

**MIGRATING MEN AND WOMEN LEFT BEHIND: A STUDY FROM
ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

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With changes in the demand for labor, in the global market, temporary and contract based work arrangements have become the preferred pattern in international labor migration. The employment of Turkish men in the projects of the construction industry abroad can be seen as an example of this. Turkish men migrate when and where work is available and leave their families in their home countries. What happens to the household structure and the relationships among its members, particularly gender relations, when men migrate on a temporary but recurrent manner is the central question of this study. This study aims to look at the impact of such migration on women as "the left behind wives". The impact of male migration varies considerably according to three main variables: the type of family structure ; existing human capital of the wife ; and pattern of migration.

This study is limited to a study of families living in Ankara where the husband is employed companies as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in foreign countries in the Turkish construction industry. For the purpose of gathering information on the issue, 50 women were interviewed. Snowball sampling technique was used as the sampling strategy. A questionnaire was developed as the research tool.

When the participants' husbands migrate on a temporary but recurrent manner, changes in the household composition, income, daily activities, patterns of authority, power and gender relations are observed. The meaning of their husbands' migration and its impacts, hardships and advantages change from one woman to another depending on their family structure (nuclear/traditional patrilineal), on women's earning an income or not and the patterns of their husbands' employment. Specifically, the women's status in the household gets better when the duration of the husband's migration increases and when its recurrent pattern becomes more prevalent and stable. It is especially true for the women living in nuclear families. These women have control over money issues and gain authority over decisions made on important matters for their families. Moreover, again in nuclear families where the woman is an autonomous income earner, migration tends to restructure the household and empower the women as opposed to traditional patrilineal families.

Keywords: Empowerment, Patriarchy, Labor Migration, Women

ÖZ

GEÇİCİ İŞÇİ GÖÇÜ VE GERİDE KALAN KADIN: ANKARA'DAN BİR ÇALIŞMA

Doğu, Göze

Yüksek Lisans, Kadın Çalışmaları Ana Bilim Dalı

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Küresel pazarda, işgücü taleplerindeki değişimler ile geçici ve kontrat bazlı işler uluslararası göç örüntülerinde tercih edilmeye başlanmıştır. Türk işçilerinin yurtdışı inşaat firmalarındaki istihdamları buna bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Türk işçiler ailelerini Türkiye'de bırakarak iş imkanının olduğu her zamanda ve her mekana göç etmektedirler.

Bu çalışmanın temel sorunsalını bu tip geçici işçi göçü sürecinde hanehalkı yapısında ve ev halkı arasındaki ilişkilerde, özellikle toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında, ne tip değişikliklerin gerçekleştiği oluşturmaktadır. Temelde bu tip göçün geride kalan eş konumundaki kadına etkisini anlamak bu çalışmanın amacıdır. Bu göçün etkisi 3 temel değişken çerçevesinde farklılık göstermektedir: aile tipi (çekirde/geniş aile); kadının gelir getirici bir işte çalışıp çalışmaması ve eğitim düzeyi ve de son olarak erkeğin göç örüntüleri (yurtdışında kalış süresi uzun mu kısa mı ve de kaç yıldır bu tip işlerde istihdam ediliyor).

Bu çalışma Ankara'da ikamet eden, eşleri yurtdışında inşaat işçisi olarak çalışmakta olan 50 kadınla yapılan görüşmeler sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu

kadınlara iki kısımdan oluşan, Hane Halkı Soru Formu ve Kadın Soru Kağıdı, bir anket uygulanmıştır. Soruların çoğu açık uçlu olduğundan görüşmeler esnek bir biçim almıştır ve de görüşülen kadınların kendi deneyimlerini rahatça aktarmaları sayesinde görüşmeler zengin bir nitelik kazanmıştır.

Çalışmanın sonucunda erkeğin göçüyle hanehalkı kompozisyonunda, aile gelirinde, günlük aktivitelerde, güç ve otorite örüntülerinde ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinde değişiklikler saptanmıştır. Eşlerinin göçünün kadınlar için anlamı, zorlukları, avantajları her bir kadın için değişmektedir. Kadının ev içindeki statüsü erkeğin yurtdışı istihdam süresi arttıkça iyileşmektedir. Bu özellikle çekirdek ailelerde yaşayan kadınlar için geçerlidir. Bu kadınlar para konularında kontrolü ellerine almış olup önemli konularda karar verme süreçlerinde söz sahibi olmuşlardır. Ayrıca, kadının gelir getirici işlerde çalıştığı durumlarda, geniş aile tipinin aksine çekirdek ailelerde geçici işçi göçünün hanenin yeniden yapılanmasında ve kadının güçlenmesinde etkili olduğu anlaşılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Güçlenme, Ataerkillik, İşçi Göçü, Kadın

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

Date: 1 June 2004

Signature:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Migration is by no means a new phenomenon. Voluntary and forced movements of people have occurred throughout history. Today, for many people migration has become a life style. Around hundred million people in the world now live in countries where they were not born (Stalker, 2002). If we include people who move or are displaced internally in their home country, this number would be much higher.

In the contemporary world, material well being and resource maximization are important motivations for migrating. Clearly, economic factors are some of the causes underlying current population movements; other factors are those associated with displacements due to political oppression, conflicts and natural disasters, as well as those related to individual motivations. While refugees and asylum seekers may have surpassed economic migrants in terms of current policy considerations in the international fora, most migration today is still on economic grounds. In fact, it can be safely said that labor migration

has been one of the world's most important socio-economic phenomenon of the post World War II era.

The trends, patterns and destinations of migration have changed over time and different migration models have emerged. In the beginning of the twentieth century, people moved mainly from Europe to the New World. Moreover, considerable population movements were witnessed within Europe after the two world wars. In the second part of the twentieth century, with the reconstruction of Europe as well as the decolonization process throughout the countries of the south/east, the main impetus behind migration was economic (DAW, 1999; 31). Much of the migration in 1950s and 1960s “involved large scale movement of excess labor” from developing world to the developed countries where labor was scarce (Stalker, 2000; 21). On the other hand, since the 1970s, the instance of long-term labor migration has been declining around the globe. The main reason is due to the economic crises experienced in the beginning of the 1970s, requiring substantial restructuring of the economies of the developed countries of the world. This led to transfer of capital to where the labor is cheap and relatively less regulated, thus changing the patterns of demand and use of labor.

At the center of changing patterns of labor migration lies the transformations in the world of work. In the age of global restructuring, capital and labor

move differently around the world¹, and privatization and deregulation of the market and casualization of jobs have become the global trend with flexible and short term employment patterns replacing long term employment options in many sectors. Rather than relatively long term work arrangements with accompanying labor rights, short term, and flexible employment arrangements are preferred, particularly by off-shore industries. In this juncture, temporary and short term contract labor has emerged as the preferred pattern of labor mobility (Sassen, 2000).

In other words, while capital has gained free movement across borders, the movement of labor has become restricted. Changing patterns of demand for labor in the economic centers of the world was followed by restricted immigration policies and anti-immigration sentiments, particularly in Europe, which makes the prospects of long term employment of foreign workers more difficult. Nonetheless, this is not stopping people from migrating. New and complex forms of mobility have since emerged and the nature, source and magnitude of migration have changed.

International labor migration from Turkey has also responded to these global changes. In the 1960s, hundreds of thousands of people went to Europe to work in various sectors, mainly in manufacturing (Apak, 1993;18). After the mid 1970s, labor migration from Turkey changed in terms of its patterns and countries of destination. Such change occurred in response to global changes

¹ It is better to note that there is now a consensus in the literature that while capital moves across borders freely, labor movements are more restricted.

in the world of work, changes in the demand for labor, changes in migration policies of the receiving countries, and the entrance of the Arab Gulf countries into the international labor market and later, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, other countries also entered into the picture. Prospects for international employment for Turkish workers increasingly shifted to the latter locations. The construction sector responded to the global change and offered the warm opportunity for participating in emerging labor markets. Turkish construction companies that obtain contracts abroad often take with them their work force, which they recruit in Turkey. Workers are hired on a fixed term contract basis with restricted employment arrangements (Apak, 1993;18). In that sense, the construction sector in Turkey and the labor use patterns of the sector in international work contracts represent a special case of the above mentioned contemporary patterns; involving short term, temporary migrant labor arrangements.

Unlike other sectors, such as manufacturing or service, which rely on both male and (increasingly) female labor, the construction sector tends to be male dominated in its operations. Construction business is regarded as a man's world with extremely masculine characteristics especially with its working conditions and workload. Therefore, the sex of migrant workers, regardless of their country of origin or regardless of the host country, tends to be male-dominated.

Due to the nature of the work environment, the legal restrictions of the host countries and the work arrangements where labor rights are kept at a minimum, with family unification usually not allowed, men migrate alone, leaving their families in their home countries. Men move back and forth between home and other countries where and when work is available. That is, they usually migrate in a recurrent fashion, stay a few months (or years) in a country, then come home; stay a while in Turkey and then go abroad again to work. This pattern of movement has been described in the literature as circular (Stalker, 1999) or home-based/free floating labor force (Ertürk, 1999).

According to the 8th Five Year Development Plan, in the year 2001, 290 thousand Turkish citizens were working in the Arab Gulf and former Soviet Block countries (State Planning Institute, 2001). In the countries of the Arab Gulf, although workers may hold contracts from individual sponsors, by and large, these are the countries where Turkish construction industry operates widely and where recurrent migration takes place. Hence, it would not be wrong to assume that most of the Turkish men working in these countries are employed in the construction sector.

This means that hundreds of thousands of workers and their families are affected from this kind of labor migration one way or another. Moreover, if the 20-30 year history of this kind of migration from Turkey is taken into account, the number of people affected would probably exceed a few million.

What happens to the traditional household structure, the relationships among its members and the status of women when men migrate on a temporary but recurrent manner? Significant changes in the household composition, income, daily activities and patterns of authority, power and gender relations, no doubt, are to be expected. This thesis addresses this question as its research problem and aims to look at the impact of male migration on the families left behind with particular attention to the position of women and changes in the gender relations.

Male migration may have both positive and negative impacts on the family members left-behind. Absence of men, especially if it is the 'head of the household'², may be expected, on the one hand, to give autonomy and power to the wife left behind. On the other hand, it may increase her burden, work load and responsibility. Women may also be subjected to greater patriarchal control as the migrating husband may delegate his authority to other male members or older women in the family.

The impact of male migration is expected to vary considerably according to three main variables: the type of family structure (whether it is nuclear or extended); existing human capital of the wife left behind (whether she earns

² With the adoption of a new Civil Code, the concept of household head has been eliminated in 2003 (KSS; 2003). Yet, the long term impact of such a change in the issue of household head, whether it is de facto elimination or not, is still unknown.

an income or not and her level of education); and pattern of migration (whether the duration of husband's stay abroad is short or long and recurrent). This study, in aiming to examine the relationship between male migration and the situation of women left behind, is based on an analysis of interviews made with limited numbers of families living in urban areas of Ankara, where husbands are employed in the Turkish construction industry in contract based projects abroad.

As such, it is an attempt to shed light on a social phenomenon, which has been relatively under studied in the social science literature. In this sense, it is an explorative study that will identify the general characteristics of construction projects of Turkish companies, the profile of the workers involved and the impact of the phenomenon on the families left behind. By doing so, the study aims to contribute to a better understanding of the social aspects of the process of recurrent international labor migration as experienced in Turkey. The main focus, however, is to address the lives of left behind women whose voices so far have not been heard³.

By maintaining women as the focus, this study tries to find preliminary clues on the effects and hidden benefits of recurrent male labor migration. The current focus on women at the center of migration analysis is a significant

³ Perhaps what I need to stress here is that migration literature or reserach still concentrates on the actual migrant. Traditionally, there was a bias in the literature treating men as migrants and women as dependents of this migration process. However, current research has proved that it is not always the case any more. But, little reserach has paid attention to the fragmentation of families in migration process whether the migrant is woman or man. There is the study of INSTRAW (2000) which is the one of the few which looks at migration in a holistic manner and which surpasses the traditional androcentric thinking in the literature.

shift away from the conventional studies that consider migration in terms of the “active”-male migrant. Similarly, putting those left behind at the center of migration analysis enables a holistic approach to the phenomenon. By recognizing the role of women who stay behind as active and constructive supporters of the migration process, this study aims to shed light on the lives of individuals previously understudied and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the role of men in the process of migration.

This thesis will proceed in Chapter two with a brief review of the changing patterns of labor, the recent transformations in the labor markets and changing character of work and changing patterns of migration. Moreover, the place of women in new patterns of migratory flows and how household/family relations are transformed with such movements around the world will be discussed. Chapter three presents the research methodology of this thesis. In Chapter four, the patterns and profile of male migration in Turkey is elaborated. Chapter five focuses on the impact of migration on women, the changes they experience and how they perceive these changes. Finally, the last chapter provides an overall assessment of the findings of this thesis and identifies areas for further research.

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSFORMATIONS IN LABOR MARKETS AND CHANGING MIGRATION PATTERNS

2.1 Historical Background

Large-scale movements of population across national and international borders are a long historical process and common to all regions of the world. As time passed, population movements have diversified. Especially, the patterns and scope of migration have changed dramatically in the last few centuries. Let us take a brief look to the history of migration (particularly to labor migration), before a discussion of the recent patterns, since such a background would make it easier to understand changing characteristics of current migratory flows and in what ways they differ from the past.

If slavery is taken as the starting point of the history of labor migration, although some may argue that it predates the slave trade (see Stalker, 1999), we should look at the 14th and 15th centuries. Portuguese sailors began to enslave Africans around 1442, transporting them back to Europe for use in

their own households. But it was not until 1550 that people were transferred from Africa to the West Indies to meet the need for intensive field labor in the Caribbean. Over the next couple of centuries the slave traders are thought to have taken some 15 million people from Africa. The slave trade was one of the largest mass migrations of labor in human history. Today it is estimated that around 40 million people in the Americas and the Caribbean are descendent of slaves (Mittelman, 2000). Even before slavery was abolished, however, it was being replaced by another form of servitude — indentured labor⁴.

Indentured workers were chiefly from China and India but also from the Pacific. From about 1830 onwards they were sent to British colonies in North America, Africa and Asia, as well as to French, German and Dutch colonies around the world. They were also sent to the United States and to countries of Latin America in the decolonization period. The total number of men, women and children sent abroad may have been as many as 37 million. Eventually, the indentured labor system, like slavery before it, was gradually abolished (Sassen, 1999).

Voluntary mass migration to the Americas did not take off until the middle of the 19th century, following changes in agriculture in Europe. Many people

⁴ Indentured labor differs from slavery in that parties sign a contract bounding the laborer to an apprentice or a master. This may take many forms, some not too different than slavery. An overseer might, for example, assemble a gang of workers, lend them money and then take them overseas and make them work to pay off the loan. Or the indentured workers may sign a contract in their own country, to work for five or more years abroad. Some people, on the other hand may be simply kidnapped to be used for various aims. Women are particularly vulnerable to this type of indentured labor in domestic work (Stalker, 1994).

were forced off the land before the industries in the towns were sufficiently developed to absorb them. Between 1846 and 1890 around 17 million people left Europe for the New World. The British and German territories provided large numbers of migrants during this period.⁵ The peak of migration was around the turn of the century. Between 1891 and 1920, 27 million people left Europe. This represented a significant percentage of the population of the sending countries⁶. Colonization gained a new meaning, becoming a massive flight rather than an act of conquest. Much transatlantic migration was for survival: the famine in Ireland, which killed one million people and sent another two million across the Atlantic, is probably the best-known case as well as people uprooted because of religious persecution. The invention of the steamship reduced the cost of overseas travel and so gave millions of people access to transatlantic travel (Sassen, 1999). The entry of capital into agriculture and manufacturing, including rural-based industries and the explosion of factory based manufacturing in cities extended capital overseas, “altering the supply of and demand for resources, including labor” (Mittelman, 2000; 59). As Sassen (1999) noted, the largest migration in the 19th century was overseas migration: “the expansion of colonial empires and the development of the steamship made it possible for masses of people to flow into the transoceanic migration systems” (p. 42). Between 1840 and

⁵ Around 8 million emigrants from British Isles, and 3.5 million from Germany, impelled by rural poverty famines and periodic crop failures (Sassen, 1999).

⁶ Between 1846 and 1924, some 48 million people left Europe, representing around 12% of Europe's population in 1900. The proportions leaving certain countries were very high indeed, notably the British Isles (41%) and Norway (36%) (Sassen, 1999).

1900, an estimated 26 million Europeans left, followed by another 24 million, leading up to World War I.

The First World War marked the end of this mass migration from Europe to America. The flows did continue but at a rather lower level, blocked to a certain extent by new United States (US) immigration laws⁷. The depression years in the US also dissuaded migrants. Then, the Second World War broke out. Over the whole period from 1846 to 1939, around 51 million people had left Europe (Stalker, 1994).

The Second World War, and the years following the end of the war set the economic ground of a world order, which predominated until the recent phenomenon of globalization. The end of the Second World War saw massive population displacements and movements within Europe. Around 15 million people moved from one country to another. Many were German nationals living outside German territory, which had to return to its new boundaries. Others had been uprooted during the war or had to relocate as a result of border changes, political settlements and decolonization (Stalker, 1994).

Many Europeans were also tempted to emigrate during the austerity years of the 1950s, though few European governments were keen to encourage emigration, since the war had cost 7.8 million lives. The United Kingdom was again the major source of emigration, followed by Italy, the Netherlands and

⁷ In the United States the Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 cut immigration to about 162,000 people per year (Stalker, 2002).

the Federal Republic of Germany. The main destinations were Australia, Canada, and the United States but many Europeans also went to South America and to Israel. After World War II and in the 1950s, the reconstruction of Europe ushered in an economic boom. This created a huge new demand for workers.

West Germany, France and the United Kingdom started to run short of labor in 1950s. The need to additional workers led to the active organized recruitment of foreign workers. At first they were able to recruit many of those displaced during the war. The vast numbers of refugees, displaced persons and returnees from colonies formed this needed additional labor supply for the European economies which were in full reconstruction. Then, the countries looked to other European countries that had been slower to industrialize. In the 1950s, Italy was the main European labor-sending country. In the 1960s, Spain and Portugal became main sending countries, followed by Greece and Yugoslavia. Several of these countries had had significant overseas emigration until the 1970s, when things started to change. Algeria, India, Pakistan and the Caribbean emerged as the main non-European labor-sending countries in the 1950s and into the 1960s. In the 1960s and 1970s, Turkey, Morocco and Tunisia emerged as important labor-supplying countries. Over this period, net immigration into Western Europe reached around 10 million. Most remarkable was West Germany among the labor-receiving countries, which absorbed 14 million people from 1945 to 1988 (Hobsbawm, 1996).

The share of foreign workers in Europe's labor force peaked in the early 1970s and then, a major shift occurred: in 1973 and 1974, most of Europe's labor importing countries closed immigration and attempted to repatriate foreign workers. This was partly due to the recessionary impact of the oil price crisis⁸ of the early 1970s and the reduced need for foreign workers once post World War II reconstruction had been accomplished. Anti-immigrant sentiments and fears of invasion of foreign culture were also among the factors in shaping the anti-immigrant policies of the countries of Europe. The total number of foreign workers declined in varying degrees in different countries. In Germany and France, the number of foreign workers fell by less than half a million from 1973 to 1980, to 2.1 million and to 1.5 million respectively (Sassen, 1999).

A major response to the economic crises of the 1970s was the transfer of capital from developed countries to underdeveloped ones. Starting from 1960s, there were significant transformations in the magnitude and composition of global foreign investment flows; the mid 1960s mark the development of export production in several Third World countries through a massive increase of direct foreign investment and through international subcontracting by industrialized countries. As Sassen indicates, "we are seeing the development of off-shore production sector for these countries,

⁸ Between 1973 and 1974 oil prices soared from \$2.50 a barrel to \$11.50, sending many of the rich countries into an economic recession (Sassen, 1999).

especially in agriculture and manufacturing but now increasingly also in clerical work” (1998; 57). Export Processing Zones (EPZs) are the most formalized instance. Through foreign investment in the underdeveloped countries, there occurred a shift of jobs to these countries. That is, the expansion of export manufacturing and export agriculture, through direct transfer of capital from highly industrialized countries to the Third World countries⁹, mobilized new segments of the population into regional and/or long-distance migrations. One of the most important issues that should be emphasized here is that during these years, while capital moved freely, labor could not; that is, migration became steadily more restricted or moved under increasingly controlled conditions.

From the mid-1980s to the present day, the immigration debate in Europe and elsewhere has been dominated by asylum seekers, refugees and illegal immigrants. This has been a period of political upheaval, particularly in Eastern Europe as a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Eastern Europeans, with more freedom to travel, started to join the thousands of people fleeing conflict and sought asylum in Western Europe. Similar patterns are observed in other regions of the world such as Afghanistan, Africa and the Middle East. Parallel to the increased conflict, growing economic disparities led illegal migration to emerge as a major issue in the last few years. The closure of labor immigration and, more recently, the tightening of asylum

⁹ Massive increases is observed in direct foreign investment, mostly from United States, but also from Japan and Europe. The average annual growth rates of direct foreign investment in underdeveloped countries by all major industrial countries were 7 percent from 1960 to 1968; 9.2 percent from 1968 to 1973, and 19.4 percent from 1973 to 1978 (Sassen, 1988).

provisions are assumed to have contributed to an increase in illegal migration. Over the period 1989-98, over four million people applied for asylum in Europe, of whom 43% came from countries of Eastern Europe, 35% from Asia and 19% from Africa. As the pressure grew, however, Western European governments and others also started to tighten their borders to refugee flows (www.unhcr.org, <06/01/2003>). With this door also closing, more people tried to enter illegally, either traveling on their own initiative or with the help of smugglers. This has created new issues of concern like human trafficking, which has diverse implications, for example, on internationally organized crime, on human rights and citizenship.

2.2. Changing Demand for Labor

As discussed above, the last few decades witnessed the flow of capital freely across the borders and the integration of the global economic order. The world is undergoing an overall restructuring based on these changes. As a consequence, a transformation has been taking place in the structure of work since the 1980s. There have been numerous changes in employment and labor practices around the world. Employment arrangements that include part-time, temporary or contract work, outsourcing, tele-work and self-employment, among others, have become increasingly common. Short-term jobs are replacing stable employment

arrangements and skill levels for some jobs are continuously increasing¹⁰ (Sennett, 1997), while for others decreasing. The concept of flexibility has started to be widely emphasized having several connotations: changes in labor and employment patterns, organizational flexibility, job flexibility, etc. The shift from manufacturing to service sector-from production of goods to services- rise of managerial and professional jobs, decrease in agricultural and manufacturing jobs and growing information content of work are other important changes that have been occurring in the realm of work (Castells, 1996; Prakash & Hart, 2001).

When the firms become more flexible, they tend to increase subcontracting and other irregular employment forms. As Castells articulates; “Part-time work, temporary work, self-employment, work by contract, informal or semi-formal labor arrangements, and relentless occupational mobility, are the key features of the new labor market” (Castells, 1996;11-12). This creates a situation in which there are two groups of workers: a highly skilled, highly educated group which can be regarded as being in the core and functionally flexible; and an easily disposable group, being in the periphery and giving firms external or numerical flexibility. The concept of functional flexibility “...is about what workers do and consists of firm’s ability to adjust and deploy the skills of its employees to match the tasks required by its changing workload, production methods and/or technology” (Wood, 1989;1). On the other hand, external flexibility refers to the

¹⁰ Some argue that while high skilled flexible production is on the rise, at the same time need for unskilled cheap labor is increasing (UN-DAW, 1999; Sassen, 1998).

policies used by the firm to increase the firm's ability to adjust to the changing conditions of the market by, for example, hiring replaceable contract workers (Zeytinoğlu, 1999;xi). Distinguishing these two, we can define the new work structure with increasing functional flexibility, giving way to more autonomy and opportunities to the qualified workers, and with increasing external flexibility, causing large numbers of people to work in irregular and insecure types of work. The ones in the second group, working in temporary, part-time or on short-term contracts, have minimum labor rights (Thompson, 1989).

Parallel to that, increase in temporary and part-time jobs (with the decreasing importance of manufacturing and widening of the service sector) has brought about diversification to the process of migration, in terms of employment arrangements, regional distribution, gender and age composition.

Hence, it can be argued that the globalization of labor flows is part of the same process as the development of global finance and the global movement of capital (Sassen, 1998). At this point, with bearing the strict labor policies in mind, one might think that the new world system faces some political challenges. In Sassen's words; "It is now conventional to think of the freeing of movements of finance, and of trade from national regulation as one of the sources of the dynamism of a globalized economy, while at the same time *insisting*, in a different discourse, on the importance of maintaining nationalized systems for the regulation of migration" (Sassen, 1998;xii,xiii, *italic*, my emphasis).

There is a growing incompatibility between economic interests (in finance and capital markets) and labor interests, since free movement of labor is restricted. Hence, the demand for labor has changed. Rather than relatively long term work arrangements with accompanying labor rights, short term, and flexible employment arrangements are preferred. In this juncture, temporary fixed term contract labor engaging in irregular and increasingly unregulated work has emerged as a new form of mobility for labor.

Rather than employments that give ground for long-term settlements, different kinds of temporary work arrangements have emerged. In a report of UNDESA (1998), these temporary work arrangements are conceptualized under three different categories: The first category is project-tied migrant workers. Here, migrant workers are admitted to a state for a defined period to work solely on a specific project carried out in that state by the migrant worker's employer. The employer is responsible for providing the inputs needed to complete the project, including labor. The employer, or an agent, must ensure that project-tied migrant workers leave the country of employment once the work is completed.

The second category is contract migrant workers. Persons work in a country other than their own, under contractual arrangements that set limits on the period of employment and on the specific job held by the migrant. Once admitted, contract migrant workers are not allowed to change jobs and are

expected to leave the country of employment upon completion of their contract, irrespective of whether the work they do continues or not. Although contract renewals are sometimes possible, departure from the country of employment may be mandatory before the contract can be renewed.

The last category is conceptualized as temporary migrant workers. Here, persons are admitted by a country to work for a limited period in a particular occupation or a specific job. Temporary migrant workers may change employers and have their work permits renewed without having to leave the country of employment (UNDESA, 1998).

These three categories seem to overlap each other and although they are conceptually and most importantly legally differentialized categories in the literature, the term contract labor will be used in this study, referring to all these three types of temporary work arrangements since the content of the study does not need such distinctions.

2.3. Patterns of Female Migration

As Sassen states, “international migrations are produced, they are patterned and they are embedded in specific historical phases” (1993; 97). With the advent of globalization, especially with foreign direct investment, with increase in export manufacturing and with the establishment of export processing zones, there has been a drastic increase in female employment in

manufacturing sector (UN, DAW, 1999; Sassen, 1998). As stated earlier, many industries have fragmented their operations and to some extent their labor needs have become temporary, although fragmentation of operations does not necessarily imply temporary work arrangements. Moreover, these large scale manufacturing firms prefer to employ women as a strategy for securing low wages. This has, in turn, uprooted female workers from their countries and the number of women working in the manufacturing sector in EPZs and in countries like Bangladesh, Dominican Republic, Indonesia, Mauritius, the Philippines, Republic of Korea, Taiwan, Tunisia and others has been increasing. These women are mainly employed in labor-intensive jobs, such as textile, toys, shoes and electronics (UN, DAW, 1999). Such jobs are occupied by women who work for long hours and for low wages. Men, on the other hand, are employed in modern types of manufacturing with capital intensive forms of production (Sassen, 1998). Moreover, the need for labor in the service sector in the developed countries of the West but also in the countries like Japan uprooted women of the Third World. Immigrant women are overwhelmingly employed in the service sector in these developed countries, especially in domestic work (Parrenas, 2001).

In one way or another, women are incorporated in these dynamic structures as unskilled labor migrants either for instance, in manufacturing jobs, or in the service sector like domestic work in various parts of the world.

In any case, migrations do not just happen; the countries the migrant women originate from; go to; the sectors they work in, etc. are determined by macro processes. There is an international division of labor between sending and receiving countries and there is sexual and sectoral division of labor between women and men. As Sassen conceptualizes; “There are objective conditions that create a demand for female workers given the sex typing of jobs and the lower wages paid to women. The shift to services and the technically downgrading of jobs have generated an expansion in types of jobs associated with women workers” (Sassen, 1998; 120). It can be argued that market and patriarchy together shape these processes and international labor migration is mediated through these processes. In some countries, women are pulled into the migrant labor force, especially for instance, in the countries near to EPZs¹¹. In other countries, men constitute the major migrant pool. The next section talks about male migration which is shaped by these processes.

2.4. Gendered Consequences of Male Migration

Although we can talk about the feminization of migration for some parts of the world, in some countries, like Turkey, men continue to be the major actors of migration. For Turkey or for some other countries, women’s absence from the temporary migration phenomenon may be explained with patriarchal values, with the division of labor between men and women where men take

¹¹ The market concentration of electronics, garments, textiles, toys and footwear in export manufacturing is mainly women, who are the supply of low-wage labor. The expansion of these industries results in the composition of migration streams.

the role of breadwinner, where women are confined to home and where women's physical mobility is restricted. This is not to say that Turkish women have not participated in migration, but the focus here is on a specific temporary labor migration. Although women migrate in the form of associational migration, forced migration or migration for security, they do not participate in international temporary labor migration (İlkkaracan & İlkkaracan, 1998).¹². As Özbay & Yücel (2002) state, recurrent temporary migration has been predominantly a male act in Turkey. We can not talk about feminization of labor migration in Turkey, as we can for many Asian countries (for instance for the Philippines where women of this country work as domestic workers in 139 different countries around the world), or for Latin America countries (Parreñas, 2001) or for Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

Nonetheless, the emergence of new centers of demand for foreign labor in construction work has provided Turkish men, if not Turkish women, with an opportunity to participate in international labor migration. As Parreñas (2001) conceptualizes “global capitalism functions through and maintains an overarching world-system that organizes nations into unequal relations and crates a larger structural linkage between sending and receiving countries in migration....Migrants are part of the ongoing circulation of resources, both capital and labor, within the boundaries of a single global division of labor, that is between a dominant core and a dependent periphery” (p. 25). However, the Turkish case does not fit well to what Parreñas says. That is, in the case of

¹² Female migration, its specific causes, impacts and experiences needs to be examined closely in order to make reliable comments. Please see Buijs (1996); İlkkaracan & İlkkaracan (1998) and Özbay & Yücel (2002).

Turkish construction work, the center/periphery argument of Parreñas is not fully applicable as the provider of labor, i.e. Turkey, is also the provider of technology and knowledge.

Due to the very nature of the work contract, men migrate alone, leaving their families behind. What happens to the family and to the women left behind, when men migrate in a temporary but recurrent manner?

Research on male migration reveals both positive and negative consequences for the situation of women left behind. For example, several studies make the point that women's power and/or authority tend to increase in their husbands' absence (Goodson-Lawes, 1993; Hoodfar, 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Messner, 1999). These claims rest on the assumption that while men are away, women have access to roles and resources that might otherwise be denied to them. For instance, women engage in business transactions and manage family finances when their husbands are away. Goodson-Lawes (1993) and Hoodfar (1997) maintain that this serves to increase autonomy and power of women in the household and alter gender relations. Some researchers argue that migration has provided an opportunity for left-behind women to gain more independence, mobility, and decision-making power in the households (Gulati, 1986). In the absence of husbands, wives may elevate in power within the household and be in a position to make more decisions about routine as well as important matters. They may be handling more money than ever in their lives due to the incoming remittances.

Some studies done in the labor exporting countries indicate that due to the long absence of husbands, women have become more independent and their level of authority has risen (Ahmed& Islam, 1994). Some women have even assumed the role of household head (Jetley, 1992). However, other studies indicate that in traditional societies where the dominant familial structure is based on the extended family systems, the absence of the husband from the household has not resulted in the transfer of household responsibilities to women. Instead, another male member in the household assumes the position of prominence. (Arnold& Shah, 1984; Appleyard, 1989).

Male migration is also associated with women's new roles and activities in the households. In a traditional society, women generally do most of the household work, such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of children etc. She is also expected to share man's burden of work outside the home, which of course varies according to availabilities, the place of residence and economic status of the household. For instance, according to a study conducted in a Pakistani village, women are also expected to do sowing and harvesting the crops and other similar farm activities in addition to their usual tasks. The study indicates that women spend 12 to 16 hours of a day in home and farm activities throughout the year (Akhtar, 1990). Other studies also suggest that due to migration, women are facing more hardships and extra responsibilities. Women's new roles become more stressful and physically demanding. This is especially true for the women who reside in rural areas and engage in

agricultural work and animal husbandry (Hashmi, 1988). This is similar in Turkey as well. In a study conducted by Ertürk (1999) in Erzurum, the burden on the woman in terms of the distribution of tasks increases in the absence of the husband. According to the study, 53% of tasks are done by the woman herself (raising children(81.5%), care of animals (66.7%) and management of money (56.5%)) and 30% of tasks are done by the man's family. The study concludes that, as the husband's absence becomes regular and as the husband is absent for longer times, the woman gains greater autonomy.

What happens to women who live in nuclear family systems in urban areas when their husbands migrate? Are similar patterns observed as in rural areas where women make more decisions about routine and important matters and handle more money? As a consequence, are these women elevated in power within the household? Although very limited study is available for the left-behind women who reside in urban areas, increase in household income-with remittances- has a definite impact on the life-pattern of women in the left-behind families. In a study conducted in cities of the Philippines, an increase in household income, in many cases, puts more money into the hands of women, which, in turn, helps raising the standards of living and provides better clothing, housing and food and enables the purchase of consumer goods (Arcinas, 1991). Similar to Arcinas's study, in the case of urban Korea, Seok (1991) also argues that women do not need to undertake physically rigorous activities and intensive labor. It has been argued that the absence of male members and the presence of more financial resources in the household

induce economic independence among women, increase her purchasing power and public visibility and put her in a more central role in the household (Gunatilleke, 1991). These changes and developments lead to transformations in traditional values, beliefs and attitudes. However, Hirsch (1999) points out an important issue by saying that male migration, by itself, can not explain all the changes in the status of women; some other factors, for instance human capital of women, living arrangements and existence of children also act as determinants of the degree of increase (or decrease) in the power and autonomy of women left behind. Hoodfar (1997), in a study conducted in Egypt, finds that for some women, their positions in the household and their relationships with their husbands become more egalitarian due to the husbands' migration, while for others this is not the case. Women, who had previously made similar salaries to that of their husbands, feel that they already had egalitarian relationships, which migration disturbed. Women employed in white-collar professions feel that inequality of sorts have been introduced into their relationship because their husbands were able to earn more than they did. However, women from lower socio-economic backgrounds experience an improvement in their relationships and their status due to their husbands' migration. These women can gain greater access to their husbands' money in their absence, as well as engaging in the control of the financial matters of the family.

What is the case in Turkey? Hundred thousands of men have been involved in employment abroad and in international migration since the 1970s and even

more people have been affected by these processes. The decision to migrate is not a rational choice of an individual, rather it is a joint and strategic decision made by family members either for survival of the household or for achieving better lives (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Ertürk, 1999). In this regard, households restructure their internal division of labor to enable some members-more often the male- to migrate and work elsewhere and the others to stay behind to maintain the household and affairs.

While some studies have addressed the issue of women left behind in rural areas, particularly during the “guest worker” phenomenon, little is known about the new wave of male migration and the situation of women left behind in urban settings. I will try to address this issue by referring to the empowerment literature (Zapata, 1999; INSTRAW, 2000) and try to articulate the impact of male migration on women in terms of decision making, with particular attention to whether there has been an increase in women’s participation in decision making after migration; division of labor, especially whether there have been any changes in the tasks women assume that are previously performed by men; management of money/family budget and autonomy and freedom of movement.

The next chapter focuses on the research question and thesis of the study as well as its methodology.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Objectives

Turkey has been experiencing a new pattern of temporary male migration especially since the 1970s, which is considerably different from the earlier experience of labor migration to Western Europe. There is little, if any, knowledge about the nature and scope of this type of migration and its impact on the women left behind as well as its consequences for gender relations in the long run. Turkish men have been employed in the construction sector for the last two or three decades and temporary recurrent migration has become a life style for some families in Turkey. Male member(s) of families go back and forth between work and home, leaving their wives, children and other family members at home.

Given the lack of research on the issue, this is an exploratory and descriptive study aiming to provide insight into the nature of the phenomenon which may offer preliminary clues for further research. As studies show, the household undergoes changes with the absence of the prominent figures of the family

such as the husband or the wife. In the Turkish case, the husband leaves and the wife, the children and other members of the family stay behind. Although absence of men may have impact on all family members, the main focus of this study is on the impact on women, who are the wives of migrants.

The study is limited only to urban-women whose husbands are employed in contract based projects of Turkish construction industry in foreign countries. In addition to identifying the general characteristics of the husbands' migration and the profile of the people involved either as migrants or as household members, the study tries to find preliminary answers to the following questions:

- 1) How does male migration affect the structure and organization of the household?
- 2) Does the husbands' migration/absence bring about any changes in the wives position in the household in terms of power, in terms of decision making, autonomy and division of labor?
- 3) Does it have any influence on the relationship between spouses? (Conflict, abuse, dissolution etc.)
- 4) What are the advantages and/or disadvantages of such migration for women? How do women perceive these advantages and disadvantages?

Household composition, income, daily activities, patterns of authority, power in the household and gender relations may change and the absence of men may, on the one hand, give space, autonomy and power to women, and on the other hand, may increase the burden and work load on them, and may lead to more strict patriarchal control over the members. When the husband returns home, these kinds of changes in experiences, attitudes and values of members of the family may cause conflicts between spouses and within the family, in general, and may result in tension and domestic violence. Moreover, separation for a prolonged period of time may also result in marriage dissolutions.

In the scope of this study, the impact of male migration is expected to change considerably according to three main factors: the type of family structure (whether it is nuclear or extended); existing human capital of the wife left behind (whether she earns an income or not and her level of education); and pattern of migration (whether the duration of husband's stay abroad is short or long and recurrent).

This is an exploratory and descriptive study based on qualitative data. Therefore, my aim is not to reach statistical generalizations but merely to identify the patterns and processes involved in the phenomenon under consideration. I seek to disclose some basic answers on the issue and to provide an initial basis on which further research could be carried out.

3.2. Data Gathering Method

For the purpose of gathering information on the issue, I have interviewed 50 women between February-May 2003, whose husbands' have been working in three construction companies as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in foreign countries, like Saudi Arabia, Libya, Russia or Kazakhstan etc. Due to considerations of resource and time constraints, this study is only limited to women who reside in Ankara.

3.2.1. Snowball Sampling

One of the difficulties that I have experienced during the study is that it was very problematic to identify the population. It was difficult to reach every construction firm and reach an exact number of the employees abroad. It was far more difficult to be able to find out the contact information of the worker's families. It was very challenging to persuade companies to give personal information about their employees. Two companies I had applied refused to give such information. With personal contacts, I was able to persuade one construction company.

At first, as a possible solution to that problem, it was decided to identify the population from one big-scale construction firm which agreed to provide the

contact information of the worker's families. When the list of the workers was received, however, I saw that only 10 of the families out of 92 were residing in Ankara. It was a true constraint in identifying the sample. Therefore, I needed another sampling strategy. I chose snowball sampling (Milers & Huberman, 1994). This is a technique wherein references from those interested in the study led me to others with experiences relevant to this study. In this case, I relied on informal networks. One of my friends introduced me to a woman whose husband and son were working in Libya as construction workers. The women that I interviewed often referred me on to their friends and family members who also had absent husbands.

One benefit of snowball sampling is that it allows a researcher to quickly identify populations that might otherwise be hidden or hard to uncover. With informal networks, it is possible to reach individuals like the wives of migrant men, who may be otherwise isolated. In these cases, other research participants are the best sources of information concerning other participants. However, a potential drawback is that the participation pool may be quite homogeneous in the snowball sampling. For instance, middle class persons are likely to refer the researcher on to other middle class persons. Yet, the women I interviewed somewhat ranged in age, had varying levels of education, economic participation, monthly incomes, numbers of children and family structures. Once a body of research on this topic has been well established, later research may wish to compare how women of different classes, regions, etc. are affected by migration. My goal here is to provide a

detailed description of the specific group of women I interviewed. I had 59 contacts, but I was able to interview 50 women whose husbands work at three different companies in different countries. Nine of them refused to participate in the study.

At first, I contacted women by phone and asked for an appointment, rather than popping up in front of their door for the first time. Four out of five times I was not able to find anybody at home despite the prearranged appointments. In two of the instances, although I heard voices in the house before knocking on the door, they did not respond. After such an experience, I decided to be more 'thin-skinned' and started to show up before any notice in advance. This technique was successful and I was able to interview many women in this way. The average time-span of the interviews ranged between an hour and a half to two hours, though, some lasted longer.

3.2.2. The Research Tool

A questionnaire was developed as the main research tool of the study (Appendix) and it has basically two parts. The first part is called 'Household Members Information Form' and includes general demographic information about the members of the household, such as the relationship with the women interviewed, place of birth, sex, age, education, employment information etc. The purpose of such a form is to gather data about the migrant household and to have an idea on the profile of the members of such households. With the

‘Household Members Information Form’ I have also been able to gather brief information about approximately 250 people.

The second part of the questionnaire is specifically developed for women and consists of 36 questions, 26 of which are open-ended. It has 5 sections. Section 1 is developed to gather general information about women and their husbands; about their past, about their migration histories and work histories. The second section is called ‘State of Migration’ and aims to ask about the husband’s employment and recurrent patterns of migration. The third section, ‘Family Budget’ is developed to find out family earnings, income and possession of the earnings. The fourth section is called ‘Division of Labor and Decision Making’ and tries to learn decision making patterns of the household and division of labor among the household members. It also asks the difficulties encountered in the absence of their husband and the degree of autonomy women have, especially in the absence of the husbands, as well as asking (perceived) advantages and disadvantages of their husbands’ migration/absence. The last section deals with the relationship between the husband and wife. After developing the questions, I conducted a small pilot study and administered the questionnaire to three women other than the participants to see whether the questions are appropriate and understandable. Then, I made the necessary changes depending on this pilot study.

In the beginning, I considered administering the questionnaire to all the women available and after interpreting the results, in-depth interviews with

the ones who were willing to talk more. However, after completing the administration of the questionnaire, interviewing women further did not seem to be necessary. The questions asked, since many of them were open-ended, made it possible to gather detailed information on various aspects of the issue. Moreover, the questions also provided an avenue for the expression of more personal opinions of the women when relating their experiences during the interviews.

3.3. Limitations

To begin with, the sample of the study is small in size and therefore not representative of the universe of women left-behind with the migration of their husbands. Moreover, the study only looks at the impact of male migration on women who reside in Ankara. In other cities in different regions of Turkey, like the East and South East Anatolia, Black Sea or Central Anatolia or in rural areas, the husband's migration may have very different impacts and consequences, especially since the mode of production changes in these regions.

Another limitation is that the women I interviewed saw me as a person totally different than themselves. I was not one of them. Moreover, I did not have any prestige in their eyes; I was young, did not have any children and worst of all, was not married. I was not very comfortable either when I went to their homes, especially in the first couple of interviews. It is highly probable that

the women would be more talkative and sincere if the interviewer were older and wiser. Yet, because we were discussing some matters specifically related to being a woman- “common cultural experiences as *women*” (Kirsch, 1999; 25-emphasis is original) and because I stressed at the beginning of the interviews that I had chosen this topic for personal reasons and that my fiancé worked in the construction sector abroad as well; so I was able to motivate them to participate. With some participants, some rapport was created out of a shared female identity. Although it is unclear if we shared any common cultural experiences, I remain convinced that my identity as a woman allowed for some shared understandings. I attempted to mitigate my outside status by drawing on the migration experience I had with my fiancé to interpret the participants’ responses, while simultaneously remaining aware that I could only bring my own understanding to the issues at hand. Mies (1991) has described this awareness as conscious partiality, a partial identification with research participants which views the researcher and research participants both as part of a larger complex social process. Archibald and Crnkovich (1995) note that “among women of radically different backgrounds and life experiences, the link between ‘us’ and ‘them’ may be our identities as women” (p.12).

Another limitation encountered in gathering information had to do with the environment in which the interviews were carried out. All the interviews, except for two, were conducted at the participants’ homes. It was not possible to propose to meet outside so as to guarantee maximum privacy. Although we

were generally on our own in a room, for the most part, we were not alone in the house, and other household members entered and left during interviews and this sometimes impeded sincere answers. This problem is referred to as the gate keeper problem in the social science literature (Bailey, 1987). The gate keeper may be the husband of a woman or parent of a teenager, but in our case it was usually another woman who holds power over the woman I interviewed, such as the mother-in law.

3.4. General Profile of the Interviewees and Individuals Involved in the Migration Phenomenon

Before going into details of the research, perhaps, I should now present some information about the respondents and other family members so that the following chapter would make more sense and would be more articulate. To begin with, it would not be wrong to say that the women I interviewed hold diverse characteristics; they differ in age, in employment and in living arrangements. Some come from different cities of Turkey and have rural background; some were born in Ankara. Some women work and live alone with their children, others live with their families. Most hold paid employment, some women do not, while a few work at family businesses that they run alone in their husbands' absence.

Although the ages of the participants ranged from 20 to 60, most of the women were middle-aged, the average being 35.

Except for three of the women, two of which are newlyweds, all women have children. Their children's ages vary considerably, standard deviation being 10.542. The younger child is 0.3 and the oldest. Forty seven of the participants are legally married; three of them are only religiously married. The women have been married on the average for 17 years. This is quite high especially if we consider the average age of the participants, which is 35.

Twenty-two (44%) of the respondents came to Ankara after they got married. Four (8%) of them moved to Ankara after their husbands found employment in the international jobs and 24 (48%) women were either born in Ankara or came to Ankara with their parents before they got married.

Most of the women are primary school graduates. The sample fits to the general trend of women's education in Turkey and the number of graduates from secondary school and high school is quite low. Moreover, four women do not have any diploma at all. What is important here is that having a diploma does not necessarily mean that one actually reads and writes. The concept of functional literacy is critical here. It has been conceptualized as "a person is literate when s/he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable her/him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in her/his group of community" (cited in Kağıtçıbaşı et.al. (1999)). It is more than just reading and writing. It is a means for cultural formulation and self-awareness which promotes political

participation and cultural awareness (cited in Kağıtçıbaşı et.al. (1999). When I asked with such an awareness, I found out that three of the primary school graduates can not read or write accurately; they claim they have forgotten how to read and write. In the other hand, two of the women who did not get any formal education reported that they can read and write.

Of the 50 participants, 26 participants (52%) reported that they were working. Twenty four of them said that they were not working. Literature on women's labor warns us against falling into bias here. As White (1997) found in her study with women in Ümraniye; women who do piecework or the like at home, do not tell that they are working when asked,. This is because they do not see themselves as working. In White's words, "These women do not consider the work done at home as real work" (White, 1994; 19). Therefore, while talking about employment, I insistently asked the participants whether they earn money somehow, for instance by doing piece work at home or by helping out some other family member. The number of women earning money increased to 32 (64%). It means that six of the participants did not consider themselves as working. Four of these women said that they were making piece work at home, and two of them were making a kind of pasta for restaurants at home.

The majority of the women are employed in cleaning jobs or jobs related to housework such as cooking, child care or serving as doorkeepers. It is hardly surprising considering the participants' level of education. With the increase

in demand in the service sector, women who have no or lower levels of education and/or who migrated to big cities find work opportunities by providing reproductive labor outside their homes (Tan, 2000; Ecevit; 2000; Kalaycioğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2000). In addition to domestic jobs, there are women in clerical jobs, both employed in the public and in the private sector. There is only one woman who owns her own shop. Regardless of what they do for living, all of the women are employed in jobs which are traditionally defined as women's jobs.

Thirty participants live in nuclear families and 20 of them in extended families¹³, the former representing 60% of the sample and the latter, 40%. The extended families in the sample can also be categorized as traditional patrilineal families, which constitute 35% of the extended group, where the participants live either with their own parents and/or with their adult-married children.

Seventy three percent of the women who live in nuclear families earn an income, while this rate falls down to 50% for the women living in extended families (Table 5.1). It is important to note that none of the women living in traditional patrilineal extended families are economically active.

¹³ The concept of extended family was used to refer to the family arrangements where people, adult- married children, parents of the spouses or some other relatives live together in the same house.

Table 3.1 Income earning of participants by family structure

| Family structure | Participant earn an income | Participant not earn an income |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Nuclear (n=30) | 22 (73%) | 8 (17%) |
| Traditional Patrilineal Extended (n=7) | - | 7 (100%) |
| Matrilineal Extended (n=13) | 10 (76,92%) | 3 (23,08%) |

Only some of the participants, 8 out of 50 were born in Ankara. This is more or less the same for their husbands; only 10 men were born in Ankara. With a few exceptions, the participants and their husbands were born in the same place. The participants' place of birth is diverse. Ankara seems to receive migrants mainly from Central Anatolia in the sample. Nearly half of the participants were born in the Central Anatolia region, if not in Ankara. Eastern Anatolia is the second frequent place of birth followed by the Black Sea Region.

In other words, the participants and their husbands and families in general, come from different regions of Turkey. The husband's migration is not the first experience that many of the women encounter. In addition to that, nearly 1/3 of the participants reported that their husbands came to Ankara as the first member of the family and then brought the other members. "Associational migration" is a widely experienced phenomenon in Turkey, where women follow their husbands/fathers and where rather than deciding independently to migrate, they move depending on their status in the family; either as wives,

mothers or girl-child (İlkkaracan & İlkkaracan, 1998). It means that many women that I interviewed have migration experience beforehand.

On the average, the husbands are 8 years older than the women, 41 being the mean. The educational level of men is also higher as compared to their wives. Again, more than half of the husbands are primary school graduates. The secondary and high school graduates are mainly from vocational schools. Unlike the participant women, there are no illiterate men and there are two who have a 2-year university degree.

Children of the families are very much heterogeneous in age. Older children, either adolescents or adults, generally male, work at various sectors. Only two of them are unemployed, looking for jobs. The number is smaller for the girls. Nearly half of the unmarried daughters are employed. The instances of employment increase for these girls depending on whether their mothers are employed outside home. All of the married daughters are employed. There were 4 participants who said their children under the age 16 were working outside home and earning some money. These children are sent to workshops in order to enable them get skills and learn dexterity. The families of these children were among the lowest in terms of family income. With an increase in family income, research shows that families usually take their children from work; especially from 'the streets' (Ertürk & Dayıoğlu, forthcoming). Probably, when the families of working children accumulate money and raise their economic status, these children would stop working. Their fathers'

migration might have an indirect impact in this respect. Two women also reported that their children used to earn some money by doing outside work but after their husbands' employment as contract workers abroad, the family income increased and these women stopped sending their children to work. Yet, all of the school-age children are enrolled to formal educational institutions. There is not any gender difference until the age 16. After this age, there are no girls attending school but there are boys who do so. In Turkey, the gender gap increases as the level of education increases¹⁴ (Tan, 2000; Acar, 2003).

In addition to such general information on the interviewees and their husbands, with the questions prepared, the information on the migration process of the husbands and their employment patterns were identified and will be discussed in the next chapter. The fifth chapter is solely on the impact of male migration on women left behind and on the changes due to the migration. In addition to that, some of the emergent themes generally discussed at the times of interviews involved reasons for male migration, details concerning money sent home, mothers' concerns for their children, women's perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of their husbands' migration and the ways in which women negotiate this absence.

¹⁴ However, after 1997, compulsory primary education was increased to 8 years in Turkey. How this will affect differences in enrollment with respect to gender has not yet made clear.

CHAPTER IV

PROFILE OF MALE MIGRATION

4.1. Labor Migration from Turkey

After the 1950s, Turkish society underwent a massive period of rural-urban migration parallel to economic transformations in agriculture with highly complex consequences. With agricultural modernization; the so called green revolution, new technologies and mechanization, cash- crop production and “market oriented agriculture” have become the dominating activity (Ertürk, 1999;110).

In Turkey, modernization occurred mainly through the introduction of tractors, through increasing the proportions of cultivated land and through the introduction of technological developments in agricultural production. At first, the opening of more lands to cultivation was the means of meeting the increasing demands in agriculture. Then, the demand was met mainly through intensive agriculture. As Ertürk (1999) conceptualizes, “the outcome was twofold; on the one hand, output per unit increased, on the other hand, high cash value crops began to replace subsistence crops...They have accelerated the overall integration of Turkish agriculture with market economy” (p.110).

Men started to establish contacts in the cities in terms of finding regular employment and housing. Men either started to take their families with them or started to form two homes, one being in the city, and the other at the village (Kalaycıoğlu&Tılıç, 1999). These changes generated cash need in agricultural production. For some of the households, the possible way of generating cash was migration. Migration appeared as a household survival strategy (Özbay & Yücel, 2000). Internal and/or international migration offered new opportunities for rural people. Household members, usually males, moved from rural areas to the big cities or to foreign countries¹⁵ in large numbers in search for non-agricultural jobs.

At the end of the 1960s and in the early years of 1970s, internal and international migration rates reached a peak. Then a downward trend started, especially in international migration. Starting from 1970s, the doors to Europe were closed to Turks (as well as to many other nations) with the anti-immigrant policies developed, with the decrease in demand for foreign labor and with the oil-crises which brought about the economic recession to European countries.

Except for some of the people who migrated to European countries, Turkish men went to cities in search for jobs other than agriculture in order to secure some cash and continue their cultivation on their land. With this above

¹⁵ In 1960s some European countries, Germany being the most prominent one, where three out of four Turkish labor migrant were recruited, requested workers from Turkey for short periods of time (Martin, 1991). People, instead of searching for jobs out of rural in bigger cities of Turkey, directly has step up to international migration phenomenon. Then, there started the guest worker phenomenon from Turkey to Germany.

mentioned strategy, which is conceptualized as “land-based free floating labor force” by Ertürk (1999), rural households developed securities for themselves by letting males work in non-agricultural jobs. Land and cultivation lost the crucial position in sustaining the lives of rural people, which made them search for alternative livelihoods by leaving their lands. People were uprooted but the possible places they might go to became scarce and “under the impact of globalization, unemployment and part-time, temporary work have increased world wide” (Ertürk, 1999:110). In other words, “labor, which gained mobility with modernization, is now being restricted to its own national, ethnic, tribal boundaries under globalization” (Ertürk, 1999; 111)”. Instead of permanent movements, temporary migrations have become the mode of survival. Hence, the big scale labor movements of 1960s have turned into different migration patterns. Recurrent migration, which is mediated by temporary work arrangements, has appeared as the new labour migration pattern in Turkey

4.2. Male Migration in the Construction Sector

Contract based jobs, for specified periods of time, appeared to be the only possible way to work outside Turkey especially, for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

The increase in oil prices at the beginnings of 1970s, when European countries entered into economic recession, was an opportunity for the oil-rich

countries of the Arab world to implement wide-scale development plans (Stalker, 2000). The rate of their economic growth accelerated drastically and a demand for civil and industrial projects appeared. This triggered an explosion in the demand for labor, particularly for extensive construction works. This, in turn, forced the oil-rich countries to import expatriate workers so as to compensate for the lack of domestic manpower pool¹⁶. Hence, a massive influx of migrant workers to these countries began in the years following the oil price boom (Çarıkçı, 1987). At first, these countries met this demand by drawing in more workers from neighboring countries, but soon, the range of countries widened¹⁷. At this point, construction sector appeared as an employment opportunity for Turkish laborers. In the first couple of years, approximately a hundred thousand men per year went first to Libya, than to Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Iraq as temporary foreign workers (State Planning Institute, 1994).

As in most countries around the world, the rules that apply to temporary foreign workers in the oil-rich Arab and Middle Eastern states control non-nationals entering local labor markets. In these countries, these workers enter under a formal responsibility of a prearranged employer (usually Turkish construction companies or a national in the case of Turkish foreign workers), who acts as their sponsor, and with an employment contract of limited duration. The sponsor is required to arrange the work and residency permits

¹⁶ The main obstacle to large-scale industrialization in Arab oil-exporting countries after 1970 was an acute labor shortage. Massive immigration to these countries took place in the 1970s and continues today.

¹⁷ Although there are no accurate figures, it is generally accepted that the size of the foreign labor force has continued to increase in the Arab oil-exporting countries. Officially, the number of foreign workers in Saudi Arabia in 1980 was 813,000 and 1,700,000 in 1986 (Çarıkçı, 1987).

that allow the foreigner to be employed. The worker is not permitted to leave the employer or to seek employment elsewhere in the country. When a contract expires, the worker is required to leave the country unless the contract and appropriate government permits are renewed. Temporary foreign workers generally have no civil rights or rights of association or join or form unions. Thus, these workers, whatever their level of skill (yet, many of them are unskilled or semi-skilled), may be categorized as formally “unfree” labor in the host country (Jureidini, 2002).

With the changing character of work, with capital transfers to where cheap labor is or by transferring cheap labor to where the demand is in the case of Arab oil-exporting countries, the demand for labor has changed. Rather than relatively long term work arrangements with accompanying labor rights, short term, and flexible employment arrangements are preferred. The construction sector operates exactly like this. By its project and demand-driven nature, it needs labor temporarily with flexible arrangements, which gives minimum rights to workers (Kawano, 1998).

First with Arab Gulf countries, then with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the structural changes there and with the fragmentation of the labor market, which has increased international subcontracting arrangements for Turkish construction companies, other countries also entered into picture. Starting from the 1970s, Turkish labor migrants have become the actors of this type of contract-based short-term employment arrangements. Today,

250,000-300,000 Turkish construction workers are employed in 19 different countries (State Planning Institute, 2001). (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Number of Turkish construction workers employed by country

| Name of the country | Number of workers |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Azerbaijan | 5000 |
| Turkmenistan | 5000 |
| Uzbekistan | 3700 |
| Kazakhstan | 7000 |
| Kyrgyzstan | 2050 |
| Tajikistan | 300 |
| Kingdom of Saudi Arabia | 100 000 |
| Libya | 2650 |
| Kuwait | 3000 |
| Jordan | 1130 |
| Qatar | 400 |
| Russian Federation | 30 000 |
| Belarus | 70 |
| Georgia | 1200 |
| Ukraine | 800 |
| Moldavia | 200 |
| Israel | 10 000 |

Source: [http:// www. calisma.gov.tr/](http://www.calisma.gov.tr/), <05/12/2003>

Such employment arrangements are recurrent in nature since when a contract is expired or the project is finished, the worker is required to leave the country unless the contract is renewed. That is, the worker returns to his country, to Turkey, in our case, when his job is finished. Usually the employers call the worker back when another project is granted (www.tmb.org.tr, 05/14/2003). The worker goes home and waits till the company calls him back to work.

Turkish contractors have the largest share of the operations in Saudi Arabia, then in former Soviet Union countries and lastly in Libya. Migrant men in the

sample are employed in 7 different countries, namely Saudi Arabia, Libya, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Russia, Azerbaijan and Ireland. Actually, Turkish companies operate across 19 countries around the world, but in many of these countries, the share of the Turkish companies is relatively small, hence their requirement for labor is minimal compared to that in the countries mentioned ([www. tmb.org.tr.](http://www.tmb.org.tr), <05.14.2003>). Turkish contractors usually operate as sub-contractors of multinational construction companies and the Turkish contract workers are employed by these big corporations, through Turkish contractors. This is the usual style and hardly surprising considering the deep involvement of multinational corporations in the development and movement of foreign workers at all skill levels in many parts of the world.

The Turkish companies abroad employ two types of workers: first there are workers who are permanently employed in the firm and are assigned to work abroad undertaken by that firm; second, there are temporary workers who are recruited on contracts of limited duration solely for specific projects abroad. The former type of workers normally belongs to the professional, managerial and supervisory grades and includes clerical and similar support staff. The temporary workers generally engage in operative and manual occupations, both skilled and unskilled.

Temporary workers are hired through temporary contracts. The form of the contract for Turkish labor migration is standardized by the Turkish Employment Agency and there is little variation in content. The main

provisions in a written contract are: job specification; regular working hours per week and the duration of contract; wages; overtime allowance; pay day and ways of payments and paid vacation and holidays. The recruitment system changes from country to country; it is possible to emigrate through overseas employment promoters, which generally are private registered agencies, emigrating on a government-to-government basis (as in the case of guest workers) or emigration with a direct or individual visa¹⁸ (Khan, 1991). However, in Turkey it is only possible in two ways; either through Turkish Employment agency or through hiring company (Çarıkçı, 1987; State Planning Institute, 2001). Moreover, the visas and work permits are secured by the hiring company provided that the employee prepares all the necessary documents, (health certificate, passport etc.; as an initial expense, these preparations done by the worker himself cost more or less \$300).

In the project on the Global Impact of Human Migration, launched by the United Nations University, employment patterns of temporary labor migrants are usually examined under five aspects; total duration of employment of workers, periods of each contract, renewal of contracts, employment in different places and waiting period between two consecutive employments (Gunatilleke, 1991). I used the same variables in identifying the employment patterns of Turkish construction workers.

¹⁸ In other countries like Korea, Pakistan, India, and Nepal usually recruitment for employment abroad takes place through registered overseas employment promoters in the home country after they have received a request from a foreign employer who has obtained government permission to import labor for a specified number of persons. But there are also unlicensed agencies, in other words, smugglers who act as employment promoter (Mahmood, 1991).

For the migrant men, the average total duration of employment abroad is 7.7 years. Moreover, two-year contracts were the norm for most migrant workers. However, very few workers, all of whom are certified welders, had 3 year contracts. The duration of employment coincides with the term of the contract, which is usually two-years.

The average number of years that the migrants remained abroad, which is 7.7 years, is greater than the average length of work contracts. Contracts were renewed one or more times almost for all workers. Therefore, many workers in the sample have been employed several times and sometimes in more than one country. For 39 of the 50 migrant men, their contract was renewed on the average for 5 times and 27 of them have also been employed in at least 2 or 3 different countries meanwhile. That is, more than half of the workers have working experience in different countries. These men go to countries where and when work is available. This is usually the case for all workers around the world who are in temporary work arrangements; they change residence and country according to opportunities encountered (Chiswick, 2000).

In the sample, only one employee returned before completing his contract. This was due to some kind of kidney illness and he was under treatment in Turkey at the time of the interview. Since overseas contracts are difficult to come by, once they are acquired all of the workers are generally determined to hold on to their contracts until they expire.

After their contract is finished, the workers come back to their home and wait for another call from their company. Usually the waiting period for the men does not take longer than a few months (average being 3 months). During this waiting period, 32 men out of 41¹⁹ do not take up other jobs in Turkey. If the waiting period gets longer, then the men start considering finding some temporary jobs through informal networks. They usually work in housing type of construction work on daily bases. The other 10 men, as their wives reported, have taken up jobs during the waiting period, work in different jobs like repair shop or as carpenters, in addition to construction, and have more stable work arrangements. Seven of these men have social security in Turkey, while the rest do not. These seven men pay their premium to have social security in Turkey. Although they have health insurance in the country of employment, the workers employed abroad do not have any social security neither in Turkey nor in the country they are working. It is possible for them to obtain social security in Turkey though, provided that they pay the necessary premium, which is 2\$/day for the days of outside employment (http://www.ssk.gov.tr/wps/portal/_pagr/106/_pa.106/125,05/12/2003).

All of the workers in the sample have previous work experience before taking jobs abroad. Twelve of them (24%) were locally employed in previous projects of the same companies they are currently working for. For instance, 4 of the workers were from a village near Soma, a town in Manisa. A company, one of the biggest in Turkey, was awarded a project, building of a thermal

¹⁹ For 4 workers there is no information in this respect and the other five have not come home yet from their place of work since they are newly employed.

power plant in the area in 1992. The company hired hundreds of people from nearby villages in order for the project. Then, the same company was awarded the subway-building project of Ankara in 1994 and some of the employees, who were found to be successful in the Soma project, were transferred to the Ankara project. Then, the company got another project in Al Jubail, Saudi Arabia and transferred hundreds of its employees there. These four men followed the above route and ended up working in Saudi Arabia.

Ten of the migrants were unemployed at the time they found jobs abroad. The rest were taking some jobs, mainly in construction on a more irregular basis. Forty-four of the workers had some work experience in construction related jobs before. Twenty four of them (48%) are semi-skilled, that is, they have some qualifications for doing specific jobs in the particular sector. Four of them (8%) are skilled workers with certifications on welding. Two of the workers (4%), the ones with two-year university diploma, are topographers. The rest, 20 workers (40%), are employed as unskilled workers.

Among the factors that motivate such migration, economic concerns were pointed out in every case by the left behind women. For some of the men, finding a job abroad is more crucial for the survival of the households (4 households). For others, it is rather a strategy for economic and social mobility. Many women I interviewed expressed the belief that although one might be able to survive by working in Turkey, one could not improve his or her position substantially. This implies two things. First, the argument in the

literature which claim that the ones involved in the process of migration are not the ones in the poorest segments of society is indirectly validated again (Portes, 1996 cited in Brettell & Hollifield ; Stalker, 1999), since majority of the migrants did not go for outside employment for survival. Second, people seem to develop an understanding that there are opportunities for them outside of Turkey. A participant echoes this understanding when asked why her husband migrated:

For the work, because you earn more than here. Here, work is not paid well- you can live, but you can't get ahead. For example, it takes many years to save for a flat. On the other hand, if you work hard abroad and save what you earn, then you come back here and you can afford to buy a flat, yes you attain more with dollars!

Given the status of the economy, low wages and unemployment in Turkey, migration to “go ahead” has become an expectation and a normal part of the life course for some people in the sample; “what emerges is the culture of migration” (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; 16). Massey et.al. (1994) link this new culture to the spread of consumerism and immigrant success that itself generates more emigration (p.737-38). There are several empirical studies which confirm these arguments (Weiner; 1987; Nair, 1991).

On the average the workers were reported to earn \$850 net/per month. Of course, the amount varies depending on the skill level and tenure. Some workers, who are employed in a particular company, also receive a one month extra salary at the end of project.

Apart from coming home at the end of their contracts, the workers are sent home for vacation. Forty-one (82%) of the 50 men have come home once or more in a year. Four of them have never come home; these are the ones who have abandoned their family (8%) and another five have not come yet, because they have been newly employed in the companies.

Upon coming to Turkey, the workers usually stay one or two weeks of paid vacation and the companies cover all the travel expenses. Moreover, the workers may have an additional 15 days unpaid vacation and travel to Turkey, provided that they cover their own expenses.

Only two out of the 50 were able to find their jobs through governmental institutions, namely through Turkish Employment Agency. Twelve workers in the sample were employed in local projects of their current companies and they were transferred to abroad projects by the company, reportedly, as a promotion. The rest of the workers, 38 men, were reported to find their jobs through social networks. In addition, 38 migrant men first heard about this kind of employment opportunity from their neighbors, friends or relatives. Acquiring these jobs through informal channels has widely been documented in the literature as well. For instance, Arcinas (1991) mentioned in his study that the majority of Filipino workers (70 percent) reported finding their last jobs through friends. Grasmuck and Pessar (1991) also highlight the importance of social networks in facilitating international labor migration (cited in INSTRAW, 2000). The importance of these networks is also

understood in this study, given the fact that 72% of the sample acquired their jobs abroad through informal channels.

4.3. Remuneration and Transfer of Money to Turkey

How and when the workers are paid vary depending on the country of employment. There are 22 workers currently working in Saudi Arabia and 9 in Libya and the wives of these men reported that their husbands are paid every month.

By contrast, the workers who work in the countries of former Soviet Union are not paid monthly. There are 18 workers who are employed in these countries and only two of them are paid regularly, those who work as skilled workers. The other 16 men are either paid at the end of the project or at the time the workers are sent to Turkey. There is another method of payment as well: workers' money is transferred into a bank in Turkey every two or three months²⁰. It is said that the workers can request at most 20% of their monthly salary as an advance payment but actually, 10% or less is given; for daily expenses of the worker.

The rationale behind such policy is rather practical as well as goes well with the interests of the companies. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, as it is

²⁰ The workers in the sample are employed in three different companies (Company E; G and M). Whether the money is transferred into a bank or whether it will be paid to the worker at the end of the project depends on the policy of the company. For instance, Company E prefers to pay the money through a bank in Turkey and in Turkish currency. On the other hand, Company G prefers to pay US dollars to their workers at the end of the projects or/and at the times the workers go to Turkey for vacation.

known, the countries of the region entered into very severe economic recession. As a manager from a construction company declares in one of the periodicals which circulate in the company:

Women, particularly in Russia and Kazakhstan, usually with economic purposes seduce our workers. These men have money and the Russian women take advantage from this. The men are not used to such women in Turkey, either because of our culture or because they did not have money when they were working in Turkey. Our men, when they see money in their hands, spend all the money with these women. They even leave their families to be together these foreign women. They do not send money to their home and their wives and children suffer deeply in Turkey. We have had through very bad experiences as a company because of such incidences. Therefore, we, by giving limited money to our workers, try to protect their families.

By transferring money to a bank in Turkey where the wives of the workers can withdraw the money from or by giving money to workers only when they are about to come to Turkey or at the end of the projects, these companies try to “protect” the workers’ families.

However, such irregular payments are giving hardships especially to the households where the husband is newly employed. In such cases, considerable amount of income is lost for at least a couple of months. There are 4 such cases in the sample. For these households, life has been even harder than before, although such hardships are foreseen as temporary. The companies do not compensate or support the workers’ family by giving an advance payment.

For the workers who are employed in Saudi Arabia (44% of the sample) money transfer is relatively easy. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has an

established money transfer mechanism, which is called Speed Cash. These are money transferring offices which can be found in almost every compound²¹.

Almost everybody, regardless of their level of education and country of origin, is able to use these Speed Cash offices for money transfer from Saudi Arabia to a destination of their choice²². This means, approximately 2% of the workers' monthly salary is spent on transferring funds. Moreover, the banks in Turkey also take fees from the money transferred from Saudi Arabia. The fee is \$20 regardless of the amount. If the money remains in the bank for 15 days, then no fee is charged.

For the workers who are currently working in Libya, for 9 people, there is not such an established money transferring system as in the case of Saudi Arabia. Banks and other money transferring devices are not widely dispersed. Moreover, as reported, there is a legal restriction in Libya that as remittance, at most, 91% of the money is allowed to be taken out of the country. The banks, collaterally, also charge fee from money transfer. Therefore, sending money through banks in Libya is not only difficult, but also means losing considerable amounts of the salary. The workers in Libya do not prefer banks at all.

For the workers who are employed in the countries of the former Soviet Union, the case is rather different than for the workers in Arab-Gulf countries.

²¹ Compounds are the camps where all expatriates live together as a community with a wide range of facilities. A compound is a "total institution" organizing and regulating all aspects of every day life according to tight house rules and insulating the workers from the outside world.

²² Transfer fee is 55 Saudi Riyal (SAR)-\$14.5, for amounts up to 3000 SAR- (\$800). For the amounts higher than 3000 SAR, the fee rises to 75 SAR,-\$20, up to 10000 SAR (from the booklet of Sped Cash).

They are either paid directly through banks in Turkey by the companies, and thus their families receive most part of the money or are paid at times when they come for vacation or at times when the project and/or contract is finished.

In the cases where the workers' salaries are paid through banks in Turkey, only two people, who are first-degree relatives of the worker and who are authorized in advance, legally conceptualized as designated payees, are allowed to draw money from the bank.

Consequently, money transfer through banks is not the most popular method, although it is the safest one.

Several other means are preferred, usually in combination. Nineteen of the workers prefer to bring their money with them. Other methods, like sending through acquaintances, seem as supplementary ways to propel their earnings to the families. However, in time of need as in the case of 12 participants, the likelihood of using banks to transfer money increases.

Regardless of the method of money transfer to Turkey; apart from 4 families who were abandoned by the workers, families receive the remittances. Who receives this money? How is it spent? What changes does it bring to the families' life? The answers to these questions and many others on the impact

of such migration will be discussed in the following chapter by paying particular attention to the women.

CHAPTER V

IMPACT OF MALE MIGRATION ON WOMEN

The purpose of this chapter is to present the major themes reported by the interviewed women in an effort to illustrate the process of migration and the shape their lives take in the absence of their husbands. Migration has become a way of life for the people involved in the study. Respondents' lives are necessarily altered by their husbands' absence. In that sense, this chapter has the aim of giving voice to their concerns, joys and daily experiences, which have been altered by their husbands' migration.

With migration, for some of these families, the structure of the household changes, which means a shift in living arrangements and changes in daily lives of the members. Some women's position in the family in terms of power and autonomy gets better; for others it becomes worse. There also seems to be some alterations in the traditional division of labor in the household. Relationships of the spouses, with intermittent unity and with frequent absences undergo some changes as well; sometimes positively, sometimes not. Moreover, there is usually a substantial increase in the standard of living of the families after migration. For some women, their husbands' migration/absence is a positive thing and these women stated various advantages of the migration/absence. On the other hand, for other women

whom I interviewed, their husbands' migration/absence includes negative connotations and various disadvantages are identified.

I will start to mention changes in the composition in their households, then changes in the women's position particularly in terms of decision making power, autonomy, employment and division of labor. Thirdly, I will talk about money matters; decisions given, possession of and control over money and the usage of remittances. Then, I will talk about the changes in the relationships of the spouses after migration. Finally, I will try to project the women's perceptions and feelings on their husbands' migration through conceptualizing them as advantages and disadvantages of the migration/absence.

5.1. Changes in the Composition of the Household

Usually, when two people get married, at least one of them changes the place of his/her residence. Depending on economic resources, married couples either start to live with one of the spouses' parents or establish a new house. In the study, 21 (42%) of the participants reported that they had moved to an independent house when they got married. Whilst 27 (54%) of them started to live with their husband's family. Only two women stated that their husbands had moved to the house of the women's family. This means that at the beginning of the participants' marriages, 58% were living as extended families. At the time of the study, on the other hand, the percent decreases to

40s (including both the participants living with their own families and with the husband's families). If we are to take a closer look at the composition of the extended families, we see that at the beginning of the marriages, 54% of the participants were living with their husband's families. However, at the time of the study, the number of the participants who were living with their husbands' families drop down to 14%. How can this drastic decrease be explained?

Some major life events, such as their husbands' migration must have some impact on the change of the structure of the households as well, in addition to marriage arrangements (İlkaracan & İlkaracan, 1998; Özbay & Yücel, 2000). In the sample, 30 families live as nuclear families; 13 women live with their relatives and 7 women live with their husbands' relatives. After migration, 48% of the women continued to live in the same household structure. Four percent of the women moved to the husbands' family house and formed traditional patrilineal extended families. The percentage of the women who moved to their parents' family house is higher, 12%, as compared to the ones who moved to their in-laws' house.

Ten percent of the families preferred other arrangements like adult children moving to their parents' house where the father was the migrant. Finally, 26% of the women reported having separated their house after migration. It means that 50% of the families have changed their living arrangements after migration.

Thirty four percent of the households (n=17) were nuclear and remained so after the migration. It would be better to note here that 7 out of these 17 households used to be extended families in the past but have changed structure with internal migration. The participants of these households reported that they had left the houses of their husbands' families, came to Ankara and started to live in nuclear families before their husbands' migration abroad. Changes in the structure of the household, particularly forming nuclear families after migrating to big cities of Turkey have been widely documented in migration literature and it is also argued that the opportunity for women to live in nuclear families in big cities enables women to have more control on their lives and particularly to have more control on household affairs (White, 1997; Erman, 1997; and Kalaycıoğlu & Tılıç, 1998).

Moreover, 26% of the households (n=13), which used to be traditional patrilineal extended households have become nuclear after their husbands' migration abroad. Such nuclearization was realized gradually. The average year of employment abroad of the husbands of these households is 2.1 years higher than the overall year of employment average, which is 7.7 years. Additionally, if we are to look at the average year of the husbands' employment in the extended households, we see that the average drops to 4.8 years here. The average year of employment of the husbands of the nuclear households is also above the average in general. Moreover, there are 13 households, which have become extended with the husbands' migration and

the average employment year of the husbands of these households is the lowest with 3.5 years. Thus, it can be said that the increase in the duration of absence of husbands seems to increase nuclearization of the families among the migrant households. In other words, longer duration of employment abroad of the husbands seems to result in greater incidence of nuclear households. It is possible that in a couple of years, some further nuclearization among the current extended households of the sample may be observed probably through higher earnings and savings. Gulati (1993) found the same trend in her study with migrant workers and their families conducted in India. As the duration of employment abroad increases, the incidence of dissolution of extended households, especially traditional patrilineal ones, also become more frequent.

As I mentioned above, 16% of the women (n=8) either moved to their husbands' family house or moved next to their parents' house. In the former case, none of the women were willing to move to their parents' houses. When they were asked why they did so then, they reported that their husbands and families made them move. Saadet, a 23-year-old young woman, talks about her experience:

When Hacı found the job in Saudi, I was 21 years old and newly married. I was expecting my first child. We used to live in the same neighborhood with my sisters. We would have lived together and taken care of one another. But, just before he left, my husband's family started insisting on transferring me to their house. It was impossible to persuade Hacı and other relatives that I could live by myself. Now I have to live with my mother-in-law and my sister-in-law, with whom I do not get on well. I was told that a woman should not live alone on her own; it was a matter of family honor. I did not want to embarrass Hacı, so I complied with my in-laws insistence.

The other women, who have moved to their own parents' houses, were relatively more willing to change their living arrangements. For some of them, for instance, the decision of change was economic. They reported that it would prevent paying extra rents for the house by moving to their parents' house in the absence of their husbands and would be able to save money. Moreover, some women reported that it would be very difficult for them to take care of the children, to take care of the house alone and to be economically active. All of the women also reported that their husbands were also content with such living arrangements, where their wives were more 'secure'.

Some of the women I talked with were either sent back to their families or were sent to their husbands' parents' houses. It seems that their existence is only possible either through their husbands or through their fathers, in the absence of the husbands. It is stated elsewhere that a woman living by herself is not acceptable for the society they live in (Sever & Yurdakul, 2001). It is the same case for the sample as well. It is a matter of family honor since the woman and her body belongs to the family. At times, when the husband is around, he is the major agent who is responsible for protecting his family's honor, through the wife's body. In his absence, this responsibility falls either on the shoulders of husband's family, or on the woman's family, preferably on the former. In the sample, the cases this responsibility falls on the participants' families are the cases where the husbands' families either live

outside of Ankara, usually in rural places or the husbands do not get on well with their families.

Some women continued to live alone, usually with their children, after their husbands' migration but others started living with other family member(s).

Why did some of the women experience these changes, while some did not?

The women's age, whether they have economic power and the age and sex of their children seem to play a determining role in the women's living arrangements after their husbands' migration. To begin with, women who continued to live in nuclear form fall in older age cohorts. The participants who changed their living arrangements are younger than the ones in nuclear forms; 9 of them being under 30. It means younger women changed their living arrangements more often in the sample. It can be explained by the rationale that the social control on young women is more severe than on women of older ages in a patriarchal society (Townsend & Zapata, 1999). In the absence of their husbands, these young women were made to live with some other family members, who were supposed to control them. It is also evident that the women who remained in nuclear arrangements are more frequently employed outside the home. Women's employment gives them some degree of power and makes them more autonomous, which may in turn help women to form the grounds of living alone, with their children (Townsend, 1999; Mercado, 1999). The women who continued living in nuclear families also have older children, which is also a determinant in living

arrangements. Teenagers or older children share household responsibilities and give support to their mothers in their fathers' absence. In addition to the age of children, the sex of the children is also important. Given that the women who remained in nuclear arrangement have sons; these women do not need anyone else, their sons can protect the family honor and control the female members of the family in the absence of their fathers-at least the society thinks they would, hence, the women could live alone with their children.

In sum, in the arising pattern; the women who changed living arrangements after their husbands' migration abroad are younger women of the sample, generally with no economic independence and hence with no power and with younger children. The women who continued to live in nuclear family, on the other hand, have various advantages: they are older (which to some extent releases the control); they earn an income (which give them power) and have older children/boys (who support/protect/help their mother).

5.2. Women's Changing Position in the Household After Migration

After the migration of their husbands, women have experienced changes in their status in the households, especially in terms of decision making power, freedom of movement and earning an income.

5.2.1. Decision Making Power

The migration of husbands brought about changes in decision making in the management of the household and in important matters for the family like purchasing an estate, education and marriage of children, and health issues. Such changes in other similar settings are also well documented in the literature. Usually, the degree of change, and more importantly the direction of change vary according to factors like the composition of the household-the family structure, the duration of husbands' employment abroad, and the employment of women (INSTRAW, 2000).

Within the context of the present study the duration of employment abroad/the husbands' absence is found to be affecting the degree of this change in women's decision making role. If the husbands are employed abroad for many years, the participant women take up more responsibilities and make more decisions not only in household affairs but also in more important decisions like purchasing or selling an estate. It is also the case that if the duration of husband's stay abroad

lasts for longer months, women's likelihood of decision making opportunities increases.

However, family structure is a very important factor in the decision making process. In extended families, where there are other people who control resources and also have the authority to decide on important matters, wives have limited power or no power at all and they hardly participate in the making of significant decisions. This is especially true for the participants who reside with their husbands' parents. Two of them who had moved there at the time of their husbands' migration, complained about how they are excluded from important matters and family decisions, in which they used to have some say before the migration.

Saadet complains about her life with her in-laws:

I am totally unhappy. They treat me as if I am their maid, as if I am not a member of the family. They make me do the cooking, laundry and all the cleaning stuff. I do not have any say even in the unimportant matters; they do not listen to me. When we used to be in our house, I was free. My mother-in-law even decides when to bathe my child! If I want to watch a TV program and declare it, my sister-in-law intentionally turns on another channel even if she does not like watching it. I am uncomfortable here and I have complained to my husband about it, but he did not pay attention.

In the extended households, in which the women live with their own families, which included 13 women, the participants reported having more say on the management of the household and on the important issues. Ten out of 13 women reported that they earn some money and contribute to the family income with their earnings. As compared to the other three, who are not economically active, the

working women seem to have more say on money matters and on the purchase of goods to the house. It seems that in addition to the structure of the family, women's economic activities have also some degree of importance in women's decision making.

With respect to nuclear families, the husbands' migration seems to have the effect of altering gender roles within the family, which were reflected in the changes in decision making, in the management of the household and also in important matters for the family like education or marriage of the children.

All of the women reported that they make the decisions on food and clothing. This may be hardly surprising since these tasks are generally attributed to women. However, if we are to leave money matters aside, which will be discussed later, and focus on the decisions on house repair, purchase of goods, or more important things like a house, land etc., we would see that the women have more or less equal say, especially in nuclear families. Moreover, the frequency of the women's decisions outnumbers their husbands' on topics like children's education, their marriage and who to invite as guests. In making decisions pertaining to purchase of household goods such as furniture, washing machines and carpets, which cost relatively considerable amounts, the women living on their own or with their children, have a lot of authority. Out of 30 women living in nuclear families, 21 of them claimed that they decided what to buy and when to buy. Moreover, I was told that the women usually did not wait for their husbands' arrival in order to purchase these goods, rather, they either bought the goods by themselves or

someone accompanied them (a neighbor or a relative, who was male). In making decisions on items more valuable in monetary terms, the spouses generally decided together in nuclear families (87%).

Of the 30 women in the nuclear families, 22 of them are economically active and this gives them a significant power in decision making. In other words, women's income generation, whether as outside employment or as home-based activities, has also some impact on the degree of decision making.

The participants also reported that the longer the duration of their husbands' outside employment was, the greater they had power over their husbands. Nearly all of the participants of the nuclear households reported that their husbands' respect to them had increased and they had started to listen to and comply with what their wives say²³. Döndü put these changes into words very bluntly:

When my husband migrated, he did not come home for one and a half years. I was alone with my children and did everything myself. I did not need anybody, I was self-sufficient. I was able to save some money from my husband's remittances and also from my own earnings and managed to rent a better house in a fancier neighborhood than ours. My husband came to this new house and saw what I had done. He was shocked at first and could not believe that a woman could do such things, but later he appreciated it and was proud of me. Now, he never objects to what I say and he does whatever I ask or tell him to do. He has become quite alienated and is not familiar with Turkey's realities anymore, how could he be? He has been abroad for 13 years and he has to count on me and he knows that.

Unlike the women in the nuclear families, the women who live with their husbands' families are rather powerless; the decisions are generally taken by other members in the households, rather than the participants. Even decisions about the

²³ It is ironic that the participants who reported being battered by their husbands told the same thing; their husband are more respectful

daily household tasks are taken by other female members of the household. The left behind wife only complies with what she is told to do. Also, the husbands apparently trust their fathers and brothers more than their wives in money issues. In addition to the structure of the family, some other variables also influence the husbands' attitudes on money issues. I will talk about them in the following part but before that let me talk about women's changing autonomy and employment activities, which are as crucial as decision making in women's empowerment.

5.2.2. Autonomy and Employment

Freedom of movement of the participants and its changes after their husbands' migration is again very much related with the family structure. The participants who reported a change in the household composition after the migration, both the ones moving in with their parents' place or with their in-laws', also reported a drastic decrease in their freedom of movement. These women also perceive their restriction as a disadvantage of their husbands' migration/absence, which will be discussed later. Even the ones who are employed outside home claimed the same as well; their social life has been restricted after their husbands' migration.

Sevgi, who works as a dressmaker in a workshop and who moved to her parent's house describes her life:

I spend all my days between home and work. I do not have anything else now. My parents see me as the property of my husband and want to protect me. Therefore, I do not have a social life anymore, except for small weekend trips with my family. We used to go to Kızılay and Bahçeli with my friends at work and do some shopping or I used to take the kids out to parks etc. Now, I can hardly do such

things and I am getting more and more depressed everyday. Thank god I have a few friends in the neighborhood, sometimes we go to each other's place, drink coffee and chat.

The situation of the women who reside in their husbands' family house is even worse. They hardly go outside of the house unattended. Five women out of 7 reported that they never leave the town in the absence of their husbands and therefore, they can hardly see their parents and other relatives. Havva, who moved to her in-laws' place after her husband left, complains about how she has been restricted:

After Hasan found a job in Kazakhstan, my two children and I moved to Hasan's brother's place. My mother-in-law also lives there. Although I did not want to move there, I was forced to do so. Then, my life was confined to home. My brother-in-law and his wife started to interfere in everything I did. I have not seen my parents, sisters and brothers for ages. I even could not go to my brother's wedding in Çorum. My in-laws did not allow me and when I tried to object; my brother-in-law locked me in a room, so I could not go.

As far as the participants in nuclear families are concerned however, we can not talk about such restrictions. They talk about their frequent visits to neighbors or other places. They do not have any problem in going out. Some participants, however, reported that they were socially less active at times when their husbands were abroad than the times they were in Turkey and they attributed it to lack of their motivation. Yet, many of the women in nuclear families perceive themselves as freer than before and reported that they did not have to explain the things they did to anyone and they went out more frequently.

Parallel to the increment in the freedom of movement, 3 women in the nuclear families took up outside employment after their husbands' migration. One of them reported that her husband had not been in favor of her employment when he was in Turkey. When he left, taking advantage of her husband's absence, the interviewee started to look for a job. After some time, she managed to find a job as a cook in a restaurant and has been working there for 6 years now. She said that her husband was not against her working now; on the contrary she reported that he found it useful especially during the time he spent in Turkey and stayed unemployed till the next contract, that is, at times when they were in need of money.

Another interviewee opened a small shop with her husband's remittances and has been running it for 3 years now. She said that her life had changed and had become "colorful" with the shop. Her husband also was very content with this situation, both in terms of his wife's happiness and in terms of securing their savings, earning relatively good money. This entrepreneur woman also attributes very nice meanings to her shop and her new job; she says that she found herself very useful then and had a goal in her life; "a real goal".

Another woman I interviewed, who bought a new house in Fatih two years ago, reports how her life has changed:

We used to live in a squatter house in Kirkkonaklar. It was not a very good neighborhood. I hardly went out of the house. Some time after of my husband's employment, we managed to buy a house in Fatih; we now have a big flat. I have made new friends there. They are nice people. They persuaded me to go to the Adult Education Center of the Municipality and took literacy courses. I can read

and write now. Moreover, we are currently attending sewing courses of BELMEK (Job Attainment Courses of Municipality) and sell our products in our school garden every Saturday.

For these women, their husbands' migration has been an opportunity to get some sort of freedom in the way that they want and they choose. Such changes, especially in women's employment and autonomy are attributed great importance for women's empowerment as indispensable characteristics of empowerment (Purushothaman, 1998; Cauette & Saito, 1999). In that sense, to sum up, although some of the women have been feeling restricted and have lost their say on family matters and in decisions concerning important issues after migration, some of the women I interviewed, particularly the ones living in nuclear families, have been going through a relief not only in terms of autonomy and employment but also in decision making (by gaining more say) and especially in terms of self esteem.

5.3. Money Matters

The issues of money and the degree of say of the participants on money matters can be examined in three levels. First, to whom the husbands send the money they earn; second, who decides how the money is spent and third, if the participants earn some money; do they have a say over the money they earn? In addition to these, we can also look at the usage of remittances and whether income earned through employment abroad brings about any improvements in the living standards.

To begin with, the majority of the husbands send money (80%). There are 4 men however, who do not send any money to their families at all. Nine men, on the

other hand, give or send their earnings to a family member other than their wives. “Money is a source of power that supports the earner’s dominance....Money belongs to the earner and the earner has the power to withhold it” (Ehrensaft, 1984;56). The one who earns it has power over how the money is spent. The one who possesses the money, whether s/he has earned it or not, also has power over the distribution of money and how it is spent (Polatnick, 1984). In the case of migrant workers, although they earn the money, because of their relatively long-time absence from home, the men can not be the sole authority over possessing the money. The authority is delegated to someone else.

In the issues of to whom the remittances are sent/given, family structure (whether it is nuclear or traditional patriarchal extended) seems to play a crucial role. It is well documented by empirical studies conducted in the countries that have highest rates of exporting migrants that if workers live in extended families, then they send the money either to their fathers or to brothers, not to their wives (see Seok (1991) for Korean migrants, Arcinas (1991) for Pilipino migrants and Gulati (1993) for Indian workers). There are social conventions depending upon the structure of the household in remitting the money. Gulati (1993) reports that 60% of the participants feel obliged to send the money they earn to their fathers although they believe that their wives could well manage the money, “even better than the fathers” (p.85).

In our case, family structure is also a determining factor, but not as much as the existing literature reveals. The structure of the family makes a difference only if

the left behind wife lives with the husband's family. In that case, none of the women receive any money from their husbands. Other than that, whether the women live in nuclear form or with their own families do not make a difference; women are given the money. There are only two cases in nuclear families where the husband sends/gives the money to his elder son rather than to his wife. The women who live with their own relatives, without any exceptions, receive the money from their husbands. The husbands prefer to give the money to their wives rather than giving it to their father in-laws or brother in-laws. This is an example where distant or proximate relative relations override gender relations, in favor of the latter.

As far as the issues of who decides how the family income is spent and/or how savings are made are concerned, whether the women are employed or not gains more importance than the structure of the family. There are 32 women who are economically active in the sample and regardless of their household composition, all of them reported that they had some degree of authority in spending the money they earned and/or the money their husbands earned. In the absence of their husbands, 65% of the economically active women reported themselves as the sole decision maker of how the money was to be spent. Similarly, they also had high rates in deciding on how to invest or save the money.

The 7 women who live with their husbands' families are totally excluded from the money matters. Although 5 of them are elementary school graduates and had employment experience before they got married, none of them are economically

active. When they are asked whether they would like to work, 6 of them reported that they would. Their husbands' and more than that, the husbands' relatives, particularly the parents and brothers are against the participants' employment. They are also against income generation activities of the participants, which can be done at home; with the rationale that their family does not need the money that their bride earns. The patriarchal control over the women who live with their husbands' parents is severer. They are excluded from all money matters and have no place in decision making system. These women have also no freedom of movement. They do not have any say on the money their husbands remit. Sultan, one of the participants, who lives with his husband's family, talks about her exclusion from money matters:

Within the first two months, the first bank draft arrived. The first bank draft from Dursun was \$700. The draft was in my mother-in-law's name. My mother in-law would have certainly resented my receiving the bank draft. She went to the bank with my 15-year-old son. Since she did not know how to sign her name, her photograph had to be taken and kept in the bank records along with her thumb impression, to be used instead of her signature to withdraw cash. She received from the bank both a passbook and an identity card. This meant we had to find a safe place to keep the documents and learn to use them. These were new habits for us. ... As regards Dursun's decision to send the bank draft in his mother's name, there could be no objection at all as it was the first bank draft. He was showing his respect. About subsequent remittances, I personally felt that even if Dursun felt obliged to send the bank drafts to his mother, he should have sent at least an occasional one directly in my name. I am more educated than my mother-in-law, hence my unfamiliarity with bank issues could not be an excuse. If he had sent at least some amount of money to my name, this would have given me a certain feeling of independence. Dursun has been working in Saudi for over four years now, but not a single bank draft has come in my name. In the beginning, I thought my exclusion was only temporary and would not last more than a year or two. I now know that my exclusion from money matters is permanent. And the feeling hurts more when I see money being spent on things that I do not consider important. It also hurts also because I have to ask my mother-in-law for money whenever I need any. Naturally, I have to explain what I need the money for, even though I have a rightful claim to it.

Just as the women in traditional patrilineal extended families, there are 3 women having hard times for a different reason. These three women have been abandoned

by their husbands and reported that their husbands did not come home at all and added that their husbands were having affairs with other women there.

Gülcan, whose husband neither comes home nor sends any money, sees her husband's migration as a curse:

My husband's migration descended on me as a curse. Looking back, I wonder how much I benefited from his working in Russia: nothing! In the beginning, he used to send some money to us, although he was keeping his savings in a separate bank account. Whatever he sent me was spent on day-to-day expenses. I tried not to spend more than absolutely necessary. Then, he cut off sending money. I begged him when he last came home, but he did not listen to me. Today, I live in a very bad situation; I am totally dependent on my parents, brothers and sisters, although I now have a job. It is very difficult to support the children (all girls-5 children). After my husband stopped sending me money, I started to search for a job. My sister's husband works as a door keeper in block of flats and he found me some cleaning jobs there. Now, I have regular clients. I also do some knitting in my spare time and sell the things I make-I need to do some extra work.

The other woman, who was abandoned by her husband expresses her situation:

My husband went to work in Russia; we were poor and needed money. At the beginning, everything was okay; he came home and brought presents to us. He took the money from the bank and we had more money than we had ever seen. But later, he stopped calling us and then when he came to Turkey on holiday, he only dropped by and gave some money to us. Later, we learned that he got married there and had children as well. He left us. ... Now, he does not give any money and does not come home and see his children. We had to move to my sister's house because we did not have any money to carry on our lives. I did not work before, as a Sunni woman it was not appropriate for me to work. But then, I started to work as a domestic worker because we were in a very bad situation

Lastly, I should talk about the women's possession of the money they earn. Contrary to what Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç (2000) and White (1997) argue, the family structure does not appear as a determining factor on women's money possession in this study. But family structure, especially if it is a traditional patrilineal extended family, does have a role in determining the women's employment. None

of the women who live with their husbands' families engage in money generating activities.

However, the act of migration itself has a determining role to some extent. That is, 6 women out of 32 who earn an income told me that they used to give their earnings to their husbands, but now that their husbands were gone, they possessed their money themselves. In that sense, we can to some extent talk about a fade away in patriarchal burden with the husbands' migration.

Family structure is again a determinant here. Women give their earnings to their fathers. It is interesting that on the one hand, they receive considerable amounts of money from their husbands and have control over it; on the other hand, they give what they earn to their fathers with whom these women are staying with. Three of the women actually hold separate residence and live there at times their husbands are in Turkey. For these women, living with their parents is a temporary situation and giving what they earn to their fathers means just contributing to the family income, for sharing the expenses. These women reported changing their living arrangements in order to get support in their husbands' absence-they hold an outside employment and have small children.

In money matters, in addition to the decision about and control over the money and its possession, the actual usage of the remitted money and its economic impact on the women in particular and on the families in general hold importance as well, while looking at the impact of male migration on women.

For most of the families, the main reason for migration was to better establish themselves financially. However, a significant proportion, 11%, has migrated to resolve immediately pressing problems such as settlement of debt, unemployment, and other economic difficulties.

Out of 41 households, 17 of them have purchased a house, (2 houses in two of the cases); 2 households started a business and now own shops and 2 households have purchased land. It means that 23 households (56%) out of 41 have used some part of the remittances for investment purposes²⁴. Remittance usage behavior of the migrant workers and their families has widely been studied in the literature. Although there are variations from country to country, home ownership has the highest priority for the families followed by buying household goods (Gunatilleke, 1992; see also INSTRAW, 2000). Parallel to the existing literature, purchasing a house or saving up to purchase a house and buying consumer durables were identified as the prime uses of migration earnings in this study.

Slightly more than half of all remittances are spent on daily subsistence, health care and children's education. In some families, the expenses related to chronic illness or other urgent medical needs accounted for a significant share of spending from remittances. In addition to daily and investment oriented expenses, all of the 41 households have purchased a TV set, usually a fancier one than before, with a remote control. Many participants reported purchasing ovens, refrigerators, washing machines and furniture. Seven of the households are reported to invest in

²⁴ The number of years of employment abroad seems crucial here in investing and/or saving the money. The average year of employment abroad of those 23 households is 10.4 years, approximately 3 years more than the average of the sample.

gold as well. Moreover, three of the participants stated making ceremonial spending for their sons.

With the remittances sent and hence through their husbands' migration, many participants (87%) reported improvement in their life economically. One woman said that they were in the same situation as they had been before and 11% of the women I interviewed talked about a negative change, leading to their situations getting worse economically.

As mentioned before, four men have abandoned their wives and do not send or give any money to their families. The women talked about having extremely hard times after their husbands' migration. The other participant who reported a downward change perceives so because of her husband's illness, kidney failure that emerged after migration.

This particular case is important to highlight. The workers who are employed abroad have private health insurance in the country they work but they do not have any social security in Turkey ([www. calisma.gov.tr](http://www.calisma.gov.tr), <05/12/2003>). The scope of this private insurance only includes the times when the workers are actively employed in the particular country. In the case of temporary health problems, the worker receives treatment in the country of employment and then starts working again. However, in the case of severe health problems, where the worker can not work for longer periods of times, just in the case of the worker with kidney problem, companies send the ill worker to Turkey, to his home. In

Turkey, this worker does not have any social security, if he has not paid his premium himself to Social Security Institution and can hardly receive any support from the company he is working for.

This particular worker is employed in Saudi Arabia and Turkey does not have a social security contract with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia ([www. ssk gov.tr](http://www.ssk.gov.tr). <05/12/2003>) I should note that the country of employment is also important here. For instance, Libya and Turkey used to have a bilateral social security contract, which enables support in both countries. It is just the case in Germany as well, where the Turkish guest workers worked in Germany then retired in Turkey ([www. calisma. gov.tr](http://www.calisma.gov.tr). <05/12/2003>). He was sent to Turkey in order to get treatment. However, he could only get treatment in the amount that his family can afford, because he has no social security in Turkey. His wife now works in three different jobs and his son, who is 13 years old is about to quit school and take up a full time job in the workshop where he works as a part-time employee. They live in conditions of extreme poverty.

Despite such cases, however, it can be said that migration phenomenon has a substantial impact on family income, consumption, saving and investment. Not only did consumption increase, but also the asset possession of the households improved in many cases. The participants also perceive as so: since 86.6% of them reported an increase in their socio-economic status.

Hayriye, who migrated from Siirt to Ankara, after their village was burnt down in 1994 when there was terrorist turbulence, talks about their improved standards:

I have not the slightest doubt that I live much more comfortably today than would have been possible had Mustafa not gone to Libya to work. We live modestly but we do not feel deprived. I buy sufficient food for our daily consumption. We cook meat twice a week. I do not buy things like rice or sugar from street sellers anymore. I prefer the superior quality of rice and flour that are sold at the grocery. Although I do practically all the housework, it is not so hard. I know how to use various gadgets we now possess. The mixer is a great help in preparing a meal. We have also accumulated a number of gadgets, small and big. We have a very good TV set with remote control and would like to possess a good radio with a CD player. I must confess that these gadgets are important for me to show the neighbors what we are. I occasionally invite them to my home in order to show them the new things we have bought. But I am sometimes afraid that they would envy me. It makes me uncomfortable.

Another participant also talks about the positive changes in the household:

Our life style has improved considerably in these eight years. Things have changed for us a great deal. We have a very nice house, which we bought three years ago in Sincan and it is well-furnished. We have a small family and they are in good health. I am surrounded by relatives. So there is no dearth of company. Sometimes I feel I could do with less company. But I have to be very careful not to give the impression that I do not care for their company. I am not the only one in this neighborhood with a husband abroad. So we have to help each other, not only from day to day, but also when some major need arises.

In addition to their economic improvements, it seems that the relations with neighbors and/or relatives become important after the husbands' migration. Household goods possession is also attributed greater importance and regarded as a status symbol among neighbors and relatives. The words of the woman from the last quotation can also be read as a sign for need of mutual support, when necessary sacrifices are made to secure this mutual support. These women seem very well aware that networking is a great asset especially when their husbands are away. They use it as a strategy to stay strong in the absence of their husbands.

5.4. Changes in the Division of Labor in the Household

Another change in the women's lives occurred in the realm of division of labor within the family. There are particularly 3 tasks where considerable degrees of change have taken place in the division of labor: the task of bill payment, doctor/school visits and bank account management.

To begin with, the task of bill payment, which was performed by the husband before migration, was assumed by the women in 78% of the times. In 21% of the cases, the task was assumed by another family member.

Doctor and school visits are other tasks that have changed hands. Doctor-hospital visits include anyone in the household who needs health care but particularly we are talking about taking children to hospital/doctor here. Similarly, in school visits, a parent-teacher meeting is meant. Sixty-nine percent of the women in the sample reported that they started to assume these tasks after their husbands went abroad. In the 31% of the cases, these tasks are performed by someone else other than the women I interviewed.

The last task that a substantial shift occurred is bank account management. Thirty-five percent of the women reported that they were not involved in bank issues at all. The task either continued to be assumed by the husband himself or by another male family member. However, 66% of the women I talked with declared holding a bank account (either in their names or a joint one with their husbands). What is

more, 78% of these women (n=16) opened it after their husbands left. The ones who already had a bank account before migration are more educated as compared to the ones who had the account after migration. Regardless when the account started to be possessed, 66% of the sample is now dealing with bank accounts. They draw money, deposit money and sometimes they put their money in investment tools. Perhaps this is the task where the most important change has occurred. Starting having bank accounts, engaging in and controlling money issues and making regular visits to banks significantly increase their authority and these women, together with the possession of money, seem to gain the authority of income use.

Other than these nothing much has changed with regard to traditionally male and female tasks. For instance, many of the participants did not report a slightest change in the tasks that had been usually assumed by themselves in their households. Either they continued to do the cooking, did the laundry and cleaned the house or these tasks were shared among other female members of the household. The participants who started to live with their own families and who took up outside employment reported some degree of decrease in the tasks they assume.

Similarly, in the distribution of tasks that are traditionally assumed by men, like repairing and painting the house, no change was reported. These tasks were either assumed by another male member of households or by a neighbor or the husbands themselves continued to assume these tasks at times they came to Turkey.

Contrary to these findings however, other researchers reported that the migrant men were more ready to share household responsibilities which are traditionally assigned to women as cooking and cleaning. Since these men gained the skills to perform these tasks, and they got used to doing them abroad, these men were reported as “more helpful” (Gunatilleke; 1991; 16; INSTRAW, 2000).

With the above mentioned changes in the division of labor, it can be said that the workload of the women increased. It is true that in addition to the traditional tasks they assume such as cooking, cleaning and childcare, many of the participants, other than the ones living with their in-laws, have assumed some additional tasks. This has increased their burden. In fact, 13 of the participants declared that they found these tasks burdensome and cited it as a disadvantage. Özbay and Yücel (2000) argue the same and insist that the state of being a left-behind woman should not be applauded by social scientists in literature since the work load of these women doubles, sometimes quadruples in their husbands’ absence. Despite what Özbay and Yücel argue, I believe these changes have significant implications on the women’s lives. Taking up these tasks means going outside frequently, which in turn means an increase in freedom of movement. As I mentioned before, the importance and meaning of having the opportunity of controlling money matters and freedom of movement on behalf of women have been widely discussed in the empowerment literature. These responsibilities not only give women power and respect, but also give women the opportunity of self-reliance and self-esteem, which further empower them (Mercado, 1999; Zapata, 1999). Moreover, taking up responsibilities such as bill payment, bank account

management and doctor and school visits indicate that these women have become publicly more visible.

Of course, not all of the women have experienced such a change in equal extent. The women who live with their husbands' families did not report much change in the tasks they assume in the house. Moreover, the women whose husbands had recently migrated did not talk about much change either, particularly in the three tasks in question. Yet again, it seems that as the duration of their husbands' employment abroad increases, these women start to take up more responsibilities.

In the case of the women whose husbands were absent for longer times, as time passes, the participants reported prevalence in performing the tasks they had taken up and had been doing since the absence of their husbands. In fact, usually the tasks which used to be assumed by the husbands before migration turned out to become tasks that were performed by the participants and/or by other people. Only 12 of the participants reported that the tasks had the tendency to revert back to husbands when they were at home for long times-at the times when they wait for being called from their companies. Some participants (n=7) even reported that they observed an increase in performance of childcare tasks of their husbands.

In addition to the increase in these tasks, especially the participants who live in nuclear families and who have small and/or teenager children reported the difficulties they had in disciplining the children. It was described as the heaviest burden and the women complained about being left without support. I will talk

about women's conceptions of disadvantages and advantages of their husbands' migration, but now, let me turn to the changes which occurred in the relations between the husbands and wives.

5.5. Changes in the Relationships of the Spouses

The relationship of the spouses with intermittent unity and frequent absences, has undergone some changes, sometimes in positive terms, sometimes not.

Seven of the participants (14%) reported that they had better relations now with their husbands since migration. These women also reported that migration brought their family together and their husbands developed closer relationships with the children. Such a positive change in husbands' attitudes and betterment in the relationships of spouses are not unusual in the literature either. Pongsapich (1991) and Khan (1991) also reported such changes in their studies. What is particularly noteworthy from their researches is the widely prevailing views among migrants that the experience of the migration had a positive effect on their relationships with their families. Many participants in these studies reported that they had come closer to their children and were more intimate with their wives. "For many, the separation had made them more conscious of the value of their personal relations" (Khan, 1991; 102).

Twenty-four of the participants (48%), however, reported that they did not feel close to each other as compared to the times prior to migration. The average of

employment abroad of these women's husbands is 12 years (minimum 8 years and maximum 27.5 years). It seems that prolonged absence has negative impacts on the relationship of the spouses. Moreover, 17 of the participants reported that their husbands have changed so much in terms of personality and attitudes that they could hardly recognize their husbands. Except one, these women meant negative changes. Six men were reported to have drinking problems. These women told me that their husbands were more aggressive as compared to before and reported some form of violence in their households when their husbands came home, both in the form of physical abuse and in the form of economic and psychological violence.

In addition to those 17 women, other 6 women have reported that they changed during their husbands' absence and 5 of them reported that these changes were not welcome by their husbands when they came home, which caused some conflicts between the spouses. Giving up wearing headscarves and taking up economic activities were reported as the changes on behalf of the women that caused conflicts with the husbands. These 5 women also reported domestic violence. In total, 22 women out of 46 (47, 82%) of the sample talked about some form of violence in their home.

In a minority of the cases (8%), migration resulted in break-up of marriages. Marital problems emerged in these cases when the husbands formed extra-marital relationships during the course of employment abroad. In all of these cases, the husbands were employed in the countries of the former Soviet Block and they

were reported to cut off all the relations with their families. In these cases, as I mentioned before, participants also reported that they were having economic difficulties and they now were living in worse conditions as compared to the times prior to their husbands' migration.

Many participants wished that their husbands would be near them and would take up jobs in Ankara, if possible. However, they also reported that their husbands' employment abroad had been a very good economic opportunity for their families and they insisted that they had to put up with it, despite all the difficulties.

Forty percent of the husbands have been working in foreign countries for more than 8 years. For the wives of these men, their husbands' recurrent migration became a life-style. These women reported carrying on their 'normal' lives when their husbands were outside. Apart from these participants, the rest see their family separation as temporary. Even the families which have been experiencing this separation for more than 5 years, or more, report the same thing that some day this is going to end.

5.6. Advantages of the Husbands' Migration/Absence

Participants reported various advantages and disadvantages in their daily lives while their husbands were gone, working abroad. I asked the participants the differences between when their husbands were home and when they were away, as well as asking what some of the positive and negative perceptions were

concerning their husbands' migration. Many of the following advantages and disadvantages, which will constitute the next sections, were reported in response to these questions.

I identified three advantages which were frequently elaborated by the women: more money, less work for her while the husband is gone and personal freedom/autonomy, which is conceptualized as experiencing less violence and going out more often. The women who stated that they had more money in their husbands' absence say that they were able to live better that could not otherwise be possible and were able to save money that could not have otherwise be saved or that they had more money for things that were not absolutely necessary for survival. Women who cite less work speak of less work in taking care of their husbands. Table 5.1 shows the number of women who reported each advantage. Table 5.2 shows advantages reported by women with different living arrangements and Table 5.3, shows the same with women's employment.

Table 5.1: Frequency of response- Advantages

| Advantages | Frequency of responses |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| More money | N=33 |
| Less work | N=13 |
| Personal Freedom/Autonomy | N=39 |

Table 5.2: Frequency of advantages reported by type of family structure

| Family structure | Nuclear | Extended-living with women's family | Traditional patrilineal extended |
|---------------------------|---------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Advantage | | | |
| More money | 23 | 7 | 3 |
| Less work | 8 | 5 | - |
| Experiences less violence | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Going out more | 19 | 6 | - |

Table 5.3: Frequency of advantages reported by women's economic power

| Women's employment | Yes | No |
|---------------------------|-----|----|
| Advantage | | |
| More money | 29 | 15 |
| Less work | 11 | 2 |
| Experiences less violence | 4 | 10 |
| Going out more | 9 | 16 |

5.6.1. More money

Sixty-six percent of the women stated that they had more money now and perceived it as an advantage. All of the participants interviewed said that their husbands migrated in order to earn more money. However, when asked, only 33 of them cited money as an advantage. For some, this was because their husbands had not sent money back home yet. For others, it is possible that they might feel

the disadvantages outweighing the advantages, and so did not cite any advantages at all. When the money earned is for survival, as in the case for some of the households of the sample, it may not look like an advantage, but rather a necessity. Finally, it is also possible that some did not cite having more money as an advantage since it may have seemed so obvious an answer. As migration is a way of life for these women, it is taken for granted. That is, the money might not be cited as an advantage because it was understood that money was the very reason that men had migrated. It is most noticeable in its absence- when husbands do not send money home. Twelve of the women stated that they were glad for the increased money generated while their husbands were working abroad, even if they were not happy overall that their husbands were away. All of these women who cited this comment had husbands working in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Libya. These men usually have more stable paying jobs than those who are employed in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

5.6.2. Less work

Thirteen women reported they had less work in their husband's absence. None of them is in the traditional patrilineal extended group. The women who cite this advantage live either in nuclear families or with their families. The ones in nuclear families might see that their work load decreased since there was one member less. The ones in the extended families might perceive that when they had moved to their families' house, their work load started to be shared by other female members of the household. Eleven women who hold an employment also cited

that their work load was diminished. This can be explained by women's double burden, where they work both inside and outside home. When their husbands are away, their work load at home decreases.

5.6.3. Personal Freedom/ Autonomy

Thirty-nine women reported an increase in personal freedom and/or autonomy, most frequently articulated as experiencing violence less and going out more in their husbands' absence. These women are able to exercise more control over their lives when the husbands are away.

5.6.3.1. Experiencing less violence

There are 22 women who reported violence against themselves by their husbands and fourteen of them cited the cessation of abuse as an advantage of their spouses' absence. These women were understandably happy to regain a bit of control over their lives. In the sample, women who live in extended family structures reported violence more frequently; out of 14 women who cited no violence as an advantage, 10 of them are from extended families. As can be recalled, there are 7 women who reside in their in-laws' house and all of them report being battered. Parallel to that, women who do not hold an employment again, reported that they were battered by their husbands more frequently. Women who earn money and who live in nuclear families seem to have a shield against physical violence to some extent. The educational level of the husbands who apply violence to their

wives varies. This finding is consistent with the literature on violence against women and that violence cuts all the boundaries of the society, regardless of class and education (Arın, 1998; Rittersberger-Tılıç, 1998). But for the sample, the educational level of abusive husbands is generally lower in the families who live in traditional extended family structures.

5.6.3.2. Going out more

There are 25 women who cited going out more as an advantage. There are no women in this group who are in the 45-50 and 51-60 age cohorts. It is ironic since the women at these ages are the ones whose husbands have the longest year of employment abroad. It is naturally expected that these women should have more physical autonomy. Not only because should they get used to living without their husbands and form their own life styles, but also patriarchal control over the women at these ages should be looser. Again, none of the women who live with their husbands' parents cited such an advantage. Women in nuclear families go out more in the sample probably because they take nearly all the responsibilities of the household, some of which necessitates going out. In addition, 16 women who do not hold any employment also cited that they went out more and saw it as an advantage. It can be explained by looser control of husbands' over their wives at least in their daily lives (if not over their employment status) where women go out to see their relatives, neighbors or go shopping.

5.7. Disadvantages of the Husbands' Migration/Absence

Every woman I interviewed reported at least one difficulty they have been experiencing in their husbands' absence. I identified six disadvantages as frequently cited by the participants. These are concerns for children, increase in responsibility and more work, loneliness, going out less, less money and fear. Table 5.4 shows the number of women who reported each disadvantage and Chart 1 shows the characteristics of women who report disadvantages.

Table 5.4. Frequency of response-Disadvantages

| Disadvantage | Frequency |
|--|-----------|
| Concerns for children | 31 |
| Increase in responsibility and more work | 7 |
| Loneliness | 14 |
| Going out less | 14 |
| Less money | 5 |
| Fear | 17 |

Chart 1: Characteristics of women who report disadvantages

Disadvantage:

Concerns for children:

Discipline problems:

Most frequently cited by the mothers who have young children, and this concern was reported as more severe if the child is a boy. The women in nuclear families complain more.

Children miss their father:

Most frequently cited by the mothers who have small children

Children are angry, bitter:

Most frequently cited by the women who were abandoned by their husbands

Problems not solved:

Most frequently cited by the mothers who have adult children and who live in extended family forms

Increased responsibility and more work:

Cited by the women who live in nuclear family forms who hold employment and by the two women who started to live in traditional patrilineal family forms

Loneliness:

Cited by the women in all age cohorts but 45-50 and 51-60. Especially highlighted by the younger women whose husbands recently migrated

Going out less:

Reported by the women who live in extended family forms and by the working women having cited more workload

Less money:

Reported only by the women who were abandoned and whose husband is ill

Fear:

Reported by the women whose husbands work in former countries of the Soviet Block, and by the women who live alone with their teenager children

5.7.1. Concerns for children

Concerns for children is the largest category, within which discipline problems were the most cited. Further concerns can also be identified such as children missing their fathers; being angry with their fathers and are bitter with their fathers, and problems among family members not easily being solved in the absence of their fathers.

Initially, I had not asked about the effects of their husbands' migration on children. However, women spoke at length about it of their own accord. When asked about their lives, concerns for children were usually among the first subjects mentioned among the participants, which made me decide to mention here.

Many women who have younger children stated that they had discipline problems with their children in their husbands' absence. Some believe their children to be acting out, because they miss their fathers, or because they are angry with them for leaving. Further, many say quite simply that men are the disciplinarians. Regardless of the motivation of misbehavior, all state that their children were better behaved when their husbands were home. Discipline problems with boys are by far the most prevalent. Women reported that these discipline problems with boys were difficult for mothers to handle. These women stated that their sons were more rebellious and less likely to take their mother's authority seriously. The women who live in nuclear families reported disciplinary problems more

frequently. It is probably because the women living in extended family forms usually have a male family member who may act as the authority figure for the children in the absence of their fathers. Women living in nuclear families do not have such a member at home. These women should act both as mothers and as fathers. In the literature, the challenges faced by the women who stay behind are identified as similar with those faced by single mothers. They are faced with an increased workload, less support and the need to fulfill dual roles for children (Townsend, 1999). However, their lives are different in many ways as well. Women who have not been abandoned by their husbands receive monetary support that a single mother does not. Also, migrating husbands do return home for periods of time, although the frequency and duration vary.

In addition to discipline issues, some women, especially those who have small kids, reported that their children missed their fathers and that they were sad that they were gone. This is a difficult situation for mothers. They do not want their children to be sad; however there is little they can do to ease the perceived loss for their children. The women who were abandoned by their husbands cited that their children were angry with their fathers for abandoning them. They lost not only their fathers but also the economic stability they had since their fathers did not send money home any more. These children are unhappy with the conditions of their lives, such as being obliged to live with some other family members who do not treat them well or being left at home for long hours since their mothers are working to support these children. These children's anger, while understandable, is another obstacle to be faced by their mothers.

Moreover, older women in the sample and the women who live in extended families, especially in traditional patrilineal families, reported that in their husbands' absence problems among family members were not easily solved. The former group saw their husbands' absence as a disadvantage as they saw their husbands as the intermediary who was seen as respectable and wise in relations with the larger family. For the latter group of women, more conflicts were reported with the in-laws, as compared to the times when their husbands were at home. Studies on the left behind women in other countries support this finding, "where generally the root of the conflict was the parents' share of their son's income and almost classic presumption of wifely extravagance" (Arcinas, 1991; 130).

5.7.2. Increase in responsibility and more work

Seven women interviewed stated that in their husbands' absence, they either had the sole responsibility for the family or that they had to take on increased responsibility. They believe this is a disadvantage and speak of it as a hardship. They complain about carrying the responsibility of "everything"; of their job, the responsibility of the children, of the household tasks etc. These kinds of complaints were cited by working women living in nuclear families. The educational level of these women is relatively high for the sample; they are either elementary school or high school graduates. Other women who cited an increased work load are the women who started to live with their in-laws. They complain that their mother-in law and/or sister-in law made them do all the housework. It is

quite normal for traditional and patriarchal families to see the bride as the servant with no rights or power.

5.7.3. Loneliness

Fourteen women reported feelings of loneliness while their husbands were working abroad. They report missing their husbands, which made them introvert. These feeling were highlighted by younger participants whose husbands had recently migrated. Women whose husbands were gone for an extended time and had been migrating regularly for a period of years did not see loneliness as a disadvantage. Some of them reported that loneliness was worst in the beginning, and they eventually grew more accustomed to it. Because of this, it is natural that the feelings of loneliness were cited more often among the younger age group.

Here, respondents are not only left alone, as in some cases, completely alone with children and other responsibilities, but are left alone by their *husbands*. The loneliness that they speak of is of a particular type-the type a woman feels for her partner. The loss may seem even more acute because both the husband and the wife are laboring separately towards a shared goal. Migration has forced an ironic twist on their lives-in order to move ahead as a couple, they must be separate from one another.

5.7.4. Going out less

Fourteen women cited that they have been going out less in their husbands' absence. For some of these women, going out meant visiting relatives, neighbors and friends or going to places for fun/entertainment. For some women, on the other hand, going out meant simply leaving the house. The women who hold an employment and live in nuclear families cited the first kind of complaints; connoting that increased work load did not leave any time for such activities. However, the women who live in extended family forms, when citing going out less, referred to the second meaning, connoting their physical autonomy was restricted with the absence of their husbands. All of the participants living with their in-laws cited it as a disadvantage in the absence of their husbands.

5.7.5. Less money

Less money was cited by participants who were abandoned by their husbands- 4 women and one whose husband was ill. As can be recalled, these women also reported a downward change in their economic status. These women cited monetary loss as a major disadvantage in their present situations. While living at home, their husbands were employed. Although they earned less than they could abroad, they contributed to the household income as well as providing other supports. But at the time of the interview, 4 of them were abandoned and the other had a husband who was incapable of work because of his illness, and who needed money for his treatment. The women stated that their children had been the ones

to truly suffer, as they had all been thrust into greater poverty since the departure of their husbands. Especially for the abandoned women, who used to be better off before their husbands' migration, the dreams of prosperous future crumbled under the harsh reality of their husbands' abandonment, both in material and psychological terms.

5.7.6. Fear

With the concept of fear, three things were meant: feeling of insecurity and doubt; worry and being scared. The women whose husbands were employed in the countries of former Soviet Union talked about the possibility of their husbands' infidelity and feelings of distrust. They reported hearing some stories about women who had been abandoned by their husbands and these rumors made them insecure about their marriage and economic situation. These feelings of doubt and insecurity are not uncommon among women of other countries either, (Gunatilleke, 1991; Mahmood, 1991 and INSTRAW, 2000). The women having reported worry about their husbands had fearful thoughts on something bad happening to their husbands while they are out-injury, illness, confrontations with the local law etc. In addition to that, some women who live alone with their young children stated that they were sometimes scared of being alone at home. They felt unprotected without their husbands and more prone to outside attacks, for example to burglary, as more frequently cited.

5.8. Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter, which I believe is the most crucial part of the study, tried to depict the impact of male migration on the women. The migration has altered the lives of these women to a great extent and I tried to conceptualize them under several headings. Although diverse, to put it bluntly, it seems that the degree and the direction of change and impact of the migration on the women vary mainly according to three things: women's economic power; family structure and the pattern of migration of the husbands. The experiences the women have is also influenced and structured by these variables.

By interviewing these 50 women, I tried to illustrate the shape their lives took in the absence of their husbands and situate these women in the migration phenomenon. In the next chapter, I will try to comment on these impacts of migration and the women's experience.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The issue of migration has received considerable attention on various international platforms and in the literature for the past few decades. Similarly, the issue; both internal migration and external migration interested many researchers in the 1960s in Turkey. However, especially after 1980s, there are minimal studies found in Turkey on the issue of international migration of Turkish workers. As discussed in the second chapter, the nature of migration and its patterns have changed over the last two decades, especially with the advent of globalization and in turn, with the transformation of the world of work. As of yet, however, although Turkish men's migration to outside countries in order to work, especially in construction sites, is a well known phenomenon and although the issue has been taken up briefly, only with its economic aspects, in the development plans of the Turkish government, neither the Turkish government nor the Turkish academia has taken up research activities to find out the reflections of the changes and the impacts of such migration on Turkey in general, and in the ones involved in the process, in particular.

From this research, we understand that the temporary labor migration of Turkish men abroad is a dynamic process. The workers are employed in contract-based

work arrangements in several different countries and are employed for several times, with recurrent oscillations between Turkey and foreign countries.

Almost all of the workers have some work experience in construction related jobs before taking up a job abroad. Skill level of the workers in the research sample is not low. More than half of the sample is employed either as semi-skilled or skilled workers. From the informal talks with some managers of the construction companies, I have learned that such a skill profile of the Turkish workers is normal given the global hierarchy of labor value of the workers. That is, it is said that Turkish workers are usually employed as semi-skilled or skilled workers abroad. The unskilled workers are mainly employed from Nepal, India and the Philippines, where the workers' labor is far cheaper as compared to Turks. In turn, Turkish semi-skilled and/or skilled labor is far cheaper than other Mediterranean and European countries and hence, Turkish workers constitute the cheap labor for semi-skilled and skilled jobs. The value of the same labor varies depending on the workers' citizenship.

The workers come and stay in Turkey for some time either for holiday or for the reason of unemployment. When their contract expires, and/or when the project they are employed in is finished, the workers are legally expected to leave the country they are employed in. In these cases, the workers come back to Turkey and wait for another employment abroad. The waiting period does not usually exceed 5 or 6 months. Many men in the sample do not take up regular jobs during this waiting period. This reveals a pattern of recurrent migration in construction

industry, where men go to countries where and when work is available and then come home and stay, usually unemployed.

How and when the workers are paid varies depending on the country the workers are employed in. The workers who work in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Libya receive their payments regularly. On the other hand, the workers employed in the countries of the former Soviet Block are intermittently and irregularly paid. The pattern of payment also affects the frequency and method of sending money to Turkey; to the families. The most preferred way of remitting the money to Turkey is bringing the money himself. For some of the workers, bank drafts also appear as a more secure way of transferring the money to their families.

Apart from giving some preliminary information on the patterns of male migration in construction industry in particular and in recurrent-temporary migration in general, the main focus of this study is the wives of migrating men. This study addresses the lives of women which have not been mentioned elsewhere. By maintaining the women as the focus, I have tried to give some clues about the impact of male migration. With these kinds of studies, I believe, it is possible to make a shift away from the studies which put the 'active' individuals, the men who do the migrating, at the center. The gendered focus is needed to disrupt commonly held stereotypes of women as passive individuals in the migration process.

From the interviews, I learned a lot about the women who experienced this migration. I tried to project as much information as I could but I am sure many things are left unmentioned. But what I am also sure is that the lives of these women are altered by their husbands' migration and I tried to depict these changes. There are changes in the family structure of the women I interviewed. In one way or another, half of the women changed their living arrangements after the migration. Some did so willingly, but for some of them patriarchal control increased after migration which made them change their living arrangements unwillingly. The ones who are young have small children and/or do not have economic power usually form the latter group. For some women, after some time of their husbands employment abroad, traditional patrilineal extended households turned into nuclear ones. As the duration of the absence of husbands increases, the incidence of dissolution of extended families becomes more frequent. This means that through higher earnings which are gained gradually across years of employment abroad, the prevailing tradition of living especially with husbands' families erodes.

As I mentioned before, I tried to look at the empowerment of these women after their husbands' migration. I used the indicators of changes in decision making and autonomy; changes in the division of labor and control over money earned/family budget. Self confidence, acquisition of a sense of self worth and strength also emerged as another indicator of empowerment for some women I talked with, particularly in the ones who started to hold outside employment. With regard to decision making, women in nuclear families acquired significant decision making

power in traditionally male areas such as housing and purchasing land and furniture, decisions on education and marriage of children. Furthermore, as the duration of the husbands' employment abroad increases, there is an increment in women's decision making power in all of the women. There was a clear increase in women's decision making. Whereas before migration males made certain decisions on their own, after their migration, the women had a greater say in most household matters. The women who gained this also expressed satisfaction with their newly acquired power and role in decision making. However, the inroads these women made in terms of decision making were not commensurate in that concerning the women living with their in-laws. Similarly, as far as autonomy of the women is concerned, family structure appears as the determining factor, where the women started residing in their husbands' family houses experienced a drastic decrease. Other than these women, after the husbands take off, the women I interviewed gained more autonomy and control of their lives. In addition, some also started to take up economic activities, sometimes without taking the consent of their husbands, as it was difficult for the husbands to influence their wives decisions regarding taking up outside employment and/or going out. The public/private split is eroded through the very existence of migration, except for the ones living in traditional patrilineal families. Nonetheless, some of the women I interviewed seem to have broken this barrier before their husbands' migration, by holding outside employment.

Having economic power is a great asset for the women. It not only gives the women grounds for decision making and autonomy, but also appears as a

determinant in their living arrangements. It further reinforces their power. For instance, in money matters, particularly to whom the husband sends the money he earns and in control over this money as well as in the money the women themselves earn, having economic power is very critical. The economically active women had a greater say, in fact sometimes they became the sole decision maker in how the money would be spent and how investments would be done.

Many women I talked with attribute positive economic outcome to migration. Substantial improvement in the standard of living and increase in income are experienced. These economic benefits also turned into social benefits, where the quality of life increases with better housing conditions and nutrition and the possibilities to invest in the education of children and general health care services for the family. Contrary to the women who receive remittances from their husbands, the abandoned women experience hardships and poverty, where the male migration turned out to have negative connotations.

As far as division of labor is concerned, the tasks that had been carried out by male migrants (bill payment, doctor/school visits and bank account management) prior to migration were later assumed by the women, especially in the nuclear families, which further reinforces their empowerment. Moreover, these tasks did not revert back to the husbands upon their return from abroad. There was also a slight increase in sharing of tasks between husbands and wives upon return of the husbands, particularly in those areas of childcare.

There are also changes in the relationship of the spouses. A minority of the women benefited from the migration in that manner as well, where their relations and the children's relations with the men got better. These men were attributed betterment in their attitudes towards the children and especially towards the women as if the absence from their habitat made men to be conscious of the value of their personal relations. Apart from this minority, for majority of the women, the relationships got worse. They felt distant from their husbands, perceived to some extent personality changes either in themselves or in their husbands. Some women whose husbands did not wellcome the changes they saw in their wives (like taking off their headscarves or going out more frequently) also experienced increasing violence and abuse. In some cases, the husbands' migration also resulted in the break-up of their marriages, where the husbands form extramarital relationships when they were abroad.

There are perceived advantages and disadvantages of the migration by the women. Instead of conceptualizing them as benefits and shortcomings of the migration, which would be mechanical, I preferred to conceptualize the experience of these women as advantages and disadvantages where, I believe, I could better project the shape their lives take and how these women perceive it. The women attribute positive outcomes to their husbands' migration that they now have more money, do less work, experience violence less and can go out more frequently. Of course, not all women attribute the same advantages. Again, the structure of the family the women have and whether they have economic power or not appear as

determinants in the women's perceived advantages of their husbands' migration/absence.

Despite the advantages, however, the women talked more about the disadvantages of their husbands' absence. They reported concerns for their children, increased workloads and responsibilities as well as feelings of loneliness and worry. Considerable numbers of women also mentioned going out less after their husbands' migration.

It is difficult to conclude a fixed result from this study. At the end of my analysis, I believe we should consider mixed conclusions. On the one hand, we can argue for signs of empowerment for some of the women I interviewed, while for some of them we can not talk about such a change at all.

There are some variables that lead to change. First of all, there is a clear link between family structure and the women's empowerment. The women living in nuclear families are elevated in power considerably after their husband's migration. Migration itself is a variable as well; the longer the husband is absent, the more the women gain control. It is especially true for the women who earn an income. Earning an income and women's education are crucial here as well; they increase the potential for the empowerment of women. Moreover, this study shows us how the process of temporary migration hinges on the structures of patriarchy, especially the misguided notion of protection of women, as we see particularly in the case of the women who live with their husbands' families.

With their husbands' migration, the women in this study are left to cope with life alone. They labor along with their husbands as part of a team, working to build a more secure future for themselves and their children. Yet, they receive little attention in scholarly research, as men are often described as the "active" member of the couple, laboring, far away from their families, friends and their habitat, for the betterment of his family. These findings represent knowledge with which we may now restructure this migration narrative, seeing both women and men as active and diligent participants of the migration process, where traditional gender roles are altered. In that sense, theoretically, this study contributes to a holistic understanding of migration transcending the previous dichotomies of active migrant and dependent.

There are a number of policy implications emanating from this study. To begin with, there is a need for an established social security system for the migrants. That is, Turkey has no bilateral contracts with the countries where the workers of the study work in. This issue is especially important when it comes to social security. The workers lack a permanent social security. They only have it at the time of employment, where in the case of severe health problems the worker is sent home and left alone, without any security. The workers abroad are put into vulnerable positions by such applications. Secondly, there is need for promotion of a bank transfer which does not pose additional costs to the workers. Because of the high fees banks charge in the process, the workers prefer methods other than bank transfer in remitting their money. Most of the money remitted is sent through informal methods and remain undocumented. More sound procedures would

motivate the workers to use safer methods, where the amount remitted would also be documented officially. Perhaps, an arrangement can be made through the company itself. Lastly, there is a need for state regulation of the patterns of payment of wages in order to avoid hardships for the families left behind. It seems that the construction companies have autonomy in their payment policies abroad. Even if these policies are done with good intentions (to protect the families as the reader may recall), many of the workers and their families suffer from acute shortage of income, especially in the case of the workers who are newly employed. The companies administer whatever payment policy they want, probably in line with their economic interests.

In addition to policy implications, further research on the impact of male migration on women and process of male migration may look into several issues. Research on communities with male-out migration may offer fertile grounds for examining gender roles, especially played out within marriage. Also, such communities offer an opportunity to further research women's participation in the public sphere and changing relations in the private sphere. The impact of this type of migration on children, especially in terms of reproduction of patriarchal ideology in the absence of a father figure would be another issue for further studies. Moreover, comparison of this type of migration with the migration to Germany in the 1970s and comparison of the process in urban and rural settings would be of importance. This study solely focuses on the urban dimension of the process of temporary labor migration. It would be better to look at whether there are variations in the impact of different patterns of migration in the settings where

different modes of production are at stake. Again, comparison and contrast between groups of women (and households, in general) who experience such migration and those who do not, could further develop our understanding of the society structure, roles fulfilled by women, men and children and persons of varying socio-economic backgrounds. As Sassen (1998) recommends, we should look at the phenomenon of male migration and women who stay behind as a site “...for the strategic instantiation of alteration in gender roles and for new forms of women’s presence” (p. 83).

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

Hanehalkı Soru Formu
(Household Members Information Form)

| Hanehalkı Üyeleri (Household Members) | Görüşülen Kişi ile Yakınlık (The Relationship with the Women Interviewed) | Cinsiyet (Sex) | Yaş (Age) | Mezun Olduğu Son Okul (Education) | İşi/ Eve maddi katkısı var mı? (Employment/Economically Active?) | Nerede? (Where is S/He?) |
|--|--|-------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1) | | | | | | |
| 2) | | | | | | |
| 3) | | | | | | |
| 4) | | | | | | |
| 5) | | | | | | |
| 6) | | | | | | |

Kadın Soru Kağıdı
(Women's Interview Form)

I. GENEL BİLGİLER (GENERAL INFORMATION)

- 1) Ne kadar zamandır evlisiniz? (How long have you been married?)
- 2) Evlendiğinizde ayrı ev açtınız mı? (Did you establish a new house when you got married?)
- 3) Eşinizin ailesi ve sizin aileniz nerede oturuyor, hangi şehirde? (In which city do your and your husband's parents live?)
- 4) Sık sık görüşür müsünüz onlarla, ilişkileriniz nasıldır? (Do you see them frequently? How is your relationship with them, do you get on well?)
- 5) Eşiniz yurtdışına gittikten sonra nerede yaşamaya devam ettiniz? (Where did you keep living after your husband left for employment?)
 - eşimle yaşadığımız evde (at the house where we lived with my husband)
 - akrabalarımızın (eşimin ailesinin/benim ailemin) yanına taşındık (we moved to the relatives' house- my parents' house/ my husband's parents' house)
 - başka (other, please specify).....
- 6) Ailecek hiç şehir değiştirdiniz mi evlendiğinizden bu yana? (Have you ever lived in another city after you got married?)
- 7) Eşiniz ilk defa yurtdışına çalışmaya gitmeden önce de bu şehirde mi oturuyordunuz? (Were you living in Ankara before your husband took his first job abroad?)

8) Eşin çalışma tarihçesi (Employment history of the spouse):

(a) Eşinizin ilk işi neydi? (What was his first job?)

(b) Yurtdışına gitmeden önce ne iş yapardı, nerede çalışırdı? (What was he doing before his employment abroad, where did he work?)

9) Kadının çalışma tarihçesi (Employment history of the woman)

(a) Hiç çalıştınız mı? Nerede? (ücret karşılığı çalışmak, yaptığınız malzemeleri satmak, ailenizin ya da tanıdıklarınızın çalıştırdığı işyerine katkıda bulunmak) (Have you ever engaged in money generating activities?)

-ÇALIŞIYORSA: İlk işiniz neydi? (If the answer is yes, then what was your first job?)

(b) Şu an çalışıyor musunuz? (Are you engaged in any money generating activity right now?) () EVET (Yes) () HAYIR (No)

Nerede? (Where do you work?).....

-ÇALIŞMIYORSA : Çalışmayı düşünüyor musunuz, ister misiniz? (If the answer is no, then would you like to?)

II. GÖÇ DURUMU (MIGRATION INFORMATION)

10) Eşiniz hangi ülkede çalışıyor? (In which country does your husband work?).....

(a) ne zamandan beri? (For how long?)

.....

(b) daha önce başka bir ülkede çalıştı mı? () EVET (Yes)

() HAYIR (No)

(Has he ever worked in another country before?)

Cevap EVET ise: yurtdışına ilk çıkışında bu işten nasıl haberdar oldu, işi nasıl buldu?

(If the answer is YES, then, how did he hear of this job? How did he find the job?)

Cevap HAYIR ise: bu işten nasıl haberdar oldu?

(If the answer is NO, then, how did he find this job?)

11) Yurtdışına çalışmaya gitmesinin nedeni neydi?

(What was the reason why he took a job abroad?)

12) Ne kadar zamanda bir Türkiye'ye geliyor?

(How often does he come back to Turkey?)

-her yıl/yılda bir kaç kere (every year/a few times a year)

-2-3 yılda bir (once in every 2 or 3 years) -değişiyor (it depends)

-başka(other).....

13) Ne kadar zaman kalıyor geldiğinde, bir iş bitince hemen başka bir işe geçme imkanı oluyor mu?

Kaldığı süre boyunca başka iş tutuyor mu? (For how long does he stay in Turkey; when his job is finished abroad can he find another job abroad immediately? When he is in Turkey, does he work?)

14) Ne kadar süredir böyle gidip geliyor? Kaç yıl oldu? (For how long has he been working like this, taking employment abroad?)

15) Eşiniz yurtdışında kaldığı süre içerisinde nasıl haberleşiyorsunuz? Hangi sıklıkta? (How do you communicate with your husband when he is away and how frequently?)

-telefon (by phone)

-mektup (by mail)

-başkalarıyla haber yolluyoruz (through friends/relatives)

-hiç (we never communicate)

III. AİLE BÜTÇESİ (FAMILY BUDGET)

- 16) Şayet para kazanıyorsanız, kazandığınız parayı kime veriyorsunuz? (If you earn any money, to whom do you give the money you earn?)
- 17) Diğer aile üyelerinden para kazanan varsa, onlar kazandıkları parayı kime veriyor? (Eşim derse, eşiniz yokken kime veriyorlar?) (If there is someone else who earns money in the household, to whom does he/she give the money?)
- 18) Eşiniz düzenli olarak para gönderir mi? (Does your husband send money regularly?)
- 19) Kime, nasıl gönderiyor parayı? (How and to whom does he send it?)
- 20) Yurtdışından eşinizin gönderdiği para sizin aile yaşantınızda bir değişiklik yarattı mı? (Has the money your husband remitted brought about any change in your life?)
- evet, daha iyi yaşıyoruz (yes, we live better)
 - hayır, hiç fark yok (no, there is not any change)
 - daha kötü yaşıyoruz (we live in worse conditions)
- 21) Ailenizin aylık geliri aşağı yukarı ne kadardır? (What is the total monthly income of your family?)
- 22) Eşiniz yurtdışında çalışmaya başladıktan sonra yeni birşeyler satın satın alabildiniz mi? Neler?
- (Have you purchased anything since your husband's employment abroad? If yes, what are they?)
- ev (house/flat etc.) -bulaşık makinesi (dish washer)
 - televizyon (TV set) -fırın (oven)
 - araba (car) -altın, gümüş vs. (gold, silver etc.)
 - buzdolabı (refrigerator) -çamaşır makinesi (washing machine)
 - müzik seti (casette/cd player) -başka (other).....

IV. İŞ BÖLÜMÜ VE KARAR VERME (DIVISION OF LABOR AND DECISION MAKING)

23) Ailenizde aşağıdaki konularda karar merci kimdir? (Who makes the decisions in the following issues?)

| | Eşim (My husband does) | Ben (I do) | Eşim yokken ben (I do in the absence of my husband) | Eşimle birlikte, ikimiz (We decide together) | Başkaları (Others decide) |
|--|---------------------------------|---------------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| 1) Hangi yemeğin pişirileceği (The food to be cooked) | | | | | |
| 2) Alışveriş (yiyecek, giyecek vs.) (Shopping) | | | | | |
| 3) Eve eşya alımı (The furniture to be purchased) | | | | | |
| 4) Ev tadilatı (kat çıkma, boya badana vs.) (Renovation to be made at the house) | | | | | |
| 5) Ev-araba alımı/satımı (Purchase/sale of car/house) | | | | | |
| 6) Eşinizin gönderdiği paranın nasıl kullanılacağı (On what to spend the money sent by the husband) | | | | | |
| 7) Yatırım/paranın nasıl değerlendirileceği (How to invest) | | | | | |
| 8) Çocukların | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| okulu (başlama, bırakma, değiştirme vs.) (Children's education) | | | | | |
| 9) Çocukların evliliği (Children's marriage) | | | | | |
| 10) Eve misafir daveti (Guests to be invited) | | | | | |
| 11) Televizyonda hangi programın seyredileceği (Which TV show to be watched) | | | | | |
| 12) Ne zaman nereye gidileceği (Where and when to go out) | | | | | |

24) Evinizde aşağıdaki işleri kim yapar? (Who does the following tasks at your home?)

| | Eşim (My husband does) | Ben (I do) | Eşim yokken ben (I do in the absence of my husband) | Eşimle birlikte, ikimiz (We do it together) | Başkaları (Others do for us) |
|---|---------------------------------|---------------|---|--|------------------------------------|
| 1) Yemek pişirme (Cooking) | | | | | |
| 2) Alışveriş (Shopping) | | | | | |
| 3) Çamaşır (Laundry) | | | | | |
| 4) Temizlik (Cleaning) | | | | | |
| 5) Çocuk bakımı (Childcare) | | | | | |
| 6) Tamirat (Repair) | | | | | |
| 7) Boya-badana (Painting, renovation) | | | | | |
| 8) Fatura ödeme | | | | | |

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|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| (Bill payment) | | | | | |
| 9)Banka işleri (Bank activities) | | | | | |
| 10) Doktor, okul ziyaretleri (Doctor/school visits) | | | | | |
| 11) Kömür,odun, tüp vs. alma (Purchasing cool, wood etc.) | | | | | |

25) Sahip olduklarınız arasında eşiniz yurtdışındayken sizin satın aldıklarınız var mı? (Among the things you own, is there anything you purchased yourself?)

26) Size ailenizden intikal eden ya da başka şekilde sahip olduğunuz malınız var mı? (Do you own property on your own?-may have inherited from your family or in other ways)

27) Eşinizin yurtdışında olması nedeniyle güçlük çektiğiniz konular var mı? (Do you experience any problems and hardships because of your husband's absence?)

| | Evet (Yes) | Hayır (No) | Bilmiyorum (I am not sure) |
|---|------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| - çocukları yetiştirmek zor oluyor (it is difficult to raise the children) | | | |
| -tüm işler benim üzerime kaldı (I have increased responsibilities and lot to do) | | | |
| -akraba/komşular yaşamıma karışıyor (The relatives/neighbors started to intervene with my life) | | | |
| -ekonomik sıkıntı çekiyorum (We are having financial problems) | | | |
| -kendimi yalnız hissediyorum (I feel lonely) | | | |
| -daha az geziyorum (I go out less) | | | |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| -dışarıyla ilişkileri yürütmek zor oluyor (It is difficult to manage the relations with others) | | | |
| Başka (Other, please specify)..... | | | |

28) Eşinizin yokluğunda şehirdışına çıkıyor musunuz? En sık nerelere gidirsiniz?

(Do you go out in the absence of your husband, where do you most often go?)

29) Gidip gelmenize karışan olur mu? (Does anybody interfere you regarding where you go, with whom etc?)

30) Eşinizin yurtdışında olduğu zamanlarda olumlu/avantaj olarak niteleyebileceğiniz durumlar hangisidir: (At the times of your husband's absence, what are the things you attribute positive connotations to?)

| | Evet (Yes) | Hayır (No) | Bilmiyorum (I am not sure) |
|---|------------|------------|----------------------------|
| -hesap vermek zorunda kalmıyorum (I do not have to give an account on what I do) | | | |
| -dışarıya daha sık çıkıyorum (I go out more frequently) | | | |
| -komşu/akraba ziyaretlerine daha sık gidiyorum (I visit my relatives/friend etc more frequently) | | | |
| -evde daha az iş yapıyorum, daha az yoruluyorum (I do less work and am less tired) | | | |
| -etraf bana daha fazla saygı duymaya başladı (People started to respect me more) | | | |
| -çocuklar daha çok sözümlü dinliyor (The children obey me) | | | |
| -kendime daha çok zaman ayırıyorum (I have more time on my own) | | | |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| -televizyonda istediđimi seyrediyorum (I can watch whatever I want on TV) | | | |
| Bařka (Other, please specify)..... | | | |

31) Eřiniz gittiđinde gnlk hayatınızda neler deđiřiyor? (What are the
changes in your daily routine in the absence of your husband?)

32) Geldiđi zamanlarda her řey eskisi gibi mi oluyor? (rneđin:iř
paylařımlarında, karar vermede)

(When he comes back home, does everthing turn back to what it used to be,
for instance in division of labor, in decision making?)

V. EVLİLİKLE İLGİLİ (ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SPOUSES)

33) Eşiniz yurtdışından döndüğünde, eşiniz gitmeden önceki dönemle karşılaştığınızda neler söyleyebilirsiniz? (What can you say about your relationship with your husband if you compare it with the times before he left?)

| | Evet (Yes) | Hayır (No) | Bilmiyorum (I am not sure) |
|---|------------|------------|----------------------------|
| -ilişkimiz eskisinden daha iyi, birbirimize daha yakınız (It is better now, we are more intimate) | | | |
| -birbirimizi yabancı gibi hissediyoruz (We feel alienated from each other) | | | |
| -ev işlerine daha çok yardım eder oldu (He helps out more in household tasks) | | | |
| -çocuklara daha düşkün, daha çok ilgileniyor (He takes care of children) | | | |
| -tek başıma gezmeye gitmeme karışmıyor (He does not intervene with me with regard to going out on my own) | | | |
| -çalışmama karışmıyor (He does not intervene with me with regard to taking employment outside home) | | | |
| -daha yumuşak ve anlayışlı oldu (He is more easy going and empathic) | | | |
| -buradaki işleri ben üstlendiğimden bana daha çok saygı duyuyor (Since I took over the responsibilities here, he respects me more) | | | |
| -sözümü daha çok dinler oldu (He complies with what I say more) | | | |
| -bana karşı kuşkucu, güvensiz davranıyor (He is more suspicious and distrustful) | | | |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| -daha müdahaleci ve karışan biri oldu (He starts to interfere everything in my life) | | | |
| -eşim çok değişti, onu tanıyamaz oldum (He has changed a lot in terms of personality, I hardly know him) | | | |
| -ben değiştim, eşim yadırgıyor (I have changed, he can not accept it) | | | |

34) Şimdiki hayatınızı eşiniz çalışmaya yurtdışına gitmeden önceki dönemle karşılaştırdığınızda:(When you compare your life with the times before your husband left)

| | Evet | Hayır | Bilmiyorum |
|--|------|-------|------------|
| Onun yokluğunda alıştığımız hayata uyum sağlayamıyor (He can not adapt to the life we got used to in his absence) | | | |
| Geldğinde herşeyin o hiç gitmemiş gibi olmasını bekliyor (When he comes home, he expects that everything to be the same as if he has never gone) | | | |
| Daha sık kavga eder olduk (We are fighting more frequently) | | | |
| Beni dövüyor (He beats me) | | | |
| Beni tehdit ediyor;örneğin para göndermemekle, çekip gitmekle (He threatens me with not sending money; with leaving us etc) | | | |
| Beni aldattı (He cheated on me) | | | |
| Başka (Other, please specify) | | | |

35) Bu ayrılık, gidip gelmeler, eşinizle ilişkinizi etkiledi mi? Neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

(Have intermittent unities and frequent absences affected your course of relationship with your husband?)

36) Tercih şansınız olsaydı, eşinizin bu şehirde bir işte çalışıp yanınızda olmasını şimdiki duruma tercih eder miydiniz? Neden?

(If you had a choice, would you like your husband to be employed in Ankara and be with you rather than his employment abroad?)