



M i R e K o c

**M I G R A T I O N R E S E A R C H P R O G R A M
A T T H E K O Ç U N I V E R S I T Y**

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The New International Migration and Migrant

Women in Turkey: The Case of Moldovan

Domestic Workers

Selmin Kaşka

Address: Marmara University Department of Labour Economy
81616 Beykoz Istanbul, Turkey
Email: skaska@marmara.edu.tr
Tel: +90. 216. 332 3820
Fax: +90. 216. 332 0002

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ABSTRACT

The general theme of this project is the gender dimension of migration. It is designed to explore and investigate the new trends of the globalization of domestic work in the Turkish context by focusing on Moldovan women domestic workers.

The aims of the project are to understand and analyse the impact of recent migration movements on Turkey through the Moldovan case. Turkey, a traditionally migrant-sending country, has become a migration-receiving country in recent years and has started to receive migrants –mostly irregular migrants- from Eastern Europe. One of the important aspects of this new movement is related to gender. Women have comprised a significant proportion of migrants.

This project will focus on women migrants from Moldova. In the last decade, women migrants from Moldova have joined the migration movements mainly due to geographical proximity, liberal visa regulations and an informal labour market. Ethnicity also plays its role in the choice of Turkey as destination country: most of the Moldovan women migrants are *Gagauz Turks*, who are Christian and speak Turkish. They are recruited mainly in domestic service. In this context, Moldovan female migrants present an example of the globalization of domestic work.

So, in this research the case of Moldovan domestic workers in Turkey is examined, and the gender dimension and dynamics of migration movements directed to Turkey from the ex-socialist countries are explored through the findings of field work.

1. INTRODUCTION

International migration has always been a complex phenomenon. However, the migratory flows during the last few decades have become more complex, diversified and heterogeneous. On the one hand new sending and receiving countries have started become important in the migration scene, on the other hand new migrant groups have started to join to the migratory flows.

This research report aims to deal with the new international migration by looking at one aspect of the new movement, namely women migrants who migrate to work as domestic workers in a foreign country. The new global division of labour has certainly significant impacts on migrant labour; in other words, for the majority of women migrants, domestic work which is, without some exceptions, mainly irregular and undocumented has become the main employment opportunity in labour market niches of receiving countries.

In this research report I will present the findings of a research project on “The New International Migration and Migrant Women in Turkey: The Case of Moldovan Domestic Workers”. In recent years Turkey has become a host country for Moldovan women migrants who search for a better living after the transition process in their home country which have dramatic consequences. In parallel to the worldwide tendencies, in Turkey, most of Moldovan women migrants can find employment

opportunity only in domestic work. The research project aimed to understand the dynamics of Moldova as a new sending country, Turkey as new receiving country and migration and working experiences of a new migrant group: Moldovan women domestic workers in Istanbul.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In the so-called “age of migration”, the dynamics of international migration, i.e. its volume, forms and composition, have changed dramatically compared to the trends in the past. Turkey presents an example of this tendency. Known as a sending country in international migration movements, Turkey has become a receiving and a transit country in the last few decades. This new experience has many aspects which are in need of definition, investigation and analysis. This paper will focus on one particular aspect of Turkey’s new experience in international migration: migration, gender and domestic work. In other words, it will investigate Turkey as a host country for irregular women migrants from Moldova who work as domestic workers in Turkish households.

It has been argued that movements of people are “globalizing, accelerating, diversifying and feminizing” (Castles and Miller, 2003:8-9). Therefore, it is a very important task to develop a theoretical framework through which the gender aspect of the new migration movements can be analysed. However, as Kofman et al argue, “while there has been a dramatic speeding up of contemporary processes of feminization of migration, our conceptualization of these developments has not moved as fast” (Kofman et al, 2000:21). Although there is no doubt that “birds of passage” have always included women (Morokvasic, 1984), migration theories have

long been gender-neutral, with an implicit assumption that women are passive followers of their male relatives.

Nevertheless, in the last few decades, there have been important attempts to include the gender dimension in migration theories. In this context, strictly connected to the “feminization of migration” trends, in recent years global domestic work has become a growing concern for scholars who study international migration. While theoretical attempts have been made to analyze this issue, case studies from different parts of the world have attempted to understand this new phenomenon in different settings (Anderson, 2000, Chang, 2000, Ehrenrich and Hochschild, 2003, Hogdagneu-Sotelo, 2001, Parrenas, 2001).

The general theoretical framework of this research project has been based on these new theoretical attempts: firstly on the feminization of migration, and secondly on the globalization of domestic work. The focus of this research is on the immigration and work practices of Moldovan domestic workers in Turkey. I will focus, specifically, on the social, economic, legal and cultural environment in which Moldovan women migrants live in Turkey.

Although it is quite common to employ local domestic workers in upper and middle class houses in urban areas, there is only a few work focuses on this issue (Ozbay, 199a, 1990b and 2002; Kalaycioglu and Rittesberger-Tilic, 2001; Ozyegin 2001, Bora, 2005). In addition, and parallel to the studies and research on the new international migration flows, the impact of the feminization of migration and globalization of domestic work are generally under-researched fields in migration

studies in Turkey. Although there are some ongoing research studies, there are only a few published works on this topic (Keough, 2003, Kumbetoglu, 2005).

However, Turkey has indeed experienced the impacts of these new tendencies. Since the 1990s, Moldovan domestic workers have started to be employed in Turkish households. Turkey is receiving mainly women migrants from Moldova. They are employed in middle or upper class Turkish houses, health centres, in the entertainment sector and sex work. In this context, it can be argued that Moldovan women migrants present an example of the globalization of domestic work in the Turkish setting.

2.1. Feminization of Migration and Globalization of Domestic Work

It is recorded that women migrants overwhelmingly take up work as maids or domestic workers. This definitely applies to the Turkish case since Moldovan irregular women migrants are identified with domestic work in the large cities in Turkey. The aim of this research is to examine this tendency in the Turkish context. Therefore, the general framework of this research [has been established in order to understand the complex relationship between irregular migration and the globalization of domestic work in the Turkish context by looking at the case of Moldovan domestic workers.

2.2 Increasing Demand for Domestic Work: “Care Deficit?”

As Moors states, modernisation theory predicted in the 1970s that paid domestic work would wither away (Moors, 2003). In most of Europe, domestic workers have been disappearing since the beginning of the 20th century, and particularly after World War II (Lutz, 2005). What we see however is a worldwide trend that paid domestic work has grown rapidly in the last 20-30 years. Moors argues that paid domestic work has never been a “prestige zone” in social sciences. It is only recently that the number of studies in this field has started to increase (Moors, 2003).

There is strong evidence that the demand for paid domestic work has started to increase all over the world. As Lutz states, “domestic workers can be found working for dual earners, middle class families and single people, for double or single parents, for young urban professionals as well as for the elderly and invalid” (Lutz, 2005: 2). There are many different reasons for this development. Firstly, particularly in Northern Europe, as a result of neo-liberal policies there is a tendency towards the shrinking of the welfare state. In many countries, the 1980s saw a reduction in public services provision. Secondly, demographic factors play an important role. The trend of an aging population is crucial here. Thirdly, the changing social and economic roles of women and, by extension, feminization of the workforce, have generated the increasing demand for paid domestic labour. Another factor is particularly related to the Southern European countries. In these countries, because of the decline of the extended family, domestic work which was performed previously by the unpaid labour of women members of the family has become commercialized. Finally, researchers point out the case of Middle Eastern countries, where the rate of women participation in the labour force is quite low, but where having a servant has become an important status symbol for middle-class families (Momsen, 1999:4).

It should be stated that domestic work includes a variety of different tasks such as cleaning, cooking and caring, called by Anderson “the three C’s”. In care work there is also variety of work, such as caring for the elderly, for children, for the disabled and the ill.

2.3 Increasing Supply of Domestic Labour: Feminization of Migration

Due to the above-mentioned factors the issue of paid domestic work has become important. But who undertakes domestic work? The recent tendency clearly shows that women migrants overwhelmingly take up domestic work. As researchers state, it is not the local women but migrant women who are becoming involved in domestic work. For example, in 1984 the percentage of foreign females from outside the European Union countries was 6 % in all domestic workers and, 52 % in 1987 (Ehrenreich ve Hochschild, 2003:7).

Hogdagneu-Sotelo analyses the reasons for the flourishing of domestic work and concludes that it mainly depends on the global economic system that generates gross inequalities between regions. In the global north, the movement of women into the paid labour force has created a demand for cleaning and childcare services to replace their labour in the home. Meanwhile, in the global south, increasing numbers of households have been displaced from their usual means of subsistence, forcing members to emigrate in search of a livelihood (Hogdagneu-Sotelo, 2003).

Domestic work in private houses, particularly live-in, is the most important employment opportunity for newly arrived women, both regular and irregular (Anderson, 2001). Therefore it is well documented that Filipinas are global workers to be found in all continents, Sri Lankans mainly in the Middle Eastern countries, Mexicans and Caribbeans in the US, and Southern and Eastern Europeans and North Africans in Europe (Momsen, 1999).

As Moors states, sending countries have a strong interest in maintaining relations with labour migrants as they are a major source of foreign currency. “Some embassies...organize festivals and contests to promote the image of migrant domestic workers, defining them as ‘economic heroes’ who not only sacrifice themselves for their families but also for the nation” (Moors, 2003:388).

There is no doubt that the ongoing developments relating to domestic work are very important for the social sciences. It is well known that if we consider domestic work the so-called public/private distinction is not meaningful at all. As research on domestic work shows, we should acknowledge that “worldwide millions of homes are workplaces, and millions of workplaces are homes (Colen and Sanjek 1990, quoted in Dickey and Adams, 2000:5).

In this framework, the literature which has been reviewed for this research reflects the complexity of the research topic, namely domestic work, gender and migration, and irregular migration. The review of the literature reveals that there is a vast range of studies which tackle the different dimensions of this complexity, among which gender, class, race and ethnicity play important roles. Some of the existing literature

presents theoretical attempts to analyse the issue, while some contains case studies from different parts of the world which try to understand this new phenomenon in different settings. The general feature of most of the literature reviewed is that there is an important attempt to make migrant women visible.

Most of the literature refers to the concept of “transnationalism” when presenting a theoretical outline for study. Here the discussion on “transnationalism from below”, and on “transnational families”, is an important contribution in order to understand global domestic workers. On the other hand, since the new pattern of migration is different from the past, Morokvasic’s concept, “settled in mobility”, is very useful, and an alternative to the emigration/immigration perspective of the classical migration studies.

All the above-mentioned developments which have caused the globalisation of domestic work have led scholars to discuss this new tendency from different aspects. One of the dimensions of this tendency is related to, as Zimmerman and others term it, “global work transfer”. They refer to Hochschild’s concept, “global care chain”. Hochschild defines this concept as a ““series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring’, where each careworker depends for carework on another” (quoted in Zimmerman, Litt and Bose, 2006: 13).

One of the new concepts which explains the novelty of the new migration flows within the context of globalization of domestic work is Hochschild’s “care drain”. According to her,

in addition to (the) brain drain there is now a parallel but more hidden and wrenching trend, as women who normally care for the young, the old, and the sick in their own poor countries move to care for the young, the old, and the sick in rich countries, whether as maids and nannies or as day-care and nursing –home aides. It’s a care drain (Hochschild, 2003:17).

This concept implies an important and global trend: the importation of care and love from poor to wealthier countries (Hochschild, 2003:17).

By looking at recent case studies, and referring particularly to the well-educated domestic workers from East European countries, Lutz argues that the brain drain becomes “brain waste”, since “destination countries are not interested in their professional expertise but rather in their ‘experiential’” (Lutz, 2005:7).

The general conclusion from the literature review is that the existing literature looks mainly at the increasing numbers of female migrants who are being sought for their labour in *advanced economies*. The peculiarity of Turkey in this context stems from the fact that it is not an advanced economy but nevertheless is a host country for foreign domestics.

Hogdagneu-Sotelo argues that in order to understand immigrant care workers, it is necessary to look at supply, demand and the social network reference system. I follow this argument when I establish the framework of this research. In other words, I will look at the dynamics of the sending country, Moldova, the dynamics of the receiving

country, Turkey, and the interrelations of these two dynamics by giving special attention to the networks of Moldovan migrants.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

Two objectives have been followed during the conduct of this research. First, to understand and analyse the dynamics of migration flows from Moldova to Turkey. This objective will not only provide a detailed insight into the Moldovan case, but will also contribute to our understanding of the impact of irregular migration flows on Turkey. Second, to understand the gender dimension of migration in the Turkish context. Here, we will learn much about the gender dimension of migration from the Moldovan women migrants' experience. After analyzing the Moldovan women immigrants experience, therefore, we can develop our knowledge of the gender-specific aspects of migration.

3.1 Research Objectives, Research Questions and Hypothesis

This research aims to investigate the social, economic and cultural environment and the legal framework in which Moldovan women domestic workers live. It has been designed to investigate the following specific aspects:

On the part of Moldovan women domestic workers themselves: Their socio-economic backgrounds, family structures, working conditions in Turkey, remittances, ways of recruitment, problem-solving methods, cultural interrelations with Turkish

society and Turkish people, their relations with their immediate employers, their perceptions of Turkish society, turnover, their way of maintaining relations with their family members, their networks within Turkey, their legal status, and the problems stemming from their irregular situation, the stereotypes of Moldovan women as foreigners, their vulnerability as illegal foreign workers.

On the part of host country: Different aspects of the social environment in which Moldovan domestic workers live, such as attitudes to and perception of employers, the media, the public etc. In terms of economic factors, the extent to which the informal economy in Turkey plays a role. In terms of the legal dimension, the existing legal framework, and, given the fact that there is no special institution in Turkey which regulates migration movements or is responsible for migratory issues, the perspective for the future developments both in legal and institutional levels.

Depending on the researcher's observations from previous research in the UGINAR¹ and the IOM (Erder and Kaska, 2003) research projects, the following hypotheses have been formulated and questioned in this research:

¹ The UGINAR project (International Migration, Labour Force and Population Movement) carried out by the academic staff from the Department of Labour Economics and Industrial Relations, Marmara University. It was funded by Marmara University Research Fund. The main aim of the UGINAR project was to study the complex character of new migration and population movements and their effects from a legal, social, economic and industrial relations point of view within a multi-disciplinary approach. This researcher's sub-topic in the UGINAR project was "The New Foreign Female Labour in Turkey". The main aim of this sub-research was to examine the gender aspects of migration movements directed to Turkey. It aimed to explore particularly the presence of cultural bias and discrimination against women migrants through a survey research. Although it remains as a local project and limited in its scope, it has made important contributions to the researcher.

a) Moldovan women migrants come to Turkey for mainly economic reasons and do not intend to settle in there. Therefore, it seems to be a temporary migration movement.

b) There is a potential risk of deception and trafficking, but this cannot be generalized and should not be confused with the network-type relationships which may act in fact as informal protection or as a problem-solving method. On the other hand, however, migration itself can be taken as an emancipatory movement for women. To this extent, the effects of migration on gender roles and power relations in the family can be investigated.

c) Since Moldovan domestic workers accept to be live-in servants and their local counterparts do not, there seems to be no competition between them.

3.2 Methodology

This research has been designed from a sociological perspective and aims to investigate the social, cultural, legal and institutional dimensions of migratory movements of Moldovan women migrants.

The methodology of this research depends on available statistical data, the related legislative framework, a review of the media and fieldwork. For fieldwork, semi-structured and unstructured interviews have been conducted.

All these methodological steps have been taken in order to outline the main characteristics of this movement and then to discuss the case of Moldovan women migrants in Turkey.

More concretely, the following methodological techniques have been used:

- Review of existing literature. This has provided information on the broad issue of gender and migration and will help to develop an appropriate conceptual framework. It has also provided information on the recent migration flows to Turkey and migration flows from Moldova.
- Documentary review, compilation of statistical data and official documents: this has provided the available documents related to migration flows from Moldova.
- Media review: the image of Moldovan women migrants in Turkish society has been investigated through content analysis of the mass media, particularly a systematic review of two Turkish daily newspapers (Sabah and Hurriyet)
- Secondary data from the Turkish Government, particularly from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, and Ministry of the Interior.
- Interviews with Turkish government officials: Through these semi-structured interviews it has been possible to follow the perceptions of Turkish government agencies and their future perspectives on migration movements in general and women migrants in particular.
- Interview with the representative of Moldova in Turkey: Through an unstructured interview it has been possible to obtain the perceptions of Moldovan officials in Turkey of Turkey's migration system, and of their citizens' conditions, their problems and the solutions to them in Turkey.

- Interviews with Moldovan domestic workers. This is one of the most important parts of the fieldwork. Through in-depth interviews with the migrant women themselves it has been possible to answer the research questions and hypotheses outlined above.

- Interviews with employers of Moldovan migrants in Istanbul. In-depth interviews were conducted with the employers of Moldovan domestic workers in order to provide detailed information on the other side of domestic work.

- Interviews with private employment agencies and travel agencies in Istanbul. Through these in-depth interviews it has been possible to analyse the effects of networks of Moldovan migrants.

In this context, a total of 38 interviews were conducted². The number of interviews is less than in the research proposal. In other words, when the research was first designed, the intention was to interview twenty Moldovan domestic workers. However during the conduct of the fieldwork, the research team experienced a considerable difficulty in accessing Moldovan interviewees. The research team accessed the respondents through their own personal references and through contact persons. Ultimately, these contacts were useful for 15 interviews only.

When the fieldwork was designed, it was expected that there would be some difficulties in conducting research on Moldovan migrants because of their lack of legal status. However the difficulties we came across during the fieldwork were more serious than expected.

² See the interview list in Appendix 10

These difficulties to find Moldovan interview participants have stemmed from two main factors. Firstly, it was not possible to reach them through organizations and associations since they are not organized. They are mostly invisible in the public sphere. We have asked to anyone we knew if they knew of any Turkish employers who employed Moldovans. This channel seemed to work in the beginning. Through our personal relations, we obtained the information about many employers who employ foreign domestic workers. This indeed shows how common it is for the middle and upper-middle class families to employ foreign domestic workers. By using these contacts we accessed foreign domestic workers. However, in some cases it was impossible to obtain Moldovan women's permissions for interviews. We explained the purpose and scope of the research; however, if we were rejected in our first contact, we did not insist, in order to be sensitive to their undocumented status in Turkey.

There were some potential interview participants who initially accepted to speak to us but later changed their mind and sent their apologies by explaining their excuses.

When this research was designed it was planned to use snowball sampling. However this did not work properly. Almost all the women to whom we spoke expressed the view that they might help us in accessing their citizens if they wished to, but eventually we were informed that they did not want to speak. In some cases, we could not carry out the interview since the Moldovan domestic worker were about to leave Turkey. This is of course related to the fact that they are temporary migrants and that the turnover rate is quite high.

Secondly, during the fieldwork we observed a new tendency. We came across numbers of domestic workers from other former Soviet Union countries, particularly from Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan, (also Bulgaria and Georgia). In order to understand this phenomenon and in order to obtain some information on Moldovans through domestic workers with different nationalities we conducted 5 interviews with women from Turkic republic states³.

In addition to for the interviews, two members of the research team had a chance to observe the work experiences of 5 foreign women. We did not conduct interviews with them; however, because of the intimate relations which we established during the course of time, we were able to have conversations with them.

Our interview participants were very helpful during the interviews. It was possible to establish trustful relations; therefore, during the interviews we could find a chance to gain information about some other women who we did not meet. Our interviewees talked about their sisters, daughters and other female relatives who had already had migration and work experiences in Turkey.

We conducted one interview with a female Moldovan undergraduate student in Istanbul. This interview was also very helpful in understanding the experiences of migrant women in Turkey.

³ It should be noted that Turkish people do not generally differentiate between foreign women coming from the Eastern European and/or Former Soviet Union countries in terms of their nationality. Those women are called simply “them” regardless of their country of origin. For this reason, there were some cases to whom we were referred as ‘Moldovan’ domestic workers but who eventually turned out to be women from other republics in the FSU.

All the interviews were conducted in Turkish. Since the interviewees (mostly from Gagauzia) could speak Turkish, we did not use an interpreter. We did not ask to tape-record the interviews; the research team took notes during and after them.

We conducted some interviews in respondents' homes, some in public places such as a fast food restaurant, coffee shops and public parks, and some in our own homes.

We also had a chance to accompany a Moldovan domestic worker during her visit to Laleli to send money and packets to Moldova.

Although this is not a representative sample, I think that in terms of demographic characteristics and work experiences I could obtain information which reflects the heterogeneity of Moldovan domestic workers.

4. ANALYTICAL PART

4.1 Setting the Context: Moldovan Women Domestic Workers in Turkey

4.1.1 Turkey: The Host Country for Irregular Migrants from Moldova

It is known that Turkey, as a traditionally migrant-sending country, has become a migration-receiving country in recent years. Since this is a new phenomenon, we have only limited information on this complex issue both in terms of academic studies and statistics.

In recent years this has become an important field in migration studies. Some of the studies look at the specific aspects of the migration flows, such as transit migration, trafficking in women, at asylum and refugees, and some others try to develop a general picture of irregular migration.

The existing research on migration to Turkey reveals that there are different categories of migrants in Turkey. As Icduygu states, “Besides the migration of ethnic-Turks, often taking the form of asylum, there are four main types of inflows: asylum-seekers and refugees; transit migration flows; illegal labour migration; and registered migration of non-nationals. The first three types of inflow often overlap” (Icduygu,

2005: 5) In terms of irregular migration there are three types of flows directed to Turkey: immigration from Eastern Europe, transit migration and asylum-seekers (ibid, 6). The topic of this research is related to the third type, namely irregular labour migration.

Observation and limited research on the impact of the new international migration movements in Turkey in general and irregular labour migration in particular reveal that the growing phenomenon of irregular migration stems from several factors. Among these, geographical proximity between sending countries and Turkey, role of the informal sector in the Turkish employment structure, the intensive commercial contacts between the sending countries and Turkey, known as “shuttle trade” (Yükseker, 2003), and the flexible visa regime⁴ and border controls can be mentioned.

Due to these factors, increasingly large numbers of migrants participate in the migration flows. It seems that to enter Turkey with a tourist visa is the main form of irregular migration. The main reason which gives an “irregular” character to this migration flow is the fact that, after their arrival migrants remain in the country to work even after the expiration of their visas.

According to the estimates in 2001, 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 labour migration; and registered migration of non-nationals. (Icduygu, 2005:5).

⁴ See Appendix 11 for the visa regulation for former Soviet Union Countries

4.1.1.1 Women Migrants in Turkey

The available statistics on migration are far from being sufficient. In addition, they are not classified by sex. Therefore it is not possible to calculate the number of women migrants in Turkey. Since they work informally, there is no record of the number of foreign domestics. Therefore we do not have any estimate of the number of women migrants. However we can easily observe that they constitute an important dimension of the migration flows directed to Turkey.

Existing research shows that women migrants from the Eastern European and the Former Soviet Union countries directed to Turkey do represent a heterogeneous group. It includes domestic workers, shuttle traders, service sector workers and women in the entertainment sector. Although Turkey receives migration from all these countries, in terms of women migration Moldova, Ukraine, Russia, Azerbaijan and Georgia have become particularly important (Erder and Kaska, 2003).

However in terms of domestic work, the most important country has been Moldova since the mid-1990s. Moldovan women migrants are recruited in Turkish households in order to perform cleaning, cooking, but more importantly caring for children, the elderly, the infirm or the disabled.

4.1.1.2 Domestic Work and Employing Domestic Workers in

Turkey

Theoretical or empirical studies on domestic work in Turkey are very limited. Although it is quite usual to employ domestic workers in upper or middle-class houses in urban areas, there are only a few studies which focus on this issue. Among the limited work in this field, Ozbay has analysed the development of domestic work in Turkey through *evlatlıks* (Ozbay 1999, 1999b, 2000 and 2002), Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıc and, Ozyegin have analysed local women with rural origin who work as domestics in Ankara, and Bora has conducted an anthropological research on domestic servants in Ankara (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıc 2001, Ozyegin 2001, Bora, 2005).

In the context of the welfare regime in Turkey, caring for children, ill people and house cleaning are usually organised through family and informal networks⁵. In other words, the number of formal public or private domestic services agencies is small. In this context, Moldovan women can find jobs quite easily in Turkish households. As Keough states, as in many global cities worldwide, so in Istanbul too, domestic work, particularly certain types of domestic work, is no longer undertaken by upwardly mobile women, the extended family or the state, but by transnational migrants (Keough, 2003). Therefore foreign domestic workers have fitted easily into this

⁵ See table in Appendix 1: Child Care in Turkey While Working. This table shows percentage of employed mothers of a child under six years of age by person who cares for child while mother is at work, according to background characteristics, Turkey 2003)

development. Initially, migrants from Moldova who have Gagauz ethnic origins were preferred by Turkish employers because they speak Turkish. But as demand increased, people from Moldova with different ethnic origins have also been employed.

Since the phenomenon of foreign domestic work is new there are only a few studies on the issue. Among the published works, Weyland analyses Filipino domestic workers in the households of foreign corporate executives in Istanbul (Weyland, 1997); Keough presents the preliminary findings of her research on Gagauz women in Turkey, and Gagauzia (Keough, 2003); Kumbetoglu analyses immigrant domestic workers in Istanbul (Kumbetoglu 2005); and Icduygu examines the issue of foreign domestic workers in his analysis of illegal migration in Turkey (Icduygu, 2004).

4.1.1.3 Relevant Legal Framework

Previous research on international migration directed to Turkey reveals that the legal framework in Turkey does not have a coherent character. There are more than 70 laws dealing with foreigners in Turkey. Therefore immigration and working regulations and policies are not systematic. Parallel to this it is also widely accepted that Turkey does not have a systematic migration policy to regulate the new migration movement.

Nevertheless it can be argued that have been some important attempts in order to provide a migration regime which meets the necessities of the recent migration flows. Most of the ongoing efforts are related to the harmonization of the migration

legislation within the European Union. In this context, there have also been some attempts to regulate migrant labour in Turkey. All these efforts are certainly related to the fact that Turkey has become an attractive destination for migrants, including asylum seekers, transit migrants, irregular migrants and regular migrants.

My intention here is not focus on the details of the existing legal framework⁶. It seems that the most relevant pieces of legislation for Moldovan domestic workers are the Passport Law, the Law Concerning Residence and Travels of Foreigners in Turkey, Turkish Citizenship Law and finally the Law on the Work Permits for Foreigners. It is known that the rules concerning the entrance to and departure from Turkish territory are determined by the *Passport Law* (No.5682, of 1950), and that a foreigner's stay in Turkey is governed by the *Law Concerning Residence and Travels of Foreigners in Turkey* (No. 5683, of 1950). As I stated before, Moldovan domestic workers do obey the rules of these two pieces of legislation during their visa period. In other words their irregular migrant status starts after their visa has expired. Therefore their irregularity stems from their stay and work in Turkey. However, according to the current rules, foreigners staying in Turkey with an expired visa must pay a fine at the border. Therefore their irregular migrant status has been sanctioned by this fine. The fine is calculated according to the duration of overstay.

Another relevant piece of legislation is related to acquiring Turkish citizenship. It is well documented in previous research that in order to obtain Turkish citizenship, and therefore to settle in Turkey with having regular status, marriages of inconvenience were used by some irregular migrant women before the Turkish Citizenship Law

⁶ For the existing legal regulation on migration, see, Icduygu, 2004.

(Law No. 403 of 1964) was amended in 2003. The Amendment to the Turkish Citizenship Law (No.4866) was enacted in order to eliminate this method by imposing a three-year waiting period before a foreigner obtains Turkish nationality.

Now I wish to turn the most recent legal regulation on migration in Turkey, namely the law governing the issue of work permits for foreigners.

The Law Concerning Work Permits for Foreigners (No. 4817) was drafted in parallel to the European Union *Acquis*. It was enacted in March 2003 and put into force in September 2003. Before the law was put into effect, a six-month waiting period was envisaged.

This law is important because it has introduced some novelties to the Turkish system. Firstly it aims to centralize the regulation of work permits. According to the law, the Ministry of Labour is the authorized body in regulating work permits. Before this law was enacted, various ministries and government institutions could grant work permits⁷. In practice, it is the Directorate General of Labour in the Ministry of Labour which is responsible for the regulation of work permits.

⁷ As stated above, one of the aims of the law was to centralize the granting of work permits. This was one of the main problems in the regulation of employment of foreign domestic workers in the past. Legal experts argue that one of the reasons for irregular migration becoming widespread in Turkey has been the disorganized nature of the Turkish legal framework on the issue. Because of this complex situation, it has not been possible to produce reliable information and statistics on migrant labour and therefore to investigate the irregular employment of foreigners properly. However, the law could not remove the inconveniences in the previous legal framework, since it could not create a single authorised body. In other words, there are still some pieces of legislation concerning the jobs and professions in which foreigners will not be entitled to work and also some institutions which can still grant work permits to the foreigners (Guzel and Bayram, 2006).

The second aim of the law was to prevent illegal employment of foreigners, through effective controls and high fines both for the employer and employee.

Thirdly, it abolished The Law on the Specific Employment Conditions of Turkish Citizens in Turkey (No.2007, of 1932) according to which to obtain a work permit as a foreigner was more difficult, since it provided a long list of professions which were exclusively reserved for Turkish citizens (Kaiser-Pehlivanoglu, 2001).

Finally, with this law, foreigners are allowed to be employed in domestic services. Under the previous legal regulation it was not possible for foreigners to work in domestic work. This law made it relatively easier for foreigners to work in Turkey.

According to the law, foreigners are obliged to obtain permission before they start to work dependently or independently in Turkey. However, “in cases where the country’s benefits require or depend on the force majeure, the work permits may be given after starting work, provided that information is given to the relevant authority beforehand, on condition that the working period will not exceed one month and Ministerial approval has been obtained”.

According to Article 5 of the Law, “work permits for a definite period of time are given to be valid for at maximum one year, taking into consideration the situation in the business market, developments in the labour life, sectorial and economic conjuncture changes regarding employment, according to the duration of residence permit of the foreigner and the duration of the service contract or the work, to work in a certain workplace or enterprise and in a certain job”.

After the legal working duration of one year, duration of the working permit may be extended to three years, on condition of continuing to work in the same workplace or enterprise and in the same job. At the end of the legal working duration of three years, duration of the working permit may be extended up to six years, on condition of working in the same profession and at the disposal of a desired employer.

According to Article 20 of the law, foreign employees and employers are inspected by the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurances Institution inspectors whether or not they fulfill their obligations arising from this Law.

After the enactment of the law, the *Application Regulations for the Law on Work Permit of Foreigners* were issued. Therefore, a range of detailed rules on implementation such as procedures and bases regarding giving, restricting and canceling every kind of working permit, on foreigners who are exempted from working permits, and on how the notification obligations are to be fulfilled, have been arranged according to the regulations.

4.1.1.4 Statistical Information on Migration from Moldova to Turkey

Arrivals⁸: It is not possible to estimate the numbers of Moldovan migrants in Turkey.

Official statistics show the number of arrivals. But we should keep in mind that those

⁸ See table in Appendix 2 for the numbers of foreigners arriving in Turkey from former USSR (1997-2005) and, table in Appendix 3 for the numbers of foreigners from former USSR departing Turkey, by nationality (1997-2005).

irregular migrants enter Turkey with a tourist visa. The number of arrivals of Moldovans fluctuated between 47,000 and 90,000 in the period of 1997-2005. The figure for 2005 was 89,800. These are total numbers and certainly include real tourists.

Residence and Work Permits⁹: The number of Moldovans living in Turkey with residence permits in 2001 was 855 from a total of 161,254, and with work permits were 268 out of 22,416. Those who had work permits were 268 in from a total of 22,416. In 2005, the number of Moldovan citizens who had residence permit was 3,065 out of 178,964. As I mentioned earlier, since the enactment of the Law on Work Permits of Foreigners (2003), work permits have been granted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. According to the data obtained from the Ministry, at the beginning of March 2006, the number of citizens of the Republic of Moldova who have work permit was 106 out of a total of 9.607. There is no doubt that these very low figures reflect a large informal labour market.

Table 1: Moldovans in Turkey with Residence Permits, 1998-2005

	1998	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Miscellaneous	233	371	472	661	1.224	2.618
Working	396	268	258	221	213	216
Student	177	208	160	173	200	231
Total	806	855	890	1.055	1.637	3.065

Source: Directorate of the General Security of the Ministry of Interior

⁹ See table in Appendix 5 for migrant groups from former USSR in Turkey with residence permits (1997-2005).

The Ministry of Labour has also started to classify the data on a sectorial basis. According to this, the number of foreign domestic workers who have work permit can be shown. The table below shows these figures by the end of 2005.

Table 2: Foreign Domestic Workers with Work Permit in Turkey (2.12.2005)

Country	Number
Moldova	20
Turkmenistan	4
Philippines	6
Romania	5
France	3
Uzbekistan	3
Others	7
Total	48

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security

The numbers in the table are of course negligible. However they reflect the general tendency of informality in the Turkish context. In fact local women who work in domestic service also work undocumented.

Marriages: In the period 1995-2005, the number of Moldovans who obtained Turkish citizenship through marriage was 3,207 in total 41,430 in 2005. As is known, marriage has been seen as the only way for migrant women to legalize their undocumented status. It is quite early to observe the long-term impact of the recent

amendment to the Turkish Citizenship Law; however, the recent statistics on this issue¹⁰ reveal that it has been effective in discouraging marriages.

Deportation: Since most of the Moldovan citizens enter Turkey legally, they are not deported for the violation of the entry rules, but for other offences. As shown in table 3, in the period 1996-2001 16,251 Moldovans were deported in total 177, 757. In 2001 the causes for deportation of Moldovans were as follows: visa expiration 2,215, prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases 938, illegal work 138, illegal entry 9, others 551; totally 3,851. In the period of 1996-2001, deportation of Moldovans for prostitution and STDs was 4.933 from a total of 29,582. Therefore, the majority of Moldovans were deported for the reason of visa expiration. As known, the visa period for Moldovans is one month.

Table 3: Causes for Deportation of Moldovans (1996-2001)

	1996	%	1997	%	1998	%	1999	%	2000	%	2001	%
Visa Expiration	146	20,20	307	14,80	410	18,90	477	13,10	905	23,70	2215	57,50
Prostitution	187	25,80	602	29,10	849	39,10	708	19,50	975	25,60	729	18,90
Sexually Transmitted Diseases	52	7,20	31	1,50	58	2,70	265	7,30	268	7,00	209	5,40
Illegal Work	23	3,20	65	3,10	429	19,80	442	12,20	288	7,60	138	3,60
Illegal Entry and Departure	-	-	17	0,80	5	0,20	2	0,05	3	0,10	9	0,20
Other	315	43,60	1,046	50,60	419	19,30	1,734	47,80	1,372	36,00	551	14,30
Total	723	100,00	2,068	100,00	2,170	100,00	3,628	100,00	3,811	100,00	3,851	100,00

Source: General Directorate for Foreigners, Ministry of Interior

¹⁰ See table in Appendix 6: Foreigners Acquired Turkish Citizenship through Marriage, 1995-2005

4.1.2 Moldova: The Country of Origin of Irregular Migrants¹¹

After the collapse of the USSR, the former Soviet Republic of Moldova was recognized as an independent state in 1991. Moldova is the second-smallest republic among the Soviet successor states, after Armenia, and comprises some 33,700 square kilometers. It is the neighbour of Romania and Ukraine. The country consists of two broad regions: to the west, Bessarabia, the area between the Prut and Dniestr Rivers, to the east, Transnistria. The total population of the country was 4.32 million in 1989¹². About 83% of the population lives in Bessarabia and 17 % in Transnistria, which has functioned as an autonomous state since a separatist conflict in 1991 and 1992 (King, 2000: xxvii-xxviii).

Different ethnic groups live in Moldova: Romanian/Moldavians (64.5 %), Ukrainians (13.8 %), Russians (13 %), Gagauz (3.5%), Jews (1.5%), Bulgarians (2.5%), and others (1.7%). The majority is Romanian speaking, but some prefer to call themselves and their language Moldovan.

During its transition Moldova suffered a deep economic recession, political turmoil and worsening individual and social welfare (CBS-AXA 2005: 6). The economy suffered from many of the problems common to many post-Soviet states. Agriculture

¹¹ There is a difficulty to access information and knowledge on Moldova. Scholarly information on Moldova is poor. In addition, there are unfortunately only a few academic studies on Moldova in English. Most of our information on Moldova depends on the reports of international organization such as the UN, IOM, World Bank etc. Needless to say, these reports have specific concerns; therefore they are not comprehensive academic studies. Nevertheless, they provide a general picture of Moldova.

¹² For the population of Moldova between 1941-1989, see table in Appendix 8

suffered from periodic droughts, continuing problems with transportation, and the disruption of export markets to the other post-Soviet countries (King, 2000: xxvii). At the beginning of 2000, the Gross Domestic Product was 40% of that of 1990. As King states, this decline is far more dramatic than in some other republics. Real wages have decreased by 71 %, resulting in a low purchasing capacity. Moldova has the lowest average salary among the CIS countries, which is \$30 per month, while the minimum consumer's budget is \$65. 80% of the population lives below the poverty line. Unemployment constitutes officially 1-2 % of all engaged workers. The real rate, however, is 20-25% (HWWA, 2004:75). The economically active population has declined from 1,809,000 in 1998 to 1,617,000 in 2001. In 2002, the economically active population was estimated at 1,615,000. The employed population in the last few years is decreasing: in 1993: the active population was about 1,688,000, in 2001 it was 1,499,000 (HWWA, 2004:75).

The proportion of urban population was 42% in 1998 (UN, 2000). The economy depends largely on agricultural production and, according to the HWWA Report, around 60.8 % of people working live in rural areas.

4.2.1.2 Migration from Moldova¹³

Moldova is experiencing mass emigration. Confronted with political instability, collapsing incomes, and rapidly rising unemployment, people began to migrate from Moldova on a large scale in the first half of the 1990s.

¹³ The Republic of Moldova does not have a developed migration record system; therefore we can only rely on estimates of different institutions.

Therefore, Moldova is a net exporter of labour. Obviously, the labour migration of the Moldovan population became possible with the collapse of socialist regime and liberalization of entry and exit policies by former Soviet states. Low living standards, limited possibilities of employment and other problems have resulted in a mass migration of Moldovan citizens to various countries of the world. The overall situation of the economy favoured his intense labour outflow from Moldova. In other words, low incomes, high unemployment, increased mobility and, apart from these push effects, pull factors such as demand for cheap labour, are very significant causes of Moldovan labour migration (Sleptova, 2003).

Because hardly any opportunities are available for legal migration from Moldova, most of this emigration has been irregular. According to unofficial estimates, between 600,000 and 1,000,000 people are working abroad. The number of persons legally employed abroad was 8,201 persons in 2000. (Sleptova, 2003). Table 4 reveals main countries which regular migration flows from Moldova directed to which are outside the Eastern European and Central Asian countries and Baltic regions, in the period of 1998-2000.

Table 4: Emigration to the Countries outside the Eastern European and Central Asian Countries (EECA) and Baltic Regions by Country 1998-2000

Country	1998		1999		2000	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
Canada	32	0.9	100	2.4	71	1.8
Germany	1.406	37.8	1.258	30.7	1.396	35.9
Israel	784	21.1	1.338	32.6	1.110	28.6
USA	1.350	36.3	1.241	30.2	1.115	28.7
Others	145	3.9	168	4.1	193	5.0
Total	3.717	100	4.105	100	3.885	100

Source: IOM 2002 –Migration Trends in EECA: Republic of Moldova, cited in HWWA, 79.

Today the biggest parts of Moldovan migrant workers are employed in low-paid and low-skilled sectors. One of the main fields is domestic service. Although there are some regularization efforts such as in the form of bilateral cooperation between Moldova and Italy, these efforts are small in scope since they have not changed significantly the undocumented status of Moldovans abroad (Sleptova, 2003).

Table 5: Destination Countries of Moldovan Migrants

	%
Greece	2.5
Italy	16.3
Portugal	4.5
Russia	61.9
Turkey	2.1
Ukraine	2.2
Other Countries	10.5
Total	100

Source: CBS-AXA, 2005

The countries of destination for Moldovan immigrants are Russia, and Central and East European countries. Turkey is among these countries, especially for the members of Gagauz minority, which is a Christian community in the southern part of the country whose language is related to Turkish and who enjoy substantial autonomy.

According to the report prepared by the CBS-AXA Consultancy¹⁴, about 60% of the Moldovan migrants go to CSI countries, mainly Russia. “These destinations are cheaper in terms of monetary costs and cultural barriers are not as high as in case of other countries. Italy absorbs more than 16% of the migrants. Far behind there is

¹⁴ The CBS-AXA Consultancy report is based on research carried out in 2004. Data was collected using three distinct methodologies. These are an opinion poll with a sample of 1000 households; qualitative data collection which depends on focus groups, in-depth interviews and mass media content-analysis; and a household survey involving 3714 people.

Portugal with 4.5, Greece with 2.5 and Ukraine and Turkey with about 2%” (CBS-AXA 2005, 6).

Current trends of migration from Moldova reveal that migration flows are rather circular in character. According to the HWWA Report, surveys show that Moldovan migrants maintain ties with their families at home and return home at least once or even several times over a period of time. The destination countries targeted are normally countries with a segmentation of labour, which plays an ever-increasing role in driving migration. In many developed countries, people are unwilling to perform work that is low-paid, low in prestige, seasonal, or physically demanding. (HWWA, 2004:78).

Today most Moldovan migrant workers are employed in hard, low-paid and low-skilled sectors. Almost 70% state that their employment has nothing to do with their profession. The main fields of employment are construction, agricultural work, transportation, mining, household services and the sex industry. Seasonal trends are notable, and the migration volume rises by 30-40% during the period of planting and harvesting in agriculture ((HWWA, 2004:78).

4.1.2.2 Feminization of Migration from Moldova

According to the CBS-AXA Report, fewer women than men migrate to Russia and more migrate to EU countries. The construction and renovation sector attracts more than half of Moldovan migrants, mostly men and mostly in Russia.

Table 6: Gender Structure of Moldovan Migrants in Receiving Countries

	Gender Structure across Countries		Total
	Men %	Women %	
Greece	29.6	70.4	100
Italy	36.5	63.5	100
Portugal	67.9	32.1	100
Russia	74.3	25.7	100
Turkey	32.2	67.8	100
Ukraine	63.2	36.8	100
Total	100	100	100

Source: CBS-AXA, 2005

According to the HWWA Report, available data on emigration from Moldova shows that more than 20,000 women of childbearing age leave Moldova every year. For instance, up to 70% of women from villages of the Gagauzia region are believed to have left for Turkey, but also for Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Women working abroad are mostly active in the caring services such as nursing, domestic work, entertainment. Feminisation of migration has affected Moldova to a very great extent, since women make up about 65% (650,000 from 1,000,000) of the total estimated number of migrants from Moldova. When looking at the causes of feminised migration in Moldova, it becomes evident that mainly poverty and lack of opportunities have led to the development of this trend. The roots should be sought for in the challenges of the transition period in Moldova, which impacted both men and women. The situation of women, however, is worse than that of men. The number of women living in poverty is disproportionate to the number of men. In Moldova 68% of the unemployed are women, despite having the same level of training as men, and when employed their salaries in the national economy constitute just 60-70% of that of men¹⁵ (HWWA, 2004:79-80).

¹⁵ See table in Appendix 10 for a summary of gender profile in Moldova in the period of 1980-2000.

The scarce employment opportunities make women go abroad to work illegally, without social protection or insurance, leaving their children with elderly parents, relatives or neighbours. Furthermore, profiles of women victims of trafficking from Moldova clearly indicate that the number of women who are mothers is the highest one (IOM, 2005)

4.2. Fieldwork Findings

4.2.1 Moldovan Domestic Workers in Istanbul

4.2.1.1 Socio-economic Backgrounds of Moldovan Domestic Workers

As shown in the table below (Table 6), the Moldovan domestic workers interviewed for this research project are between the ages of 24 and 61. 12 of them are between the age of 31 and 47. Except for one woman who has Moldovan ethnic origins, 14 of them have Gagauz ethnic identity and define themselves as Gagauz Turks. They are educated women. Five of them have university degrees; the rest have graduated from high school. All the interviewees had already worked in Moldova. Their occupations varied. Some of them had been school teachers, two of them had been employed as economists in state institutions in Moldova, one of them had an administrative post in a school, and one of them was an agricultural engineer. Some interviewees had worked in agricultural jobs. It is worth noting that in their former job histories in Moldova, rural employment was followed by urban employment. This can be explained by the fact that most of them had a rural background, and their locations were villages or small towns in Moldova. Only 5 of them had an urban background.

The most remarkable, but not surprising characteristics of Moldovan domestic workers are that they had formal education and had worked outside the home before coming to Turkey. Therefore they had experience downward occupational mobility in Turkey.

Table 7: Socio-economic Backgrounds of Moldovan Domestic Workers

Year of Arrival to Turkey	Age	Ethnicity	Education	Marital Status	Occupation in Moldova	Location in Moldova	Number of Children
2000	51	Gagauz	High School	Married	Kindergarten teacher	Rural	4
1999	38	Gagauz	High School	Widowed	Agriculture	Rural	2
1999	49	Gagauz	High School	Married	Agriculture+ Kindergarten teacher	Rural	2
2003	24	Gagauz	High School	Unmarried	Factory worker	Urban	-
2002	52	Gagauz	High School	Widowed	Agriculture + Kindergarten teacher	Rural	3
1996	38	Gagauz	High School	Divorced	Kindergarten teacher	Urban	3
2001	38	Gagauz	University	Married	Agriculture Engineer	Urban	2
2000	31	Moldovan	High School	Married	Agriculture	Rural	1
1999	45	Gagauz	High School	Married	Factory worker	Rural	2
1999	44	Gagauz	High School	Married	Saleswomen	Rural	3
2000	46	Gagauz	High School	Married	Agriculture	Rural	6
1999	61	Gagauz	University	Married	Administrator of a school	Urban	2
1998	54	Gagauz	University	Widowed	Economist	Urban	2
1998	47	Gagauz	University	Married	Economist	Urban	2
2001	25	Gagauz	University	Divorced	Teacher	Rural	1

Their family structure also provides some useful information. Among the 15 interviewees, 9 women are married, including one who married a Turk and has Turkish citizenship through marriage. Three of them are widows, 2 of them are divorced and 1 of them is unmarried. Except for the one unmarried woman, all the migrants have children.

During the interviews we collected information about their husbands' jobs. There were 9 interviewees who were married at the time of the interviews. Their husbands' jobs varied, such as drivers, agricultural workers, construction workers; but in some cases the husbands were unemployed or had experienced long-term unemployment.

Fourteen interviewees have children: the youngest is 6 and the oldest is 38 years old. Among the children who have completed their education, there are married daughters who do not work; except for one case, all their sons are employed. 4 interviewees' children, both daughters and sons, have employment experiences in Istanbul.

4.2.1.2 Migration Practices of Moldovan Women in Turkey

Needless to say, the reason for Moldovan women to migrate is economic. One of the interviewees said that, contrary to the situation in Moldova, she can earn money when she works in Turkey. One woman had to come to Turkey after her husband died. The most commonly repeated reason for coming to Turkey is that their salary in Moldova was extremely low, so that they could not make a living - could not find even bread there. Some women talked about their situation before the transformation in their country. The socialist period is well remembered by some of the interviewees.

Nine women had been in or visited other former socialist countries. This was of course related to the Soviet policies promoting holidays in different places in the former Soviet Union or in other socialist countries. Therefore most of them had already an experience of travelling abroad.

It seems that the decision to migrate and the choice of the destination country were made at the same time. The reasons for choosing Turkey as a destination country are related to the factors such as language and the information they had before migration. One of the respondents explained this:

“I heard that women from Moldova came to Turkey. The younger was going to Italy while women in my age came to Turkey” (Int. No.V).

Although some respondents came to Turkey without having any information, most of them had already relatives and friends in Turkey who had worked as domestics. The first arrivals obtained information about Turkey from various sources, for example from shuttle traders and Turkish people who were in Moldova or in the former Soviet Union countries.

All of the respondents confirmed that there were too many Moldovan women in Turkey. One of them said that half of the female population of her village was in Turkey. Some estimated their numbers at 1,000, some as 4.000. One of them said that if someone were to go to a village in Moldova he or she would find hardly any women. Even in the wedding ceremonies in Moldova it is hard to see women. Some

said that it was not possible to estimate the real number but they admitted that it was too many. One said that all Gagauz women were in Turkey.

When we asked our respondents if men came to Turkey, some replied that they wished to but that there were no jobs for Moldovan men here. They said that men usually go to Russia in order to work in construction work. One of the woman's husbands came to Turkey and worked in a shop for one year. But he could not continue and returned home. The reason for this is that younger men are preferred for employment in the shops. Two of the respondents' sons were working in Turkey at the time of the interview. Some of the women were aware of the fact that when men come to Turkey, they usually come with their spouse and they are employed in upper class houses as couples. Some women said that they already had friends who worked as couples.

After they had decided to migrate to Turkey, they did not mention any serious difficulties in organizing their journeys. They informed us that there are some agencies in Moldova which organize the travel. Some mentioned that the agency dealt also with getting visa. Some of them had travelled by ship but also particularly in their first trip by bus or minibus. The recent tendency is to travel by plane. This has been confirmed by the interviews we conducted with the representatives of travel agencies in Istanbul. Most of the women mentioned the difficulties of travelling by bus, because Bulgaria had recently started to ask for visas. The reason for some women preferring to travel by ship is related to the travel expenses. They find the air ticket quite expensive. Some said they preferred to travel by bus in order not to have to pay

the fines. In order to enter Turkey they have to have sufficient amount of money with them.

In their first journey, most of the respondents were not alone. They had their accompanying relatives or friends or women from their own villages. Some of the migrants had experienced difficulty in their travel to Turkey:

We came by a minibus via Bulgaria. They hardly let us enter. They asked: “Why did you go to Turkey? Did you go to Turkey to work?” We said that we had a valid visa and we were going to Turkey to see the country (Int. no. 14)

According to the information obtained through the interviews, it is family members, including the fathers, who take care of children. However it seems that because most of the women do have not very young children, caring for children is not a serious problem. Some women’s children are in Istanbul, some are in Moscow or Siberia.

Therefore, for this particular group of women, “care deficit” do not seems to be a significant problem. This does not mean to deny the fact that the most important consideration for respondents is their children. Their most important reason for being abroad is related to the well-being of their children. During the interviews they expressed how they missed them. Although the majority had grown-up children, one of the respondents said that when she came to Turkey her daughter was 10 years old. She told us with regret that she was not with her daughter when she was growing up.

They usually stay and work in Turkey for five or six months. After this time they go to Moldova for a short visit and then return to Turkey.

4.1.2.3 Working Practices and Conditions

There are different ways of finding jobs. I should preface this by saying that all of these are informal. First, there is a “worker’s bazaar” in Laleli, Istanbul. Moldovans who want to find a job and employers who want to find a domestic worker can meet in the bazaar on Sundays. After having a short conversation about the conditions of work and the wages, and if they reach an agreement, the employer takes the worker to her house. This channel is still effective, but it may seem that it is not as effective as it was in the initial period of migration.

Secondly, there are some people who have different jobs, but at the same time act as an informal employment service or as “middlemen”. They give the information to people and arrange a meeting between the two parties. A commission is received from both parties. Before I conducted this fieldwork, during the UGINAR project, I had a chance to observe that a shopkeeper was acting as a middleman between foreign women and Turkish employers.

The third way to find a job is to apply to private domestic employment agencies. These also take commission. To contact the private domestic employment agencies is possible through newspaper advertisements, but mainly through ‘personal reference’.

Finally, the informal network among Moldovan women is an important way to find jobs. Through these networks, for example, they recommend their relatives or friends to the potential employers.

During the research, we did not come across the second channel. However, we have an evidence that a Moldovan woman who herself works as domestic worker also performs as intermediary, and gets commission for this service. On the other hand we observed that it was quite common for Moldovan women to perform intermediary role without receiving any commission. This is related to trust relations, and the purpose here is to help the members of their community.

The findings of the current research show that the main channel for getting a job is to employ their informal networks. Most of the women found their jobs by a reference of their friends or relatives.

However the role of the private employment agencies is also important. Most of the women talked about the agencies. Some of them had trust relations with particular agencies and thought that if they needed to change their job, they would apply to the agency but only if they could not find a job through their networks. The reason for this is that the agency takes a commission/fee for their service.

Some of the respondents stated that they never looked for a job through intermediaries; therefore they never paid the fee for getting their job. It is our impression that all these migrant women are aware of, and make use of, the services of private employment agencies; however, they actually applied to the agencies particularly for their first job. This particularly applies to the migrant women who

came to Turkey in the relatively early period of migration flows. The amount of the fee that private employment agencies charge the employee varies between \$ 35 and \$ 100.

Now I want to turn to Moldovan domestic workers' job patterns. Among our interviewees there were 4 domestic workers who work on a live-out basis, while the rest were live-ins. I will deal with their job patterns separately.

In the fieldwork when we looked at the job patterns of live-in domestic workers, we observed that the tasks that they performed in Turkish households varied. Some were taking care of school children or working as baby-sitters, some of them were working as nurses and were taking care of ill or elderly people. But usually they were performing more than one job, for example, cleaning cooking or caring. In other words they were carrying out the three C's.

Although this research is not representative, the work the domestic workers perform indeed fits my argument and general observation. To put it more concretely, and by following their current job patterns, we see that among 11 live-in domestic workers only one woman undertakes cleaning and cooking, but in the other 10 cases the main task of the domestic worker is care work. Eight Moldovan women care for the elderly and 2 for children.

In order to investigate my argument that live-in foreign domestic workers in Turkey are demanded mainly for care work, I also asked the interviewees their job stories after they had arrived in Turkey. Since their turnover rate is quite high, in some cases 5 jobs in different households in 3 years, I have enough evidence to argue that most of

the jobs they perform are caring, particularly for old people, ill people and children. There are only a few examples of people working exclusively as cleaners.

Among the 15 Moldovan domestic workers we interviewed, four of them were working on a live-out basis. One of them was married to a Turk and was living with her husband. Among the others, one of them rented a house on her own. The other two were living with their relatives.

One of the respondents who were working on live-out basis said that she preferred to work as live-out because she could earn more, although she pointed out that it was more difficult, because she had to travel to the houses in different surroundings. Besides, she believes, a live-in job is more comfortable. She said she started to work on a daily basis after her then-employers, whom she worked for living-in, refused to pay a wage increase. Now she is quite happy with the money she earns but complains about the hardship of the job. She sometimes stays during the night at the employer's house if she is asked to take care of the baby. She finds her multiple employers through the connections which she established through her previous live-in job. She works in their house 3 days a week, and every Saturday she cleans the husband's office. For the rest of the weekdays, she works as a daily cleaner in two different houses.

The second woman who works living-out works for a single employer three days a week. She has been working with the same employer for six years.

The third live-out domestic worker, who is 61 years old and has Turkish nationality, has multiple employers. During the weekdays she works as cleaner in her employers' houses and on Saturday she cleans an office. But she said she chooses each job; she does not accept job offers if the household is crowded or if the house is big.

The case of the fourth live-out domestic workers illustrates the fact that some domestic workers actually perform live-in and live-out jobs simultaneously. In this case, she works living-out five days a week for multiple employers, but also as a live-in during the weekend, staying three nights in a particular house.

I have also one case which illustrates the point that the same domestic worker performs live-in and live-out jobs in the same day. This worker takes care of an old couple for whom she works as live-in domestic worker between 6 pm and 9 am every day. But she also works as live-out to take care of a child in the same apartment building during the daytime. She also works as a daily cleaner on her day off if she can find the work.

It appears that there is not a fixed wage for live-in domestics. The lowest wage was \$300 and the highest was \$450. Live-out domestics who have more than one employer earn between 45 -55 YTL per day.

The wage is determined either by the employer or the employee. However it seems that the amount of the wage depends on many factors including the difficulty of the

job (for example multi-storey houses), on the availability of other benefits, and on the relationship between the employer and the employee.

They usually get pocket money for their day off. It is between 10-20 YTL. Some of their employers pay the fine for the overstays on their visa. Some give pocket money for religious holidays. Some of them were given some clothes and food. Depending on the agreement between the employer and the employee, they are allowed to make phone calls to Moldova ones or twice in a month.

All the women who work on a live-in basis have their own rooms in the house. One of them had a television in her room, while the other had her own bathroom.

The day off is generally Sunday for live-in domestics. But, again, depending on the agreement between the employer and the employee, some have their day off on Thursday. Some have 24 hours or more leave, and some have it during the daytime, not the night.

When we talked about their daily routine of the working day, Moldovan domestic workers generally did not complain about the hardships of their current jobs, although they admitted that the housework never ends. They said that they were usually happy with their jobs. Since they used to doing difficult jobs in Moldova; when they compared their current situation to their jobs in Moldova, they found the job here in Turkey is easy.

However, some had experienced hardship in their working life in Turkey, about which they overtly complained. Those who worked in multi-storey houses/villas said that that kind of job was extremely demanding.

I worked in a villa in Cesme for five months. I did cleaning and took care of a paralyzed old man. It was the hardest job that I have had. Although there were two other domestic workers, I was really fed up with that job. I suddenly quit with a very short notice. Thanks to the god, they paid my wage (Int. No.4).

I worked in a three-storey villa in Bahcesehir. I worked as nanny but at the same time I did the housework. It was very tiring (Int. No.7).

One of them complained about one of her previous jobs, because there were pets in the house. One respondent said that she left one of her jobs because the couple at the house were gambling every night until late and they did not allow her to go to bed.

It is obvious from their work stories of Turkey that the turnover rate is relatively high. One of the reasons for this is that they need to depart from Turkey at relatively regular intervals in order to escape increasing rates of fines for overstay. Therefore when they leave their jobs to go to Moldova, they may not have a chance to continue to work in the same house.

The other reason for the relatively high turnover rate is related to the particular job they perform. For those who care for ill or old persons the job automatically terminates when their employers die. Similarly if they work as baby-sitters or child-carers, there is obviously a certain period for the work on offer. In some of these cases

the domestics are offered a job by the relatives of the previous employer, but nevertheless this means a change in the workplace.

Bad or ill treatment by the employer is one of the reasons for quitting the job. They sometimes prefer to terminate work in a particular house because their demand for a wage increase is not met by the employer.

For these reasons they may change their workplace relatively often. In our interviews we observed that the shortest period of employment in a particular house is 15 days and the longest is 4 years for live-in workers.

I should state that all of the domestic workers spoke about how and why they quit a job. In all cases, they said they quitted the job voluntarily. But I have some evidence of cases in which the employee was fired by the employer.

There is no doubt that relations between the employer and employee is at the core of paid domestic work. At this point I would particularly refer to domestic workers who undertake care work. As Lutz puts it, there is a distinction between performance-oriented (cooking, washing, cleaning, ironing etc) and care-oriented tasks. Care work requires emotional engagement and therefore care workers deliver an emotional surplus to their employers (Lutz, 2005). During the conduct of the fieldwork, we came across many cases in which domestics acted as intimate companions to their employers, who were old women and who lived alone. We also observed many different disciplinary practices implemented by the employers.

One of the interviewees who was very happy with her recent job explained her past experience:

In my first job in Turkey I took care of an old man. My friends had found the job. I accepted because I did not want to be jobless. However his daughter was behaved too badly to me. She always shouted at me, she was calling me “fool”. She was claimed that the cookies I served were not fresh. When the old man asked her why she shouted at me she was asked her father if he was in love with me. She sometimes had even beaten me. I was extremely insulted. I could not eat my meals. I lost 18 kg weight when I was working there.

I worked there for months. I was forcing myself to continue to work two more months. And I was quite decisive about returning home after working there for a total of six months and not to come to Turkey ever again. In one of my days off, I told my friends that I had been enormously exploited. They found me another job.

But I heard that nobody could work in that house more than a month. Actually what happened was that nobody could stand the daughter and the old man was placed in a nursing house (Int. No.5).

In another case the worker had problems with her employer:

She was divorced. I was looking after her child, and also doing the housework. She came home with a different man every day. She also had very serious financial problems. She could not pay my salary. Then I complained about

this. The neighbours did not like her at all. They did like me. They encouraged me to inform the police about her case. I went to the police station. I told them that I was an irregular migrant, but this woman was bad (meaning a sex worker). She blamed me for stealing her jewellery. The policemen listened to me and told me if I was a Turkish citizen, I would even get compensation. She actually had a record of being a prostitute. When I was working at her home, I also worked outside. Because she could not pay my wage, she found me daily cleaning jobs (Int. No.14).

One of our respondents complained that her employers never acknowledged what she did. They just criticized.

The majority did not have serious problems and conflicts with their employers. Some of them did have close relations with the employer, especially with old women who they cared for. Some of them developed a kinship-like relationship and they called them “mother”. They watched television together, and had their meals together.

In one case the domestic worker, in her last experience, did not have close contacts with the household members. She said she had her meals alone; she did not watch television with them. She did not prefer to be close or over-familiar.

Above all, the expressions below may better explain the complex dynamics of domestic work:

“They pay us. We came here to work. It was too difficult during the first months. It is difficult if you complain” (Int. No. 9).

“They pay us. We have to work. It is not our own house” (Int. no.10).

“You are an apprentice. No matter how good they are to you, you should be aware of your status”.

The domestic workers who care for old people might often have two employers if the immediate employer has a daughter. We have much evidence that such a relationship between the employer and the employee is monitored and actually controlled by the daughter of the immediate employer.

One of the disciplinary practices of employers which can be applied only to the irregular domestic workers is to take the passport of their employee. The majority of our interviewees were quite clear about this. Only two women’s passports were taken by the employer. The rest could keep their passports with them. They said that in their first years in Turkey employers took their passport. One of the women said that:

In my first job the employer’s daughter wanted to take my passport. But I was recommended by my friends in the beginning that I should protect my passport and not to give it to the employers (Int. no.3).

I keep my passport. The employers did not ask me. If any employer asked me to do so I would leave the job. I am not new any more. I cannot stand it (Int. No.4).

Some women accepted the fact that employers are quite right to take the passports because they open their house to a foreigner.

Our interviewees save and send earnings to Moldova. Their earnings are used for various purposes, such as for medical care of their family members, to pay the debts, the expenses of children's education, expenses for children's marriage, to build their house, to support their parental family, as an investment for their future, for the decoration of the house, to buy a house for children, to support their unemployed husband, and so on.

Moldovan migrants send their wages to their families. Recently, remittances sent by the irregular migrants have become an important issue in migration studies, but also for international organization such as the World Bank. The fact that Moldovan domestic workers, particularly live-ins, do not spend their earnings but send them home to their country, is also becoming a concern. For instance, according to a newspaper report, the amount of money transferred from Turkey to Moldova is around \$ 35-40 million per annum¹⁶.

For the Moldovan domestic workers, the most popular way of money transfer is informal and located in Laleli. We observed that minibus drivers offered this service.

¹⁶ Aksam, Moldovali'nin Alamanyasiyiz, 5.06.2000

They charge 2 % commission for this transaction. Although recently to transfer money through Western Union has become more popular, most of our interviewees told us that they sent the money through minibuses. They say they trusted them. They did not prefer to use the Western Union system because of the higher charge.

Just like money transfer, parcels are also sent by the minibuses. Moldovan domestic workers send various items to Moldova, including clothes, food and sometimes diapers. The amount of the charge to send a parcel is determined according to the size and weight.

4.2.1.4 Networks within Turkey

It is observed that Moldovan women develop their own informal ties with other Moldovan women since they have relatives and friends in Istanbul. They meet each other, they share their problems and spend time together. They also have close contacts with their family members through telephone conversations; they get regular information from them.

Among 15 Moldovan domestics 13 have close female relatives including mothers, daughters, sisters and grandchildren, who almost all are employed in domestic jobs. Parallel to the fact that it is mainly female migration, only two of them have their sons here, and only one woman's husband had come to Turkey but could not stay more than one year.

It would not be a surprise then to find some Gagauz women in Istanbul who have more than five relatives. We can observe a type of chain migration: information, particularly on work opportunities, is transferred within the family or kin group or the community members. This is one of the important elements in the migration dynamics of Moldovan women in Turkey. Including friends and acquaintances, we can easily observe that there is a female Moldovan community in Istanbul.

Their network relations are mostly mobilized for getting a job. Five of our respondents stated that they helped someone to find a job. Actually more than five women recommended their friends or relatives to come and work in Turkey. But some said that they had never done so and would not do so, because they would not want to take the responsibility if there were a problem. It is our impression that almost all the women act in a way as intermediaries because before they go back to Moldova for a short period, they ask their friends or relatives cover their jobs for this certain period.

4.2.1.5 Mobility in Istanbul

It can be argued that, because of their irregular immigrant and work status together with their gender status, physical mobility of Moldovan women is quite restricted in Istanbul. They represent a sample of the invisibility of migrant women. Ironically they are mobile at the international level but immobile at the local level.

It has been observed that Moldovan women develop their own networks in Istanbul. Laleli, which has become a “transnational marketplace” (Yükseker, 2001 and 2003), also plays an important role for various activities of Moldovan women and functions also as a central place in network relations.

Laleli, as Yukseker states, brings together female shuttle traders from the Former Soviet Union countries and male Turkish shopkeepers, therefore buyers and sellers of different cultures and of opposite sexes (Yukseker, 2001, 1). For Moldovan domestic workers, Laleli is a central place for many reasons. Laleli is the only district that Moldovan women visit regularly in Istanbul. They go there for shopping, to send money or parcels to their families, to meet their relatives or friends. Most importantly, some of them find their jobs in Laleli. The Dadas parking area in Laleli actually functions as a gathering place for Moldovan women to find work, to see their friends and relatives. The remittances are transferred and parcels which contain gifts for their family are sent from this particular place.

Yukseker observed in Laleli that “men and women build friendly and sometimes romantic relations that help facilitate transactions in an uncertain and informal economic environment” observe (Yukseker, 2001: 1-2). We have also similar observation from Dadas car park. Moldovan women who want to send their parcels to Moldova bargain with the minibus drivers or their assistants about the cost. This bargaining may sometimes include short physical contacts like kissing, and in return for this they pay less.

Moldovan live-in domestics generally have one day off in a week. Most of them have their day off on Sunday, but some have it on Thursday. In one case the domestic worker spends a longer time outside her employer’s house, and spends this time with her children who are in Istanbul. On the other hand, in two cases domestic workers go out in the daytime. In one of these cases the worker is not allowed to spend the night outside, although she would like to.

The main activity of those who go out in their day off is to meet their relatives, friends and acquaintances. Most of them go to church. According to the information they gave, they sometimes go shopping and visit popular places in Istanbul.

Live-in Moldovan domestic workers generally have a day off once a week. How they spend their day off is important in order to understand their activities out of work and their geographical mobility in the city. For this reason we asked questions about leisure time activities. Most of them have never gone to the cinema or other entertainment activities in Istanbul. Some of them said that they would not go to these places because they were afraid of being caught by the police. The youngest respondents told us that they go to the cinema if they find an opportunity. Some of them said that their employers took them to the cinema, theatre, or circus, or to dinner at a restaurant. One of the respondents told us that:

I went to the cinema once. My employer took me. I fell into asleep because I was too tired. I thought that it was free. But when I realized that it was not, I told my employer “the second time instead of taking me to the cinema, give the money to me” (Int.14).

Some of those who have their day off on Sunday go to church in Istanbul. Some of them do not, because of the police raids. But it seems that they do not go to church every Sunday. One of them for instance went to the church just once, some of them occasionally.

In order to understand their mobility in Istanbul, we also asked questions about where they went and where they most liked in Istanbul. Unsurprisingly Laleli is a very well-known place in Istanbul. But their mobility is quite limited in the city. They mostly know the neighbourhood around their workplace. Although some have real fears about going out, one said that she would not get lost in Istanbul. She knew every where.

We also asked about other cities. Some of them had been to other cities in Turkey but these were mostly summer places such as Cesme, Yalova, Kartalkaya, Uludag and Bayramoglu, and they went to these places during the summer holiday and with their employers. There is only one case in which the domestic worker went to Bursa for one week's holiday with her friends. The woman, who is a Turkish citizen through marriage, went to her husband's hometown in one of the cities in the Black Sea Region. Two women went to Ankara for their passports.

4.2.1.6 Problems Stemming from Being Irregular Migrant

Although some Moldovan domestic workers said that they never came across the police, the majority that we interviewed had had some bad experiences. They all said they feared the police. Even if they themselves had not had such an experience they knew of their fellow-citizens' experiences. The most commonly expressed problem is related to bribery. They said that the police threatened them and forced them to give bribes. One of the women said that she had to give \$ 70 to two policemen; her friend had to give £ 200. Another interviewee had to give 10 YTL: she said they took away even the pennies by emptying their bags. Some of the women said they were afraid of going out in the weekdays. One of the respondents said that if she needed to buy

something from the local market she asked the doorman, and she herself did not prefer to go. One of the women for example goes out only once to make phone calls to her country and only for 5-10 minutes. Most of them said that they did not go to the church because of the police raids.

On the other hand it seems that some local people act like policemen and take money from migrant women. For instance one of the women said that:

Someone approached my aunt and her friends and introduced himself as a policeman and wanting money. My aunt and the other women gave the money to him without asking his identity card (Int. No.4).

All the interviewees were aware of their legal status as irregular migrants. Therefore, they somehow accepted the rule about the fines for expired visa. However they complained about the duration of the visa granted to Moldovan citizens.

One of the respondents said that: “Actually I do not understand the fact that Bulgarian citizens can obtain a visa for three months, but we have only for one month. It is unbelievable. We also are Turks, Gagauz Turks” (Int. No. 14)

Keough, who conducted research on Gagauz women in Turkey and Moldova, points out the same policy and argues that, “as Christian Turks, they are not eligible for the privileged status of Muslims from the former Soviet Union who are able to gain citizenship in Turkey easily through their position as *soydas* or kin” (Keough, 2003).

One of our respondents, who was aware that Georgians can have a visa for three months and Ukrainians for two, implied that this policy is not fair:

The fine is too high; in order to pay the fine and the air ticket we have to spend our one and a half salary. They (meaning the Turkish government) earn the most money from Moldovans because of the fine (Int. no.15)

All our respondents had some information about the work permit, and all were extremely enthusiastic about having it. But they all agree that it is very difficult, almost impossible to obtain one. Furthermore, their information about work permit is rather vague. One said that:

They do not give us work permit. If they did I would apply for it. Actually they should consider about this. It would be good for everyone. People trust us; they see us as their daughters. I would pay for the work permit if it is affordable for me. If it is not I will work in the same status (Int. No. 4).

One respondent said that:

I wish I could have one. Whenever I see the police I feel like I will have a heart attack. I have considered applying for one. I even have considered an arranged marriage. I will pay money for the marriage, and then I can get Turkish citizenship (Int. No.14)

There is only one woman whose previous employer mentioned the work permit to her, but since she worked only for four months the employer did not apply for one. One of the women was aware of the fact that if she had a work permit she would have social

security and annual leave. One of the respondent said that she knew some whose employers got the work permit for them.

Moldovans enter Turkey with a one-month tourist visa. Therefore until the end of this duration, they have tourist status, although they may start to work immediately after they enter Turkey. In other words, they do not have immigrant status during their visa period, although they actually are immigrants in this period.

4.2.1.7 Being Migrant Women: Gender Status

In her study on Germans in Turkey, Kaiser states that “most German residents in Turkey feel that they only face legal discrimination but no social discrimination on the part of the Turkish society. In fact many have underlined the phenomenon of “positive discrimination” that is to say they perceive themselves to be held in high esteem solely on the basis of being a German citizen”.

It is clear that women from the Former Soviet Union do not enjoy similar “positive discrimination”. On the contrary, they are stigmatized as “Natashas”, which refers to sex workers (Erder and Kaska, 2003). The stereotype against women from FSU also applies to the Moldovans. In fact, as I mentioned elsewhere in this report, in Turkish society the countries of origin of these women are not differentiated properly; they are simply perceived as Russians.

Our interviewees have also experienced vulnerability because of their gender. One of them had a darker hair colour. Regardless of their age they have received “offers”

from Turkish men. This kind of practice makes them more cautious about their dress codes and behaviour.

One of our respondents who worked as baby sitter told that she was perceived as a sexual threat by the mistress of the house in her previous work and had to leave the job.

4.2.1.8 Problem-Solving methods

Those women generally said that they did not have serious illnesses. However, most of the respondents had had some health problems. For example, one of them had had bronchitis and immediately after the diagnosis, she went to Moldova. She said it was her preference. “Who would take care of me here in Istanbul?” she said. In this case, the employer paid the air ticket to Moldova.

It seems that most of their employers helped them when they fell ill. For instance, some of them had quite serious health problem and in each case it was the employers who took them to the hospital and paid the medical treatment expenses.

Some of them said that they preferred to go the dentist in Moldova, either because it is extremely expensive in Istanbul or the dentist’s treatment was not ‘proper’ medical treatment.

One of them had a dramatic experience with the health services in Istanbul. Her son came to visit her for Christmas, and because of the artificial alcoholic drink he had he became seriously ill and was taken to the hospital by her. Unfortunately he died in the hospital. The woman still is trying to overcome the psychological effects of this dramatic loss, and complains about the bad and improper treatment in the public hospital in Turkey. She compares the health services in Turkey and Moldova, and claims that there is no discriminatory treatment in Moldova.

Except for these cases, they said they sometimes suffered from colds or headaches, but not from serious problems.

The Republic of Moldova does not have consular department in Istanbul. Partly because of this, Moldovan domestic workers in Istanbul apparently do not have strong relations with their embassy. Except for three women, they have not applied to the embassy for any reason. The women who had already applied are those who had lost passports, or who needed a document for a marriage certificate. Almost of all of the interviewees stated that if they needed they would apply to the embassy. But they did not foresee any reason to apply to the embassy other than concerning lost passports.

4.2.1.9 Cultural Interrelations with Turkish Society and Turkish People

All our respondents are aware that a considerable number of Moldovan women marry Turkish men. Some of them have relatives in Turkey who have married Turkish man.

One of our respondents is married to a Turk and has already Turkish citizenship. She has also converted to Islam. She is living with her husband. Although she is quite unhappy about the conservative and dominative behaviour of her husband, she nevertheless enjoys her legal and social status.

Some of our respondents who are widows have received marriage offers. But they said they did not want to accept because they did not have enough courage to do so. One of them said quite confidently that she did not want to; she preferred to pay the fine.

One of the women who is divorced and has a Turkish boyfriend expressed her view: “Turkish men look for a ‘clean’ woman to marry”, implying the fact that they look for a virgin.

The only unmarried woman among our respondents expressed her own experience and fears:

I had a Turkish boy friend. We went to the cinema twice. Later I went to Moldova. When I got back he sent me messages by his mobile phone. But I did not want to continue to see him. He asked me to go to the USA with him. I considered about the consequences. If we would have a child what would happen? He is Muslim. He is a nice gay. But I do not have courage (int. No.4).

On the other hand, one of the respondents who is married said that she had thought about a paper marriage.

Some of them feel themselves to be outsiders, some do not. Some said that they had got used to living in Turkey. They said they watched television, and read books in Turkish. Some said “if you are in foreign country you absolutely would feel as an outsider”.

Nevertheless it seems that this not a great problem for them. Some mentioned the similarity in terms of cultural events, such as wedding ceremonies.

We asked the respondents if they could have considered the situations they had experienced in Turkey would they ever have come. Almost half of the women said that they would have done so. One asked “what would we do if there was no country like Turkey?” They said they would have come because life was too difficult in Moldova, they would come to earn money. One of the respondents said that she would have come but with her husband. This is a significant answer considering the fact that while she was working in Turkey her husband left her and married another woman. Some emphasised that since there is no language barrier, they felt themselves close to Turkey compared to Italy. Two interviewees were not sure about this. One of them said that she sometimes regretted her decision, but that there was no other alternative. She said, “We are not very much keen on coming here, it is difficult to come”. And finally one said that if her life in Moldova had been of good quality she would not have come to Turkey at all: she came just for money.

4.2.1.10 Future Expectations

Most of them said that they planned to continue working in Turkey for as long as they are healthy enough to work. There are two exceptions. One of them said that she might go back in a few months. The other thought that she stayed long enough; however since she was very happy with her employer who is an old woman, she might continue to work as long as her employer was alive.

It seems that for those who do not have a scheduled date to return, the duration of their stay depends on the circumstances. One of the interviewees said that it was likely that she would return to Moldova when there was welfare in the country. Some planned to go back when their children had completed their education.

Some of the interviewees prefer to stay in Turkey and do not have a plan to return at all. Some of the women hope to get retirement rights and benefits when they go back. They are women who have worked in Moldova before migration for quite a long time, for instance 30 years. They plan to take care of their grandchild, but they said they were not interested in paid work. One plans to work in Moldova either in a sanatorium or in agriculture. One plans to own a shop. One of our respondents plans to work either in a factory or on a farm. One said there was nothing to do in Moldova, and asked “What can you do in Moldova? There is scarcity there”.

Most of them said decisively that they would like to live in their home country. One asked sincerely, “Why we live such a life here?”, another, “Actually, what are we

doing here?” and another, “Don’t I want to stay in my home country in the last years of my life?”

The youngest interviewee expressed the view that:

I think everybody should live in their home country. I am happy here, but not fully. Maybe I am wrong but I believe everybody should live in their own place. I wish I was born here and lived here. But it is not possible at all... If I had a satisfactory salary, a house and a car, I would certainly stay at home. I do not want to be here very much (Int. no.4).

One of the respondents articulated the view that she wished to live in Kazakhstan where she was born and brought up. Some women stated that they might live in Turkey only if they could take their children to Turkey.

Their dreams are mostly about their children’s welfare, happiness and education. Some wanted to buy a house for their sons. It is the same for a woman who is in her mid-twenties. One of them said she just dreamed to be at home. Some of them dreamt of owning a house. The youngest interviewee had a dream about spending a New Year’s Eve in New York.

One of the respondents’ answers to this question is about return migration of Moldovan women in Turkey:

I wish all our women could go back to Moldova. Children in Moldova have become too inclined to commit a crime like burglary, because they live without their mothers (int. 14).

4.2.2 Employers

It is interesting to note why employers prefer to employ foreigners instead of Turkish domestic servants in their private houses. Generally, as mentioned above, middle-class women have a helper or cleaner who comes to do housework during the day. They are generally migrant women from rural Anatolia. The most important reason for employing foreign women is that they accepted and indeed preferred to work living-in. There are also other reasons. It is widely accepted that many foreigners and/or Moldovan migrants are unusually well-educated, some even having university degrees. Or they are skilled workers, for example some having a diploma from a nursing school. Additionally, their work discipline is an important reason. The employers generally stated that foreigners/Moldovans perform their job far better than Turkish women. And there is no doubt that the low wage is an important factor.

In order to understand employers' views, we have conducted seven interviews. As I mentioned above, if the immediate employer is an old woman and if she has a daughter, the latter also acts as employer. We observed three cases in which the employee actually had dual employers. In those cases we interviewed the daughter but also spoke to the immediate employer. Therefore we could obtain information from these employers.

One of the employer respondents is male, the rest are women. The youngest employer is 25 years old, the oldest in her late fifties. All but one of the employers work. One employer is a member of the upper-middle class, the rest have middle class backgrounds. Except for one employer, all have a university degree. Three of the employers employed foreign domestic workers as baby sitters, the others for caring for the elderly.

Two of the interviewees do not employ a foreign domestic worker any more. Both had recruited Moldovan domestic workers for baby sitting. Both of them found the employee through their friends. The reason why they did not continue to employ Moldovans is related mainly to the conflicts arising from different cultural codes. The first employer had employed a 25 year-old Moldovan domestic worker earlier this year. The mistress did not approve of the employee's "liberal" code of behaviour, although her husband appreciated this. But the husband also was not satisfied with the employer's performance as a baby-sitter. One of the other reasons is that the employer claims that the Moldovan woman lied, and sometimes got drunk. The second employer employed a Moldovan in 1998. She was not satisfied with her work. Since it was the employee's first job in Turkey, she had problems in adapting to her job. Apart from this, cultural differences which were reflected in dress also played a role.

Among the employers we interviewed, three of them still employ Moldovan domestics. They said they were generally happy with the employees' performance and did not talk about a serious conflict. All of them have been employing the same

employee for quite a long time. All of them found the employee by the personal reference system.

Two employers currently employ domestic workers from Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Both of them found the employee through private employment agencies. One of them decided to fire the employee because of her way of behaviour at home. I have been informed that the employer found another domestic worker through a private employment agency immediately after the interview. She has been employing domestic servants from various countries of origin, including Moldovans, for quite a long time for cleaning work, and complained about the rate of turnover. The other employer has also been employing these workers since 2003 and during that time she had employed five different domestic workers, including Moldovans. She also complained about the high rate of turnover.

Some employers implied a distinction between homemaking and homeworking. For example they said that they preferred to cook the meal themselves: they did not leave it to the domestic workers.

Employers who employ Moldovan domestics do not refer to the religious factor as a negative or positive aspect of the employment relationship.

4.2.3 Private Employment Agencies: Regulating Irregularity?

In 2004, the Law on Turkish Employment Organization (ISKUR) introduced a novel institution into the Turkish employment system (No.of. Law 4904). Before this law came into force, employment matters were organized only by the related government institution and therefore private employment agencies could not operate. This law eliminated the state monopoly in employment placement services, and opened the way to the launching of private employment agencies which serve as intermediaries between jobseekers and employers, with the stated goal of matching the employers' needs with the jobseekers' skills and interests. In fact some private agencies had already been operating before the law without having a legal basis.

According to this legal regulation, employment agencies which fulfill the necessary conditions can obtain licenses from the Turkish Employment Organization, and their operation is monitored by the ISKUR. The total numbers of licensed agencies were 23 in 2004, and 102 in 2005. According to the information provided by the Turkish Employment Organization, currently there are 161 licensed private employment agencies that are operating in Turkey¹⁷.

However, the services provided by these agencies are mostly directed at Turkish citizens, even though there are some exceptions. It is clear from the statistical data provided by ISKUR that the number of people who have found their jobs through these agencies is quite small. It is not my intention here to discuss the effectiveness of these agencies. What is relevant to the topic of this research is the relatively important

¹⁷ <http://www.iskur.gov.tr/mydocu/bilgiedinme/iskuizin.html>.

role played by unlicensed private employment agencies which serve as intermediaries between employers who need full-time domestic workers and foreign women particularly from former socialist countries.

I have interviewed the owners of three private employment agencies, one with a licence from ISKUR and two without and therefore undocumented. The licensed agency actually provides employment services to foreigners in Turkey including citizens of former Soviet Union countries, but its main area is tourism. It provides workers to hotels, motels, and fitness centres. The owner of the agency stated that they rarely provided services for domestic jobs, but that they did so if people who applied to them [for their business] asked for the domestic workers. One should not be surprised by the fact that the employment placement services which foreign domestic workers may need actually are provided by undocumented employment agencies.

The two agencies currently do not provide services to Moldovans, but do so to women from Turkic Republics such as Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan. The owners of both agencies had worked with Moldovan women in the past but they stated that since their experiences with Moldovans were not positive at all, they preferred not to offer intermediary services to Moldovan women.

Even though they did not work with Moldovans, the interviews gave insights into the operation and functioning of the employment agencies in this field.

It is not possible to estimate the number of private employment agencies operating in Istanbul. But it has been observed that the turnover rate of these is quite high. They

usually start business with a small amount of financial capital but certainly sufficient social capital. The stated reason for running the business without having a licence, even though it is possible under the current legal regulation to apply for one, is the relatively high amount of money they have to pay when they apply for one.

It seems that it is not possible to start the business without having networks, particularly in order to provide foreign women. The owner of the two agencies interviewed depended on their networks: one has a business partner from Azerbaijan. The owner said that she had difficulties before this partnership, because she could not provide services to the potential employers because she did not sufficient numbers of job-seekers in her portfolio. After she had her Azeri partner, she did not have such a problem. She has been running the business for five years. The other did not talk about partnership but she talked about her close connections with the sending countries. She has been running the agency for three years. She talked about middlemen from the country of origin who come to Turkey for trade but also bring women with them when they are coming to Turkey. It is the middlemen who provide the passports and air tickets to these women. Women borrow the necessary amount from the middlemen. In return for this they pay money back to him, and work for him for one to two months.

It is possible to see agency offices in many middle or upper-middle class neighbourhoods in Istanbul. But they are mostly located in Kadikoy. They usually have offices with at least three rooms, and a lounge and kitchen and bathroom facilities. This spatial feature is important to stress because the office is also used as

accommodation for foreign women when they are waiting to get a job. In addition foreign domestics who work on a live-in basis may spend their days off in the agency

The most striking thing about those agencies is that they set some standards for both parties, employers and employees, and also undertake the function of problem solving. It seems that the most important actor in determining the general rules of the job is the agency. This applies particularly to the wage. It is my impression that even if the employer and the employee do not meet through the intermediary of an agency, the almost fixed level of wage is followed by the two parties. The owners of one agency whom I interviewed stated that the wage is determined according the size of the house and the job required. Therefore the wage ranges from \$ 400 to \$ 700-800. The second one said that according to her principle, she determined the wage in terms of YTL, and the maximum is 600 YTL. She said there are already some standards in Turkey: she simply follows those standards, and therefore if a potential employer offers to pay 700-800 YTL for cleaning and child caring, she would not trust them and would not provide the service. Furthermore she said that she would not provide services to a father and daughter. She said the strongest principle for her was to have an honourable reputation and the safety of the workers.

In the recent years it has been possible to read many advertisements of the agencies in daily newspapers. It has also been possible to receive flyers in mailboxes distributed by the agencies in the apartment buildings. But currently the numbers of the ads seem to be decreasing. This may be related to the inspections by the Ministry of Labour. The owners of the two unlicensed agencies informed us that they were giving ads to the newspapers but they did not need to do so any more. They confirmed that it is not

through the ads but through the through word of mouth that employer and employee access them.

Although the private employment agencies operate informally, to a certain extent they run each agency by following some standard rules. For instance they usually have a written contract form and they ask both the employer and employee to sign the contract, even though each party is well aware that it does not have any sanction at all. In the contract, issues such as the duration of the trial period, the amount of the fee, the rights and obligations of both employer and employee are determined. The owner of the agency keeps a copy of the contract.

4.2.4 Travel Agencies

Travel agencies operating between Moldova and Turkey are another important actor for migrant women, although their role seems less important compared to the private domestic agencies. However for the researcher they are one of the most important sources of information about Moldovan women in Turkey.

In order to gain general information about the travel agencies operating between Moldova and Turkey we applied to The Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TURSAB). The list of the travel agencies provided by TURSAB includes only the agencies which are members of TURSAB. We conducted two interviews with the travel agencies which are included in the list. We also interviewed employees of two other agencies. Therefore we gathered information from four travel agencies.

From these interviews it can be argued that their role may have been more important in the past compared to the recent years. The reason for this is that, currently, travel between Turkey and Moldova is mainly by air. Therefore travel agencies operating now mainly deal with selling air tickets: they do not generally have further contacts with the passenger.

Two of the travel agencies have been offering their services since 1994: one of them started the business three years ago and the fourth agency one year ago. One of them works only between Moldova and Turkey, the other three work also between Turkey and other the former Soviet Union countries.

Between Moldova and Turkey there are two airlines organizing air flights: Turkish Airlines and Air Moldova. Turkish Airlines have flights five days a week, and Air Moldova every day. Therefore there are totally 12 flights a week. It becomes apparent that the flows between Turkey and Moldova are increasing if one compares the fact that in 1994 there were only a few flights, but now they operate 7 days a week. The travel agencies from which we obtained information sell Turkish Airlines' air tickets. The agencies organize flights mainly between Chisinau and Istanbul.

The flight takes approximately 1 hour and 15 minutes. The cost depends on the season and the promotions of the airlines, but it is approximately \$ 200 for a return ticket.

There are normally 4-5 staff employed in these agencies. All of them have employees from the former socialist countries: some of these people have obtained Turkish citizenship through marriage.

Travel agency employees confirm that most of their passengers from Moldova are women. They said that, for most of their passengers, it is not their first trip to Turkey: most of them have already traveled to Turkey before, many times.

I would argue that the travel agencies which only deal with selling tickets do normally have limited information about their passengers. Surprisingly however, some of the staff has extensive information about Moldovan women in Istanbul. This may be related to the fact that all of their offices are located in the Aksaray district, which is the concentration place for foreigners from the ex-socialist countries. Therefore they have information about the migration and working patterns of Moldovan migrants. They talked about the situation in Moldova quite confidently. One of the officers has already been to Moldova.

Although they said that they were just involved in selling the tickets, one said that they sometimes help in finding a hotel in Istanbul and this is within the scope of their business. They also help their passengers with whom they have personal contacts to find hotels in Moldova. One of them also said that they helped a woman who was working as a sex worker and asked them to find a “normal” job. He said that they found one.

The other employee said that he had helped a woman who needed a residence permit but who was rejected by the related department of the police. He said he helped her, since he knew some officers in the police department: he personally went there and eventually the woman obtained the permit.

Nevertheless, I would also argue that the experience of transport by plane and bus has different consequences in terms of the contact with the passengers. Given the fact that transport between Moldova and Turkey almost entirely depends on air flight, it has not been possible for us to have an interview with a driver or an employee of a travel agency which organizes travel by road.

In recent years travel between Moldova and Turkey depends on the air flights because of the new rule on the visa requirement of Bulgaria. The officers said that after Bulgaria started to implement this policy it became very difficult to organize travel. It takes too long and is too tiring.

There are still minibuses operating between Moldova and Turkey, but their function is limited to carrying cargo and to money transfer. All the officers confirmed this during the interviews

The officers informed us that only small numbers of passengers are refused entry to Turkey.

When we asked about the number of Moldovan passengers who traveled to Turkey in a year, their estimates varied between 15,000 and 75,000. According to the travel agents, most of the passengers traveled to Turkey in order to work, mainly in entertainment sector, implying sex work, although there are women passengers who come to work in domestic work. They come to Turkey to earn money. They are

educated women. According to their estimate the percentage of Gagauz passengers varied between 40 % and 80 %.

5. CONCLUSION

The growing body of literature has pointed to interconnections between the globalization of domestic services and the recent pattern of gender-specific international migration. It is recorded that women migrants overwhelmingly take up work as maids or domestic workers. This definitely applies to the Turkish case, since Moldovan irregular women migrants are identified with domestic work in the big cities in Turkey.

Due to the trends strictly connected to globalization, Turkey has become a host country for irregular migrants from different countries, but most notably from the ex-socialist countries in the region. As the Moldovan case reveals, this migration movement has an apparent gender dimension. Although Moldovan women are almost invisible in the public sphere, they are employed in the middle and/or upper class houses.

The phenomenon I have discussed above is therefore a migration movement of women, which means that it is a gender-selective migration. The existence of Moldovan women in Turkish households is visible, and it has almost become normal to employ Moldovan domestic workers in private households. As is known, Moldovan women migrants began to migrate to Turkey in the 1990s for economic reasons. They have entered Turkey legally with tourist visas but stay illegally when they overstay the expiration of their visa period.

Up to now their migration and working processes and conditions have not come under a specific regulation, although through *the Law Concerning Work Permits for Foreigners (No.4817)* enacted in 2003 some limited attempts were made. Even though it is quite early to evaluate the impact of this law, it can be foreseen that there will be only a few applications of it. It seems that parallel to the structural nature of informal employment in Turkey, this law will probably have a very limited effect on the working status of irregular women migrants.

Except for their legal entry and departure from Turkey, almost all the processes are organized informally. Finding a job, work conditions, and problem-solving methods, all are informal. Up to now the working processes and conditions have not come under a specific regulation, although by the Law concerning Work Permits for Foreigners enacted in 2003 some limited attempts were made. With this Law it is possible for a migrant to apply for a work permit. However it is observed that there have been only a few application received by the Ministry of Labour for the domestic workers. There is a general acceptance in Turkey that there is a need for domestic workers. For this reason, while the Ministry of Labour tries to prevent the employment of undocumented migrant labour, it is relatively tolerant of the migrant domestic workers. Therefore, it can be said that there [has been?] no specific attempt at the regularization of domestic work, as seen in some other countries. In addition there is neither a specific official institution in Turkey dealing with migration issues nor any formal organization for domestic workers.

It seems that migrant domestic workers from different countries of origin, particularly from the Turkic Republics, have started to be new but potential competitive groups. Based on the information gathered for this research, I can say that Moldovan migrant

women have gained experience and confidence, and have developed a certain level of negotiating power relating to their labour. In a sense I can argue that the respondents we spoke to for this research are mostly relatively “successful” migrants.

Appendix 1

**Table: Child Care in Turkey While Working
(Percent distribution of employed mothers of a child under six years of age by person who cares for child while mother is at work, according to background characteristics, Turkey 2003)**

Background Characteristics	Respondent	Husband/ Partner	Older female Child	Women's mother	Husband's mother	Older male child	Other relative	Servant, hired help	Institutional care	No work since birth	Other	Missing	Total
Residence													
Urban	34.0	2.7	7.4	13.4	16.5	0.5	5.4	7.6	8.9	2.9	0.4	0.3	100
Rural	40.2	2.3	13.5	4.8	26.2	1.6	7.5	0.5	0.3	2.2	0.8	0.2	100
Region													
West	30.1	2.3	6.4	15.6	20.8	1.0	5.6	6.2	7.4	4.2	0.2	0.2	100
South	47.2	2.8	7.5	9.4	17.6	1.3	5.3	3.4	2.4	1.9	0.3	0.9	100
Central	35.7	3.3	7.2	9.3	24.1	0.8	7.3	4.1	5.6	1.8	0.7	0.0	100
North	34.9	4.8	11.8	2.3	31.1	0.9	7.4	1.8	3.4	1.2	0.0	0.3	100
East	43.1	0.6	20.2	2.7	17.4	1.3	7.2	2.3	1.6	2.0	1.5	0.1	100
Education													
No educ./prim.	39.8	0.7	28.3	3.2	15.7	3.4	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.3	0.4	100
First level prm.	44.4	3.1	7.3	8.9	24.4	0.3	7.2	0.7	0.3	2.7	0.6	0.1	100
Second level prm	43.7	7.7	1.5	9.1	21.2	1.6	7.2	0.0	4.0	3.3	0.0	0.6	100
High school and higher	13.3	1.6	0.2	16.2	20.2	0.0	4.4	18.5	21.3	4.0	0.0	0.4	100
Occupation													
Agricultural	35.7	1.6	14.9	6.5	28.8	1.3	7.8	0.2	0.0	2.1	0.5	0.4	100
Non-agricultural	38.2	3.1	7.2	10.9	16.0	0.9	5.5	6.7	7.9	2.9	0.7	0.2	100
Continuity of employment													
All year	28.8	1.8	11.7	10.1	20.0	0.5	5.7	8.3	9.2	2.9	0.7	0.2	100
Seasonal	39.0	2.1	11.4	5.7	27.4	1.2	8.3	0.1	0.7	2.8	0.8	0.4	100
Occasional	58.3	5.4	4.3	12.9	11.0	2.3	4.7	0.3	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	100
Total	37.1	2.5	10.4	9.0	21.3	1.1	6.5	4.0	4.6	2.6			

Source: HIPS, 2003.

Appendix 2

Table: Foreigners Arriving in Turkey from Former USSR (000 entrance), 1997-2005)

	1997		1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Armenia	18.0	1.2	20.3	1.6	19.2	1.8	17.7	1.3	7.0	0.5	17.4	1.0	23.6	1.1	33.0	1.2	36.6	1.0
Azerbaijan	93.5	6.1	125.0	9.7	122.6	11.9	182.1	13.0	189.3	12.6	166.2	9.8	193.3	8.9	331.0	11.7	411.1	11.8
Belarus	2.0	0.1	7.7	0.6	7.7	0.8	10.0	0.7	15.4	1.0	22.2	1.3	31.6	1.5	63.5	2.3	77.0	2.2
Estonia	2.3	0.2	4.0	0.3	2.2	0.2	4.3	0.3	5.3	0.3	6.5	0.4	6.1	0.3	13.0	0.5	16.6	0.5
Georgia	194.8	12.7	201.8	15.7	181.3	17.6	180.5	12.9	162.7	10.8	161.7	9.5	172.9	8.0	234.5	8.3	367.1	10.5
Kazakhstan	47.0	3.1	52.4	4.1	30.5	3.0	40.7	2.9	41.5	2.8	53.0	3.1	65.8	3.0	83.3	3.0	106.2	3.0
Kyrgyzstan	8.3	0.5	7.0	0.5	5.5	0.5	8.2	0.6	7.9	0.5	10.3	0.6	14.2	0.6	24.7	0.9	31.0	0.9
Latvia	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.0	2.0	0.2	6.7	0.5	10.2	0.7	12.2	0.7	15.2	0.7	24.0	0.8	23.6	0.7
Lithuania	7.6	0.5	11.3	0.9	11.3	1.1	12.1	0.9	13.0	0.9	18.8	1.1	23.1	1.1	37.2	1.3	50.5	1.4
Moldova	50.6	3.3	61.8	4.8	77.3	7.5	65.1	4.7	46.9	3.1	47.4	2.8	58.9	2.7	71.1	2.5	89.8	2.6
Russian Fed.	980.0	64.1	636.3	49.4	423.2	41.0	680.8	48.9	753.0	50.0	957.4	56.2	1,285.8	59.6	1,593.7	56.4	1,855.9	53.1
Tajikistan	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.1	2.5	0.1	3.6	0.2	4.9	0.2	6.8	0.2
Turkmenistan	5.7	0.4	6.2	0.5	7.3	0.7	11.1	0.8	14.9	1.0	21.2	1.2	16.7	0.8	26.6	0.9	34.3	0.1
Ukraine	100.5	6.6	138.3	10.7	127.6	12.4	153.7	11.0	214.0	14.2	184.5	10.8	227.3	10.5	278.0	9.8	367.1	10.5
Uzbekistan	16.9	1.1	14.4	1.1	13.8	1.3	21.7	1.5	21.4	1.4	20.7	1.2	19.5	0.9	20.3	0.7	24.6	0.7
Subtotal (Former USSR)	1,528.7	100	1,287.1	100	1,031.5	100	1,395.7	100	1,504.5	100	1,702.0	100	2,157.6	100	2,825.8	100	3,498.2	100
Others																		
Total	9,326.7	-	8,643.5	-	6,880.6	-	9,748.3	-	10,912.8	-	12,906.3	-	13,461.4	-	16,854.4	-	20,275.2	-
% of Former USSR in total		16.4		14.9		9.0		14.3		13.8		13.2		16.0		16.8		17.3

Source: Directorate of the General Security of the Ministry of Interior

Appendix 3

Table: Foreigners from Former USSR Departing Turkey, by Nationality (1997-2005)

	1997		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Armenia	14.238	1.00	16.565	1.80	14.518	1.10	6.997	0.50	16.594	1.00	22.994	1.10	31.335	1.10	36.340	1.00
Azerbaijan	81.688	5.70	86.034	9.30	153.319	11.60	144.818	10.10	151.678	9.20	191.048	8.90	325.220	11.70	400.132	11.50
Belarus	1.674	0.10	6.135	0.70	10.930	0.80	13.755	1.00	18.179	1.10	29.803	1.40	60.671	2.20	78.341	2.30
Estonia	2.099	0.10	1.945	0.20	4.609	0.30	4.993	0.30	5.040	0.30	5.683	0.30	11.681	0.40	16.315	0.50
Georgia	181.515	12.70	158.836	17.20	166.480	12.60	159.557	11.20	162.136	9.90	165.308	7.70	229.343	8.30	356.995	10.30
Kazakhstan	40.929	2.90	30.171	3.30	39.175	3.00	40.753	2.80	50.329	3.10	64.331	3.00	79.971	2.90	105.648	3.00
Kyrgyzstan	6.720	0.50	5.080	0.60	6.939	0.50	8.084	0.60	9.792	0.60	13.042	0.60	22.384	0.80	27.469	0.80
Latvia	1.235	0.10	2.317	0.30	6.889	0.50	10.000	0.70	9.676	0.60	13.066	0.60	21.915	0.80	23.507	0.70
Lithuania	6.954	0.50	10.201	1.10	12.122	0.90	12.405	0.90	17.197	1.00	21.151	1.00	34.522	1.20	49.984	1.40
Moldova	38.772	2.70	63.285	6.90	53.735	4.10	49.205	3.40	44.422	2.70	54.908	2.50	68.555	2.50	85.523	2.50
Russian Fed.	951.138	66.50	406.088	44.00	674.434	51.00	737.855	51.60	936.157	57.00	1.322.855	61.30	1.567.209	56.40	1.869.414	53.80
Tajikistan	*		*		912	0.10	2.037	0.10	2.551	0.20	3.622	0.20	4.794	0.20	6.570	0.20
Turkmenistan	5.005	0.40	6.725	0.70	10.645	0.80	14.262	1.00	19.172	1.20	16.918	0.80	24.941	0.90	29.700	0.90
Ukraine	81.424	5.70	115.930	12.60	146.360	11.10	204.635	14.30	178.007	10.80	214.344	9.90	275.078	9.90	367.579	10.60
Uzbekistan	16.015	1.10	12.872	1.40	20.535	1.60	20.764	1.50	20.697	1.30	18.023	0.80	19.029	0.70	23.627	0.70
Subtotal (Former USSR)	1.429.406	100.00	922.184	100.00	1.321.602	100.00	1.430.120	100.00	1.641.627	100.00	2.157.096	100.00	2.776.648	100.00	3.477.144	100.00
Others	7.455.737	83.90	5.561.889	85.80	8.071.753	85.90	9.100.480	86.40	10.964.637	87.00	11.023.807	83.60	13.727.139	83.20	16.195.472	82.30
Total	8.885.143	100.00	6.484.073	100.00	9.393.355	100.00	10.530.600	100.00	12.606.264	100.00	13.180.903	100.00	16.503.787	100.00	19.672.616	100.00
% of former USSR in total		16.10		14.20		14.10		13.60		13.00		16.40		16.80		17.70

Source: Directorate of the General Security of the Ministry of Interior

* Not available

Appendix 4

Table: Foreigners from Former USSR Departing Turkey, Distribution by Sex (2001)

	Male	%	Female	%	M+F	0-14 years	Total
Armenia	2.072	45.8	2.450	54.2	4.522	46	4.568
Azerbaijan	71.936	50.4	70.891	49.6	142.827	7.473	150.300
Belarus	5.508	33.8	10.801	66.2	16.309	4.683	20.992
Estonia	1.874	56.5	1.440	43.5	3.314	251	3.565
Georgia	89.147	60.4	58.334	39.6	147.481	4.084	151.565
Kazakhstan	11.951	31.5	25.996	68.5	37.947	6.083	44.030
Kyrgyzstan	4.737	47.6	5.224	52.4	9.961	691	10.652
Latvia	6.093	58.1	4.395	41.9	10.488	3.071	13.559
Lithuania	3.809	31.4	8.320	68.6	12.129	2.526	14.655
Moldova	10.524	25.5	30.689	74.5	41.213	1.527	42.740
Russian Fed.	229.830	36.1	407.098	63.9	636.928	104.806	741.734
Tajikistan**							
Turkmenistan	2.545	33.1	5.146	66.9	7.691	290	7.981
Ukraine	49.043	33.4	97.701	66.6	146.744	11.970	158.714
Uzbekistan	9.205	43.4	11.995	56.6	21.200	1.134	22.334
Total	498.681	40.3	740.480	59.8	1.239.161	148.635	1.387.796

Source: Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism

Çıkış Yapan Yabancı Ziyaretçiler-Vatandaş Giriş Araştırmaları 2001, Tablo 19: Türkiye'yi Ziyaret Eden Yabancıların Milliyet, Yaş Grubu ve Cinsiyete Göre Dağılımı, pp.36-37.

* Türkiye'den çıkış yapan erkek ve kadın oranları hesaplanırken, 0-14 yaş grubundakiler hariç tutulmuş, hesaplama toplam erkek ve kadın sayısı üzerinden yapılmıştır.

** Kaynak veride Türkiye'den çıkış yapan Tacikistan vatandaşları toplamı 407'dir, bunların tümü erkektir. Dolayısıyla bu ülke vatandaşlarının cinsiyete göre dağılımı hesaplanamamış ve toplam 407 Tacikistan vatandaşı da genel toplama dahil edilmemiştir.

Appendix 5

Table: Migrant Groups from Former USSR in Turkey with Residence Permits, 1997-2005

	1997		1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Armenia	30	0.2	43	0.2	43	0.2	48	0.2	51	0.2	59	0.2	73	0.3	130	0.4	350	0.9
Azerbaijan	4.587	25.5	6.439	27.9	7.930	31.4	10.564	33.5	10.044	34.3	9.935	33.7	9.502	32.7	10.508	32.4	10.477	28.3
Belarus	63	0.4	192	0.8	232	0.9	254	0.8	209	0.7	208	0.7	265	0.9	260	0.8	369	1.0
Estonia	5	0.0	5	0.0	4	0.0	11	0.0	14	0.0	11	0.0	26	0.1	27	0.08	30	0.08
Georgia	594	3.3	692	3.0	723	2.9	685	2.2	761	2.6	788	2.7	958	3.3	1.279	3.9	1.641	4.4
Kazakhstan	1.695	9.4	2.417	10.5	2.579	10.2	3.676	11.7	3.503	12.0	3.649	12.4	3.427	11.8	3.755	11.6	3.896	10.5
Kyrgyzstan	1.120	6.2	1.357	5.9	1.557	6.2	2.128	6.8	1.587	5.4	2.095	7.1	2.223	7.7	2.495	7.7	3.025	8.2
Latvia	9	0.0	20	0.0	8	0.0	14	0.0	20	0.0	13	0.0	23	0.0	20	0.06	39	0.1
Lithuania	27	0.2	54	0.2	79	0.3	50	0.2	47	0.2	55	0.2	65	0.2	82	0.3	126	0.3
Moldova	472	2.6	806	3.5	895	3.5	889	2.8	855	2.9	890	3.0	1.055	3.6	1.637	5.0	3.065	8.3
Russian Fed.	4.846	27.0	5.744	24.9	5.459	21.6	6.871	21.8	6.235	21.3	6.454	21.9	6.134	21.1	6.326	19.5	6.444	17.4
Tajikistan	226	1.3	305	1.3	364	1.4	332	1.1	309	1.1	279	0.9	264	0.9	302	0.9	351	0.9
Turkmenistan	2.332	13.0	2.371	10.3	2.397	9.5	2.529	8.0	2.242	7.7	1.821	6.2	1.645	5.7	1.794	5.5	2.087	5.6
Ukraine	1.314	7.3	1.862	8.1	2.064	8.2	2.326	7.4	2.290	7.8	2.150	7.3	2.312	8.0	2.621	8.1	3.422	9.2
Uzbekistan	652	3.6	806	3.5	896	3.5	1.118	3.5	1.099	3.8	1.108	3.8	1.082	3.7	1.232	3.8	1.726	4.7
Subtotal (Former USSR)	17.972	100.0	23.113	100.0	25.230	100.0	31.495	100.0	29.266	100.0	29.515	100.0	29.054	100.0	32.468	100.0	37.048	100.0
Other																		
Total	135.914		151.489		162.229		168.047		161.254		157.667		152.203		157.562		178.964	
% of Former USSR in Total	-	13.2	-	15.3	-	15.6	-	18.7	-	18.1	-	18.9	-	19.1	-	20.6	-	20.7

Source: Directorate of the General Security of the Ministry of Interior

Appendix 6

Table: Foreigners Acquired Turkish Citizenship through Marriage, 1995-2005

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total	% in sub totals	% in total
Former USSR														
Azerbaijan	65	126	519	628	524	1.019	995	1.237	919	22	78	6132	39.0	14.8
Georgia	35	16	142	149	109	235	293	507	463	10	18	1.977	12.6	4.8
Russian Fed.	52	76	381	292	265	495	632	842	691	56	91	3.873	24.6	9.3
Turkmenistan	9	5	23	38	49	78	106	128	89	5	19	549	3.5	1.3
Moldova	-	2	65	100	78	319	728	965	902	14	34	3.207	20.4	7.7
Subtotal (Former USSR)	161	225	1.130	1.207	1.025	2.146	2.754	3.679	3.064	107	240	15.738	100.0	37.9
Balkans														
Bosnia- Herzegovina	13	14	33	22	15	17	12	22	20	4	14	186	1.7	0.4
Macedonia	29	16	60	65	57	82	100	73	60	25	55	622	5.8	1.5
Romania	39	70	321	371	246	760	1.087	870	434	32	64	4.294	39.8	10.4
Yugoslavia/ Serbia Montenegro	48	17	66	56	35	45	53	67	33	9	16	445	4.1	1.1
Bulgaria	259	147	489	459	385	499	1.398	755	808	4	39	5.242	48.6	12.7
Subtotal (Balkans)	388	264	969	973	738	1.403	2.650	1.787	1.355	74	188	10.789	100.0	26.0
Middle East														
Syria	34	17	85	81	73	135	138	201	173	58	100	1.095	54.8	2.6
Iraq	24	20	29	27	55	36	60	68	38	18	34	409	20.5	1.0
Iran	21	21	34	35	17	52	77	75	55	35	71	493	24.7	1.2
Subtotal (Middle East)	79	58	148	143	145	223	275	344	266	111	205	1.997	100.0	4.8
Germany	74	55	87	61	54	61	70	90	57	8	24	641		1.5
Others	446	331	861	928	736	1.551	1.881	2.516	2.170	228	617	12.265		29.6
TOTAL	1.148	933	3.195	3.312	2.698	5.384	7.630	8.416	6.912	528	1274	41.430	100.0	100

Source: Bureau of Population and Citizenship, Ministry of Interior

Appendix 7

Table: Irregular Migrants from Former USSR Apprehended by Country of Origin, 1999-2005

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Armenia	98	474	452	505	494	835	858
Azerbaijan	620	2.262	2.426	2.349	1.608	1.591	1.410
Belarus	82	281	273	197	142	88	98
Estonia	5	19	23	6	4	11	18
Georgia	809	3.300	2.693	3.115	1.826	2.294	2.348
Kazakhstan	185	294	489	396	414	367	296
Kyrgyzstan	35	200	161	274	285	410	333
Latvia	3	68	3	16	12	27	17
Lithuania	28	68	52	6	33	35	68
Moldova	5.098	8.312	11.454	9.611	7.728	5.728	3.462
Russian Fed.	1.695	4.554	3.893	2.139	2.130	1.266	1.152
Tajikistan	10	53	22	41	45	60	54
Turkmenistan	44	142	124	203	187	514	636
Ukraine	1.715	4.527	3.451	2.874	1.947	1.341	1.355
Uzbekistan	142	587	535	533	584	714	652
Subtotal (Former USSR)	10.569	25.141	26.051	22.265	17.439	15.281	12.757
Other	36.960	69.373	66.314	60.560	38.780	45.947	44.671
Total	47.529	94.514	92.365	82.825	56.219	61.228	57.428

Source: Directorate of the General Security of the Ministry of Interior, BFBA

Appendix 8

Table: Population of Moldova (1941-89)

	1941		1959		1970		1979		1989	
		%		%		%		%		%
Moldovans	1.620.800	68.8	1.886.566	65.4	2.303.916	64.6	2.525.687	63.9	2.794.749	64.5
Ukrainians	261.200	11.1	420.820	14.6	506.560	14.2	560.679	14.2	600.366	13.8
Russians	158.100	6.7	292.930	10.2	414.444	11.6	505.730	12.8	562.069	13.0
Gagauz	115.700	4.9	95.856	3.3	124.902	3.5	138.000	3.5	153.458	3.5
Bulgarians	177.700	7.5	61.652	2.1	73.776	2.1	80.665	2.0	88.419	2.0
Jews	-	-	95.107	3.2	98.072	2.7	80.127	2.0	65.672	1.5
Roma (Gypsies)	-	-	7.265	0.2	9.235	0.2	10.666	0.3	11.571	0.3
Romanians	-	-	1.663	0.06	-	-	-	-	2.477	0.06
Other	23.200	1.0	22.618	0.8	37.968	1.1	48.202	1.2	56.579	1.3
TOTAL	2.356.700	100.0	2.884.477	100.0	3.568.873	100.0	3.949.756	100.0	4.335.360	100.0

Source: King, 2000, p.97.

Appendix 9

Table: Summary Gender Profile of Moldova

	1980	1990	1995	2000
GNP per capita (US\$)	-	630	470	390
Population				
Total (millions)	4.0	4.4	4.3	4.3
Female (% of total)	52.7	52.3	52.2	52.5
Life expectancy at birth (years)				
Male	62	65	62	64
Female	69	72	70	71
Adult illiteracy rate (% of people aged 15+)				
Male	1.9	0.9	0.6	0.5
Female	7.8	3.9	2.6	1.7
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION				
Total labor force (millions)	2	2	2	2
Labor force, female (% of total labor force)	50	49	49	49
Unemployment				
Total (% of total labor force)	-	0.7	1.0	8.5
Female (% of Female labor force)	-	-	-	7.2
EDUCATION ACCESS AND ATTAINMENT				
Primary completion rates (% of relevant age group)				
Male	-	68	96	80
Female	-	65	94	81
Youth Illiteracy Rate (% of people aged 15-24)				

Appendix 10

Interview List

- 1) 15 interviews with Moldovan domestic workers
- 2) 2 interviews with Turkmen domestic workers
- 3) 2 interviews with Uzbek domestic workers
- 4) 1 interview with Azeri domestic worker
- 5) 7 interviews with employers
- 6) 1 interview with a university student from Moldova in Turkey
- 7) 4 interviews with the representative of travel agencies operating between Turkey and Moldova
- 8) 2 interviews with the representative of employment agencies
- 9) 1 interview with an official from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security
- 10) 1 interview with an official from the Ministry of Interior
- 11) 1 interview with an official from the Embassy of Republic of Moldova
- 12) 1 interview with a bank officer responsible for the Western Union

Appendix 11:

Visa Regulation for the Former Soviet Union Countries¹⁸

Armenia: Ordinary and official passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. Ordinary passport holders can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates.

Azerbaijan: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

Belarus: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain two-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

Estonia: Only diplomatic passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 30 days. Ordinary passport holders can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates.

Georgia: Ordinary and official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

Kazakhstan: Ordinary and official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 30 days.

Kyrgyzstan: Ordinary and official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 30 days.

Latvia: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Only diplomatic passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 30 days.

Lithuania: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

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

Russian Federation: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain two-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Only diplomatic passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

Tajikistan: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Only diplomatic passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

¹⁸ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ConsularInformation/ForForeigners/VisaInformation/Vis...> Access date: 22.05.2006

Turkmenistan: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Only diplomatic passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 30 days.

Ukraine: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain two-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

Uzbekistan: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. Only diplomatic passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

Appendix 12:

Visa Fees at Border Gates for the Former Soviet Union Countries (2006) ¹⁹

Azerbaijan: 2 months 10\$-10 Euro

Belarus: 2 months 20\$-15 Euro

Armenia: 1 month 15 \$- 10 Euro

Estonia: 1 month 15\$ - 10 Euro

Latvia: 1 month 15\$ - 10 Euro

Lithuania: 1 month 15\$ - 10 Euro

Moldova: 1 month 15\$ - 10 Euro

Russian Federation: 2 months 20 \$ -15 Euro

Tajikistan: 1 month 15\$ -10 Euro

Turkmenistan: 1 month 15\$ -10 Euro

Ukraine: 2 months 15\$ -10 Euro

¹⁹ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ConsularInformation/ForForeigners/VisaInformation/Vis...> Access date: 22.05.2006

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