home and undertake child care and then they return to Turkey again. Also because of the conditions of their work, migrant sex workers tend to have greater contact with local daily life and with the society. For instance, some informants of the study of Gülçür and İlkaracan (2002), state that they hang out in the streets usually close to clubs and discos in order to meet customers and this increases their social contact and participation in the daily life.

However, although sex work allows them to have new experiences and economic opportunities, on the other hand they constantly have to tackle with the negative connotations, abusive and violent behavior from the society, their customers and state officers. Most of the sex workers report that they experienced sexual harassment on the street in the form of being called Natasha or being asked for sexual favors and sometimes being groped. Also some of them report that they experience violence from their pimps or clients, they are

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<sup>5</sup> Within the thesis I use ‘voluntary’ for the migration of post-Soviet women to distinguish it from the enforced movement of women as discussed in ‘trafficking’ literature. However, I am aware of the ongoing debate on whether the migration of women can be classified as ‘voluntary’ considering the structural economic, social and political constraints upon women.

threatened or harassed by the police officers. In addition to these, migrant sex workers are constantly defeated or cheated by the local community, such as the local landlords or hotel owners who take advantage of the women's illegal status and charge them whatever they pleased.

So, given that the legal restrictions and societal disapproval shaping the experiences of migrant sex workers in Turkey, they are under the risk of harassment, abuse and discrimination much more than their counterparts in other jobs. Another important point to mention is that, although women in other work types, such as shuttle traders or domestics occasionally engage in sex work to supplement their incomes, those who are solely in sex work service live in much more harsh conditions and risky lives as they usually are much more visible and 'stigmatized' by the state compared to others who engage in sex work under the cover of friendship or intimate relationship which provides them economic gain, if not in terms of cash, but in terms of gifts and economic help or assistance.

Taking all these into account, women in sex work experience greater difficulty in their relations with the state and the local community due to the fact that sex work is criminalized in front of the state and society. The informal nature of their work leave women open to various health risks, violence, harassment, police bribery, detention and arbitrary deportation.

#### **3.4.4. Women working in Tourism Industry**

The existing scholarship on post-Soviet migrant women in Turkey usually concentrates on three types of women distinguished according to the type of their work, shuttle traders, domestic workers and sex workers. The major similarity between all these works is that they are flexible service sector works of different kinds having different dynamics. However, apart from these categorizations there

are women from the FSU countries who are employed in low-paid service related works, whose work can not be evaluated under above categorizations. These women usually work as shop assistants, clerks, translators, masseurs, entertainers, waitresses, tourist agents and such occupations usually in tourism industry.

Tourism industry is a particularly important sector for women's employment, globally. According to the ILO data, women constitute the 46% of the workforce in the tourism industry, while the (ILO, 1998a, 1998b). This data indicates the fact that tourism industry is becoming a "feminized" sector just like most of the 'traditionally feminized' occupations such as domestic and sex work. According to the data available for the years between 1988 and 1997, there has been a broad increase in the participation of women in the tourism industry at a global level. The majority of the increase in female participation occurs in developing countries and Turkey is an important example among them.

#### ***The Political-Economic Dynamics of Tourism in Turkey***

Turkey is a potential country attracting tourists coming from developed countries, due to its geographical proximity to these countries, especially the Europe. The importance of tourism industry for the national economy and the share of foreign currency inflows in the GDP of the country are increasing. This means that tourism has become an important industry which influences the overall economy to a great extent.

'Tourism' has entered the development lexicon of Turkey in early 1980s, with the liberalization of economy under free market rules. In 1960-1980, tourism industry has shown a slow increase. At that period, tourism has consisted of small size firms and the supply of internal or international tourists has not

increased considerable. The transformation of the tourism structure in Turkey has begun 1980s. The ultimate reason of this change was the formation of the bases for mass inflows of tourists due to the increasing numbers of tourist agencies which are operating internally and internationally, as well. At this period, tourism has become an important development strategy for Turkey, and a crucial source of foreign currency inflow to the country. Turkey, like other developing countries, has adopted policies in favor of tourism in order to have a share from the international tourism market. Thus, tourism was called 'industry without chimney [bacasız endüstri]<sup>6</sup>, in order to emphasize its importance for economic development of the country. At the same time, tourism has begun to be an important employment area for local people living in tourism sites, as well as it became a source of employment for foreign women.

The tourist profiles have also changed according to the global economic transformations and the influences of these changes on the national economy. After 1990, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the borders of most of the countries were opened to the people of the post-socialist countries. Increasing number of tourists, especially from Russia and other successor states have begun to visit Turkey especially for summer tourism. The increase in supply of Russian-speaking tourists has generated the increasing demand on Russian-speaking labor in tourism enterprises of any size. Considering that this demand has not been met with the local laborers in the tourism regions, the movement of Russian speaking women from the formerly Soviet Union countries into the tourism labor market in Turkey has been accelerated after 1990s. Tourism has become a source of labor for many post-Soviet women and still is. These women

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<sup>6</sup> The term 'bacasız endüstri' has been invented in Turkey in 1980s, with the liberalization of economy, in order to support the investment on that industry. The term, in fact, emphasizes that the tourism industry is environment-friendly and therefore there is no risk to invest on it.

move Turkey as temporary settlers; even they sometimes come for holiday but try to earn their travel expenses by working in a tourism enterprise. In the last decade, however, women coming Turkey for labor, tend to stay longer and most of the time this longer stay turns to be a settlement as they marry with Turkish men and become permanent migrants.

### *Women serving the tourism industry*

In Turkey, tourism has been developed all along the Mediterranean shores. The Russian-speaking tourists have concentrated on southern Antalya, which has developed rapidly due to the increasing investments on the region which made the region the center for summer tourism. Employment in tourism is primarily based on service labor of any kind in order to ensure that the needs of the customer are met within the whole visit. This demand on Russian speaking labor is supplied extensively by post-Soviet women who move Turkey for better economic opportunities for themselves and their families.

This thesis is written with the objective to identify the differences between the migration and daily life experiences of women employed in tourism and those engage in above described labor types. Tourism industry has own dynamics and these dynamics influence the relationships among people within the place where tourism activity is performed. Racial, ethnic, class and gender relations are shaped by the dynamics of this industry, therefore in spite of their shared experiences, post-Soviet women serving the tourism industry do not experience migration in the same way with domestic workers, sex workers, shuttle traders or other labor types all of which are different and need to be distinguished from each other in evaluations.

As an example, migrant women may tend to work in environments leading to social and cultural isolation, which is usually the case for domestic servants who are left in domestic sphere and loose opportunities of socializing, or sex workers who live in social isolation due to the criminalization of their activity. However, women employed in tourism industry are serving the tourists from their home countries therefore they are able to pursue their connections with the home country. During my fieldwork for instance, I met women who order things to their customers to be sent as soon as they return their countries and women who discuss problems regarding the home country with their customers. Also, women in tourism are much more included into the social life and more integrated with the host society due to the nature of their job which usually takes place in the public sphere and necessitates regular contact with people. I have observed in the fieldwork that, women learn many things from their colleagues, employers, neighbors and the local community and exchange ideas which increase their chances of inclusion to and acceptance by the host society. These are just the most visible situations that lead me to focus on female laborers in tourism industry while exploring the international migration of women in Turkey.

### **3.5. Concluding Remarks**

This chapter begins with the demographic estimate that the majority of female international migrants in Turkey are inhabitants of post-Soviet states. The primary reason for their migration is economic betterment – obtaining a job in Turkey and earning a wage that may be much higher in real terms than what was available in their countries of departure. So they migrate for employment or for

marriage, which are basic routes for upwards economic mobility for these women.

Secondly, the migration and labor of these women in Turkey is inextricably lined to the dynamics of the gender segregated labor market in the countries origin and destination. Global economic restructuring which led to reduction on demand of male labor due to the mechanization in certain sectors of economy and the shift of demand to service industries in developed and developing countries, has caused a rapid increase in the entrance of women into the workforce. Consequently, this led to the increasing demand on paid domestic and care work which are considered as unskilled and low paid. Therefore, women who migrate to these countries have been extensively employed in domestic labor market, which led to further informalization and undervaluing of the domestic labor. Women also engage an informal economic activity, shuttle trade, as a more cost-driven activity to carry, but the one which is most profitable in return. Globalization has also generated a growth in sex and entertainment industry which became another source of income for foreign nationals in many parts of the world. Lastly, as the least mentioned labor option for female migrants in the scholarship, the growing importance of tourism industry for the development of economies of especially developing countries has created a labor opportunity in service-related labor forms which were also fulfilled by foreign nationals due to the poor paid and flexible nature of these jobs but also due to the language barriers between foreign customers and local tourism entrepreneurs.

As is the case for all developing economies, economic restructuring under free market rules has increased unemployment rate in all post-socialist countries. Contrary to the increasing market force participation of women in developed

states, women were left unemployed in post-socialist states due to the gendered policies of the transition which call women back to the domestic sphere to conduct their unpaid economic activities. So, the heavy burden of post-socialist transition on women has triggered their migration to reach economic opportunities in a foreign country.

These arguments presented in the first part of the chapter, has the aim to indicate the impact of gender relations on the migration dynamics of post-Soviet women. As it is stated, the gendered labor market and gendered policies of states affect the size, dimension and composition of migratory flows, as well as the experiences of individual migrants. Also important to note that, gender inequalities which combine with ethnic/racial and class inequalities, and being non-national in the host country puts women in much more disadvantageous position in the migration process. Considering post-Soviet women, they are negatively affected from the gender-based discrimination which is combined with discrimination on nationality grounds in Turkey.

In the following part, the chapter tries to reveal that although post-Soviet migrant women in Turkey have shared experiences due to the global determinants of their migration and the status of their labor within the whole economy, the labor types of these women is an ultimate determinant of their migration experience. These women do not just lack certain legal and social rights due to their informal status, but they are also positioned in the lower end of the social strata in the host society due to their labor types. So, they are discriminated, not just on gender, ethnic and racial grounds, but also according the sector of their labor. This means that the legal and societal perceptions on a migrant domestic or care worker is extensively different than perceptions on a



sex worker, so their experiences of migration differentiate to a great extent on the basis of their labor. Women's labor not only influences and shapes societal perceptions and behaviors, but also influence how women perceive their migration experiences. In most of the times, women in a given labor sector try to value their own labor by criminalizing and undervaluing the other migrant labor types by utilizing the ethical codes of the host society. Thus, the whole migration experience of a female migrant laborer is highly determined by the dynamics of her labor. In this chapter, these differences are put forward by examining the case of post-Soviet female migrants in Turkey, and in the last part the specificity of the experiences of women working in tourism are introduced. A discussion on political-economy of tourism in Turkey has been introduced to understand the context in which these women live and work.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **A CASE STUDY: POST-SOVIET “SERVANTS OF TOURISM” IN ANTALYA**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

As indicated before, if the fundamental objective of this thesis is to understand the international migration of women in the Turkish context from a gender perspective, equally important is to inquire about post-Soviet women in Turkey whose experiences differ from each other according to the type of their labor and the dynamics surrounding their work environment. Given the fact that women from the Former Soviet Union countries are the majority of female migrants in Turkey and the most economically active group, it is important to explore the dynamics of their migration, their experiences in relation to the state, the host community, the family and kinship, and their work environment in order to claim that the whole migration process of women is gendered and their migration related experiences are influenced by the existing gender ideology and gender relations in their host country. The examination of their experiences in the whole migration process is also important to make claims about women’s agency in the transformation or perpetuation of existing gender relations. In addition, it is crucial to understand women’s experiences and how they report these experiences

for policy makers to make appropriate and targeting policies on migration and migrants.

As the previous chapters broadly discuss, the case study presented in this chapter has the major purpose of filling in the gap in the existing literature on post-Soviet women in Turkey. Briefly, the fast growing literature on post-Soviet women in Turkey concentrates on women who are engaged in shuttle trade, domestic work or sex work, and explores the phenomenon of their movement to Turkey from different frameworks. This thesis is concentrating on women working in various low-wage service sector works organized and situated around the tourism industry of Turkey. The concentration of the thesis on such a specific migrant group has the aim to identify the impact of internal dynamics of tourism industry on the experiences of migrant women. Addressing them as *post-Soviet 'servants of tourism'*, I attempt to categorize all these women from various FSU countries, who share the Soviet past and who are working in low-paid service jobs having the initial aim of serving 'tourism', while recognizing that the lines or borders of works these women engage are blurred which means that a shuttle trader may start to work as a domestic servant afterwards or may engage in sex work at the same time. However, I explore *post-Soviet servants of tourism* as a distinctive group in order to understand the impact of the economic, social and cultural conjuncture of the tourism industry in Turkey on the migration experiences of women.

The objective of the study is to explore the international migration as a gendered phenomenon which means that the migration experiences of men and women are different from each other, and the existing gender ideology influences the migration of men and women in different ways. So, it is relevant to conduct an

empirical research based on qualitative methodology in order to understand the reasons of their migration, the conditions and dynamics of their work and their relations with each other in detail by depending on their own expressions and the researcher's observations in the field. So, with this intention, I have conducted a four-month fieldwork repeated in various time intervals in several districts of Antalya. The rest of the chapter *first* presents the methodology of the study in detail, including the introduction of the sample group and the sampling methods, the fieldwork instruments and the location of the fieldwork, namely Antalya. At this part I also discuss why Antalya is a relevant location to study the sample group by introducing the province in relation to the tourism industry and as one of the primary residences of women that the sample designates. The chapter, *secondly*, presents the major findings of this fieldwork and the analysis of these findings by adopting a gender perspective on international migration.

#### **4.2. The Methodology of the Case Study**

The findings presented in this chapter are based on data gathered throughout my fieldwork which was conducted in Antalya between August 2006 and November 2006 and repeated in various time intervals through 2007 and 2008. After the four-month fieldwork in 2006, I have made several visits of up to one-month to the field location in various time intervals. During the fieldwork I have gained both qualitative and quantitative data by applying different field instruments. The quantitative part of the study is derived from the Self-Completion Questionnaires (SCQs) distributed to the sample group which consists of women from the FSU countries who are working in low-paid service sector jobs related to the tourism economy of Antalya, addressed throughout the thesis as *post-Soviet 'servants of*

*tourism*'. The SCQs which consist of multiple choice and open ended questions were completed by 50 women who are not necessarily 'employed' in the tourism sector but who are related to the tourism economy through their family networks or previous employment. In addition to the questionnaires, I have also gained quantitative information about post-Soviet women in Antalya from the *Association of Culture and Solidarity among Foreigners in Antalya (Antalya'daki Yabancılar Arası Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği)* which operates as post-Soviet women's solidarity club.

The qualitative component of the methodology, which the study derives its strength, consist mainly of semi-structured in-depth interviews with 25 *post-Soviet 'servants of tourism'* all of which were tape-recorded. The interviews were held either in the workplaces of the respondents or out in the cafes, restaurants or their houses. The recorded parts of the interviews took almost an hour, or in some cases it exceeded an hour and a half. In most of the gatherings, I have complemented the recorded interviews with off-the-record conversations which enriched the qualitative insights. The interviews with post-Soviet women were conducted either in English or Turkish. A considerable number of women were proficient in Turkish, they understand and speak Turkish adequately. In some cases, if the respondent fails to understand the questions, we took the assistance of her colleagues or friends from the workplace. They made Russian-Turkish translation and vice versa for us. If the respondent is more proficient in English than Turkish, I conducted the interview in English.

During the fieldwork I have also involved in conversations with many people who are related to the tourism economy and have relations with my informants. I had the opportunity to make a recorded in-depth interview with an

employer who employs a considerable number of foreign women in his shopping center. Also I have had many off-the record conversations with the husbands or boyfriends and children of the women, their collages of different levels from the workplaces, such as their managers or equal level employers. Also I had the opportunity to talk with local women who are either the friends of my informants from the workplace or elsewhere. In addition I had a recorded interview with the founding manager of the *Association of Culture and Solidarity among Foreigners in Antalya*, who has assisted me in reaching my respondents and collecting information about foreign women in Antalya.

In addition to the interviews and off-the-record conversations with the informants and the related people, I have also gathered insights through non-participant observations. As interviews were usually conducted in the workplaces of the respondents I had the opportunity to observe their relations with the employer, with other people in the workplace and also in most of the cases I have observed their relations with the customers, that is to say the Russian speaking tourists who have the same Soviet background with the informants. My observations contributed the data I have gathered from the conversations and gave me the chance to validate most of the claims women made during the interviews.

Another important point to mention regarding the research methodology is that even though I have utilized a non-participant research technique throughout the study, we have also formed friendships with some of the respondents. The part of the fieldwork was conducted in Kemer, a district of Antalya which is a small tourism town highly populated by post-Soviet women. I resided in Kemer while doing the fieldwork, and local people became used to me through time, thus I could easily maintain relationships based on trust and friendship with the women,

which increased my opportunity to gather more reliable data through observations and off-the-record tracks. Even though I am aware of the disadvantages of being too much involved with the people in the fieldwork for the researcher, I have kept my objectivity throughout the fieldwork and in my conversations with women to avoid individualistic claims throughout the thesis.

#### **4.2.1. The Sample Group: Post-Soviet ‘servants of tourism’**

The sample group of the study, which is addressed as post-Soviet ‘servants of tourism’, consists of women from various Former Soviet Union countries, such as Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldavia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, who are either employed as low-paid service laborers in tourism industry in Antalya or who were once engaged in such a job but gave up after marriage. The sample size of the respondents who have completed the questionnaire is 50, and the 25 respondents of the in-depth interviews are also included in this number.

I have reached the sample group through *snowball sampling method*. Having known the first respondent long before the study, I have asked her to identify her friends or other women she knows. She, then, informed them about my research and asked for participation. I have repeated the same procedure for the other respondents and with this technique I have reached considerable number of women who compose my sample group. I have also taken the assistance of *Association of Culture and Solidarity among Foreigners in Antalya* and they directed me to the women who are also members of the club. Depending on the information I have gained from the association, my own observations and the age, nationality and work type distribution of the sample group, the sample is close to represent the actual group of post-Soviet ‘servants of tourism’ in Antalya.

While all of the respondents have first entered Turkey with tourist visas for different purposes, either to travel or to work, almost all of them have experienced illegal status in Turkey when their visas have expired. However at the time of the interview, almost all of them were holding residence permits through marriages. Some of these marriages were fake, paper-based marriages, but others were real. Among the respondents, there are women working as shop assistants, sales assistants, masseurs, tourist guides and entertainers, there are self-employed women as well, who are running their own business. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents will be given in detail in the following section of the chapter. Before this, I will introduce the location of the field study, Antalya, which has begun to be called ‘little Moscow’, due to the rapid increase in the number of Russian-speaking individuals around the city, in the last decade.

#### **4.2.2. Antalya: A province of residence among post-Soviet women**

Antalya is a province on the Mediterranean coast of Southwestern Turkey and it is the major gateway to the Turkish Riviera<sup>7</sup> which is the most popular site for the summer tourism in Turkey. A quick tour around the Antalya province is enough to figure out how the economic, social and cultural relations are established and embedded in the tourism and entertainment industry. It is not a coincidence that in most of the big shopping centers or tiny sweetshops a Russian-speaking woman welcomes the tourist and makes a great effort to sell something to him or her. In the huge resorts settled all along the Mediterranean or in the hotels of any size it is easy to meet a foreign woman serving the tourist, cleaning the room, serving the

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<sup>7</sup> The *Turkish Riviera* (also known as "The Turquoise Coast") is a popular term used to define an area of southwest Turkey encompassing Antalya, Muğla and to a lesser extent Aydın and İzmir provinces. The combination of a favorable climate, warm sea, and abundant natural and archeological points of interest makes this stretch of Turkey's coastline a popular tourist destination. (Source: [www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org) )



food, giving information or entertaining the tourist. In 1990s, soon after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the province of Antalya became the host of a vast number of people from the former Soviet Union who are either temporary visitors or migrant laborers. After a while the Russian speaking population has begun to be highly visible in the city and its districts, even the media has entitled Antalya as “Little Moscow” since that period. As a consequence of the tourist boom in 1990s, tourism became the most important source of development in the city. The quality and the quantity of the touristic services have increased and a labor demand has occurred respectively, especially a demand for Russian-speaking labor. Women from the many countries of the former Soviet Bloc have eventually responded the call of the emerging labor market in Antalya and they moved to Turkey in mass numbers, most of them started to work as informal laborers afterwards, or they got married with Turkish<sup>8</sup> men in order to acquire a legal status in Turkey. Even though the exact number of post-Soviet women working in Antalya is unknown due to their informal status as laborers, as most of them do not hold work permits, the official numbers of post-Soviet individuals living in Antalya with residence permits allows us to guess the intensity of post-Soviet women living and working there. According to the data I have gathered from the *Association of Culture and Solidarity among Foreigners in Antalya*, thereafter ACSFA, official statistics reveal that 13 thousand people from FSU countries are living in Antalya, but it is estimated that the actual number is around 15 thousand. Besides, the number of post-Soviet women married with Turkish men in Antalya is 10 thousand and 800 according to the assumptions of ACSFA. These numbers,

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<sup>8</sup> I use ‘Turkish’ men, here, for those individuals who are citizens of Turkey, not as an ethnic identity. Because the marriage of post-Soviet women with Kurdish men is also widespread, as a considerable number of Kurdish people are living in Antalya and working in tourism or construction sector.

the media reports and the researcher's observations indicate that over 10 thousand women are working in Antalya, in the service sector, and the majority of them in tourism industry.

Given the statistical data about the number of post-Soviet women and a brief presentation of the province of Antalya as a center of tourism in Turkey, we can claim that Antalya, the city and its districts such as Alanya and Kemer, is the major site of residence for post-Soviet women working in tourism. Thus, the main purpose of choosing Antalya as the field location for this study is the high number of post-Soviet women who are active in the tourism oriented labor market. Secondly, being a center of summer tourism, the economic, social and cultural conjuncture of Antalya which influences the experiences of these women is different from that of İstanbul, which hosts a great amount of post-Soviet women and therefore is chosen as the field location in most of the empirical works considering these women. İstanbul, is the center of cultural tourism in Turkey, and every year millions of tourists visit the city, so the tourism oriented economic activities surrounding the city is highly varied and a major support of the national economy. By emphasizing the economic, social and cultural relations around the province of Antalya, this study also tries to construct the bases for further comparative studies.

#### **4.3. Demographics of the post-Soviet 'Servants of Tourism'**

The previous section has briefly introduced the respondents of the qualitative part of the research whose migration processes and experiences will be discussed in detail throughout the chapter. This section presents the quantitative findings of the study through an analysis of the data gathered from the survey conducted to 50

post-Soviet women working in tourism. The major aim of this section is to describe the demographic characteristics of the survey respondents in terms of their age, marital status, number of children, the country of origin, rural-urban background, education level, socio-economic status, their occupational background and if married the nationality of their husband. Thus, through the analysis of the demographic data, the section aims to make generalizations about the aforementioned migrant community in Antalya.

*Country of Origin:* Antalya hosts women from various FSU countries, such as Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldavia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Georgia, and Turkmenistan who have different ethnic backgrounds. According to the official estimates gathered from the residence permits issued, the majority of these women are Russian. Although the official statistics do not capture the actual distribution of women living in Antalya, as a considerable number of post-Soviet women are working informally, however the ACSFA estimates that the majority of post-Soviets are from Russian origin. The second majority among post-Soviets in Antalya are estimated to be the Ukrainians. Also these estimates coincide with the composition of the sample group as illustrated in Figure 4.1.

**Figure 4.1. Percentage of the Nationality of Respondents**

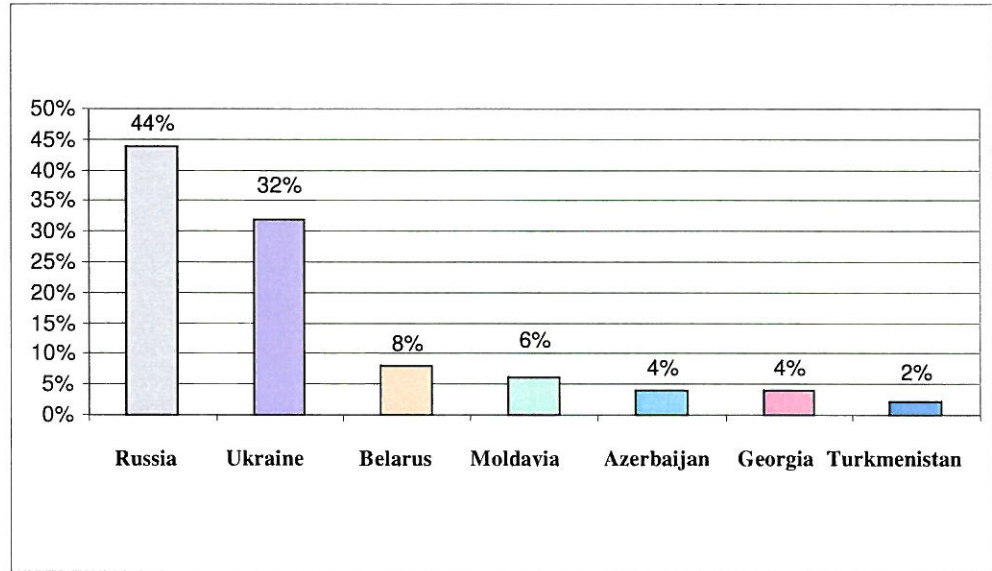
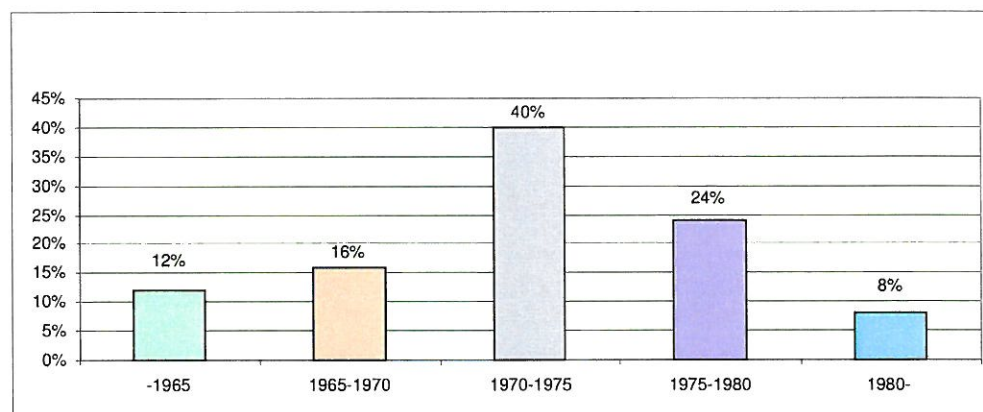


Figure 4.1 illustrates that Russian women constitute 44 percent of the sample group in the survey sample. Women from Ukraine follow the Russians with 36 percent. The third majority is Belarusian women with 8 percent. An important point to mention is that Moldavian women do not have a considerable share in the sample group. So, we can claim that Moldavian women, who are living in considerable numbers in İstanbul, do not exist in Antalya at the same rate partly because they are usually employed in domestic services rather than tourism sector. One of the Moldavian respondents of the study, Valeria, verifies this claim as she stated that when she was in İstanbul she was working as a domestic laborer, then she moved to southern provinces, initially Marmaris then Antalya, and started to work in service sector in tourism.

*Age:* As the age distribution in Figure 5.2 suggests, there are both young and older women among those who completed the survey. Usually, for those women over 43, their present work is not the initial work they held in Turkey. During my interviews with two of the women who were in their late 40s, they

reported that they moved to Turkey long before they came to Antalya and both of them reported that they engaged in care work in the early years of their migration, and then they chose to live in Antalya because of the warm weather and ease of life in Kemer.

**Figure 4.2. Distribution of Respondents into Five Age Cluster**

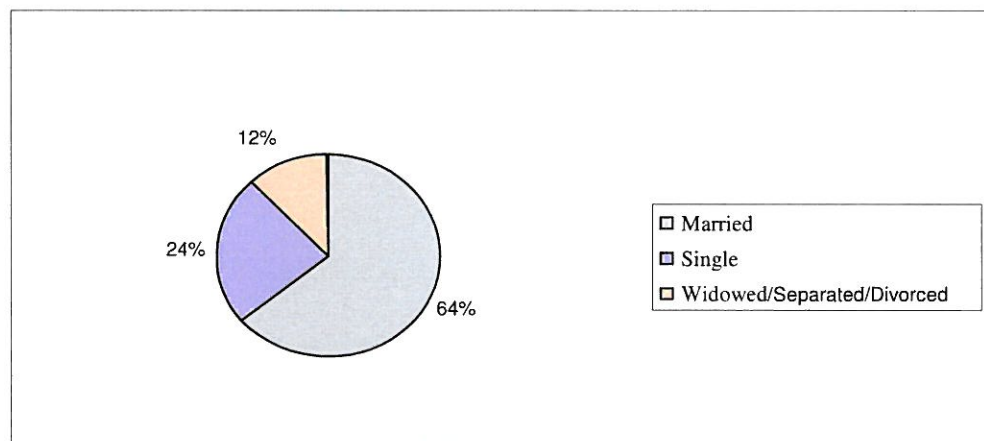


However, as Figure 4.2 illustrates, the majority of the women who contributed the study are in their late or early 30s. Also the data gathered from the survey indicate that these women in their 30s are the majority among women who got married with a Turkish man and have children. Therefore, they are the most settled ones among all the post-Soviet women in Antalya. On the other hand, the data indicate that women in their 20s generally have informal status in Turkey, without residence or work permits. The oldest women, however, have legal status, which they have gained through fake marriages long before.

**Marital Status:** The increasing number of citizenship obtained through marriages among post-Soviet women in Turkey is evident from the official statistics of the Ministry of Interior, as stated in the thesis before. Post-Soviet servants of tourism in Antalya are not an exception to this pattern. During my interview with the founder of the *Association*, Irina Okay, she reported that there

are 10 thousand 800 women married with Turkish men in Antalya, and this number tends to increase. Also, according to the information she gave, the tendency is that the fake marriages with Turkish men to gain official status are decreasing and more and more couples are making real marriages in Antalya. As the table below illustrates, the majority of respondents are married, and almost all of these marriages, except that of one respondent, are with Turkish men.

**Figure 4.3. Marital Status of Respondents**

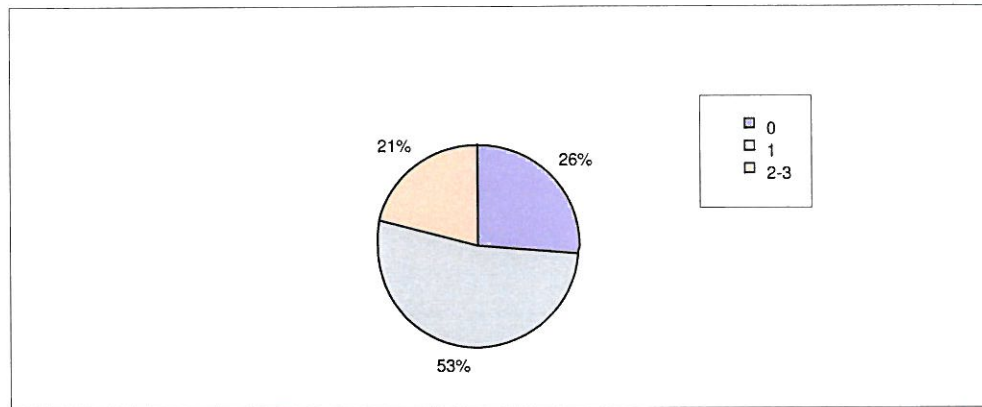


An important point to mention regarding these numbers is that, the tendency for longer stays, that Erder and Kaşka (2003) mentions for post-Soviet women in general is highly explicit in the Antalya case. Mixed marriages are the basic indicator of this tendency, as women tend to settle in Antalya for longer periods, intentionally or unintentionally mixed marriages increase in quantity.

**Number of Children:** The data gathered throughout this study verifies that the total number of children with Turkish-Russian origin is increasing in Antalya as a result of the mixed marriages. According to the data gathered from the Association, there are about 4 thousand children of Turkish-Russian origin in Antalya who are speaking both Turkish and Russian languages. As the below table illustrates, the majority of women in the sample group have children, and by

relying on the qualitative data it can be argued that the majority of these children have Turkish-Russian origin. Among the respondents of the qualitative study, just 4 women had children having nationalities of the women's home countries. The rest of the children had Turkish fathers.

**Figure 4.4.Children of Married and Widowed/Separated/Divorced Women**

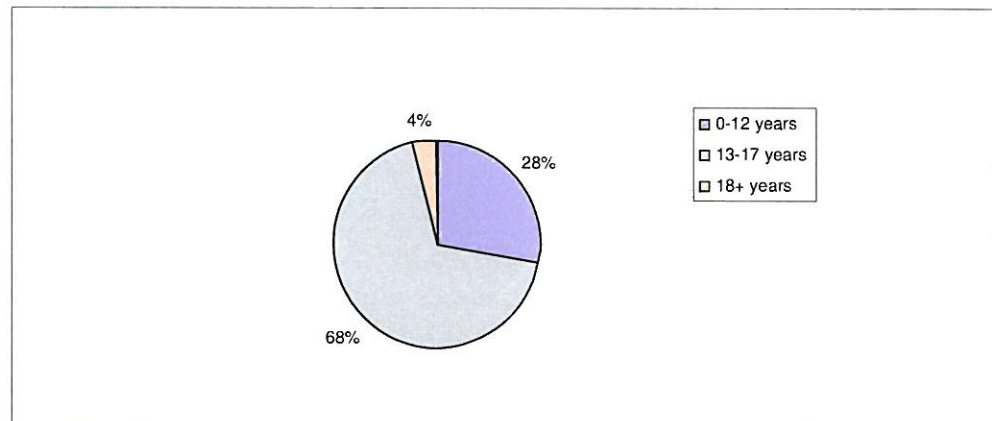


The figure demonstrates that the majority of women had only one child. Considering that most of the women are working in a paid-work, the care of the children is a big problem for these women. Most of them do not have a family member living with them to take care of the children and women do not prefer to pay for the nursery schools in Turkey. I have met many women who bring their children at work rather than giving them to a nursery. The tendency to have one child may be related with the care problem of these children.

**Education Level:** The great majority of women in the sample group of the study are university graduates. There are women who have degrees in Business Administration, Economics, Accounting, Law, Psychology, History, Nursing, Veterinary Medicine, Food Engineering and Civil Engineering. Most of the women had worked in their occupations before they moved to Turkey. According to the qualitative data I have gathered, women working in private institutions were earning much more than those working in the state sector. The most important

point regarding their education is that they are unable to make use of their educational background in Turkey. They are unable to build a career on their own occupations in Turkey. During the interviews, some of the women indicated that they are trying to concert their diplomas in order to make them valid in Turkey.

**Figure 4.5. The Education Level of Women in Number of Years**



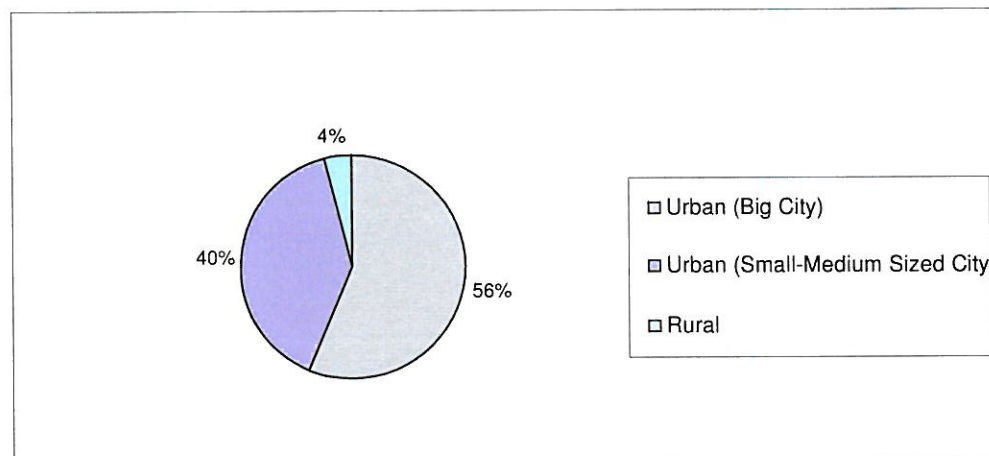
According to the interviews, the higher education of women gives them an opportunity to differentiate themselves from other post-Soviet women who migrate to Turkey in order to do whatever job they find. Although they indicate the economic hardships they have experienced in their countries of origin, they say that earning money is not the sole determinant of their migration. By that way they try to distance themselves from the women who engage domestic work or sex work in Turkey only to make money. Another important point is that the education level of women which is usually higher than their Turkish husbands sometimes creates problems. Women repeat that it is important to find a man who is at the same 'level' with them in order to keep the marriage for long years.

**Rural-Urban Background:** Studies conducted about Moldavian female migrants in Turkey have shown that the majority of these women have moved Turkey from rural regions of the country (Kaşka, 2006; Eder, 2007; Keough, 2006). This study has revealed a reverse pattern regarding the background of



women from various FSU states. The great majority of women in the sample group have migrated Turkey from urban areas. Most of them told that they come from big cities such as Moscow, Kiev, Minsk City, and the second majority has come from small or medium sized cities. This finding may lead us to two assumptions about these women. First, women from big cities may not prefer to work in domestic services, and therefore choose tourism industry for employment. Secondly, it may be possible that so-called women have first visited Turkey as tourists, and after they realized the employment opportunities or marriage prospects, they decided to migrate.

**Figure 4.6. Rural-Urban Background of Respondents**

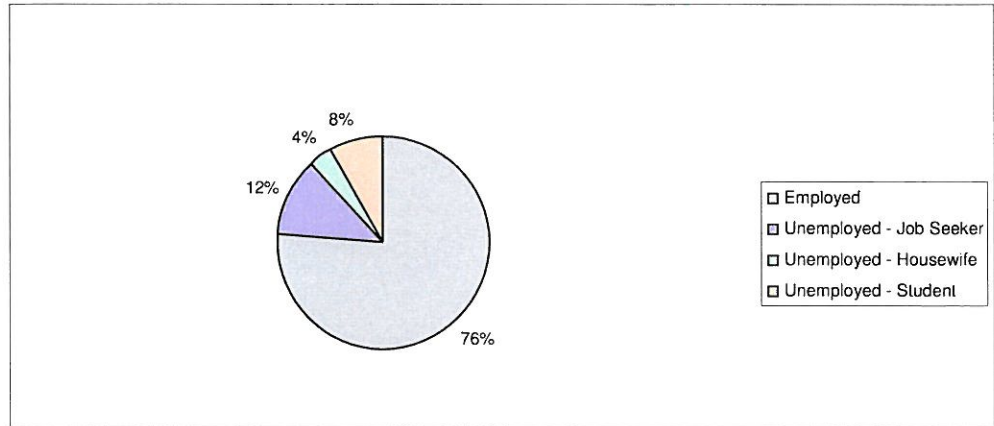


**Occupational Histories:** The majority of women in the sample group were employed in various sectors in their home countries. Their jobs were generally related to their undergraduate fields at the university, but there are women who were working in unrelated fields, as well. Their earnings differ according to the sector of the company they work for. In general, women working in private companies reported higher earnings than women who are working in state sector jobs. For instance a respondent of the study, who was a History graduate, stated

that she was earning \$600 in 2003 as an Assistant of the Director of a TV company in Belarus. Another woman reported that she was an accountant in the Police Department and earning \$50 a month. Also, a woman who was an English Teacher at a private school reported \$200 monthly income in 1995. It is obvious that there is a big discrepancy among the monthly earnings of women, which usually stems from their years of experience in these jobs and also the sector and activity of the companies they work for. However, what is common among the women in the sample group is that they were not in severe poverty when they migrated to Turkey. This argument is also repeated by them in many cases. Yet, for women who migrated to Turkey in order to work, the primary objective was to increase their economic opportunities and gain their economic independence. The majority of them have reported that they were in need of money, but they were selective about their works in Turkey and they stated that working in tourism is easier than working in other jobs.

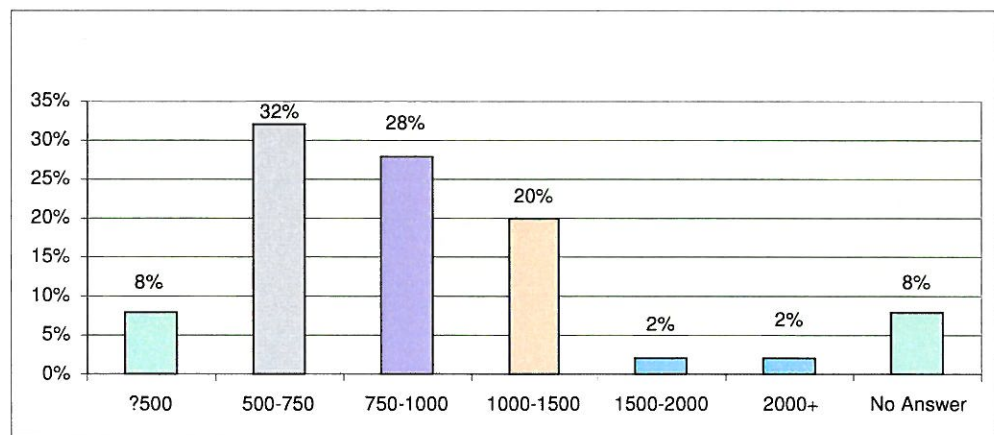
In the questionnaire all of the women reported their earnings in US dollars although it was not asked that way. I argue that, by using an international currency to report their earnings, women tend to situate their economic conditions within the global economy, so that people make fair judgments about the reasons for their migration.

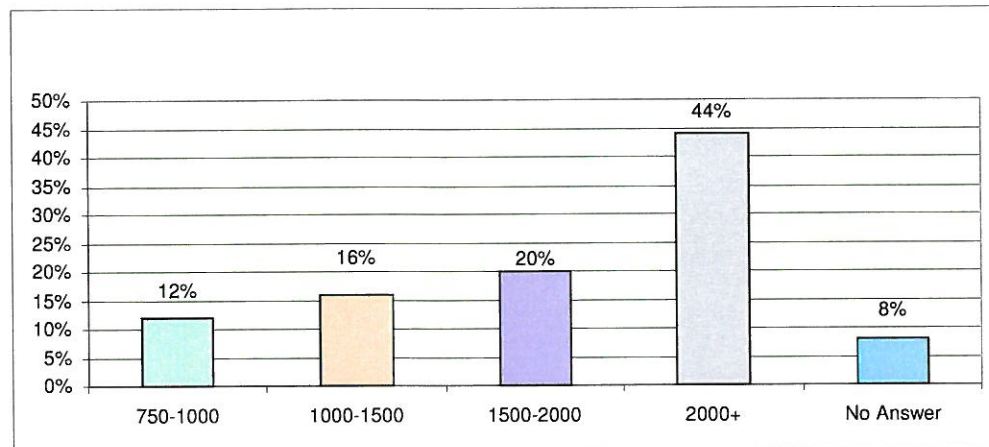
**Figure 4.7. : Employment Status of Women in the Home Country**



**Average Monthly Income:** Regarding the average monthly income of the women, the majority of them earn between 500-1000 YTL. Majority of the married women reported that their monthly household income is more than 2000 YTL. This supports the argument that women are not the primary earners of the household within their families they formed in Turkey, but they are supporting the household income in a considerable degree.

**Figure 4.8. The Average Individual and Household Level Incomes**





It is also important to mention that due to the nature of the tourism industry, people working in the tourism sector usually earn much more than their regular monthly salaries. For instance, women who are working as sales assistants in shops or shopping centers earn bonus according to the amount of goods they sell to the customers. The bonus system constitutes a considerable part of the income of women. However it is necessary to mention that women experience a lot of problems in getting their salaries or bonuses in time. The profit of the employers is generally related to the number of tourists who visit the city and who save some amount of money for shopping from Antalya. In the last years, most of the entrepreneurs who make money by selling items or services to the tourists are complaining about the reluctance of tourists to buy things from the shops or centers around the city. One of the employers I have interviewed, who is the owner of a jeweler center in Antalya relates this situation to the all-inclusive hotels mushroomed in Antalya in the last couple of years:

Tourists pay so little for their holiday in Turkey, they come here close to free and they do not bring money with them. They stay in the all-inclusive hotels all day and do not go out for shopping. It was not like this before. Tourists were walking around in the evenings and they were shopping. Also the quality of tourists has changed. In the past wealthy Russians were visiting here, but then the hotels became cheaper and poorer tourists have begun to come.

When the business of the employers goes down, the ‘servants’ of tourism are heavily influenced from that. Most of the time, they can not get their salaries or bonus earnings regularly. One of the women I have interviewed was highly uncomfortable with this situation:

The boss, for instance, does not pay us for long months. Then, when people get exhausted with this situation, he gives a total amount of money which is usually the half or less of the cumulative amount that he has to pay. So, workers are always cheated by the employers.  
Emma (34)

#### **4.4. Reasons behind the Migration of post-Soviet ‘Servants’**

In the existing literature on international migration of women, the most cited reason behind their move is the economic need that disproportionately affects women in times of economic restructuring (Anthias & Lazaridis, 2000, Phizacklea 1998). This emphasis on the need of women to access new economic opportunities is also evident in the literature on the migration of Post-Soviet women to Turkey as the basic determinant of their migration (Yukseker (2000), Keough (2003), Eder (2007), Gülçür and İlkaracan (2002), Erder and Kaşka (2003). Besides the pure economic determinants of women’s migration, there are other factors that lead to their migration, such as family unification, to escape from gender-based discrimination and oppression, to have a multicultural experience, or to live a better life.

In the case of post-Soviet ‘servants of tourism’ in Antalya, the reasons for their migration vary. Women who site the access to economic opportunities as the primary reason of their migration, site additional several factors for choosing Turkey as a destination and also factors which influence their further stay particularly in the Antalya region. In this part of the chapter, I try to evaluate the

reasons of the migration of post-Soviet ‘servants’ through questions of *why did they move?* and *why did they move to Turkey, or in particular Antalya?*.

#### **4.4.1. Why did they move?**

As it appears in most of the studies, the major reason behind the migration of most of the women in the focus group of the study is economic. Women leave their countries of origin, in order to work and earn money either to look after their family or for their own economic independence. Thus, I argue that migration of post-Soviet women may be a household strategy for survival, or it may be an individual decision for economic independence and better economic opportunities. The most repeated reason for moving to Turkey is ‘earning more money’.

The most important thing for us here is ‘to earn money’. We do not consider what type of work we are doing. We can do everything. Being a salesperson [tezgahtar] is a bit difficult but you can not earn that much in anywhere else. Lada (34)

Women cite the deteriorating economic conditions and economic crises after the collapse of socialism are the major factors for leaving their countries for economic gains. Alina (34) is a Ukrainian woman who came Turkey in 1998 and started to work as a tourist agent in Kemer. After graduating from the university in Ukraine, she worked there as a history teacher for two years. Then, a friend of her was working in Kemer found her a job and called her to come and work there and she moved to Turkey:

The economic situation in our country was very bad. I was working in a state school and the wages were very low. I was earning 70 dollars, there. Here, my wage was 400 dollars, we were also taking bonus and I was earning 800-900 dollars in a month. This was a very big amount for Ukraine. I had no other chance at that time. Alina (34)

Yana (34) had never visited Turkey before she migrated to work contrary to the women who had come Turkey as a tourist and find their work during this visit. She says that “My family is not wealthy. We had no chance to have a holiday here [Antalya], at that time. Mariya told me everything about here. Then, I decided to come, I decided to earn some money and go back.” However, Yana did not return to Ukraine, she fell in love, got married with a Turkish man and stayed. Vera (31) a Russian woman from Moscow, has also stated that she migrated to Turkey to gain economic opportunities and have a better living standard. Unlike Alina, she once visited Turkey as a tourist for two weeks and during this period she found her work and decided to move. It is important to note that, in either cases women got assistance of their friends working in Turkey for getting information and finding their work. The importance of social networks in the migration decision and experiences of women will be discussed in detail further in the chapter.

Unlike Alina (34) and Vera (31), who were single women migrated to increase their own economic opportunities, migration of women to Turkey is, in other cases, a household strategy to escape poverty. In the cases where the migration of women is more advantageous or necessary, they migrate alone, most of the time leaving their children to other family members. Valeriya (47) is a Moldavian woman who is divorced from her Moldavian husband and made a fake marriage with a Turkish man in order to get a Turkish citizenship. At the time of the interview she was working as a masseur in a hotel, but she told me her story which had begun with shuttle trade between Laleli and Moldavia and continued as a domestic worker in Istanbul, then in various jobs in the tourism sector among the Mediterranean towns. The story of Valeriya, who has three children, reveals that her migration to Turkey has appeared as a household strategy for survival at

first. During the interview, she was desperately telling the economic conditions of her family and everything they 'lost' during the post socialist restructuring and this story seemed to be a valuable source that legitimizes her migration.

I was a teacher and my husband was, too. We had three children. We were living in a dream when we were young. I was earning 1400 dollars with today's amount. My husband was earning the same amount and we had had our own house. When you get pregnant, the state was paying you for three years and you were not working. I had raised my children very well, than they went to the nursery. It was free. The state was doing everything for its children. They were giving gifts in New Year's Day. Health care was free as well. But in 90s the economic conditions deteriorated. The banks went bankrupt, the state did not give any penny to the people and still they did not. So, everybody left for Italy, Turkey and other European countries. We, the Gagauz people, are so hard working. Nobody stayed at home. Valeriya (47)

#### **4.4.2 Why did they move to Turkey?**

Women report the access to economic opportunities outside their home country as the primary reason for their migration. When they are asked, why they chose Turkey as a destination, but not other countries, such as the European countries where they can gain more economic advantages compared to Turkey, they state different reasons regarding the entry process to Turkey, the climate, their existing friendship networks or existing business networks in Turkey.

For some women, Turkey is not the best choice of destination, but the ease of entry and informal stay compared to the European countries lead them to move to Turkey. Ulyana (55), a Ukrainian woman who was working as a masseur in a hotel at the time of the interview is an example of these women who moved to Turkey because they were unable to reach the European countries.

I did not think about coming to Turkey at first. I wanted to go to Europe. But Europe did not give me a visa. They rejected me five times. My cousin is living in the United States. They sent me documents for application, but the U.S. also did not give a visa. They



look at me, I am old, my economic condition is quite bad and they think that I am running away. Ulyana (55)

Antalya, being a province settled along the Mediterranean shore, having warm and sunny weather almost all the year, attracts the attention of especially people from the Former Soviet Union countries whose climate is dark, cold and moody in most of the time of the year. Therefore, Antalya is not only an important destination for post-Soviet tourists, but also for the post-Soviet women who come Turkey in order to work. Especially for those women, who visited Turkey as a tourist before, Antalya became a favorable migration destination. Vera (31) first visited Antalya as a tourist then she decided to live and work there and she states that the good weather is an important factor for coming to Turkey.

The sun, the weather here is beautiful. It is like a heaven in here. I feel different in here. The Russians are cold people, but here people are warm they always smile. Vera (31)

Olga (31), a Russian-Armenian woman who is working as a salesperson in one of the big jeweler centers of Antalya, reports her primary reason of moving to Turkey as economic, but she also states that the Turkish culture is close to her own by underlining her Armenian ties from her mother's side.

I stayed in Germany for six months. People are cold and distant there. It was the same with my own country. Here, the customs, the eating habits, the music are closer to ours. Especially, I like Antalya very much. I did not like Istanbul that much. Olga (31)

Friendship networks are also important factors for women choosing Turkey as a destination. If women have friends who are living and working in Turkey, they feel much more confident in moving. Lada (34) and Eva (31) are siblings and they reported that they moved Antalya together as one of their friends recommended.

One day, we met a friend who was working in Kemer. She told us that there are Russian tourists in Kemer and that is why they [the employers] are in need of Russian-speaking salesperson. So, we came here and a friend of mine found me a job in a jeweler, I started to work immediately. Eva (31)

Sometimes, apart from the economic incentives, women migrate for family unification. In these cases the questions of why they move and why to Turkey has one answer which is marriage. Women usually get married after they come and start to work in Turkey or they meet their husband during their visit Turkey as a tourist. These marriages are of course, the result of intimate relations between the couple who decide to live together and share a life. Otherwise, the arranged marriages have the purpose of getting the residence permit and Turkish citizenship of the woman.

The women, who get married with a Turkish man, after an intimate relation, state that they live in Turkey just because of their husbands. Otherwise, they state that their decision was returning home after saving some amount of money, or for those who came for holiday, staying in Turkey was not an option if they did not meet their husbands.

I did not come to Turkey for economic reasons. My father was a deputy prime minister, he passed away last year. My mother is now vice chancellor at the university. I was visiting Turkey as a tourist every year with my aunt or friends. One year I came alone and met my husband. In fact, I did not choose Turkey. I chose my husband. Darya (34)

For those women, who migrated to Turkey for economic purposes, in order to work there, getting married means more than intimacy. Women see their husbands or their boyfriends as a guarantee of their lives which is evident from the fact that they call their husbands or boyfriends “care-taker” [bakıcı]. In these

cases, the boundaries between the purpose of having access to economic opportunities and the purpose of having a good marriage and family life blur.

I earn well enough but it is not enough for here, because there is too much expenditure. Fortunately, I have a care-taker [bakıcı], my boyfriend. Lada (34)

Yana, a Ukrainian woman married with a Turkish man says that her husband is good care-taker:

My husband really takes care of his family. He goes to the market, he pays the bills. We do not have such thing in Ukraine. Here men take care of the family well. Alina (34)

As the examples in the case of post-Soviet 'servants of tourism' indicate, women migrate to Turkey in order to have more economic opportunities and better living standards. The existence of a demand of their labor within the tourism economy of Antalya is an important factor for coming to Turkey. However, most of the women, with some exceptions, do not make a rational calculation regarding the economic advantages and disadvantages of their migration to Turkey, as the rational actor model in explaining migrations suggest. Women decide to move to Turkey as they learn about the experiences of their friends in there or by depending on their constructed networks during their short stays. Women are aware of the fact that the visa regulations of Turkey are more tolerant to their informal stay for some period, and the employers do not consider their informality as a problem.

Considering the findings of this part of the thesis, I argue that women leave their home countries for economic incentives, to earn more money than they could earn at home. The impact of economic restructuring in the post-Soviet states influence their living standards and career prospects negatively, also the collapse

of the Soviet state gave these women an opportunity to consider another way of living abroad by giving them a right of free movement.

These women are not living in absolute poverty, thus their decision to migrate is more an individual strategy for better economic opportunities and living standards than a household strategy to escape poverty. They consider their networks, the type of work they engage in the host country and the way of living when they give the migration decision. Therefore, their migration can not be explained just by economic determinants.

#### **4.5. Migration Experiences of Post-Soviet “Servants of tourism”**

Migration of women is a multifaceted experience, which is characterized simultaneously in many cases by liberation, discrimination and exploitation. In most of the cases the only employment opportunity for migrant women appears as informal labor, whether it is in tourism or other service economies. Although women’s paid labor is considered as a guarantee of improvement in their status and a means for liberation and empowerment, their undocumented status leads to many forms of exploitation depending on their labor type and work environment (Boyd, 2006). In addition, migrant women are subject to many forms of discrimination, which are gender, class or ethnicity/nationality based in the countries of destination. The existing literature on migrant women tackles with the question of whether women benefit from their migration or they become victims of it, and in number of studies two contradictory arguments have been presented, the ones which argue that women are passive victims of migration or the others which suggest that women are agents of change, empowered and liberated within the experience of migration. In this part of the chapter, regarding my own

empirical investigations, I argue that women are aware of their many forms of vulnerabilities due to their migrant status, but they resist collectively or individually, rather than take their situation for granted. This resistance, rather than adopting the norms and values of the host society, forms the basis for their potential agency in change. That is evident from their emphasis on paid employment which they see as a guarantee and a means for the improvement of their social status in the host society and a means for equal gender relations. All migrant women reported in my study that they never give up their paid employment, which is an indicator of their willingness to control their economic independence and by the way, improve their status in the society and the household.

Likewise, migrant women are willing to be active agents who control their own migration and their life experience in the host country. They are forming solidarity networks, and adopting strategies to integrate the host community by keeping their own values and their freedom of choice intact. Through all these attempts, important facets of gender relations may be modified through their agency, although gender asymmetries remain. Thus, migrant women are important agents in changing relations of gender, and also other asymmetries of power such as race and class, but, at the same time, these hierarchies of power remain to be a determinant of the ways they experience migration. In the following parts, I discuss the ways women may be regarded more as agents, rather than victims of migration through an analysis of their experiences in the host country.

#### **4.5.1. Experiences of Work, Family and Kinship**

The existing literature on gender and international migration concentrates on migrant women who migrated alone and left their families behind, or the migrant family in which women migrate together with the husband and children or rejoined the husband after a time. The discussions within this literature revolve around the argument that whether women gain power and autonomy within the migrant household or her subordinate status perpetuates. In this case study, a different group of women is evaluated. The majority of women in the case study are those who have migrated to Turkey alone and formed a family by marrying with a Turkish man. In this case, the important point to evaluate is that in what ways women perpetuate the existing gender roles in their home country and in what ways the gender relations are transformed within their newly formed families.

As I have stated elsewhere, almost all of my respondents have acquired Turkish citizenship through marriage, and the majority are living in a household with their husbands and children or with their boyfriends. Just few of my informants were living alone or with a home mate. This section of the chapter, generally, aims to understand the gender and generation relations within the household, and kinship relations among the women, their own family and their family in-law.

First of all, most of the women I have interviewed emphasized that their relations with their husbands are more egalitarian compared to the Turkish households. By emphasizing their Soviet past, they mention that women work hard in their countries of origin and they contribute the household economy while they do the household tasks and childbearing at the same time. On the other side,

they report that Turkish women do not work at home and become dependants. Post-Soviet women said that they have greater autonomy and independence compared to their Turkish counterparts and they reported that they are open to change and opportunities compared to the men in their home countries.

Turkish women do not like working hard. When they get married they make a child and take care of the child. They know that the men will take care of them. In Russia, nobody takes care of us. We were all working. We are doing many things together. We cook, do the housework, take care of the children and also we work. Lada (34)

In my country women are very hardworking, men are lazy. They do not want to change anything. There was an economic crisis and they all started to drink alcohol. Women continued working, they did not stop. Women do not fear from anything. They look for other opportunities. For instance, those who came here saw that there is a demand to them in here and they came. Alina (34)

Regarding the women's work in post-Soviet states, I asked one of my respondents whether she agrees that lots of women returned home either because they lost their jobs or they needed to take care of children when the childcare benefits disappeared. She believes that the reverse had happened and women continued working. In fact, what Darya (34) argues as women continued working, is consistent with the existing literature which suggests that women turned into secondary job markets or migrated abroad in order to work after they were marginalized in the primary labor market.

Researcher: Do you agree that women returned home during the transition?

Darya: Conversely, men returned home. They said 'there is no work to us' or 'there is no work for us'. Women are working, women are doing everything. They take risks. They left their children to work. Because either the children do not have fathers or the fathers are not working. Moldavian women, for instance, are the worst. They all left their families to work.

It appears that working and earning money is post-Soviet women's basic source to define the boundaries of their independence and gives them autonomy to organize the relations in the family such as the household division of labor, the place to live, and other gender and generational relations. Therefore, women insist on working in a paid work outside home, not only to contribute the household budget but to gain power and autonomy within the household. For instance, one of my respondents recorded that she got divorced from her husband who did not support her to work:

Women always work, take care of children and the house together. In the Soviet time, 100% of women were working. Here, the mentality is different. When women get married, they do not work. They become economically dependent to the husband. When I got married, I wanted to work. They detained me for one year. I understood that we are in different levels, than I divorced. Emma (34)

Regarding the gender based division of labor in the household, women reported that the housework and childcare are women's tasks both in their home country and in Turkey, but they emphasized that division of labor is more flexible in their home countries, and household tasks are done according to availability. One of my informants, Vera, says, "Men do not say 'bring my tea' to the women, they go and take on their own". Also, women report that, the household division of labor is based on reciprocity between the couples and men usually help the women in household tasks. Thus, women do not experience work and family conflict severely, partly because of the flexibility of the daily life in Antalya in tourism season which is the only time women work, and partly because of the reciprocal relations between the couples as Yana mentions:

I am an independent woman. If I am working, nobody calls me to come home early. For example, if I worked too much this week, he



does the housework in Sundays and I go out with my friends. Rada (32)

My husband helps me every time. He cleans the house, he does the ironing. He can not sit and ask for service. Rada (32)

The relations of the women with the wider kin group differ according to the background of the families. For instance, one of my respondents reported that she experienced conflict with her husband's family:

When we were in Istanbul, we were living with my husband's family. I had really experienced difficulty. They were behaving me badly. That is why I wanted to move here [Antalya]. I thought that it will be better when we live separately. Anna (37)

Contrary to that example, another respondent pointed out that her husband's family is a migrant family and therefore they are able to understand what she experiences as a foreign woman in Turkey. However she reports disagreement between the family and herself about issues regarding their child:

My husband's family had come from Germany. So they know how difficult is to live in a foreign country. We do not have any conflict, but they wonder about the child. They ask what will be his religion. I say them that he is a Muslim right now, but he may choose his religion when he grows up. Larisa (41)

In general, women do not experience conflict with their families in law, and they report that their relations with their husbands' families are smooth and peaceful. At the same time, women have regular contacts with their own families who are usually residing in their home countries. They report that they go to see their families once or twice in a year, and also the family members visit them. One of my respondents, Olga, is living with her family, her mother, father and sister in Turkey. She reported that after she made a marriage, which is a fake marriage, she was able to bring her family to Turkey. Also, two of my respondents, Darya and Yana said that their mothers visit them frequently in order

to look after their children. When I asked the women how their families responded their migration to Turkey, almost all of the women reported that they did not experience any resistance from their families. Vera, for instance, stated that her mother was worried about her migration at first:

My mother was surprised when I got married in Turkey. She said that I am encountering a different culture, and it will be difficult for me.  
Vera (31)

### ***Women and Motherhood***

The relations of post-Soviet migrant women with their children is in general depends on the 'distant' between them. Relying on the existing literature on 'mobile mothers' and on the interviews conducted within this study, I identify women as those who live together with their children or who live apart. In this case study, I have met women who live apart from their children due to the changing conditions, usually the conditions of their marriage, during the migration process. Nina is one of those women whose 13 year old son is living with her grandmother in her country of origin, Belarus. Her son is from her Turkish ex-husband and after they got divorced Nina and her son returned to Belarus. However, after some time, Nina moved to Turkey again as she was in economic need and left her son to her mother:

When I was divorced from my husband I returned Belarus because I had not enough money left. I started to work there, but we were in economic hardship and I moved back to Turkey to work a bit, save money and return. I was unable to bring my child with me because I couldn't afford, so I left him to my mother. Then, I met with my current boyfriend and decided to stay here. I am thinking about bringing my son, but here the schools are very expensive, we can not afford it right now. Nina (34)

Women usually legitimize their distant between their children and themselves by putting their migration as a 'sacrifice' to sustain the economic

needs of their children. As this was the case in Keough's (2003) Moldavian mobile mothers, during the interview Nina also cited such a consideration. She reported that she feels herself guilty for being apart from her son, but she underlined that she left her son in order to save money and guarantee his future. Anyway the distant relation between them and the fact that motherhood is not her everyday practice, she says 'I sometimes feel that I do not have a child, because I do not take care of him for a long time. I am not a good mother, though'.

Yana is a Ukrainian woman who has a daughter at the age of 9 from her marriage with a Ukrainian man. She is also living with her grandmother. When she was asked whether she thought about bringing her daughter, she said that her daughter wanted to go to school there and she adds that the schools give better education in Ukraine. In some other cases, women also use the 'education' discourse in order to legitimate their separateness from their children. I argue that distant mothers feel uncomfortable with being unable to carry on a traditional gender role assigned to them and try to legitimate this situation through discourses of economic needs and personal choices of children.

The case of women having Turkish-Russian origin is more complex than the 'distant' mothers. Post-Soviet migrant women have generally a tendency of ensuring that their children maintains some degree of continuity with the culture, norms and values of the mother's society of origin while at the same time embarking in a process of adaptation to the host society. Women usually remain in-between continuity of their own culture and values in their children and providing the bases for the child's adaptation to Turkish culture, norms and values for his/her smooth integration. Women may think that if the child is going to live

in Turkey, he/she needs to integrate the society and gain a sense of belonging to the country he/she lives in, as Darya cited considering the identity of her children:

Here there are people who were raised in Germany. They are stateless. They are neither Turks nor Germans. I do not want that my children fall into that situation. My children should have just one country [vatan]. Darya (34)

The most important area of concern for women attempting to construct the identity of their children is the education of children. As Irina Okay cited in the interview, there are 4 thousand children of Turkish-Russian origin in Antalya and their education is the most problematic area to tackle. Women generally wish that their children are able to take a formal education in their countries of origin, but when they consider the integration side of the coin, and other issues such as being close to the children and raising the children together with the husband, they usually determine that the children take Turkish formal education. However, women never satisfy with this formal education and they try to transfer their culture to the children by teaching language, or driving children participate in artistic and sports courses. For instance, Irina Okay stated that, in ACSFA Russian language courses have been organized for Turkish-Russian children to improve their language skills.

However, the most important problem regarding the education of Turkish-Russian children is that their formal education in Turkey is not compatible with the education in their home countries. Therefore, children are unable to attend the higher education in these countries, if they wish so. Recently, ACSFA has initiated some attempts to make the education of these children compatible with the Russian system of education. According to this, the points children received in the schools will be confirmed by a school in Ankara which is certified by the

Russian Consulate. Although this may not bring a permanent solution, it is aimed to overcome the situations of the return movements of women to their countries of origin with their children.

Another issue deserving particular attention regarding the children of migrant women is that women who are employed in tourism industry apply various methods to deal with the child-care problem during the working hours. The first method is that women may bring their own mothers or other available family members to Turkey for the care of children. Although this is not the most usual case, during the fieldwork I have met women who brought their mothers and took them residence permit to maintain the children's care. The more usual case for the women in tourism is that they work part time and bring their children to the workplace. Here, the part time is used not in a regular meaning because of the fact that women working in tourism usually work for so long hours until late night. Working part time for these women is, in fact, close to a regular work hours of formal employment. I have interviewed with women who were working and their children were touring around them during the work hours. These women usually state the high nursery prices as the reason for bringing their children with them.

Women in tourism industry, take advantage of the flexibility of the works they engage within the sector. The conditions of labor in tourism industry, especially in small towns such as Kemer where women usually work in small or medium-sized stores, are not strictly defined and the employers display a certain degree of flexibility regarding the children's issue. This is an important advantage of women in tourism, although women's employment does not alter the traditional

gender roles assigned to women such as child care, they find the opportunity to carry on a paid work by making use of the flexible nature of the tourism industry.

#### **4.5.2. Conditions of the Work Environment**

The internal dynamics of tourism sector influences the relationships between women and their employers, their colleagues and the customers, and sometimes puts them in a disadvantaged position within the labor market. On the other hand, women report that working in the tourism sector helps them to maintain social relationships with the community and with the tourists who are their compatriots.

##### ***Working Conditions of Women in the Tourism Sector***

Women ‘serving’ the tourism sector in Antalya are employed either as sales assistants in the jewelers, leather shops, boutiques or any other tiny or medium sized shops targeting the foreign customers visiting the region , or they are employed in hotels as clerks, masseurs, tourist agents, public relations staff and entertainers. The common characteristic of these types of work is that they are flexible low-paid jobs having the initial objective of serving the tourists. Considering that tourism in Antalya is a seasonal activity, usually starting early in the spring and ending in the middle of the fall season, tourism-related works are seasonal. The working conditions of these seasonal jobs are, thus, different from a regular job. In terms of the working hours, tourism servants start working early in the morning and they work until late at night, depending on the type of their work. During the fieldwork I have observed that the shop assistants have the longest working hours, their shift ends by the time the employer closes the shop which usually occurs around 11.00 or 12.00 pm. Those working in the hotels may leave the work earlier but most of the time they overwork depending on the customer demand. So, the regular working hours is not the case for the ‘servants’ of tourism

during the 'tourism season'. When the season ends, however, they take a long break of almost 6 months which ends when the season begins the next year.

Tourism servants earn during the summer season, and they need to save some amount in order to maintain their living in the winter. The flexible nature of their work, especially for the sales assistants, gives them the opportunity to make enough money in the summer season as they earn bonus for each item they sell. Just like the irregularity of the working hours in the tourism sector, the commercial relations are not so regular though. Most of the time the sales assistant uses his/her initiative to set the price of the item he/she attempts to sell, thus he/she earns as much as the price of the item that is sold. The irregular structure of the working conditions and job definitions in the workplaces breeds conflict among the workers most of the time. During the interviews, some of the respondents who were working as sales assistants were complaining about especially their male colleagues who are trying to push them out of the sales [tezgah] and prevent women's share. Nina (34) and Eva (31), for instance, were working as sales assistants at jewelry centers and during the interviews they were complaining about how their Turkish male colleagues trying to catch their customers although the women have already begun the sale. They both mention that their colleagues do not respect them during the business and trying to kick them out of the labor market. Olga (34) for instance reports that she chooses to keep herself away from conflict in the workplace by putting distance between people and herself.

On the other side of the coin, migrant women were experiencing problems with their customers as well. Customers who come from the same country with the women usually embarrass them for coming to work in another country; they

undervalue their job or the items they sell. Olga says that sometimes Russian customers try to humiliate her because of working there or they try to undervalue the item in order to decrease the price. In these cases she says “I humiliate them as well. I tell them that they did not see anything such like these [the items being sold] in their country thus they can not understand their value.” Moreover, in some cases women report that the customers behave them immorally.

Sometimes the Russian customer treats me as if I am a prostitute. He asks me at what time the work finishes and says ‘[A]fter work, come to the hotel’. They think that every woman here is like that. Ludmila (46)

Women are not only complaining about their colleagues or customers, but also they think that they are exploited by their employers. Tourism economy may be considered as a *grey economy* which holds a great degree of informality in it although most of the enterprises are registered. These registered enterprises are open to conduct unregistered economic activities, including the employment of informal migrants or migrants without work permits. Considering the nature of the tourism economy in which the revenue highly depends on the number and quality of tourists, employers pretending the lack of enough business usually cut from the laborers’ wages or they do not pay the wages at all. Depending on this irregularity of the earnings getting paid, and considering that most of the women are working without insurance they see their future in uncertainty. All of the women agree that they prefer a regular work, with regular payment, working hours and guaranteeing social security but they state that they have not too much choice in Turkey, as they have no chance to work in their own occupations which they have gained through their university degree in the home countries.

Women also report that sometimes the employers try to have a sexual intercourse with them and they were constrained to change their workplaces.



The relationships with the employers are difficult. They think that they can easily have a sexual contact with you. I have changed many jobs when the employers tried to get involved in my private life or requested an intimate relationship. Eva (31)

The work of servants of tourism, even though create some difficulties and problems to them also provides an opportunity of being much more involved in the daily life of the neighborhood and constant contact with the host society. Women working in several workplaces such as shops, hotels, tourism agents report that their job gives them the opportunity to meet new people everyday either from the customers or the local community. Therefore, these women consider themselves as much more socialized and integrated than the women who are working as domestics or in other closed places.

When you work as a sales assistant [tezgahtar] you do not stay passive. You try to be more involved in the social life. You control your behaviors. You take care of yourself and you pay attention to your appearance, your clothes. Olga (34)

#### **4.5.3. Relations with the Neighborhood and the Host Community**

The migration of women from the former Soviet Bloc to Turkey and the integration of women into the host community was not a smooth process, as it is the case for almost all of the migrant groups and communities. In other words, the movement of post-Soviet women to Turkey was not welcomed by the Turkish society in general, and all of the post-Soviet women were portrayed as “easy women” who are willing and available to have sexual intercourse in return for money or other favors. Regardless of their country of origin and the type of work they engage, women were identified as ‘Russian prostitutes’. After some time, the term “Natasha” became a generic name for all those women who are associated with ‘prostitutes’.

The 'natasha' discourse, is the basic form of gender-based and ethnic discrimination, as it targets only the women from the FSU countries and almost all of the post-Soviet women face this negative connotation in various contexts. They receive verbal assaults in the street, they suffer from sexual abuse and harassment and they are isolated and marginalized by the host community, especially by their same-sex local counterparts. Nina, for instance, told that she was reported to police by her female Turkish neighbor who blamed her for acting as a prostitute and inviting men to the house.

I was living in a flat in Fatih. A Turkish woman, who is a neighbor of mine had reported me to the police and said that I am doing prostitution, bringing men in to the house. Police came from the Office of Foreigners, they controlled my passport. They kindly apologized for coming and they said that we do not want to check your house but we have a report so we have to do. Nina (34)

At the same time, post-Soviet women believe that Turkish women are jealous of them, because they are beautiful and they take care of their health and beauty. Most of the women state that Turkish women have a bad eye on them. One of my informants reported that her neighbors were first carefully following her behaviors, and then they became friends.

Sometimes while I am walking to home, Turkish women look at me weirdly. I think they are jealous of me, because I have blond hair, I always do make up. They know that Turkish men like us. They think that we are going to take their men from their hands. Ludmila (46)

Before I got married I was living in an apart with three women. There was a Turkish woman living next door and she was always blaming us for being 'bad women'. At first we did not respond, but she continued her assault. Then we went next to her and said that we are working here like other normal people, if you want any conflict you're talking with wrong people. Then she stopped being busy with us. Vera (31)

The stigmatization of women as ‘natashas’, extremely disturbs post-Soviet women in Antalya and increases their vulnerability in the host society. However, women try to alleviate this ill-treatment in many ways. They either respond to the verbal assaults in a kindly manner as Anna did when he was exposed to verbal harassment of a Turkish boy.

One day I was passing from Kaleiçi (a tourism bazaar at Antalya city center). A guy started to insult me. I was so nervous I asked him to come closer and said ‘I am at the age of your older sister. I am not here for pleasure. I am earning money because I also have a family. I have a mother, a father and a daughter; I have to take care of them. You can not equate me with the other bad women. Then he came and apologized. I did not do anything bad in my life and I won’t do, because I am a mother. Yana (32)

Once we went to the bazaar with 3 of my home mates. A man shouted at us saying ‘Natashas’. It was hot in the summer and of course we were wearing light clothes, he knew that we are foreigners. Another man got angry to him and said that he is ashamed of what the other man said to us. Vera (31)

Another way to alleviate misbehaviors of the local community is reported as ‘being married’. A considerable number of women, including the single ones, consider ‘marriage’ as a way to be accepted and respected by the local community. They usually reported that being a married woman makes living in Turkey easier for them both in economic and social terms.

If you are a single woman in Turkey your life is difficult. When people know that you are single they want something from you, they ask for relationship (Here she means the sexual favors asked by local men). But if you are married they can not do anything, they can not behave in bad manner. Lada (34)

In addition to the negative connotations as ‘morally corrupt women’ associated to them by the Turkish society, women also experience problems in maintaining trust relationships between the community and themselves. They have difficulty in trusting the local community especially when the commercial

relations are in question. Darya, Ulyana and Alina reported that they are cheated by the local tradesmen most of the time when they go shopping or attempt to buy some goods or services and they all stated that the language they speak influences these relations. In these cases women mentioned that they devised strategies to cope with the situation, they either speak a European language if they can, or they speak Turkish to underline that they are settlers, because they believe that local people deceive the 'Russian' tourists the most, they are more consistent in their relations with the European tourists. For instance, Alina (34) said "My Turkish is quite short. If I talk they immediately understand that I am a foreigner and they give a high price, when I want to buy something. I have to improve my Turkish so that they will be unable to behave me as if I am a tourist". Ulyana told her experience with the salesman in a shop with these words:

One day I went a shop. I was speaking Turkish, but it is not very good. The man started to talk badly with me. He thought that I am a Russian. You know I can speak German a bit. Then I said that I am a German tourist. He asked me why I am speaking Turkish. I said that I know Turkish and here in Turkey I speak in Turkish. Then the man immediately changed his talking style with me. Ulyana (55)

Quite similar with Yana's shopping experience, Darya also mentioned the salesman who supposed that she is a tourist and tried to cheat her in shopping:

Of course I have some problems about being a foreigner here. For instance when I am at shopping, they always try to sell the goods more expensive than it is. They're trying to deceive me like they do to tourists. When I say that, I am living here, they tell the true price. Darya (34)

### *Women's perceptions on Turkish culture and society*

Post-Soviet women working in the tourism sector in Antalya consider themselves integrated to the Turkish community much more than women working in any

other type of work in Turkey. They state that everyday they are in constant contact with the local people due to the nature of their job and they learn more about Turkish culture and way of living. In their discourses women use 'culture' in two different meanings, one which designates the morality and respecting traditional and local values and the other which is associated with the term 'cultured' and underlines the educational level and intellectual capacity of people. The usage of the term 'culture' in two different meanings is evident in Yana's expression when she was asked her perception of the neighborhood and the local community is asked.

Here in Kemer, everywhere is full of Russian speaking people. I sometimes feel like I am at home. But, of course, there are cultural differences. Currently, your culture is higher. In Ukraine, there is a culture crisis now. We had had a culture in the Soviet time, but the communist culture disappeared and was not replaced with a new culture. Young people are getting drunken everyday, 11-12 years old children are swearing on the streets. Young people can not differentiate between the good and the evil. However, you are not reading enough. We go everywhere with books. When the tourists come from my home, half of their suitcase is full of books. You are not reading and your TV has nothing educational, it is full of show programs. Alina (34)

#### **4.5.4. Relationships with the State**

Almost all of the women I have interviewed have acquired their Turkish citizenship through marriage. Those who were single at the time of the interview reported that they made fake marriages just to get a legal status in Turkey, others were the married women whose marriages are real and they were living with their husbands and children. However, having a citizenship does not necessarily mean that they have a smooth relation with the state and its officials. Many women recorded that they still have a fear upon police officers which has remained from the dates when their stay in Turkey was informal. As most of the women had

experienced informality in Turkey, usually in the form of overstay after their visas expire, they reported that they still fear from the police officers.

When you see the police car there is fear. You feel that. It really affected my psychology. I have a residence permit now but I am still frightened when I see a police car. Olga (34)

In the first year, I had a fear of living here. I did not have visa. The office told me that they will get a work permit but they did not. I did not do anything bad, I came to work but I had a fear because I did not have identity card for living here. Alina (34)

When you are informal here you have a fear. You know that you have no rights here. Just thinking about this is itself difficult. Eva (31)

Women fear from the Turkish police due to their prior experience of regular controls of their passport, 'humiliating' questions of the officers about their economic condition, their work or reason for being in Turkey in the streets or in the borders. In addition to that fear, women also do not trust the Turkish police, they emphasize that if they experience some problem with a Turkish person, the police is always right on the side of him/her without questioning who is right.

For instance you have a dispute with your husband and you went to the police. They are never on the side of you, they always say that your husband is right. Emma (36)

Another point to mention is that women who do not speak Turkish experience difficulty in contacting the police officers and they are unable to express their problems or needs. Especially in the Office of Foreigners, women who are newcomers to Turkey usually fall short of communicating with the officers. In Antalya, there is a pioneer attempt to get rid of this problem between the Turkish officers and the Russian speaking women. The *Association of Culture and Solidarity among Foreigners in Antalya* organized Russian language courses to the police officers in the Office of Foreigners. Every week a Russian teacher

from the association goes to the office and gives Russian courses to the officers. Women whom I interviewed in ACSFA reported that they experienced great difficulty since they learn Turkish, thus they find this attempt very useful for the non-speakers of Turkish.

#### **4.6. Women's Agency: Building Networks, Constructing Identities, Developing Strategies**

As I have discussed elsewhere in the study, post-Soviet women who migrated to Turkey are influenced by the economic, social and cultural relations surrounding them in the host country. They usually find themselves vulnerable as a 'woman' and 'migrant' which is highly evident in the 'natasha' discourse targeting these women, or in the ways they were treated unequally in their relations with the family, community or the state. The 'foreigner' discourse which is intensively used by the community and the migrants themselves is the biggest indicator of the ways women are externalized by the host society and the 'system'. However, women develop many forms of resistance in order to struggle with the bias upon them. They try to be more integrated into the society and solve their problems which appear out of their gender, class and ethnic/national identity. The most important form of resistance among women is that they build networks and connections between themselves, namely the post-Soviet migrant women, and they share and discuss their migration and integration related problems. Another important form of resistance is that women construct hybrid identities in order to be accepted by the host society but also perpetuate their own identity related to their country of origin. They try to distance themselves from the negative connotations of being a 'Russian' woman, while they praise their national identity and cultural norms and values. The third dimension of their resistance stems from

their individual experiences. Women develop many strategies in order to struggle with the problems which influence their daily lives in various forms.

### ***Women building networks and connections***

Among all the post-Soviet women interviewed in Kemer, I have observed that they have close relations with each other. As I had access to the women by using snowball sampling method, it is obvious that most of them know each other very well or through their shared friends. The close relations between women was also evident from the fact that women give quite similar answers to some questions as if they have discussed the issue on their own before. Women build networks and connections among themselves and provide solidarity in order to discuss solutions to their common problems. Women also use their networks to get assistance from each other. For instance, one of the women I have interviewed stated that she asks all her friends [who have the post-Soviet origin] what they need from Ukraine before she goes to her home country and she generally brings food products which they are unable to find in Turkey. The fact that women are able to make friends and networks from their home countries is an important factor which makes their permanent stay in Turkey easier:

I could not be happy if I do not have friends here. There are a lot of Russian women here. We always try to help each other. This is our great advantage. We are always in solidarity. If I live in Istanbul and Ankara, maybe I will have more Turkish friends than Russian. Darya (34)

In Antalya, ACSFA is working as post-Soviet women's club where they can gather, meet and talk with each other. It provides many services to the women such as language courses, consultancy and legal services. The president of ACSFA, Irina Okay, reported that the major purpose of the association is to help women who experience problems with their employers, husbands or the state,



who are unable to communicate in Turkish and therefore fall into vulnerable positions. For instance Elena, who is a Russian member of the association, told in what ways the association helped and protected her:

This is very important, you share your problems here and they help you. For instance, I was looking for a job in Istanbul. I gave my phone number to an agency to call me if they find a job. Then, I started to get strange phone calls. Men were calling and asking for relationship. There is an association in Istanbul, too but I never went there. Someone told me not to visit them, I don't know why. Here, when you have a problem they try to help you. Also you can learn many things about the companies and agencies. They know them and they tell which one is good or bad. Emma (36)

Inessa (38) reported that many women ask for help to them. Women who can not get their earnings from the employers, who are unable to find a job or who need an attorney either for divorce or anything else apply to ACSFA. The association has an attorney who deals with any kind of problems of the women from divorce to gain legal status in the country or regarding problems with their visas.

Another most important objective of the association is to build networks and strengthen relations within the post-Soviet community in Antalya. The association organizes meetings and ceremonies regularly in order to strengthen solidarity among the women and create networks among their families and children. Also, the Russian festivals and special days are celebrated among the members of the community in order not to lose the sense of belonging to the home country and their shared past. Another important service of the association is the language courses of Turkish and Russian. Usually women who do not speak Turkish properly attend the Turkish language classes. The husbands of women with Turkish origin or other related people attend the Russian classes. Also,

children of the women who both speak Turkish and Russian attend the courses in order to strengthen their languages.

The existence of such an association which brings a considerable number of post-Soviet women together in several occasions is important in a sense that not only women experience great difficulties in understanding the Turkish daily life practices and culture but also their children of Turkish-Russian origin need to be more integrated into the society, exchange and share their experiences which the association tries to achieve.

The networks and connections women built in Turkey are highly valuable because most of them have lost their friendships and networks in the home countries as a result of their long stay in Turkey. They have their families and women usually go to their home countries in order to visit their families. Some of them also have a small number of friends or acquaintances whom they are not in regular contact with. Therefore, women usually formed their own networks and friends in Turkey and they usually rely on this new social environment. Also through their networks women build a sense of solidarity among post-Soviet women which makes them more powerful in conflictual situations with the host community and culture.

### ***Women construct identities and forms of belonging***

Among the women I have interviewed, there was a common tendency to differentiate themselves from the sex-workers who come from the same countries with the respondents. The existing 'natasha' discourse in the Turkish society which targets all the women who come from the FSU countries extremely disturbs the respondents. Their statements reveal that most of the women faced this negative connotation in different settings since their migration to Turkey. How

they mention about the sex-workers and how they try to distance themselves from these women is closely related to their effort to integrate the society and secure a space to themselves within the society. By setting a distance between the sex-workers and themselves with their discourses of 'othering', women create identities which guarantee their presence within the host country and acceptance by the community. For instance, Olga who is a single Ukrainian woman was complaining about being an easy woman who is able and ready to have a sexual relationship with any man and she was trying to distance herself from the women having sexual relationship for some favors.

I have culture; I do not see myself easy. I am sometimes ashamed of being a Russian. Russian women did this. They created this situation [being stigmatized as easy, morally corrupt women] with their hands. This is not about Russia, but about women who come here. Eva (31)

Alina is a married woman, but she feels uncomfortable about being stigmatized as 'morally corrupt' women. She uses an 'othering' discourse by blaming the women engaging sex work as choosing this work rationally.

Nobody can force someone to do something. For instance we see on the TV, women say that the man took her passport; she can not leave the country. They are all lying. There are many opportunities not to do this [the sex work]. They do only if they want to. Alina (34)

Lada, for instance, uses a direct language that situates the sex workers as 'others'. She uses the term 'natasha' without any hesitation, because by using the term to indicate a distant 'other', she underlines that she is outside of this categorization:

At first some women came here whom we call 'natasha'. Then people started to think that these women are coming for other purposes. These are disappearing today but it really gave harm to us [the post-Soviet women]. Lada (34)

### *Women develop strategies and tactics*

The argument that women construct identities in order to resist the gender-based discrimination targeting them is also supported by their strategies they develop in their relations with and discourses about the police, about the Turkish man and the community. For instance the perceptions of women to the police officers tend to be constructive although most of them do afraid of the police officers and do not feel comfortable in their relations with the Turkish state. This attempt to avoid hostile relations with the police is highly related with their tendency to distance themselves from the sex-worker women from their home countries. Considering that sex-workers are always in conflict with the police officers, women in the case study feel that their perception about the police is a good indicator of their level of integration.

Nina, for instance, was reported to the police by one of her neighbors, accused of doing prostitution at home. She tells the situation when the police knocked on her door with these words:

They checked my passport. They kindly apologized for coming and they said that we do not want to check your house but we have a report so we have to do. In fact there is nothing they can do. They just do their job. It is the shame of the woman who called the police.  
Nina (34)

The majority of the respondents in this study are married with a Turkish man, as I have stated before. In addition to its initial meaning and objective, marriage is an important tool for women to integrate the society. Thus, most of the time marriage may become a strategy of survival and inclusion for the women, who otherwise experience the possible difficulties of being single in addition to being a woman and a migrant. For instance one of the respondents, Eva, who is a

single woman, prefers to be married in Turkey in order to increase her chances of inclusion and integration:

Currently my status as single gives me harm. For instance, if I was married now, everything can be easier. My husband may support me. Also I see more respect in my workplace. They behave me different because I am a foreigner. If I was a Turkish woman they could not behave that way. Eva (31)

Also another respondent Elena prefers to be married in order to escape from the misbehaviors of men.

If you are married everything is easy. When they see that you are single, you do not have a man behind you, they assault you. When you say I am married, not any problem exists. Lada (34)

These examples indicate that marriage stands for different meanings for post-Soviet women in Turkey. It is considered as a way to be included to the society and become a part of the community and to escape the negative connotations assigned to 'Russian women'. Women construct identities by getting married, an identity which increases their chances of integration and gives them greater autonomy within the workplace or the community. In this respect, the marriages of post-Soviet women with men of Turkish origin need to be considered in the context of inclusion-exclusion nexus to a host community.

Also, women consider marriage not only as a strategy for integration but also as a strategy to survival or to increase their economic well-being. They say that their husbands take care of the family, so women feel more secure in Turkey when they are married. Women also state that it is impossible to live well just with their own earnings. So, even if they are not married their boyfriends usually give them economic support. During the interviews, some women refer their boyfriends or husbands as care-giver [bakıcı], which supports the argument that

women need the economic support of men in order to increase their life standards in Turkey. Lada, for instance, takes economic support from her boyfriend as she does not earn enough from her current job in an entertainment center in Kemer.

I was working as a sales assistant before. I was earning much more than I am earning now. But it is a very difficult job. I was working from 9 am to 1 am at night. But now I have a care-giver [bakıcı] so I am able to make a living here. Lada (34)

Post-Soviet women in Antalya adopt strategies to solve every problem they face about living in a host country. For instance, women experience problems as they do not speak Turkish clearly. One of the respondents stated that the local people were behaving them in a bad manner when they understand that they are migrant women who came to work as they hear their unclear Turkish. In order to escape from this situation some of the respondents reported that they do not speak Turkish and act as a tourist when they go shopping. As the Antalya economy very much depends on the money the tourists leave in the city, the tourists are celebrated and respected almost in all the shops. Thus, by acting as a tourist and speaking Russian instead of Turkish, women try to be concerned and respected by the Turkish people.

***The Impact of Migration on Gender Roles: Migration of women: Emancipating/empowering or Subjugating?***

The present research focused on two different but interrelated sides of the relations between gender and international migration. On the first side, the impact of gender on the international migration experiences of women is studied through an analysis of the impact of gender on why, how and where women migrate, and the type of labor they take. On the other side, the impact of international migration of women on gender roles is examined. In the studies concerning the relation between gender and migration, the relationship between migration and

emancipation of women is usually studied from different perspectives. Abadan-Unat (1977) for instance, points out that migration is “promoting emancipation of women as well as creating a false climate of liberation, which actually does not surpass increased purchasing power, thus resulting only in pseudo-emancipation”. Morokvasic (1981) emphasizes the increased burden upon women who enter the labor market, as they continue to be the primarily responsible from the household tasks. The findings of my field study also reveals that international migration and having a waged labor does not lead to emancipation of women, but leads to changes in gender roles and relations. Thus in this study, instead of studying whether or not migrant women are finally emancipated, I have focused on how gender roles and relations are transformed in favor of women.

#### **4.7. Concluding Remarks**

As stated in the previous chapters, one of the distinctive features of the ‘new’ international migration beginning with the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc is increasing mobility of women and their involvement in migratory movements as economic migrants which was not the case before. Beginning with the Soviet dissolution, the dynamics of female international migration have changed dramatically, women have begun to migrate independently with economic incentives, and their migration has mostly been informal. It is, therefore, impossible to understand the ‘new’ migration of women, in the same way that we examine the migration of men. The dynamics of women’s migration for economic purposes, like why and how they migrate, what type of labor they have, and what they experience as a female migrant in the host country, is mainly related to the socially constructed gender ideology and the existence of gender-segregated labor

markets in the era of globalization. Therefore, when we think about migration, we need to make sure that gender is a central tool in our understanding of migration. In this thesis, beginning with this argument that 'migration is a gendered phenomenon', I have explored the 'new' international migration phenomenon through a specific case on women's migration, because this case study reveals that migrant women's experiences are shaped by gender, which interacts with other social relations of power such as age, class and race/ethnicity.

The fieldwork of the thesis explores the multifaceted migration experiences of post-Soviet women who work in tourism industry in Turkey. It focuses on three important questions related to their whole migration experience. First, the study explores why they migrated (to Turkey), in other words their motives behind their migration and reasons for migrating to Turkey, but not other more developed countries. The fieldwork results indicate that women migrate to improve their economic opportunities, through a waged labor or marriage, and the major reason for choosing Turkey is the relative ease of entry, informal residence and getting formal status through marriages of convenience. Proximity of their home country and relatively low transportation costs are also important factors especially for transnational women, who irregularly move between two borders. However, longer stays usually occur as a result of real marriages, and the economic incentives become secondary in longer stays. Secondly, the fieldwork explores the migration of women which lead to their liberation/empowerment, discrimination and exploitation at the same time. The relations of women within the family and household, workplace and community are determined by the socially constructed categories of difference such as gender, age, and class and ethnic/national background. Women, are not only negatively affected by their



'migrant' status, as the ethnic/national 'other's of the country, but they are also discriminated, and in many cases exploited, according to their gender, age and class. So, women are doubly disadvantaged in the migration process.

Thirdly, in this study I have tried to explore the potential agency of women in making changes in gender relations. According to the findings, I argue that women display resistance to the discriminatory practices of the state, the community, and the exploitative conditions in the workplace. Their consciousness of their migrant status is well developed. Even if their level of civil or political participation is low, their individual resistance also contributes social change. In addition, women resist to unequal gender relations in the household and manage the household tasks in more egalitarian basis. Migrant women's waged labor is the most important task that guarantees egalitarian relations in the household. They manage their household relations by leaning on their economic independence. Therefore, even if migrant women are unable to make a radical change on gender norms, they contribute the re-definition of gender relations and greater autonomy of women in the household.

One of the major strengths of this study is that, migrant women in a specific labor market is explored, namely 'servants of tourism' which stands for all migrant women who serve the tourism industry either as waged laborers or self-employed. The dynamics of labor in tourism industry is different than other types of migrant labor, such as domestic/care work, sex work or trade. Tourism industry in Turkey has own rules, the relations surrounding the labor, relations with the employers and community relations are all designed to maximize benefit from the tourist customer. Tourism is a competitive environment; labor is usually based on constructive, long-lasting relations with the customer which in-turn

determine the scale of the wages. In such an environment, migrant women usually tend to be pushed out of the circle, by local male tourism laborers. Although Russian-speaking female labor is highly demanded, they are usually left poorly paid in the periphery of the market. In such a case, women in tourism industry tend to form close networks, be able to integrate the community, form families which are not necessarily the case for migrant domestics whose labor is restricted to the domestic sphere, or sex workers whose work is criminalized by the society. Regarding the shuttle trade, although it is more outward oriented and built on long-lasting relations with women and local customers, traders are usually circulating between two or more borders, contrary to the workers in tourism who remain at work in almost 6 months of the year.

To sum up, this case study explores post-Soviet women who work in tourism industry, considering that these women are important agents of 'new' international migration which is characterized by independent, informal economic migration of women from transition economies to the developed or developing economies where their labor is in demand. The migration of these women is shaped by the socially constructed difference of gender, interacting with other social differences. At the same time, women's migration leads to the re-definition of gender relations, not only by their waged labor but also the new 'mobility' that women gain by the migration experience itself. However, although women get slightly liberated with migration experience and their waged labor, gender-blind migration policies lead to their exploitation in many cases, as their existence in Turkey is considered illegal by the state and their labor is undocumented.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This thesis is written as an attempt to explore the international migration of women from the Former Soviet Union countries to Turkey, with a specific emphasis on migrant women working in tourism industry. Today, migration from post socialist countries for labor has become a way of life and women outnumber men in migration flows from these countries. The increasing presence of women in certain migratory movements reflects the demand on these women's labor mostly in occupations which are built on gendered assumptions of reproductive work assigned to women in the existing gender order, such as domestic work, child care or elderly care. Most of these occupations are not visible and even not recognized as "work" especially if they are performed outside of the legal framework, as it is the case most of the time for female migrants. Most of the post-Soviet female migrants in Turkey have an informal status, especially at the beginning of their migration, thus they usually have no any other alternative than working in this informal labor market which is characterized with insecure, low-status and low paid service employment.

The situation is almost the same for women working in tourism industry with slight differences. Tourism sector is disproportionately characterized by "informal economy" employment, particularly with regard to part-time and

seasonal work of the kinds most often done by women and work in tourism as in other sectors of the economy is structured along gender lines and generally conforms to dominant gender roles. However jobs in tourism industry are not gendered in a way that is the case for other traditionally feminized jobs such as child care or domestic work which are assigned as women's traditional tasks. Instead, women's jobs in tourism are categorized as "contingently gendered jobs" – which happen to be mainly done by women but for which the demand for labor is gender-neutral. For instance, Crampton and Sanderson (1990) argue that gendered divisions of labor in the tourism industry may be unstable, resting on employers' perceptions of economic advantage rather than gendered preferences: they want cheap workers, without being concerned, on the whole, whether these are male or female. However a significant proportion of the jobs in the industry are conducted by migrant women and this reflects their labor market position as disadvantaged. This is evident in the explanation of one of the participants of the case study, an employer, to the question of why he employs informal migrant women: "simply because their labor is cheap for me". Considering the migration of these women, this thesis tries to understand the ways gender, as a social hierarchy, affects their migration experiences, together with other hierarchies such as race, class, age, ethnicity and migrant status. The research for this thesis relies on a critical examination of the existing international migration theories from a feminist perspective and a four months of fieldwork conducted in Antalya based on non-participant observation and in-depth interviews conducted with post-Soviet women working in tourism industry and non-recorded informal conversations with people related to them as employers, neighbors, friends or family members.

The major argument of the thesis is that migration patterns and processes, the experiences of migrants, as well as the social, political, economic and cultural impact of the international migration of women are gendered. From this point of view, I have tried to explore the ways gender operates in the whole migration process of women, by relying on their experiences before migration, during migration and after migration. First, I have explored how the structural factors such as the global gender order and gendered policies of the postsocialist era shape the individual or household decisions to migrate, what is the role of gender in women's migration informally, their choice of migration destination and their incorporation into the informal labor market. Then, I have explored the ways gender order affects their experiences in the host society. In doing this, I have tried to situate migrant women within various power hierarchies such as class, race, age, ethnicity, nationality, migrant status besides gender, considering that gender relations are always mediated by other socially constructed categories such as class, age, race and ethnicity (Chant, 2000; Tyner, 1996). Lastly, I have discussed whether migrant women take their situation in the host country for granted or display any kind of resistance in order to overcome their vulnerabilities and take advantage of their migrant status. This last part of the study is an attempt to contribute the discussion on migration and women's empowerment, whether mobility and experiences of migration may be empowering for women, open up opportunities for challenging gender roles or lead to new dependencies and reinforce existing gender hierarchies.

In order to understand the complex relation between gender and migration, I have made an analytical division by constructing migration as both gendered and gendering so that not only how migration dynamics are shaped by gender order

but also how migration shapes existing gender order is understood. In the second chapter, first the historical background of incorporating gender into the studies of migration is discussed by dividing the process into three stages. In the last phase of gender and migration research, migration as a gendered process is approved and gender roles and relations are constructed as fluid and changeable throughout the migration process, which is a crucial step to consider migration as an important tool leading to changes in gender hierarchies and empowering women. The chapter follows with the critique of existing international migration theories for not incorporating all dimensions of the migration process and be gender blind by not considering women as agents of the migration process. Also, the existing migration theories fall short of explaining new mobilities that blurred the boundaries between tourism and migration and created new ways of life. New migration patterns go beyond temporary or settled migration nexus and extensively influence women on the move. The chapter, lastly, discusses these new mobilities which do not exist in the mainstream theoretical accounts of international migration.

The third chapter focuses on post-Soviet migrant women in Turkey, the patterns and processes of their migration and the forms of their labor. In this chapter, the major attempt is to display the political-economic reasons behind the migration of women from the FSU countries, and of why Turkey is a favorable destination for them. It is argued that the gendered policies of the neoliberal restructuring in these countries and their social consequences are the major determinants of women's migration. In regards to the reasons for choosing Turkey, it is suggested that the migration patterns of women to Turkey resemble the migrations to Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain and Portugal

where migration and entry regulations are less strict compared to the Western Europe where wages are higher. Finally in the chapter, labor types of women are discussed. The purpose for distinction of women according to their labor types is to focus on the differences between their experiences. The migration experiences of shuttle traders, domestic and care workers and sex workers are extensively different from each other. Shuttle traders constantly circulate between borders of two or more countries and they usually do not overstay, while domestic workers tend to overstay their visas to continue their job. The labor of sex workers is criminalized by the state and the society, so they tend to live in the margins, be invisible. The labor of domestic workers is socially legitimate, but their labor confines them to the domestic sphere, to their workplace, in the majority of their time. These differences among experiences of women may be multiplied, so that even if their reasons for migration, their migrant status is similar, what migrant women experience is highly related to the type of their labor and relations surrounding their work environment. Having this background, in the following chapter the thesis focuses on the experiences of post-Soviet women in tourism industry, namely post-Soviet “servants of tourism”. The case study in this chapter while explains the dynamics of the migration of women from the countries where neoliberal economic restructuring has pushed a great number of women work abroad, and also emphasizes the particular migration experience of women in tourism industry.

The major findings of the study, by relying on the extensive fieldwork, are as follows: Firstly, for migrant women working in tourism, economic factors are commonly the reason for migration, just like most of the male labor migrants, but their experiences before migration and their economic conditions in the home

country are different than that of men. Although both women and men of FSU countries have been influenced by the neoliberal economic restructuring in their countries, the number of women who migrated has exceeded the number of men. This is because; unemployment had severely affected women, as they were the first to be laid off during transition. In addition, the social provisions which were once secured by the Soviet state such as free schooling, health care and child care had been cut off. As women were the primary beneficiaries of these provisions, their burden has increased with their disappearance. So, during transition era, women were pushed into the periphery of the labor market, into low-paid, insecure jobs or they are pushed into the informal market. Considering that policies of post-socialist transition were highly gendered, migration has appeared as an alternative way of coping with poverty at home and a way for increasing economic status. In that sense, the initiation of migration from the post-Soviet states has been highly gendered. It is also important to note that, economic factors, such as to have better living standards, to increase economic opportunities, were the fundamental motivations for women's migration, but employment was not the only way to achieve them. Most of the women considered marriage, in addition to employment, as a tool for economic and social mobility. So, having a marriage partner is the main reason for moving to Turkey for a considerable number of these women. The ease of entry regulations and comparably cheaper transportation and communication costs in Turkey are highly important for choosing Turkey as a destination. However, according to the findings of the fieldwork, having a marriage prospect in Turkey is sometimes the major motivation for migration. In these cases, the boundaries between labor migration



and marriage migration are blurred, although economic and social upward mobility is the ultimate reason for migration of the women.

The second finding of the study is that the position of migrant women in the host country, the way people think about and act to these women, is determined by different power hierarchies which they have not themselves constructed, such as class, age, race, ethnicity and nationality. Gender relations usually mediate with these social differences and limit their chances and choices in the host country. For instance, migrant status, or being a foreigner, creates some opportunities in the labor market but brings difficulties in women's relations with the local community. Post-Soviet women, in Turkey, are usually associated with the negative connotation 'natasha' and this stigmatization brings a heavy burden upon women in their relations with the community. Moreover, migrant women who speak the language of the host country are less likely to be excluded from the society, but on the other side women who migrate in older ages are more disadvantaged in the labor market. Due to these various forms of exclusion which integrate with gender, women usually prefer to marry with a local man because women who marry citizens of the country of destination usually find it easier to integrate the host society and secure a job in the labor market.

As a third finding, the study reveals that women do not take their position in the host country for granted. They develop various forms of resistance, either in the form of building solidarity associations or by developing strategies to overcome their vulnerabilities in front of the labor market, in their relations with the partners or husbands and in trying to cope with gender-based and racist discrimination directed to them. For instance, they try to assist each other in learning the local language; they cooperate to get their legal status or residence

rights. In addition, individual attempts of some women lead to further improvement in the status of these women, which goes beyond the boundaries of their own group. They try to get their university degrees accepted, or they become self-employed, and further improve the social standing of migrant women. All of these attempts lead us to discuss the space of agency and empowerment of women within the migration process. In the thesis, by situating migration as a gendering process, I have also questioned the potential of migration in the transformation and re-definition of gender roles and hierarchies.

Hereafter, I will discuss potential role and agency of women in changing the gender order and leading to empowerment of women through their migration experiences. In the literature on gender and migration, whether international migration challenges the existing gender order or maintains and strengthens it is a widely debated issue. The research which suggests that migration has explicit gains for women emphasize the changes in migrant women's status due to their access to paid employment which enables women greater access to and control over resources and provides them more autonomy. In some cases migrant women become the breadwinner of the family which increases their power and autonomy within the household (Parrenas, 2001). Studies of Grasmuk and Pessar (1991), Morokvasic (1987) indicate that migrant women are more reluctant to return compared to men, as they are economically better off and more easily integrate to the host society. Men tend to reinforce their own values and norms as a response to an environment which is strange to them and excludes them. On the other side, changes in women's lives with migration which are seen as improvements for challenging the unequal gender order, may create contradictory outcomes, reproduce gender inequalities, increase reliance on traditional roles, dependency

of women and place heavy work load upon women (Morokvasic, 2007). Migrant women who have a paid labor continue to be responsible from the household tasks, as fundamental division of labor which rests on the expectation that “women are responsible for home and men for work” is not challenged with migration. In some cases, only the distribution of household cores may be modified as men begin to get more responsibility within some household chores, or they need to take care of children in the absence of women. Also, the globalization of domestic work and the shift of these tasks from the local middle and upper class women to lower class migrant women reproduce gender inequalities as gender and class hierarchies are preserved in employer’s house. Regarding the two sides of the discussion, it can be said that fundamental gender order is not challenged with migration, but migration leads to modifications in gender roles which are important steps for women’s empowerment. At that point, it is important to introduce the argument of Morokvasic (2007) that empowerment “can be understood as a process of reinforcing people’s agency, which means strengthening individual and collective strategies of resistance to get rid of social, economic, political pressures and try to find valuable alternatives.” In fact, women in migration display resistance by developing various strategies which challenges the traditional gender ideals, but they usually do this by utilizing traditional patterns in order to reach their objectives. For instance, mobility is the ultimate resource for migrant women which they use to increase their chances within their migrant status. Women, who are associated with immobility and stability in the existing gender order challenge this expectation by circulating between borders rather than settling. Even if they get settled, they settle in mobility so that they secure a space for freedom both in the labor market and at home. Equally

important resource for migrant women to secure a living in the host country is marriage. Getting married with a local man is the most common strategy for migrant women to guarantee their living and improve their social status in the host country. So, in that case women resort to traditional patterns based on gender difference as a strategy to escape from downward social mobility. Two points should be highlighted here. First, gender always operates with other socially constructed hierarchies of power, which is evident in the case of migrant women who reproduce a traditional gender order through marriage in order to escape from class, ethnic and racial inequalities and social outcomes of their 'foreigner' status. Secondly, migration and marriage are two contradictory processes, as one signifies mobility and the other immobility, respectively, but women utilize both of them as a strategy for their empowerment.

Depending on the above argument it is evident that international migration opens up a space for women's agency in challenging the existing gender order while also reproduces the unequal relations of gender and other hierarchies. Therefore further studies may focus more on the gendering dimension of migration by exploring the cases in which women's agency in challenging gender order is more explicit, such as self-employed foreign women, solidarity foundations or political groups of foreign women.

Lastly, this study has various strengths and weaknesses that might shed a light to the future studies. First, this study stands as an initial attempt among the few scholarly works which focus on post-Soviet migrant women in Turkey and it is a pioneering work on post-Soviet women working in the tourism industry. Although the migration of women from various post-socialist countries to Turkey have been studied, the focus of interest was always on the domestic workers, sex

workers or shuttle traders whose labor has been considered as traditionally feminized according to the existing gender order in the society and usually informal. However as it is discussed in the previous sections, women's work in tourism industry is gendered in a different way. Women's service labor in tourism is not gendered according to the gendered division of labor in the society. In fact men also work in the same occupations with women, however due to the low-paid and informal status of the jobs, most of the work in tourism sector is feminized. So, women's migration experiences are highly related to the conditions of their work environment and the dynamics of tourism industry. In this study, I try to identify what is distinctive about migrant women working in tourism while also emphasizing similarities of experiences of all post-Soviet migrant women. So, the primary strength of this qualitative study is that it attempts to fill the void in the literature on female international migrants in Turkey.

The second strength of the thesis is that, it tries to develop a gender perspective to be adopted in studying the international migration phenomenon. As it is discussed in Chapter II, existing migration theories have been written from a male point of view and thus they fail to understand current migration streams in which women predominate and also the impact of gender, as a category of difference, in experiences of migrant women and men. The scholarship on migration has so recently recognized the importance of considering gender in the studies of migration during the migration, and many studies have been conducted which evaluate the gender dimension of migrations from structural, societal or individual points of view. In this study I have first revisit existing migration theories by dividing them into three according to their levels of analysis and then try to integrate these theories by emphasizing that migration should incorporate

gender as a central analytical tool and all migration theories should speak to each other and come up with a comprehensive theory on migration. Besides the theoretical discussion, this study is much more a descriptive one than a theoretical. Thus, the primary data collected during the fieldwork which is based on non-participant observation, in-depth interviews and the questionnaire constitute the methodological strength of the thesis. Also, regarding the focus group studied, this study is unique in a sense that it includes women from various post-Soviet countries such as Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldavia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, instead of focusing on a particular nation or country, so the shared experiences of women from different countries are emphasized depending on their shared Soviet-past.

In order to avoid any doubts on the study, two points should be highlighted regarding my research methodology. Studying gendered migration by solely relying on the experiences of women may be considered as an incomplete or inadequate method to assess the gendered nature of the migration phenomenon. However, the migration experiences of women reveal how certain institutions and practices are gendered, such as the labor market and the household which are structured according to the sexual division of labor in the society. As Parrenas (2001) puts it, “A sole focus on the experiences of women in various institutional settings can still advance gendered migration research.” Even if we take only female migrants as a direct subject of inquiry, their experiences shed light on gendered migration, gendered institutional settings and social arrangements. Furthermore, as Parrenas (2001) argues, “an intersectional analysis through the lens of migration as a process of subject formation” can enhance gendered migration research despite the absence of men.

The second point which may be questionable in terms of the methodology of the study is my choice to put women of different Former Soviet Union Countries under one category. While making generalizations about the migration experiences of post-Soviet women, it is necessary to bear in mind the differences between the local contexts which may lead to distinguished life experiences of these women in their home countries. However, in this study the emphasis is on the shared experiences and tendencies of the Post-Soviet women during their migration process, since their experiences hold so much similarity, they share many things in common due to their shared Soviet past.

Alongside its strengths, the study has some shortcomings as well. First, the overall number of post-Soviet women living in Antalya and working in tourism sector is unknown due to the informal status some of these women and the fact that they are undocumented laborers even if they have a legal right to stay in Turkey. However, according to the data I have gathered from the *Association of Foreigners*, there are more than 13 thousand ‘Russian’<sup>9</sup> women living in Antalya. In the fieldwork, I have made interviews with 25 post-Soviet women, and 50 women have filled in the questionnaire. In the quantitative part of the study, I have introduced the demographic characteristics of the sample group, which may not be applicable to the whole migrant group living in Antalya. However, in this study the quantitative part has been written with an aim to introduce the demographic characteristics of the women whose experiences have been analyzed in the qualitative part, instead of creating a statistical data on the researched

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<sup>9</sup> Here, ‘Russian’ does not just signify those women having Russian nationality only. Usually women from countries like Ukraine, Belarus, namely those from the Orthodox countries of the Former Soviet Union, are called ‘Russians’ when it is necessary to make a generalization about these women.

group. Thus, although the quantitative part does not represent the whole group, it strengthens the qualitative data which is analyzed in the study.

Secondly, in order to understand the migration experiences of women and their status in Turkey, it is important to identify the experiences of these women in their home countries. Although I have tried to explain the conditions of the home countries of these women which have considerable impact on their migration decision through the secondary data gathered from previous studies and their own explanations, a fieldwork conducted in the home countries with the families and close networks of the women may strengthen the research. This kind of study conducted in both the home and the host countries of the women necessitates extra time and resources which were unable to be met for this study, but further studies on similar subjects may be conducted with this approach.

In conclusion, this study provides a rich descriptive account on 'post-Soviet servants of tourism' as they are called by the researcher, having been inspired from the 'servants of globalization' of Rhacel Salazar Parrenas (2001). Although it has some shortcomings as described above, it is an inspiring work for further studies on the same subject. Migration involves 'mobility' in its very definition, which is associated with maleness according to the gender order. So, women in migration resist to the 'stability' which is maintained through their roles within the boundaries of the domestic sphere, just by migrating. Therefore, migration may be empowering for women, if their vulnerabilities within this process are addressed by more targeting policies, also the paid labor of migrant women may on the one hand reproduce the unequal gender relations due to the gendered nature of their work, but on the other hand may lead women to gain more autonomy and lead to redefinition of gender relations on more egalitarian



grounds. In order to assess the impact of women on empowerment of women, further studies may concentrate on women who migrate for education or professional jobs and also migrant women who are self-employed on legal grounds in the Turkish context.

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## APPENDIX A

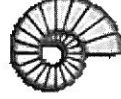
### PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE GROUP OF ‘SERVANTS OF TOURISM’

	Pseudonym	Nationality	Date of Birth	Date of Migration	Current employment
1	Alyona	Belarus	1976	2003	Announcer(enter. center)
2	Mariya	Ukraine	1973	1995	Cashier (entertainment center)
3	Lada	Russia	1974	2001	Information desk staff
4	Larisa	Moldavia	1967	1993	Information desk staff
5	Valeriya	Moldavia	1958	2000	Masseur
6	Natalya	Ukraine	1974	1998	Masseur
7	Ulyana	Ukraine	1953	2000	Masseur
8	Sofia	Ukraine	1976	2001	Masseur
9	Victoriya	Ukraine	1975	1996	Own business
10	Rada	Ukraine	1976	1996	Own business
11	Inessa	Russia	1970	2001	Own business
12	Emma	Russia	1972	1998	Russian Language Teacher
13	Tamara	Russia	1968	1995	Sales Assistant
14	Nina	Belarus	1974	1992	Sales Assistant
15	Anna	Ukraine	1971	1989	Sales Assistant
16	Eva	Russia	1977	2001	Sales Assistant
17	Ludmila	Russia	1961	1998	Sales Assistant
18	Olga	Russia	1977	1992	Sales Assistant
19	Yana	Ukraine	1978	1999	Sales Assistant
20	Sabina	Turkmenistan	1973	1997	Sales Assistant
21	Alina	Ukraine	1974	1998	Tourist agent
22	Vera	Russia	1977	2000	Unemployed (housewife)
23	Darya	Russia	1974	1996	Unemployed (housewife)
24	Adila	Azerbaijan	1979	2002	Unemployed (job seeker)
25	Malvina	Russia	1970	1996	Unemployed (job seeker)

The pseudonyms of the sample group members have been chosen randomly from the most popular Russian female names list on the internet:  
<http://masterrussian.com/aa031001a.shtml>

## APPENDIX B

### **TÜRKİYE'DE TURİZM SEKTÖRÜNDE ÇALIŞAN GÖÇMEN** **KADINLARA YÖNELİK ANKET FORMU** **KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ, İSTANBUL**



#### **ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER BÖLÜMÜ**

**GİZLİLİK İLKESİ:** Çoktan seçmeli ve kısa cevaplı sorulardan oluşan bu anketten elde edilen bilgiler sadece turizm sektöründe çalışan göçmen kadınlar üzerine yapılan akademik araştırma bağlamında kullanılacaktır. Söz konusu araştırma, **Koç Üniversitesi** Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi ve Araştırma Asistanı **Gözde Gebelek** tarafından yürütülmektedir. Anket çalışmasının amacı eski Sovyetler Birliği ülkelerinden gelen ve Antalya'da turizm ve hizmet sektöründe çalışan göçmen kadınların sosyal ve demografik özellikleri, Türkiye'ye göç etmelerindeki etmenler ve bu göçün ardından Türkiye'deki yaşam deneyimleri hakkında toplanan bilgi ile turizm sektöründeki göçmen kadınlar üzerine bir örneklem oluşturmaktır. Bu anket çalışması, araştırmacının toplumsal cinsiyet ve göç konulu yüksek lisans tezinde kullanılacak olup, verilen tüm cevaplar tamamen gizli tutulacaktır. Elde edilen bilgiler yalnızca akademik amaçlar doğrultusunda ve araştırma etiğine uygun olarak kullanılacaktır.

**Bu anket katılımcılar tarafından bireysel olarak doldurulacaktır. Lütfen cevap vermeden önce her soruyu dikkatlice okuyunuz. Çoktan seçmeli soruların cevaplarını şıkların yanındaki noktalı boşluklara X işareti ile işaretleyiniz. Bazı sorularda birden fazla şıkkı işaretlemeniz gerekiyor, lütfen bu sorulara dikkat ediniz. 41. sorudan itibaren cevaplarınızı daire içine alınız**

(Örn:  Doğru ). Lütfen hiçbir soruyu boş bırakmamaya gayret ediniz. Araştırmada gerçek kimlikleriniz tamamen gizli tutulacaktır.

**Bu çalışma için zaman ayırdığınız ve çalışmadaki tüm katkı ve yardımınız için teşekkür ederiz.**

0. Adınız (isteğe bağlı/optional) :

1. Cinsiyetiniz : Kadın ..... Erkek ....

2. Uyuđunuz (Citizenship) :
3. Milliyetiniz (Nationality) :
4. Dođum tarihiniz ve yeriniz :
5. Dođduđunuz yer :
- köy ....
  - kasaba ....
  - küçük şehir .....
  - büyük şehir/metropol .....
6. Türkiye'ye göç etmeden önce en son ikamet ettiđiniz yer :
- köy .....
  - kasaba.....
  - küçük şehir .....
  - büyük şehir .....
7. Őu andaki medeni durumunuz :
- bekar (hiç evlenmemiŐ) ....
  - evli ....
  - ayrı yaŐıyor ....
  - boŐanmıŐ ....
  - dul ....
  - diđer (belirtiniz) ....
8. Çocuklarınız var mı? (Cevabınız hayır ise 10. soruya geçiniz)  
Evet .... Hayır....
9. Evet ise lütfen çocuklarınızla ilgili aŐađıdaki bilgileri veriniz:
- | YaŐı    | Cinsiyeti | Sizinle birlikte mi yaŐıyor(evet/hayır) |
|---------|-----------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. .... |           |                                         |
| 2. .... |           |                                         |
| 3. .... |           |                                         |
10. Eđitim durumunuz (en son mezun olduđunuz okul)
- ilkokul ....
  - ortaokul ....
  - lise ....
  - üniversite ....
  - diđer (yüksek lisans, doktora vs. lütfen belirtiniz)  
.....

11. Üniversite veya üstü diploma sahibi iseniz mezun olduğunuz bölümü ve mesleğinizi belirtiniz:

.....  
.....

12. Türkiye’de çalışmaya başlamadan önce kaç kez geldiniz?

.....

13. Türkiye’ye ilk kez ne zaman (hangi yıl ve ayda) geldiniz?

.....

14. Türkiye’ye ilk gelişinizdeki amacınız neydi :

- a. Turizm/Gezi amaçlı ....
- b. Çalışıp para kazanmak ....
- c. Arkadaş ziyareti ....
- d. Akraba ziyareti ....
- e. İş amaçlı (iş gezisi vs.) ....
- f. Eğitim amaçlı ....
- g. Diğer (belirtiniz) ....

15. Aşağıdakilerden hangisi sizin Türkiye’deki yaşamınızı en iyi anlatıyor?

- Türkiye’de sürekli yaşıyorum (yılın tamamını geçiriyorum) ....
- Türkiye’de sezon boyunca kalıyor, yılın geri kalanını kendi ülkemde geçiriyorum ....
- Yıl içinde Türkiye’ye devamlı gelip gidiyorum ...
- Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz) .....

16. Türkiye’ye...

- a. ...kalıcı olarak göç ettim ....
- b. ...geçici olarak göç ettim buradan başka ülkeye göç etmeyi düşünüyorum...
- c. ...sürekli gelip gidiyorum ...

17. Türkiye’de oturma izniniz var mı? Evet .... Hayır....

18. Türkiye’de çalışma izniniz var mı? Evet.... Hayır....

19. Türkiye’ye..... göç ettim (lütfen boşluğu seçeneklerden biriyle doldurunuz)

- a. tek başıma ....
- b. arkadaşım/arkadaşlarımla ....
- c. aile bireylerinden biri ya da bir kaçıyla .... (lütfen yakınlık derecelerini belirtiniz

.....)

20. Türkiye'ye göç etmemin ve burada çalışmamın temel nedeni:
- para kazanmak, kendimin ve ailemin geçimini sağlamak ....
  - özgürce yaşamak ve yeni bir yaşam deneyimi ....
  - bir Türk ile evlendiğim için ....
  - Ülkeme yakın olduğum için ....
  - Hava şartları daha iyi olduğum için ....
  - Burada akrabam/eşim olduğum için ....
  - Diğer ....(Lütfen belirtiniz.....)

21. Türkçe de dahil kaç tane yabancı dil biliyorsunuz? Lütfen başlangıç/orta/ileri seviye olarak belirtiniz.

.....

.....

22. Türkiye'ye göç etmeden önceki çalışma durumunuz:

- çalışıyor ....
- çalışmıyor (iş arıyor) ....
- çalışmıyor (ev kadını) ....
- serbest meslek ....
- emekli ....
- diğer (lütfen belirtiniz) ....

23. Türkiye'ye gelmeden önce en son çalıştığınız işi ve bu işten elde ettiğiniz geliri belirtiniz.

.....

.....

.....

24. Şu anda çalıştığınız işteki aylık geliriniz:

- 500 YTL ....
- 500 – 750 YTL ....
- 750- 1000 YTL ....
- 1000 – 1500 YTL ....
- 1500 – 2000 YTL ....
- 2000 YTL + ....

25. Aylık toplam geliriniz (hanenize giren toplam gelir) not: evli iseniz eşinizin geliri, ek gelirler vs..

- 1000 YTL ....
- 1000 – 1500 YTL ....
- 1500 – 2000 YTL ....
- 2000 – 2500 YTL ....
- 2500 YTL + ....

26. Şu anda çalıştığınız işte size sağlanan olanaklar nelerdir? Birden fazla işaretleyebilirsiniz

- a. sigorta ....
- b. yemek ....
- c. ulaşım ücreti(yol masraflarınız) ....
- d. performansa göre ekstra ücret ....
- e. giyim çeki ....
- f. özel günlerde ek ücret ....
- g. çocuk bakımı veya bakım ücreti ....

27. Türkiye'ye geldiğinizde ilk işinizi nasıl buldunuz?

- a. geldikten sonra kendim buldum ....
- b. gelmeden önce kendim buldum ....
- c. geldikten sonra akrabalarım/arkadaşlarım aracılığıyla buldum ....
- d. gelmeden önce akrabalarım/arkadaşlarım aracılığıyla buldum ....
- e. gelmeden önce iş teklifi aldım ....
- f. geldikten sonra iş teklifi aldım ....

28. Şu anda geçimini ve bakımını üstlendiğiniz kişiler var mı? Varsa size yakınlık derecesini belirtiniz ( anne, baba, kardeş, çocuk vs.)

.....

.....

.....

29. (Çocuğunuz yoksa 27 ve 28. sorulara cevap vermeyiniz) Çocuklarınız sizinle birlikte yaşıyorsa, çalıştığınız saatlerde çocuklarınızın bakımını kim üstleniyor? (ücretli çocuk bakıcısı, aile bireyi, kreş vs.)

.....

.....

.....

30. Çocuklarınız sizinle birlikte yaşamıyorsa kimle ve nerede yaşıyor?.....

.....

Çocuklarınızın bakımını kim üstleniyor?

- a. ücretli çocuk bakıcısı ....
- b. aile bireyleri/akrabalar .... (yakınlık derecesini belirtiniz .....
- c. yurt ....
- d. çocuk barınma evi ....
- e. diğer (belirtiniz) ....

31. (Evli değilseniz 29, 30,31 ve32. sorulara cevap vermeyiniz) Evli iseniz eşinizle birlikte mi ayrı mı yaşıyorsunuz?

birlikte ....  
ayrı ....

32. Eşiniz Türk mü? Evet ....

Hayır .... (eşinizin milliyetini belirtiniz)

33. Eşiniz çalışıyor ise çalıştığı işi belirtiniz .....

34. Evinizi ve ailenizin geçimini siz mi üstleniyorsunuz?

- a. ben tek başıma üstleniyorum
- b. eşimle birlikte, eşit katkı sağlıyoruz
- c. eşimle birlikte, ben daha çok katkı sağlıyorum
- d. eşimle birlikte, eşim daha çok katkı sağlıyor

35. Evin geçimini siz sağlıyorsanız nedeni nedir?

- a. eşim hasta olduğu için çalışmıyor
- b. eşim düşük ücretli bir işte çalışıyor
- c. eşim alkol sorunu nedeni ile çalışmıyor
- d. eşim çalışmıyor (diğer bir sebebi varsa belirtiniz).....

36. Şu anda çalıştığınız işten elde ettiğiniz geliri ve maddi durumunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız?

- a. kazancımla ancak yaşayabiliyorum ....
- b. maddi durumum eskisine göre daha iyi ama para biriktiremiyorum ....
- c. maddi durumum eskisine göre daha kötü ....
- d. maddi durumum daha iyi ve para biriktirebiliyorum ....

37. Şu anda çalıştığınız işin geleceği için ne düşünüyorsunuz?

- a. işime devam etmek istemiyorum, başka bir iş alanında çalışmak istiyorum
- b. işime devam etmek istiyorum
- c. kendi işimi kuracağım
- d. çalışmayı bırakacağım

38. Buradaki yabancı uyruklu diğer kişilerle(çalıştığınız işyerindekiler ve yakın komşularınız dışında)

- a. düzenli olarak görüşüyorum
- b. sık sık görüşüyorum
- c. nadiren görüşüyorum
- d. rastladığımda görüşüyorum
- e. hiç görüşmüyorum

39. Kendi ülkenize temelli dönmeyi düşünüyor musunuz?

- a. Evet
- b. Hayır

40. Türkiye’den başka bir ülkeye göç etmeyi veya başka bir yerde bir süre yaşamayı düşünüyor musunuz?

- a. Evet
- b. Hayır

Aşağıdaki soruları lütfen soruların altındaki ifadelerle göre cevaplayınız.  
Cevabınızı daire içine alınız.

41. Türkiye’de yaşamaktan memnunum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

42. Türkiye’de çalışmaktan memnunum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

43. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olmak/kalmak istiyorum

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

44. Çocuklarımı Türkiye’ye getirmek ve/veya burada yetiştirmek istiyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

45. Ülkeme dönüp kendi mesleğimi yapmak istiyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

46. Türkiye’de yaptığım işten memnunum, devam etmek istiyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

47. Başka bir ülkede başka bir işte çalışmak istiyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

48. Türkiye’de ayrımcılığa uğruyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

49. Türkiye’de hem yabancı hem de kadın olduğum için ayrımcılığa uğruyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

50. İş yerimde yabancı ve kadın olduğum için ayrımcılığa uğradım/uğruyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış



51. İş yerimdeki patronuma ve diğer çalışanlara güven duyuyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

52. Yaptığım işin Türkiye’de yapabileceğim en iyi iş olduğunu düşünüyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

53. Kendi ülkemde iş bulamadığım veya yeterli para kazanamadığım için Türkiye’ye geldim.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

54. Türkiye’de göçmen kadınlara yönelik politikaların yetersiz ve ayrımcı olduğunu düşünüyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış

55. Kendi ülkemden diğer ülkelere göç eden kadınların sayısının artacağını düşünüyorum.

Kesinlikle Doğru      Doğru      Emin Değilim      Yanlış      Kesinlikle Yanlış