

IN BETWEEN COUNTRIES: EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN MIGRANT DOMESTIC  
WORKERS FROM GEORGIA IN TURKEY

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **IN BETWEEN COUNTRIES: EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS FROM GEORGIA IN TURKEY**

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This study explores how globalization and restructuring of post-Soviet economies affect women's decision to migrate and their experiences as migrant domestic workers in Turkey. Apart from focusing on the experiences of migrant domestic workers, the study also attempts to make a survey of the factors, which cause employers in Turkey to employ especially domestic workers from Georgia. In order to expose the various aspects of the experiences of women in a non-hierarchical way, thus rendering them more intelligible, the study has drawn upon the feminist standpoint theory and questioned whether the commodification of domestic labor in the market has changed the gender roles. In other words, this study maps the relations between globalization, domestic labor and feminization of labor.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the transition to the market economy created serious economic problems in many post-Soviet countries, which faced with increasing unemployment, privatization and decreases in the quality of life. Being one of these countries, Georgia has also been deeply shaken, thus international migration has come forward as a way to overcome economic difficulties. Women are one of the prominent groups profoundly affected by the transition economy; therefore, they have an outstanding place in this migration wave. Turkey has become an important destination country for migrant women from Georgia since the mid-1990s due to the reasons such as the geographical proximity and the flexible visa regime between the two countries. In other respects, the identification of domestic labor with certain female gender roles makes it invisible and undervalued, which causes migrant women to concentrate on low-status and low-wage domestic services in the destination countries. The intersection of certain disadvantaged social positions of migrant women make them vulnerable to exploitation, oppression and abuse both in the houses they work and in the ‘public’ sphere they spend their day-offs.

**Keywords:** Globalization, Feminization of Migration, Domestic Labor, Migrant Domestic Workers from Georgia

## ÖZ

### ÜLKELER ARASINDA: GÜRCİSTAN GÖÇMENİ EV İŞÇİSİ KADINLARIN TÜRKİYE’DEKİ DENEYİMLERİ

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Bu çalışma, küreselleşme ve post-Sovyet ülke ekonomilerinin yeniden yapılanma sürecinin kadınların göç etme kararlarını ve deneyimlerini nasıl etkilediğini sorgulamaktadır. Çalışmada, Gürcistan göçmeni kadınların deneyimlerine odaklanmanın yanı sıra, Türkiyeli işverenlerin Gürcistan göçmeni ev işçisi istihdam etme kararlarını belirleyen etkenlere de bakılmaktadır. Göçmen kadınların deneyimlerini şekillendiren farklı bileşenlerin sıradüzensiz ortaya konulabilmesi, kadınlık deneyimlerinin daha net anlaşılabilmesi için feminist duruş kuramından yararlanılmış; ev içi emeğin ücretli emek haline gelmesinin toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinde herhangi bir değişiklik yaratıp yaratmadığı anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Diğer bir ifadeyle, bu çalışma küreselleşme, ev içi emek ve göçün kadınlığı arasındaki ilişkiyi göstermeyi hedeflemektedir.

Sovyet sisteminin dağılmasının ardından, piyasa ekonomisine geçiş pek çok ülkede ağır ekonomik sorunlar yaratmış, bu ülkeler artan işsizlik, özelleştirmeler ve hayat standartlarında ciddi düşüşlerle karşılaşmışlardır. Bu ülkelerden biri olan Gürcistan'da da geçiş sürecinin sıkıntıları derinden hissedilmiş, uluslararası göç ekonomik zorluklarla baş etmenin bir yolu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Geçiş döneminin sıkıntılarında en çok etkilenen gruplardan biri olan kadınlar, bu göç dalgası içinde önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Türkiye ise coğrafi yakınlık, iki ülke arasındaki esnek vize uygulamaları gibi sebeplerle 1990'ların ikinci yarısından itibaren Gürcistanlı göçmen kadınlar için önemli bir hedef ülke haline gelmiştir. Öte yandan, ev içi emeğin kadınlık rolleri üzerinden tanımlanması, görünmez kılınması ve değersizleştirilmesi, göçmen kadınların göç ettikleri ülkelerde düşük statü, düşük ücretli ev içi emekte yoğunlaşmalarına sebep olmaktadır. Göçmenlik, kadınlık gibi farklı dezavantajlı durumların kesişimi, göçmen ev içi işçilerini, hem çalışma alanları olan ev içinde hem de izin günlerini geçirdikleri 'kamusal' alanda sömürüye ve tacize açık hale getirmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Küreselleşme, göçün kadınlığı, ev içi emek, Gürcistan göçmeni ev içi işçileri

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

*“I told my daughters: Just study and find paid work; If you don't, then you will be like me working all your life and unable to get any rights, even the right to a pension.” (Ayşe, an unpaid domestic worker, Ankara)*

Ayşe’s words touch me deeply. She is 76 years old, a primary school graduate. She has never worked as a paid worker in her life. Instead, she works as an unpaid domestic worker, responsible not only for cleaning and cooking, but also for caring for her children and now her grandchild. Although she has spent countless hours and days working since she became a 'young lady', nobody regards what she does as work. Not even she believes that what she has been doing all these years is ‘real’ work. That is why, her only advice to her daughters is “just study and find ‘proper’ work”.

I know that Ayşe is not the only woman in this situation. Despite the fact that housework includes many labor-intensive tasks, performing these tasks repeatedly is never considered 'real work'. But why is domestic labor undervalued compared to other occupations? Why is 'women's' domestic labor invisible and not considered real work? In other words, “when is work work” (Kaluzynska, 1980: 29)?

This research starts out above mentioned question, and attempts to understand the low-paid, low-status and mostly informal nature of migrant domestic labor by focusing on Georgian migrant domestic workers' experiences in Turkey. After the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the introduction of neoliberal policies which have caused poverty and economic imbalance in the post-Soviet countries, many women have been forced to migrate from these countries for economic reasons. Turkey is one of the destination countries especially for Georgian domestic workers. Since the welfare

system of Turkey is mostly based on family, the care services formally provided by the state are not sufficient. Moreover, in the last years, the upwarding number of dependent elderly population has increased the demand for paid domestic labor force working mostly in live-in positions. The patriarchal control over Turkish domestic workers prevent them from working as live-in caregivers; however, migrant domestic workers are able to meet this deficit owing to their working conditions which enable them to take live-in positions. Thus, supply and demand meet each other in the case of migrant domestic workers in Turkey, and the women from post-Soviet countries help their 'sisters' to ease their double burden.

I first got interested in the topic when I was doing my first trip to Georgia in 2011. It was a casual travel, not related to any academic concern. During my trip, I met many people and almost all of them had some stories regarding Turkey. I listened a lot of stories from them or from their relatives and friends just because I was from Turkey and they had something to tell about Turkey. Instead of the common comments such that Turkey is a 'beautiful country', they had a lot to talk about the issues such as the working conditions in Turkey. This was because either the people themselves that I met or their friends and/or relatives had worked or had been working in Turkey as migrant workers, and most of them had been employed in the informal sector. They not only told me their stories, but also made me aware of the fact that there was an increasing number of immigrants moving from Georgia to Turkey, which consequently made me question what it could mean to be an irregular migrant worker in Turkey and how these parameters could shape the experiences of the migrant women. After this trip, one of my friend's parents in Turkey employed domestic workers from Georgia, and thus I could get the chance to observe their life conditions and the opportunity to learn about their migration experiences. I thus decided to write my thesis on domestic workers who constitute a significant part of the informal service sector in Turkey. When I started to review the literature on migration and domestic labor, I realized that even though there were some researches on migrant domestic workers in Turkey, there was no empirical

research particularly focusing on domestic workers from Georgia. Thus, this research attempts to point out this gap in the literature and tries to contribute to fill it. My focus on Georgian domestic workers does not simply cover the general concerns in the literature of migration and domestic work; I sincerely think that the Georgian case has its own specificities that need to be examined. First of all, although most of the migrant domestic workers in Turkey are from various post-Soviet countries, they mostly have a common culture, religion or language which Turkish people are familiar with. For instance, the language of the Moldavian women who have migrated from Gagauz part of Moldova to Turkey is almost the same as Turkish, thus they speak almost perfect Turkish. The women from Central Asian countries such as Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan are mostly Muslim and regarded as ethnic-Turkish in Turkey. However, the domestic workers from Georgia mostly do not know Turkish, and unlike the other groups of domestic workers, they certainly do not have the same cultural background as the people in Turkey. At this point, their experiences become more significant for us to understand what it means to be a domestic worker in a foreign country.

This research aims to explore Georgian migrant women's experiences as domestic workers in Turkey. I particularly seek to understand how and why Georgian women have been increasingly migrating to Turkey to work as domestic workers especially in the last two decades. I aim to examine the ways in which globalization and the restructuring of post-Soviet countries' economies affect migration patterns, women's decision to migrate and their experiences as migrant domestic workers. I will deal with these issues by analyzing migrant domestic labor within the frame of four theoretical discussions: unpaid-paid domestic labor, globalization, feminization of migration and globalization of domestic work as a consequence of the first three phenomena. Focusing on domestic workers from Georgia, I will explore their work and life experiences in relation to the common understanding of domestic labor as 'women's' labor and to its new form built up in and through globalization.

I will examine the construction of domestic work as 'woman's work' to understand why domestic labor is practiced mostly by migrant women. In this respect, I will use Acar-Savran and Tura-Demiryontan's argument that patriarchal capitalism locates women within the household and defines domestic work as 'women's natural work' (Acar-Savran & Tura- Demiryontan, 2008). In the light of this discussion, I will try to bring a feminist perspective to my focus on domestic labor. From my point of view, any attempt to try to understand migrant domestic work will be insufficient without clearly putting the historical construction of domestic work as women's work. Thus, the literature of domestic work will be the starting point of my theoretical framework to correctly state and examine the phenomenon of migrant domestic work. However, paid domestic labor also constitutes an important part of this discussion. Since domestic labor has become a commodity in the market and started to constitute one of the major elements of global economy, I will try to explore whether there is any difference between performing domestic work as an unpaid worker and as a paid worker. To put it differently, does domestic work change anything in the gender roles after becoming a paid work in the labor market?

Then, I will try to figure out globalization and its implications for women's domestic labor. In parallel with the rise of globalization, the informal sector has expanded to all over the world. Paid domestic work which is mostly done by women constitutes an important part of the ever-growing informal sector in the globalization era. Changes in the economy and global policies not only expanded informal sector and feminized the labor force, but also strongly reinforced the gender division of labor and introduced us to a new international division of labor. To understand globalization and its consequences such as the new international division of labor, it is necessary to understand migrant domestic labor and changes in the structure of migration.

Migration rates and the number of migrants who are employed in the service sector, especially in domestic services, synchronously increased with the rise of globalization. Since domestic work is defined as 'women's' work, it causes an increase in the number

of migrant women who have ended up working in domestic services due to the gendered and raced structure of the labor markets in destination countries. At this point, the increasing number of migrant women brings forth the concept of feminization of migration. Thus, I will explore the concept of feminization of migration in order to understand the different migration patterns of male and female migrants and to unearth the experiences of women migrant domestic workers.

And as a result of the debates mentioned above, the discussion on globalization of domestic labor will be the last part of the theoretical chapter. I will benefit from the concepts such as global care chains (Hochschild, 2001), the reproductive work transfer (Chang, 2000) and the international division of reproductive labor (Parrenas, 2001) while trying to figure out the migration flow of women from the Third World to the First World. As these concepts point out, migrant domestic workers concentrate in the domestic service sectors of destination countries and meet the care deficit of the First World countries. All these developments bring two women from two different status face to face. Therefore, I will try to understand the reasons and consequences of the increasing number of migrant domestic workers considering the situation of both employers and workers.

After these theoretical debates, I will focus on the migration patterns in both Turkey and Georgia in order to clarify the reasons behind the emigration and immigration of Georgian domestic workers. Thus, I will clarify the migration flows in both countries and give a brief summary of the relevant legal framework in Turkey. Then, I will focus on the experiences of domestic workers from Georgia in the light of my field data which are based on the interviews that I conducted in Ankara and Istanbul. My research includes eleven interviews with domestic workers and seven interviews with employers. My research questions will explore how these women decided to migrate, why they chose Turkey as their destination country; what kind of life and work experiences they have got in Turkey and what they expect from the future. Moreover, the legal status of the migrant domestic workers and their relationship with their employers are also



important issues since they highly affect the life and work experiences of the migrant women in this country. I will also explore the reasons for employing domestic workers in the light of the interviews that I conducted with some employers. Focusing on employers will not only highlight domestic workers' experiences, but also provide us with an understanding in respect to the relationship between employers and workers and also to the increasing demand for migrant domestic workers in Turkey.

The methodology of my research is based on the feminist standpoint theory since it emphasizes the significance of women's experiences and takes them as a ground of knowledge. Thus, I will highlight women's experiences and help to reveal the links between their daily lives and the macro-level policies. Moreover, emphasizing the intersectionality of experiences, the feminist standpoint theory points out that knowledge is situational, conditional and locational. The experiences of woman domestic workers are shaped by different social positions such as being a woman, being a migrant and being an irregular migrant, and the feminist standpoint theory provides us with some analytical tools to analyze these positions without creating a hierarchy between them.

## CHAPTER 2

### DISCUSSIONS LINKING DOMESTIC LABOR, GLOBALIZATION and FEMINIZATION OF MIGRATION

The aim of this chapter is to interlink theoretical debates on domestic labor, globalization, feminization of migration and globalization of domestic labor in order to understand experiences of migrant domestic workers from Georgia in Turkey. First, it is aimed to review feminist literature on domestic labor to give a brief analysis of the existing literature and critique. Then, paid domestic work will be examined to understand how domestic labor became a commodity in the market. Afterwards, the focus will be on globalization and its gendered effects, especially on women's lives. Then, feminization of migration section will be debated in order to comprehend diversity of migrant women's experiences. Finally, under the headline of globalization of domestic labor, all above mentioned debates will be linked and the causes of increase in demand and supply to the migrant domestic labor will be explored.

#### 2.1. Feminist Analysis of Domestic Labor<sup>1</sup>

In the history of feminism, the first focus on women's domestic labor came from material feminists<sup>2</sup> who addressed the subject in the early 1920s. Their main concern

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<sup>1</sup> Domestic labor has different definitions in the literature such as 'invisible labor' (Acar-Savran & Tuna-Demiryontan, 2008) or 'social reproductive labor' (Glenn, 1992). I am using the term here in a way that it includes domestic tasks, reproduction and care. To reduce domestic labor only to care or to domestic tasks has risks to strengthen the invisibility of domestic labor, because domestic labor includes both physical and emotional labor. Thus, in this research, domestic labor is used as a term combining emotional, manual and mental labor.

<sup>2</sup> Hayden defines the first feminists in United State as material feminists due to their daring to define the grand domestic revolution in women's material condition. See more in the *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, (1981: 3). On the other hand, in other resources such as Federici (Federici, 2012: 6), they are defined as 'reformist' feminists. Federici emphasizes that their main focus was to reconsider the term of 'house' in the light of domestic work, technology and space.

was to engage in economic critique of women's unpaid domestic labor, focusing on the isolated structure of the house which constitutes the spatial and economic aspect of women's oppression (Hayden, 1981: 295). According to these feminists, however domestic labor cannot be examined only through its economic or spatial aspects; but it must be analyzed from a wider perspective that enables us to understand women's oppression (Hayden, 1981).

In *Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan discusses the invisible nature of domestic work (Friedan, 1963). Her research focuses on the dissatisfaction of American housewives who have been pushed into the 'feminine mystique'. This is an ideal image according to which women need to be happy with raising children, and caring for their houses and husbands, and also to enjoy the modern technology within the household. Friedan defines the feminine mystique as follows:

she was healthy, beautiful, educated, concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfillment. As a housewife and mother, she was respected as a full and equal partner to man in his world. She was free to choose automobiles, clothes, appliances, supermarkets; she had everything that women ever dreamed of (Friedan, 1963: 18).

Her research is important because it not only unearthed the invisibility of domestic work and defined the “problem with no name”, but also showed that the discontent of women is not an individual issue, that is, women’s own problem. Rather, according to her research, it is a social-collective phenomenon. Seen from this point of view, her research is significant since it showed the contradiction between women's actual life experiences and common social understandings of gender roles. Moreover, Friedan's research influenced the second wave feminists on the domestic labor debates.

The second wave feminists started to discuss the issue of domestic labor in the 1970s. Their focuses on domestic labor were different from the previous reformist approaches;

they tried to develop a feminist critique of Marxism<sup>3</sup> in relation to unpaid household labor. According to Federici, the Second World War and being against the war affected the feminist movement's approaches to domestic labor differently than the previous ones (Federici, 2012: 1). In the 1970s, there were two main approaches to the issue: one was to develop a Marxist class analysis from a feminist perspective, the other was to emphasize that it was impossible to develop a feminist perspective on domestic labor with the Marxist categories which were gender-blind. The latter approach defines patriarchy as a mode of production which is different from capitalist mode of production (Acar-Savran & Tura-Demiryontan, 2008: 17-18). To understand these two different approaches, I will first focus on the 'Wages for Housework Campaign', then on the dual-system analyses in the light of Hartmann's perspective, and lastly on Chistine Delphy who takes patriarchy as a separate mode of production within capitalism and considers women as a class.

'The Wages for Housework Campaign' started in 1972 and within the scope of this campaign feminists demanded wage for housework. Their aim was to expand and enrich the Marxist analyses of unpaid labor with the anti-colonial movement (Federici, 2012: 8). 'The Wage for Housework Campaign' was mainly aimed to react against the naturalization of housework as a form of women's labor, emphasizing the crucial role of women's unpaid labor to capitalist system. Thus, they focused on domestic labor and capital accumulation. While doing this, they aimed to break the process of capital accumulation and challenged the understanding of housework as a form of feminine attribute. This attempt was defined as revolutionary by its supporters, because it first of all "exposed the root cause of 'women's oppression' in a capitalist society" and unearthed the mechanisms of capitalism which need unpaid reproductive labor to

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<sup>3</sup> In his analyses of capitalism, Marx argues that production and reproduction are meshed, but he does not touch upon the reproduction of labor power itself. In other words, his analyses do not include the individual consuming processes of workers and the reproduction of labor power itself. Therefore, the main problem of Marx is not that he defines domestic labor as a form of non-reproductive labor, but his naturalization of the definition of domestic labor and pushing it out of the theoretical structure. For more detail see Hartmann, 1981; Acar- Savran, 2009; Himmelweit, 1991.

decrease the cost of society, and kept the working class divide (Federici, 2012: 8). In their beliefs, capital does not convert domestic labor to paid labor, rather it emphasizes that it is 'love' from which domestic labor takes its roots and it is what a good woman needs to do with intimacy (Federici, 2012; Friedan 1963). In fact, this embeddedness in love relation constitutes one of the main reason why women have difficulty in politicizing domestic labor.

Decreasing the cost of society has a strong relation with reproduction of labor which is a part of women's domestic labor. According to Bakker and Gill, reproduction of labor includes firstly "biological reproduction of the species", secondly "the reproduction of the labor force", and thirdly the "reproduction of provisioning and caring needs" (Bakker & Gill, 2003: 32). At this point, as it can be understood from this categorization, reproduction of labor cannot be defined only as physical labor. It includes both emotional and physical labor at the same time. While caring of the elderly includes doing some physical work such as cooking and cleaning, it also includes passion, affection and bearing. Thus, these two aspect of domestic labor cannot be separated.

The main criticism that has been brought to the 'Wages for Housework Campaign' is based on the strong emphasis of these feminist theoreticians on economic relations. According to the critics, they focus more on capitalism than relations between men and women (Hartmann, 1981). Additionally, emphasizing the relationship between capitalism and housework in her dual system theory, Hartmann argues that women are caught between the patriarchal exploitation of husbands at home and that of capitalist employers in the labor market (Walby, 1990). She argues that capitalism and patriarchy works hand in hand as an interlocked system: "(...) the existence of two separate but interlocking sets of social relations, capitalism and patriarchy, each with a material base, each with its own dynamic" (Hartmann, 1981: 364). Hartmann explains women's position in the capitalist society with their situation both in the reproduction and production spheres. According to Hartmann, it is impossible to explain women's subordination within the labor market without mentioning their unpaid domestic labor.

Also, the reason why women are condemned to marriage and domestic labor cannot be explained without considering their subordination in the labor market (Acar-Savran, 2009: 45). Thus, considering both of them together creates a way to understand the relation between patriarchy and capitalism. According to socialist feminists, capital and men benefit from the naturalization of domestic labor as a form of woman labor, because both capital and men have a common interest in the oppression of women (Hartmann, 1981). 'Family wage'<sup>4</sup> can be given as a striking example of this common interest.

On the other hand, Delphy (1999) challenges the Marxist feminist analysis. According to her, this analysis does not abstract patriarchy from capitalism. While Marxist analysis sees the emancipation of women as a consequence of their entrance into the labor market, Delphy mentions that this cannot bring emancipation for women. Because even after women enter the labor market and become paid laborers, they are still responsible for the practices associated with unpaid domestic labor. The difference between entering the labor market and performing only unpaid domestic labor is that when women practice only unpaid domestic labor within the household, it can be considered that they perform this domestic labor with the intention that it would cover their subsistence expenses; however, even after they enter the labor market, they still perform domestic labor within the household, and this is not for their subsistence expenses this time, but for free. Delphy defines 'marriage agreement' as a main source of this oppression (Molyneux, 2008).

Delphy re-conceptualizes the mode of production as operating in two different modes: "industrial mode" and "family mode". While the former gives rise to capitalist exploitation, the latter gives rise to patriarchal exploitation. She emphasizes that these

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<sup>4</sup> Industrial revolution had pulled all human labor to the labor force which included all family members. This brought wages down and created the hardest working conditions for all women, and for children too. At this point, capitalists found a solution to resend women to their houses to provide reproduction through their unpaid labor and gave family wage to men, which made children and women dependent on men and which defined man as the 'breadwinner' of family. On the other hand, men did not choose to struggle for equal wage for men and women. They demanded 'family wage' and preferred to keep their wives within the house to make them provide subsistence for men through their own unpaid domestic labor. For more detail see Hartmann, 1976.

modes of production work differently and autonomously from each other (Delphy, 1999). She does not focus on the relation between women's unpaid labor and capitalism, but rather on the relation of production between man and woman. Diverging from Marxist analyses, Delphy argues that the invisibility of domestic labor does not root in the fact that domestic labor produces only use value and not exchange value for the market; on the contrary, the invisibility of domestic labor itself causes a specific relation of production between man and woman (Delphy, 1999). Thus, the unpaid nature of domestic labor causes undervaluation.

The main criticism that has been brought to Delphy is related to her approach to Marxism and Marxist feminism. Molyneux mentions that Delphy's critique of Marxism caricatures Marxism and her criticisms have already been put into words and overcome by Marxists themselves (Molyneux, 2008). On the other hand, other critics highlight that Delphy's work is limited to Western countries since it emphasizes woman's labor only within family and assumes that all women get married (Molyneux, 2008). Although there are critics arguing against her approach, Delphy's research is significant in the sense that it shows how woman labor within family covers widespread labor practices.

The debates on domestic labor were also criticized by black feminists' approach. Black feminists argued that white feminists were universalizing their experiences and claiming the universal female experiences. According to these critics, there are major racial and ethnical differences between the experiences of black and white women also in the case of domestic labor. At this point, the contributions of black feminists to these debates were highly important for us to see how race and gender are interlocked and affect our understanding of concepts. Diverging from the previous debates, black feminists have defined the household as a sphere of solidarity and support for the oppressed groups. As bell hooks explains, the household is less oppressive for black women (hooks, 1984: 37 as cited in Walby, 1990:76; Gardiner, 2000: 91) Moreover, the concepts which were criticized in and through the previous debates also have other meanings for the black feminist society. While the leading critics were against the family wage, hooks stated

that black women always needed to work, because there were no family wages for black men. She emphasizes that family wage has a different meaning for black society, because black women invariably need to survive and do not have the same understanding of 'breadwinner' as their 'white' sisters. Thus, black women force black men to be the head of household or the breadwinner (hooks, 1982: 92 as cited in Gardiner, 2000: 92).

As a matter of fact, all these debates share the same point that domestic labor needs to be taken into account due to its role in the construction of gender roles. On the other hand, other scholars such as Gilligan (1997) and Al-Hibri (1981) do not see housework as a reason of women's oppression. They suggest that housework and home cannot be defined as places of oppression for women; rather it is a place where women and men differentiate due to women's different knowledge about housework and house (Al- Hibri, 1981, Gilligan, 1997 as cited in Bora, 2005: 63). Moreover, Young touches on the necessity of the notion of "home" and argues that homemaking is a material form of personal narrative and identity of the house members<sup>5</sup> (Bora, 2005: 65- 72).

As seen in all these debates, domestic labor is taken into account from various points of view by various feminists groups. While some of them see it as the source of oppression, some others define it as the source of differences between men and women. Some define domestic labor as a place to reveal and understand the subjectivities of women (Young, 1997), and others approach to domestic labor through the term of totality<sup>6</sup> (Hartmann, 1981; Weeks, 2004). What is striking in these debates is that they show the various aspects of domestic labor which differentiate it from other types of labor.

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<sup>5</sup> For more detail see Iris Marion Young, 2005, *Intersecting Voices/ Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy and Policy*; Aksu Bora, 2005, *Kadınların Sınıfı*.

<sup>6</sup> The term totality is not used here in the meaning of a totalizing theory, rather it is used in the way Weeks uses it in this definition: "The project of totality refers to an attempt to locate some of the specific connections between our everyday lives and practices and the larger framework of social structures within which they are organized" (Weeks, 2004: 184).



First of all, feminist scholars highlight the unvalued nature of domestic labor and challenge the representation of domestic labor as a form of woman labor which women gain naturally and which belongs to feminine nature. Let us remember the type at the beginning of introduction. Since Ayşe became a 'young lady', she has been doing housework, because it is assumed that her 'natural-born' talents are cooking, cleaning, and care. In the light of these theoretical debates, it is clear that this expectation from women of performing domestic labor has a strong relation with socially constructed gender roles and gender division of labor since love and care are defined as feminine roles, and housework is considered women's role while men are defined as breadwinners and paired with paid labor. “This gendered differentiation of work was linked to a hierarchical distinction that valued productive work more than reproductive work and hence led to a gender-based separation between paid and unpaid labor” (Lutz: 2007: 187)

At this point, feminists emphasize that universalizing the production of materials as the only way of production ignores women's domestic labor, because domestic labor cannot be defined only on a material base. Moreover, domestic labor cannot be defined only as tasks that are performed. Anderson's description of domestic work is based on three Cs: cooking, caring, cleaning (Anderson, 2000). While cleaning and cooking refer to physical labor, caring refers to both physical and emotional labor. Thus, the nature of domestic work is stratified and includes both “labor of love” and “love as labor” (Lutz, 2011: 3).

Additionally, domestic work does not have any certain labor schedule; it is interlocked with daily life and becomes a part of it. It is almost impossible for those performing domestic labor to differentiate between free time and working time. Besides, women do not organize their tasks in their own way, they rather organize their time in compliance with the demands of other family members. Women most of the time do housework during the day and use their care labor when other members of family come back home (Acar-Savran, 2009: 19-20). Moreover, housework and care labor intertwine with each

other within domestic work; therefore, it is really hard to differentiate between and define them in a certain way. As Schwatz points out, “rather than a series of tasks, then, domestic work is better perceived as a series of processes, of tasks inextricably linked, often operating in the same time” (Schwatz, 1983 as cited in Anderson, 2000: 11).

The theoreticians looking from the perspective of time-geography also focus on the issue of domestic work. Early time-geographers emphasize that women's responsibility for domestic labor and their use of free time have strong relations with each other since they organize their free time activities and mobility according to their domestic responsibility (Rose, 1993). On the other hand, focusing on the combination of domestic labor with waged labor, contemporary studies on this issue also suggest that women need to fix their domestic tasks into a limited time-space resource. They argue that “the gender relations structure women's time-space patterns; time-geography is being used to reveal the map of everyday patriarchy” (Rose, 1993: 24-25).

As mentioned by time-geographers, not only time but also spatiality plays a crucial role in this respect. The time-space organization in question also affects women's relation with the city. Moreover, the gender division of sphere which locates women in the private sphere and men in the public sphere brings a differentiation between productive and reproductive work and strengthens the gender division of labor which values production work done in the public sphere by men and devalues reproduction work mostly done in the private sphere by women (Lutz, 2008). Moreover, performing domestic labor within the ‘private sphere’ which is isolated from outside world also causes more invisibility, thus domestic work is ignored more easily as 'work' but defined as chores of woman. Since patriarchy reigns, real work can only be fulfilled in the 'public sphere'.

In this section, the discussions among the several feminist approaches on the issue of unpaid domestic labor have been reviewed. The feminist scholars de-naturalize the idea that domestic labor has been intrinsic to women. While some of them see domestic labor

as the main source of women's oppression, some others define it as a place to understand women's subjectivities. There are also scholars who pay attention more to raced, classed and spatialized aspects of domestic labor. All of these discussions focus on the unpaid nature of domestic work; however, it is crucial to examine changes, ruptures and continuities when domestic labor becomes paid in the labor market. What does change when domestic work turn into a paid work in the labor market? How can we discuss domestic work when it gains the feature of commodity that is sold and bought in the market? In the hope to answer these questions, the next section will review the literature on paid domestic work with a specific focus on migrant women's paid domestic labor.

## **2.2. Paid Domestic Work**

As there are too many debates and difficulties about the definition of domestic labor, it is clear that this problem of definition is not only a theoretical one. "It is experienced by domestic workers as a lack of a job description with serious implications for their working conditions" (Anderson, 2000: 15). When domestic labor becomes paid, long working hours, low-payment and the interlocking nature of domestic labor comes to the stage and most of them remain unsolved because of the lack of a proper definition.

In the last two or three decades, the demand for paid domestic workers increased drastically across the globe. And different from other kinds of work in the market, the invisible and gratis nature of domestic labor differentiates it from other kinds of labor even when it becomes paid in the market. As Garcia Castro suggests, unlike other workers, the women who are entering the labor market as domestic workers sell not only their labor power, but also their identity as a person (Castro, 1989: 122 as cited in Akalin, 2007: 10). Especially in care labor, what is commodified is not only labor power discussed in the Marxist thought, but also 'personhood'. Since domestic workers working in households, performing housework in the private sphere of 'someone else', they need to get along well with the members of household, too (Lutz, 2008). As Helma Lutz states:

Domestic work is not only highly personalized and emotionally charged, it is also performed inside the private sphere, the core area for identity formation. Those who are accepted into this private sphere (the domestic workers) are expected to share, respect and honor the emotions that the members of the household associate with their belongings, their items and the order of things (2008: 50).

Therefore, although unpaid domestic work becomes paid, it still lacks of prestige and is considered low-status since it is defined as 'women's labor' and practiced mostly by women. It is defined as a “new gender arrangement” by Friese (Friese, 1996 as cited in Lutz, 2008: 47). Since domestic work became market work, reproductive labor has just passed from one female to another who usually comes from different ethnic and social backgrounds. In other words, although domestic work became commodity in the labor market, it is still associated with woman, and thus stigmatized. Therefore, becoming paid labor instead of unpaid labor did not create radical changes in the gender division of labor.

Today's paid domestic labor in the scope of which family duties pass to a non-member of the family has a strong relation to the “domestic service system” developed in the nineteenth century (Lutz, 2011: 10). Since the seventeenth century, various forms of domestic worker such as slaves, servants and maids have been generated in the history of Europe. The increased demand in paid domestic labor in Europe emerged with the rise of the middle class in the eighteenth century. Industrialization and urbanization enhanced the demand of domestic servants by middle class, and also a surplus of unskilled female labor (Momsen, 1999: 2). Moreover, in the nineteenth century, many women came to the urban areas from the country in order to work as domestic servants for the middle classes (Momsen, 1999: 3). As Momsen states, “two million women were employed as servants in the second half of the nineteenth century in Britain, especially in southern England” (Momsen, 1999: 2).

In the 1920s, domestic services carried out mostly by minority-race women. (Glenn, 1992). According to the research of Glenn (1992) which focuses on the US, a particular group of women depends on their race-ethnic background directed to domestic labor since there are no opportunities for them to work in different areas. From mid-nineteenth century to the First World War, while Irish and German women constituted the majority of domestic servants in the Northeast, African Americans and Chicanas predominated in the South and Southwest, respectively. During the same period up until 1880, Asian were the majority in the Far West and, unlike the other regions, men constituted the majority of domestic servants. However, the number of woman servants rose after 1907. This racial differentiation between the regions can also emerge within domestic tasks. Domestic tasks are defined differently for servants from different races. Thus, even these “more oppressed group of women” are stratified within themselves (Glenn, 1992: 7). In this sense, the research conducted by Glenn is important since it shows the classed, gendered and raced nature of paid domestic labor historically.

After the Second World War in Europe, the women who were working as domestic servants started to leave their jobs since the new job opportunities revealed for women. After the war, live-in servants almost disappeared and “feminine mystique” came to the stage, so that all women had to do housework themselves for their family by love (Momsen, 1999: 3).

Additionally, Ferhunde Özbay (2012) also analyzes the history of domestic workers from Ottoman Empire to the present situation of migrant domestic workers in Turkey. As she points out, while there were slaves in the Ottoman times, adopted children were working as servants in households in the early times of Turkish Republic. After the second half of 1960s, ‘Charladies’ - rural migrant women - started to be hired as domestic workers and the number of migrant domestic workers increased during the advanced capitalist period. Focusing on the changes in the domestic labor historically, Özbay argues that the flexible working conditions of domestic workers and the definition of domestic labor as woman's labor have a strong relationship with each other

(Özbay, 2012: 118-119).

Özbay explains that in the first years of the Turkish Republic, domestic services were provided by children and young ladies who were adopted by urban middle class families from rural parts of the country (Özbay, 2012). Since the late 1960s, this pattern has changed. After the 1960s, rural migrants started to constitute the major part of paid domestic workers in Turkey (Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2000; Özyeğin, 2001; Bora, 2005). Due to certain changes in the technology, housework got 'easier'. On the other hand, the increase in the number of apartment blocks in Turkey made the adopted children a burden for the middle classes because of spatial limitations. Moreover, the adopted children/servants who had been 'taken' for child care became a problematic issue for the middle classes when they grew up and started to be defined as “encumbers” (Özbay, 2012: 140). After the Second World War, with the increased migration from rural areas to cities of Turkey, a new kind of domestic worker appeared. Actually, this new internal migration flow was mostly men-dominated, but after mid-1960s the number of internal women migrants also started to increase and this is interpreted as a “family unification”, which means that the migrated men started to bring their families to the cities where they were (Yener, 1977 as cited in Özbay, 2012). The rural migrant women mostly migrated with their family members, or they came after the men of the families. Some researches show that women decided to work as domestic workers after their migration to big cities (Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2000; Bora, 2005). Another crucial dimension of women becoming paid domestic workers is the new form of a job, that is ‘doorkeepers’, which is created as a part of migration and changes in the living spaces. Doorkeepers live in the basement of apartment blocks in the middle-upper class area to take care of the block and to serve the dwellers of the block on their daily basis needs. Thus, other than majority of rural migrations who live in the squatter settlements at the margins of the city, doorkeepers share the same spheres with upper-middle classes (Özyeğin, 2001: 5). In the doorkeeper families, while husbands of family work as a doorkeeper, wives of families start to work as domestic workers for upper-

middle class families which they share the same apartment buildings. However, while in the squatter settlements, men aim to prevent women's participation to the labor market, doorkeeper men let their wives to work in the apartment where they work and live (Özyeğin, 2001) "Such employment gave husbands control over their wives' experiences with waged work and choice of employers" (Özyeğin, 2001:7). So, in this new form of job created as a part of migration process shows another aspect of the relation between patriarchy and capitalism at the scale of the household. Thus, unlike the patterns in Europe, the migrant women did not migrate in order to be employed as domestic workers; on the contrary, they started to work as domestics after their migration since the only opportunity to earn money was to 'serve for others'. Therefore, according to Özbay (2012), the rural domestic workers replaced the adopted children in the matter of domestic services (2012: 141).

The internal domestic workers mostly do the cleaning in the middle class households. They mostly work in order to live-off and go to the houses where they work once a week. On the other hand, some of them are employed for the elderly or child care. These domestic worker usually work to 'support' the family income, thus they did not consider themselves as really working. Therefore, the invisibility of domestic labor and its definition as an 'activity' rather than 'real work' continue even after it has become paid in the labor market.

The relation between the employer and the worker is also an important issue which is need to be discussed here. As Bora points out, due to the effects of the gender division of labor, to hire someone for domestic work is the only way for middle and upper class women to be as equal with men without questioning their position (Bora, 2005). Thus, according to Bora, paid domestic work is a place which reproduces not only the class division, but also the hierarchy between urbanized modern women and illiterate peasant women (Bora, 2005). On the other hand, internal domestic workers feel that working as paid domestic workers empowers them economically and supports their children's future, which means that it creates a chance for their children to get higher education and

change their class position. Thus, rather than an open class conflict, they have a hidden contradiction with their employers (Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger- Tılıç, 2000). “Pseudo-kinship” is another concept that emerges when we focus on the relation between the employer and the domestic worker. The relationship between domestics and employers becomes a pseudo-kinship, which means that their relation goes beyond the ordinary 'worker-employer relations', thus domestics feel closer to employers and employers feel more 'open-handed'. However, this relationship also causes workers almost to lose their personal lives, by means of which employers increase their anticipations (Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger- Tılıç, 2000).

The employment of the rural migrant women as domestic workers has also started to change since the 1990s with globalization. Although rural migrants continue to be employed, the number of external migrant women who work as domestic workers has also increased after the 1990s. In the hope to understand this new trend, the next chapter will examine the scholarly discussions on globalization on the one hand, and neoliberal state policies and structural adjustment policies on the other. How do globalization and neoliberalization affect women’s migration as domestic workers? How is gender central to the restructuring of global economy, migration and labor market in a neoliberal world? To be able to answer these questions, the next section will examine the literature on the feminization of labor and migration in the light of the theoretical discussions on globalization and neoliberalization.

### **2.3. Globalization and Structural Adjustment Policies**

The literature review in this section, presents an overview of the current researches revolving around the gendered aspects of globalization, neoliberalization and structural adjustment policies with a specific focus on migrant domestic workers will be present. First, it reviews the definitions of globalization and examines how globalization affects migration patterns and woman labor. Then, it analyzes certain analytical frameworks for understanding the relationship amongst globalization, neoliberalism, structural



adjustment policies, gender and work. It examines the scholarly works concerning the gendered impacts of the shrinking of the state under globalization and neoliberalism, the gendered effects of structural adjustment programs, the relation between women, work, and international migration, the feminization of labor and migration and the global restructuring of women's labor.

The increasing demand for domestic services in Turkey has been met by the internal migrants starting from the 1960s. However, as the demand for domestic services has continually increased, employers have sort of switched from domestic migrants to foreign migrant women working in the labor market since the 1990s. It is inevitable to think that this rise in the employment of the foreign migrant women is related to the restructuring of global economy and changes in the global labor market structures<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, in order to understand the change in the employment of the migrant women especially in domestic services, structural adjustment policies and changes in migration patterns need to be examined.

“Globalization is commonly perceived as a multidimensional phenomenon with political, social and cultural dimensions albeit economic factors also play a decisive role” (Thorin, 2001: 11). The extensive literature on globalization has attracted scholars from various academic disciplines. The leading global theorizing in the 1990s (represented by Saskia Sassen, Manuel Castells, and Anthony Giddens among many others) framed the definition, timing, determinants, technologies and impacts of globalization differently (Giddens, 1990; Castells, 2000; Sassen, 1990).

Anthony Giddens (1990: 64) describes globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which connect distant locations in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice versa”. Manuel Castells (2000: 77) argues persuasively that a new economy emerged in the world in the last two decades of

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<sup>7</sup> For Germany, see Lutz, 2011; for Filipino domestic workers in Rome, see Parrenas 2001; for Latina and Asian domestic workers in the US, see Chang, 2000; for migrant workers in Athens, Barcelona, Bologna and Berlin, see Anderson, 2000 etc.

the twentieth century. Building on their studies, economists have stressed the integration of national markets for capital, commodities and labor (Bordo et al. 2003). The broader definition of economic globalization more systematically includes the programs of stabilization and structural adjustment, the withdrawal of the state from economic activities and the process of “marketization” of governance (Taylor, 2000, Blackmore, 2000, Peterson 1996 as cited in Thorin, 2001:12).

Robinson (2005) has aptly emphasized that “globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon that not only touches political, economic, social and cultural spheres of any society, but also reshapes the traditional way of studying the 'social world and human nature’” (Robinson, 2005 as cited in Orozalieva, 2010: 2). “Globalization is often associated with ‘intensification of the worldwide social relations’, global economic integration, de-territorialization and time-space compression” (McGrew, 2008 as cited in Orozalieva, 2010:2). Globalization is thus not only conceived as mere trade and financial liberalization, but also as a political and ideological project, with neoliberalism as its theoretical framework (Thorin, 2001: 12).

Rather than analyzing the causes of globalization, other scholars have discussed globalization as “an ensemble of quite specific governmental ‘hows’, as a ‘range of rationalities and techniques’” (Rose, 1996: 328 as cited in Perry and Maurer, 2003: xi). From this angle, globalization appears as a “transformation in the spatiotemporal regimes of modern governmentality” (Perry and Maurer, 2003: xiii). Aihwa Ong has argued that “globalization has induced governments to think up new ways of governing and valuing different categories of subject populations” (Ong, 2003 as cited in Perry and Maurer, 2003: xvi).

Since gender is an analytical tool for feminists, they contribute to the debate with a special focus on the impacts of globalization on women (Beneria, 2003; Sassen 1990; Elson & Pearson 1986) and its restructuring of the gendered division of labor (Pyle & Ward, 2003). As Beneria suggests, the labor market has historically been different for

men and women, and globalization has benefited from this gender segregation within the market, which has caused significant changes in women's employment (Beneria, 2003: 74-77). Sassen (1990) aptly points out that women are central to globalization, and Moghadam argues that

global economy is maintained by gendered labor, with definitions of skill, allocation of resources, occupational distribution, and modes of remuneration shaped by asymmetrical gender relations and by gender ideologies defining the roles and rights of men and women and of the relative value of their labor (Moghadam, 1999: 143).

Since 1970s, women have been concentrating in the export-oriented, labor intensive industries which have provided low-cost production for the global economy (Beneria, 2003: 77). While the increasing globalization of production has facilitated women's participation to the labor market, it has also caused the relapse of the working conditions (Standing, 1989 as cited in Moghadam, 1999: 134-135). At this point, numbers of women in the labor market and changing working conditions have been discussed by certain scholars from two different approaches.

The first approach, which is defined as 'women-as-victim approach' (Beneria, 2003:78), claims that the new organization of the labor market makes women vulnerable to the exploitation of multinational companies. This approach shows how global capitalist industry deploys gender discourses as the new venues of profit and, in fact, exploitation. They (Pyle, 1982, Elson & Pearson, 1989, Lim, 1983 as cited in Beneria 2003: 78) argue that the global economy takes advantage of female stereotypes, such that women are naturally more docile, have naturally nimble fingers and are inclined to be disciplined in the work and this makes them more profitable in more monotonous and repetitious jobs, as in the electronic industry (Elson & Pearson, 1986: 73; Beneria, 2003: 78). As this approach points out, the deployment of so-called natural gender roles results in the intensification of women labor in the labor-intensive and low-paid jobs.

The second approach, on the other hand, criticizes the depiction of women as victims of global capitalist economy (Beneria, 2003). Although the scholars taking this approach also highlight the close relation between globalization and the employment of women in labor-intensive work areas with poor working conditions, they (Ong, 1987; Chang 2000) argue that women are not passive victims of globalization. They, on the contrary, explain multiplicity of factors and emphasize that the incorporation of women into the labor market provides women autonomy and bargaining power (Beneria, 2003: 78).

Globalization has affected men and women differently. Some feminist critics argue that women have been constituting the cheap labor pool for the global market, especially since the 1980s. In the global market, women are mostly employed in the export-oriented zones and the service sector. Women working as domestic workers and sex workers constitute the majority in the service sector. All of these jobs are low-paid and low-status and mostly performed by women. The intensification of women in the specific areas of labor market has brought the concept of 'the feminization of labor force'. According to Moghadam;

in the current global environment of open economies, new trade regimes, and competitive export industries, global accumulation relies heavily on the work of women, both waged and unwaged, in formal sectors and in the home, in manufacturing and in public and private services. This phenomenon has been termed the “feminization of labor” (1999:134).

While 'the feminization of labor' has gained currency in the recent discussions on globalization, gender and labor, it is important to keep in mind that women do not constitute a homogeneous group (Rees, 1992: 19). Just as men and women are affected by globalization differently, various groups of women are also affected by globalization differently. As Beneria suggests, the effects of globalization on women's labor differentiate depending on historical, socioeconomic and political conditions of women. As she aptly reminds us, many women are employed in low-status and low-paid jobs whereas some others have advantageous job positions in the global economy (Beneria,

2003: 82-83).

As Beneria rightly argues, “globalization and the feminization of the labor force have been parallel to the processes of labor market deregulation and flexibilisation registered across countries during the past three decades and as a result of neoliberal policies” (Beneria, 2003: 82). Keeping her argument in mind, now I review the discussions on neoliberalism, structural adjustment policies, informality and their impacts on domestic work in the hope to understand the increasing trend in the employment of migrant women as domestic workers.

Since the 1980s, World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have proposed structural adjustment policies operating as a prerequisite for the Third World countries to get loans. These policies include cutting government expenditures on public services, liberalization of labor market, opening markets to the foreign investment and privatization of state enterprises (Chang, 2000: 124). The aim of these policies is to reduce the balance-of-payments deficit by increasing exports and reducing imports while at the same time restructuring the economy so as to move it to a new growth path (Elson, 1992). Although they promise development and economic growth to the developing countries, many scholars argue that these institutions and their policies open up the Third World countries’ people, environment and markets to the imperialist exploitation<sup>8</sup> (Chang, 2000: 124; Shiva, 2001). In the consequence of the structural adjustment policies, negative rates of economic growth occurred and poverty increased in the so-called adjusted countries. Thus, the structural adjustment policies are mostly criticized due to its deteriorating effects in the developing countries (Aslanbeigui, 1994, Todaro & Smith, 2003, Moghadam, 1999, Sassen, 1988 as cited in Çelik, 2005).

On the other hand, some scholars emphasize that the structural adjustment policies are gender-blind; therefore, they urge for the examination of the gendered impacts of these policies (Elson 1992; Ecevit 1998; Beneria 1999). These scholars (Thorin, 2001) define

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<sup>8</sup> These policies are actually defined as the First World imperialism by Chang.

the structural adjustment policies as gender-blind, primarily because they ignore the gender segregation in the labor market (Elson, 1992; Lingam 2005). As Moghadam points out, the existing gender inequalities prevent women from organizing their labor and allocating their resources as freely and efficiently as men (Moghadam, 1999: 145). Moreover, as they show, informal and flexible jobs created within neoliberal economy make women vulnerable to exploitation and insecurity in the paid labor market (Lingam, 2005: 5-7).

As Moghadam points out, women mostly enter informal sectors in developing countries (Moghadam, 1999: 138). As Sassen defines it, “informalization introduces flexibility, reduces the ‘burdens’ of regulation, and lower costs, in this case of labor” (Sassen, 2003: 258). Elyachar maintains that what is at stake in the economic structuring of the neoliberal state is the economic activities carried out by marginalized populations who would identify with informality over (Elyachar, 2005: 72). The private sector and the free market economy grow principally due to the flexible structure of small business in formal economy; moreover, this flexibility in question balances the shrinking roles of the state as a mediator and regulator of labor and the workplace. Therefore, the co-optation of informality by economy has created new areas of profit, and informality has been adopted as a key factor by rationalities of governance.

Informality plays an essential role especially in the matter of the employment of migrant workers. The status of informality in economy creates greater insecurity and exploitation on the part of migrant workers. The informal job market gets more and more precarious thanks to some common practices such as piecework, subcontracting and contractual work, all of which damage the sense of security that worker wish to have regarding their jobs. Referring to the immigrant labor market in Dubai, Kanna points out that the contract-based employment of migrant workers bring about the uncertainty of deportation and this increases the insecurity and vulnerability of workers (Kanna, 2011: 204).

Scholars define the structural adjustment policies as gender-blind firstly because these policies ignore the gender division of labor within households (Floro, 1995, Moser 1993 as cited in Beneria, 1999: 4). Because of the presumably 'natural' responsibility for the household, women have to cope with the deteriorating consequences of structural adjustment policies and the shrinking of the state. As scholars show, the structural adjustment policies have affected women more than men, because women try to cope with increasing prices and decreasing incomes since they are expected to be responsible for household budgeting (Moghadam, 1999: 144). As the increase in prices goes hand in hand with the shrinking of the welfare state and cuts in the social services, education and health system, the increasing number of women spend more labor time within households to cope with these cuts in the social services (Moghadam, 1999: 145; Lind 1992 as cited in Beneria 1999). Furthermore, as the organization of agriculture became export-oriented as a result of the structural adjustment policies, some women started to work as seasonal agriculture workers (Chang, 2000: 124) whereas many others were forced to migrate into big cities to work in workshops in the manufacturing or electronic industry, or work as domestics and sex workers within and outside of the country (Chang, 2000: 128).

#### **2.4. Feminization of Migration**

As the neoliberal state absolves itself more and more from its duties and responsibilities, and as the neoliberal and structural adjustment policies cause more poverty as opposed to their promises, women become more and more responsible for the survival and sustainability of households. As Sassen's conceptualization of the “feminization of survival” implies, women become the main or the single wage earner of families (Sassen, 2000). To sustain their family and themselves, women are forced to migrate somewhere else to work, and this increasing migration flow dominated by women is introduced as the concept of the 'feminization of migration'.

Despite the rich scholarship about international migration, there has been little consideration on the gendered differences in migration flows, motivations and impacts. Miller and Castles define contemporary era as “the age of the migration” (2003); however, the gendered aspects of this age are not considered as it should be.

The mainstream migration literature is mostly gender-neutral, and thus universalizing men's experiences as the experiences of all migrants. On the other hand, structuralist and neo-classical approaches to migration focus on family or household and examine migration as a household decision (Kofman, Phizacklea, Raghuram, Sales: 2005: 26). Moreover, the mainstream literature does not define women as having an agency, rather considers them as migrants who are dependent on male household members or migrating under the family reunification (Simon and Bretell 1986 as cited in Koffman et al., 2005: 3).

Taking men's experiences as universal 'human' experiences is not only a feature of the migration literature. On the other hand, feminist standpoint theory mentions the invisibility of women's experiences and emphasizes that scientific knowledge is based on men's experiences. The feminist standpoint theorists suggests that the “commitment to an objectivity defined as maximizing social neutrality was not itself socially neutral in its effects” (Harding, 2004: 5). Androcentric, racist, Eurocentric and economically advantaged conceptual frameworks ignore the lives of the oppressed (Harding, 2004: 5). In the last decades, feminist researches challenge the consideration of family as a united category and the definition of women as dependent migrants. Moreover, they emphasize that the migration of women has positively impacts on the patriarchal relations in the home country, and thus women become the agents of change (Koffman et al., 2005; Morokvasic, 1991 as cited in Lutz 2002: 99). At this point, it can be concluded that feminist researches aim to show the heterogeneity within female migrants, their contribution to welfare, their presence in the labor market and their increasing political activities (Koffman et al., 2005: 3; Irek 1998 as cited in Lutz 2002: 98). Importantly, the aim of the feminist analyses of migration “is not so much to ‘add’ gender to the existing



migration research taking place globally, but rather to reflect upon how gender has become a preoccupation when thinking about migration” (Palmary, Burman, Chantler, Kiguwa, 2010: 1).

Since the 1960s, the number of labor female migrants has drastically increased with the increasing participation of women into the labor market, the collapse of welfare state, the deployment of the structural adjustment policies and the restructuring of global economy (Miller & Castles, 2003: 9; Hoffman & Buckley, 2013: 510; Ünlütürk- Ulutaş & Kalfa, 2009). Furthermore, the implementation of global economic changes in the developing countries increased male unemployment and moved women into the labor force not only in their home country, but also outside as migrant workers (Pettman, 1998; Sassen, 2000 as cited in Hoffman & Buckley, 2013: 510). Scholars conceptualize this increase in the number of women migrants as the “feminization of migration” (Ünlütürk- Ulutaş & Kalfa, 2009; Koser & Lutz, 1998 as cited in Lutz, 2002: 91).

Despite the recent emphasis of the migration literature on women, only very few publications have examined the migration of women from an empirical perspective (Oso and Garson, 2005, UN, 2006, Zlotnik, 2003 as cited in Oso, Catarino 2013: 626). Although the concept of the feminization of migration has attracted the attention of some academic circles, it still has little impact on the literature and is not discussed enough in field of the policy making (Koffman et al., 2005: 194). Catarino and Morokvasic (2005 as cited in Oso and Catarino 2013: 626) point out that researchers started to focus on the 'women migrants' and unearth the invisibility of female migrants through providing statistical proofs that show the presence of women migrants in numbers. At this point, some authors mention that changing patterns of migration can only be understood by recognizing how the private and public spheres are linked to each other and the ways in which economic changes affect women and men differently (Koffman et al., 2005: 194).

On the other hand, the concept of 'the feminization of migration' is criticized by some scholars and organizations due to the lack of real empirical evidence for the notable

increase in the presence of immigrant women at the international level (Oso and Catarino: 2013: 626). Some international organizations such as INSTRAW (International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women) started to question the concept and argued that the increase only happened in the number of lone migrating women, not in the number of female migrants migrating with their families (INSTRAW 2007b as cited in Oso and Catarino, 2013: 626). Morokvasic (2010)<sup>9</sup> also criticizes the concept and mentioned that what is at stake is a so-called 'feminization'. She raises the question "have women started to migrate more, or have they started to become more visible?" According to her, women migrants have become more visible not only because of the changing migration patterns and migrant profiles, but also because of the renewal of the theoretical perspectives on this topic (Morokvasic, 2010). While her emphasis on the gender-blind literature is very striking, others believe that using the concept of 'the feminization of migration' can be useful in some other aspects (Pfeiffer, Richter, Fletcher, Taylor, 2005; Ünlütürk-Ulutaş & Kalfa, 2009). As they argue, the feminization of migration can first of all show more than the quantitative differences between migrants, and thus help us to understand the differentiating gendered experiences of migration. Moreover, it would enable us to understand the discriminative labor market in the host country and help us to answer the question why women migrants concentrate on specific jobs when they migrate (Pfeiffer, Richter, Fletcher, Taylor, 2005).

According to the researches, unlike men, migrating women do not continue to work in the fields related to their previous jobs in host countries. Mostly, they concentrate in jobs which are low-paid, low-status and related with their gender roles (Etiler & Lordoğlu, 2010). Thus, in this new migration flow, the female migrants who are migrating to be employed in other countries mostly concentrate in the service sector and are employed as domestic workers. In this context, scholars highlight that the feminization of migration and increasing demand for domestic work across the globe are inextricably

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<sup>9</sup> Language barriers did not allow me to read the whole article of Morokvasic; however, since I attach importance to the idea, citations come from the abstract.

linked to each other (Anderson, 2000; Kaşka, 2006; Lutz 2011; Parrenas, 2001; Ehrenrich & Hochschild, 2003; Hogdagneu-Sotelo, 2001). Following this line of thought, the next section will review the theoretical frameworks that examine the globalization of paid domestic work.

## **2.5 Globalization of Domestic Work**

The history of paid domestic labor can be extended to slavery times as it has been discussed in the previous sections. In the contemporary debates on migrant domestic labor ‘slavery’ is used as an analogical term to compare domestic workers' situation to slaves exist in the past. Especially in the UK and the USA, the concept of slavery is often used for the context in which migrant domestic workers live (Anderson, 2000: 126). Focusing on Filipino domestic workers in her research, Parrenas also uses the term of “the servants of globalization”. She defines Filipino migrant domestic workers as “global servants” of global capitalism (2001:3)<sup>10</sup>. Parrenas is not the only scholar who tries to contextualize the situation of migrant domestic workers. Zarembka (2003) also defines it as a “modern day slavery” and Chang (2000) as a “disposable domestics”. Generally, in the migration literature, slavery is used for the migrant domestic workers to remark their dire living and working condition and to put similarities with the past.

At this point, the historical analyses conducted by Raffaella Sarti on the issue of international domestic migrants provide striking examples to compare the situation of domestic workers today and in the past. She conceptualizes the international domestics from past to the present under the names of “imperialistic servants”, “colonialist servants”, “servants of empire”<sup>11</sup>, “refugees” and “modern and contemporary international domestics” in order to see the international domestic workers from a historical perspective. Her conceptualizations are also useful to understand the

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<sup>10</sup> For more information and challenges to this assumption, see Anderson, 2000 “Doing The Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labour”

<sup>11</sup> Sarti mentions that this title is given by Hamilton and Higman (2003).

similarities and dissimilarities between past and present. Moreover, her clusters are important since they show how political history has affected the domestic service and international migration in the twentieth century (Sarti, 2008: 77). She first of all defines imperialistic servants as servants who carried their own language and culture to the families where they work. Thus, these servants were teaching their masters the dominant culture from the second half of the seventeenth until the late nineteenth century (Sarti, 2008: 78- 79). Different from imperialistic servants, there were also colonialist servants who moved to colonies from motherland or from other European countries. While imperialistic servants were supposed to bring their culture to their masters, colonialist servants were not only expected to 'civilize' the family in which they were working, but to bring 'civilization' to the whole colony. In this sense, colonialist servant refers to the kind of women who migrated from motherland to colonies to work there as a servant at least for the first year of their migration; this process continued until mid-nineteenth century (Sarti, 2008:79). On the other hand, the term of servants of empire is used for the British domestic workers who played a crucial role for the 'promotion' of civilization and the presence of Britain in the dominions established in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Britain “supported domestic service as an institution essential to the foundation of ‘British’ civilization” in which female migrant domestic workers had a special importance (Sarti, 2008: 82). In addition to the gendered nature of this period, race also played an important role too and women were defined as 'daughters of the Empire' and 'mothers of the race' (Sarti, 2008: 81). The emigration of these maids continued until the First World War and started again after 1920s. As Sarti explains, after 1920s, the dominion states demanded British servants. In order to encourage migration, they offered free passages for domestics. Due to the economic crisis in 1930s, this migration flow from Britain stopped. The state cut the support for the transportation; besides, the increased number of workers migrated from Britain decreased the demand for migrants, which also ended the flow of emigration (Sarti, 2008: 82). In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the internal migration from rural to urban could not satisfy the demand for domestic work in Western Europe, thus foreign migrants were seen as a

solution. Different from the contemporary flow, the migration of domestic workers took place within Western European countries then. At around 1930s, these countries started to increase their permissions for migrant domestic workers, especially for Jewish women who were escaping from Nazis (Sarti, 2008: 83-84). In 1920s, the war in Asia Minor also caused a flow to Greece, and women and children represented the cheap labor for families there. The same can be seen in the case of Canada, which accepted domestic workers from Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. These patterns were defined under the name of 'refugees' by Sarti (2008: 84-85). After the Second World War, due to various reasons such as the recruitment of soldiers, the involvement of women in war economy and the development of welfare system, the number of migrant domestic workers decreased dramatically all around Europe (Sarti, 2008: 86). After 1970s, with the emergence of migrant domestic workers, family duties started to be covered again with paid employment which was common in nineteenth century in the bourgeois household and disappeared from the start of twentieth century (Lutz, 2011: 10).

From the historical perspective of Sarti, it can be argued that the migration route has evolved through time. In other words, the first major difference between the past and present is the migration route. Although domestic workers had been migrating from powerful countries to colonized ones for the sake of imperialist policies, migration flows reversed after nineteenth century. According to Sarti, the migration from the developing countries to the developed ones started to increase due to individual reasons<sup>12</sup> such as earning more and getting a more improved life (Sarti, 2008: 88). There is a point here that I would like to draw attention: migrant domestic workers were not and still are not economically underprivileged in their home countries, on the contrary most of them are well educated middle class people. They mostly leave their low-paid qualified jobs in their countries and emigrate to the destination country in order to earn more by working in a less prestigious but relatively well-paid jobs such as domestic ones (Lutz, 2011: 15).

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<sup>12</sup> Taking migration as an individual decision has been criticized by Chang, 2000; Sassen 2000.

On the other hand, even in early modern times domestics were mostly from rural parts of the country, which is defined as the ruralization of domestic work; then, migration flows of domestic workers started to take place from other poor parts of the country or from different countries. Until 1970s, migrant domestic workers who were employed in Western Europe were mostly from other Western countries, but this changed after 1970s. At the present time, domestics in Europe come from other continents and post-Soviet countries (Sarti, 2008: 88; Lutz 2011: 11).

Even there are some differences between the past and present patterns, one of the common characteristics that both historical periods share is the feminization of domestic work (Lutz, 2011: 14). The feminization of domestic labor began in the mid-nineteenth century and still continues (Lutz, 2011: 14).

Historically speaking, the mobility of domestic workers is not a new phenomenon. Nevertheless, globalization and changing economic conditions have increased the worldwide mobility. Thus, for a better understanding of the structural changes in economy and the nature of international migrant domestic labor, globalization also needs to be taken into account. As Pyle and Ward states,

over the last decades, increasing numbers of women have become sex workers, maids, workers in export production or micro-finance recipients to earn incomes in the restructured global economy. Many must migrate domestically or internationally to obtain this work (Pyle, 2001, Curran & Saguy, 2001, Lim, L. L. & Oishi, 1996 as cited in Pyle & Ward, 2003: 470).

The notion of the international division of labor constitutes a good starting point to clarify the globalization of domestic labor. In the light of globalization, the international division of labor can be redefined under the name of a new international division of labor (Mies, 1986; Mittelman 1995). Mies states that the international division of labor has been used to define the structural division and hierarchical relation between the colonies and colonial power (Mies, 1986: 112). In further explanation;

old international division of labor has meant the import of cheap raw materials from the colonies and ex-colonies, produced by cheap labor, and the production of machine-made goods in the metropolis by expensive labor which also had the purchasing power to buy these commodities (Mies, 1986: 112).

However, after the Second World War, when the boom period was over with the war, the managers of big multinational corporations led to find new ways to continue the growth and profit spike (Mies, 1986: 113). At this point, Mies argues, the new international division of labor has been introduced (Mies, 1986). Within the new international division of labor, labor-intensive production process has shifted to the Third World because of their low wage rates, but it did not bring industrialization to the developing countries since the production was based on labor-intensive industries (Mies, 1986: 113-115). Also, handing the production process over the Third World caused to an increase in the numbers of women who were working in labor-intensive world, and thus the division between two parts of the world became more striking.

The role of women labor has been highly crucial to sustain the new division of labor. According to Maria Mies, one of the main reasons of this significance is “housewifization” of women (Mies, 1986). Defining women universally as housewives not only caused low wage rates in the labor market, but also ensured political and ideological control over them (Mies, 1986: 116). The new international division of labor is also interlocked with the sexual division of labor. Men have been coded as 'free' wage-labourers while women have been depicted as dependent housewives. Another type of division occurs between the producer and the consumer, which also includes a division between “the Third World country's women as producers” and “the First World country's women as consumers” (Mies, 1986: 116).

As a matter of fact, “the most striking point of globalization is the growth of cross-border flows of various kinds, including investment, trade, cultural products, ideas and people” (Castler & Miller, 2003: 1), and domestic labor is not safe from these cross-border flows. There is a global growing trend: “the importation of care and love” from

poor countries to rich ones (Hochschild, 2003: 17). In addition to the “brain drain” which is defined as the migration of trained professionals from the Third World to the First World for better job conditions and wage rate, now there is also a flow of women from poor countries towards rich ones to take care of 'other's' elderly or child. This new flow of migration is defined as “care drain” by Arlie Hochschild (2003: 17). Hochschild also compares the nineteenth-century imperialism with the domestic situations today. She points out that in nineteenth century it was the gold and ivory which were extracted from the Third World in favor of imperial power, but today the new gold is emotional-maternal resources of the Third World (Hochschild, 2003: 27). Grace Chang (2000) also highlights the importation of migrant domestic workers in the US as an example of “the reproductive work transfer”. Parrenas (2001) also conceptualizes this flow as an “international division of reproductive labor”.

Changing structure of global economy and the new international division of labor force us to examine domestic work again and introduce us a new concept: the globalization of domestic labor. To understand the globalization of domestic labor, both reasons of employing migrant domestic workers and reasons of working as domestic workers need to be examined.

One of the main motivations to hire a migrant domestic worker is mostly explained by women's entering the labor market. As a result of this, since the 1970s, a ‘care deficit’ has emerged in the Western countries since the increasing number of women started to work in paid labor in 1970s (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003:7-8; Palenga-Möllnbeck, 2013: 562). The participation of women in paid work has mostly been equated with the ‘development’ and affirmed as an indicator of ‘emancipation’. But what happens to the domestic duties that women were ‘responsible<sup>2</sup> for before entering the labor market? Does domestic work evaporate suddenly, or do men in the household take more responsibility on it? What is the position of state in this domestic division of labor? Does it still respect the ‘privacy’ of wife and husband, and stay back?



With the change from state-led industrialization and economy towards a free market economy, the state started to withdraw from the market, so from its 'responsibilities'. Considering the policies of the 'developed' countries, there is a decrease in the support that the state provides as regards to social services. In the US, the state does not offer any public child care services for working women; besides, starting from 1980s intense neoliberalization process, the state reduced the social services such as working hours of public libraries and after-school programs (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003:8). There is no considerable cut in social services, but there is also no expansion in public services even though a large number of women have been entering to the labor market (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003: 8). Lutz also suggests that although there are differences among the European welfare regimes and the social services provided by different states, all states started to withdraw from social services in one way or another with the introduction of neoliberal policies and dense marketization of care work. Also, in Southern Europe, the changing structure of family from extended households to nuclear households created a gap in domestic work since it has been mostly provided by unpaid family labor (Kaşka, 2006: 10).

And when women enter the labor market, they need to fit in with the male-dominated job patterns. When they start to work in professional and managerial jobs, they mostly spend more hours than men to accord with the competition in the labor market (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003:7-8; Hochschild, 2003). The important point here is that since women entered the labor market, there has been no differentiation in terms of the gender roles within the family. Men have not started to share domestic duties with working woman members of families.

In addition to women's participation in the 'wild' competition in the labor market, the caring of children and the elderly has become more problematic. The demographic change in the society also increased the demand for migrant domestic workers, not only for housekeeping, but mostly for care work. In Europe, one of the major reasons of the increasing demand for elder-care is the aging of the EU population and the fact that there

is a considerable amount of reduction in the social services and the cost of formal elder-care has got higher (Anderson, 2007: 248).

If the state and men do not ‘share’ or take the responsibility for domestic work, how does the world continue to revolve around itself? At this point, migrant domestic workers come to the stage and enable their ‘sisters’ to enter the labor market<sup>13</sup>. However, these domestic workers not only let their ‘sister’ participate in the paid labor market, but also let men continue their paid jobs without a second shift<sup>14</sup> (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Migrant domestic workers have also relieved the state from its responsibility for social services to ‘reproduce’ the labor force. Consequently, migrant domestic workers have ensured the reproduction of the labor force with no cost to the receiving country although they are mostly blamed as the consumers of the sources and maintenance of their destination country (Chang, 2000:13; to see details for America).

However, these explanations for the increasing demand for migrant domestic workers seem gender-neutral. If there is a ‘care deficit’ and the requirement for the ‘help’ of ‘others’ in domestic tasks, why does the responsibility pass to migrant women and not to men? From this perspective, migrant domestic workers constitute a significant example to understand the gendered structure of domestic labor. Also, it shows that although domestic work has become paid in the labor market, there is not a striking change in the gender division of labor. Migrant domestic workers also provide us with an important explanation of why paid domestic jobs are not considered as a prestigious zone and thus become low-paid. As researchers (Kaşka, 2006; Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2010) point out, even though women have graduated from colleges or universities, their diplomas are not seen

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<sup>13</sup> When women's participation to paid works are limited – for instance, in the Middle Eastern countries- there can be also seen employment of domestic workers. In this more than meeting the care deficit, domestic workers became a symbol of social status for the middle-class families (Momsen, 1999:4). However, not only in the Middle East, but also in other places of the world, domestics are aware that they are 'status markers' of their employers (Constable, 2003: 127).

<sup>14</sup> Second shift is used by Hochschild and Machung to define the double burden of working women since they are defined main responsible of houseworks. (Hochschild and Machung, 2012; *The Second Shift*)

enough or even not recognized in immigrant countries (Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2010: 286). This is not only an example of what Lutz calls “brain waste” (Lutz; 2002), but also a significant indicator of the raced and gendered structure of the labor market in immigrant countries.

On the supply side, the migration of women as domestic workers is mostly explained with economic reasons. One of the main motivations of women's migration from developing countries is rooted in poverty which constitutes the push factor for women's migration decision (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003: 8). Chang challenges this idea and argues that people of the Third World moved to the First World not to seek more economical opportunities and democracy, but rather because the First World's economic policies such as structural adjustment policies forced people of the Third World to migrate and search jobs somewhere else (Chang, 2000: x- 3). She emphasizes that this emigrations from the Third Word to the First Word is a result of the exploitation of sources (Chang, 2000: 33). She underlines that this migration flow cannot be explained with individual choices since it is a product of the First World policies, not a ‘free’ individual choice (Chang, 2000).

On the other hand, another argument focuses on the fact that rich countries became richer, poor countries became poorer and global inequalities in wages became more striking (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003: 9; Hogdagneu-Sotelo, 2003 as cited in Kaşka 2006). The polarization of the global and the split between the rich and the poor caused the middle classes of the Third World to become poorer than the underclasses of the First World (Hochschild, 2003: 17; Parrenas, 2001). This forced women to migrate to rich countries to work. In the host countries, they earn higher wage than in their origin country by working in less prestigious jobs. Therefore, relative poverty plays one of the main motivations for women to migrate although most of them are not from the poorest classes of their country (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003: 10). Indeed, domestic workers are from almost the same class as their employers (Constable, 2003: 139). Migrant women are generally well-educated, have college diplomas and held middle-class jobs in

their own country<sup>15</sup> (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003: 8-10; Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2010: 286; Parrenas, 2001).

Apart from economic reasons, migration decisions also can be taken due to ‘failed marriages’, and thus aim to take care of children without any male help (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003:11). Moreover, there are also ‘almost’ single mothers whose husbands are alcoholics or gamblers and who decide to migrate in order to sustain their families (Hochschild, 2003: 21).

Moreover, knowing someone from the immigrant country also affects women's decision to migrate. Women are motivated through the stories their migrant friends bring back; these friends also find jobs for other women or create confidence about migrating and ‘unknown places’. As Hochschild explains:

most migration takes place through personal contact with networks of migrants composed of relatives and friends. One migrant inducts another. Whole networks and neighborhoods leave to work abroad, bringing back stories, money, know-how, and contacts. Just as men form networks along which information about jobs are passed, so one domestic worker in New York, Dubai, or Paris passes on information to female relatives or friends about how to arrange papers, travel, find a job, and settle (2003:19).

On the other hand, some governments also encourage women to migrate as domestics, because women migrants, unlike male migrants, mostly send their earned money to their countries of origin, rather than spending it for themselves (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003:7).

States’ encouragement for female migration because of the remittances provided by migrant women give us some clue, but we need further explanations. All the reasons mentioned above explain the situation of migrant domestic workers, but some other

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<sup>15</sup> Ehrenreich and Hochschild give an example from Philippines and Mexico domestic workers, but this feature can be seen in other cases, too, e.g., for the domestics from post-soviet countries in Turkey. Moreover, Hochschild's article “Love and Gold” can be a good example with the story of Rowena Bautista, for more see the article.

dimensions need to be taken into account in order to be able to understand the experiences of migrant domestic workers. The theoretical background of this research is based on the feminist standpoint theory since it enables us to examine the impact of race, class as well as gender. Both in the demand and supply side, especially national codes, gender and migration are interrelated with each other. Race, nationality and migration status give migrants particular places in the market (Anderson, 2007: 252). And there is also another dimension of migration; the age of migrant women (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2011: 357; Palenga-Möllenbeck; 2013: 563). While, for instance, in the case of Polish domestics in Germany, the dimension of age values experience and puts women at an advantageous position in the labor market, it can be the indicator of a disadvantaged position for women in their home country (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2011; Palenga- Möllenbeck; 2013: 564). Therefore, the feminist standpoint theory also provides a possibility to understand these changes since it defines knowledge as situational, partial and locational.

Another important point to highlight while considering the issue of migrant domestic workers from a feminist perspective is that both the employer and employee is female in this context. This relationship brings face-to-face two different women from two different social status. The First World woman spends too many hours at work which is organized in accordance with the rules of the male-dominated business life and thus demands too much from the working woman, and the Third World woman makes the same effort for her care work in the house of the First World woman. Although the working of the two women for pay seems like a good idea, the issue gets complicated when they give their all to work as working mothers. (Hochschild, 2003: 20). “In the end, both First and Third World women are small players in a larger economic game whose rules they have not written” (Hochschild, 2003: 20). As Ehrenreich and Hochschild explain:

The globalization of childcare and housework brings the ambitious and independent women of the world together: the career oriented

upper-middle class woman of an affluent nation, and the striving woman from a crumbling Third World or post-communist economy. Only it does not bring them together in the way that second-wave feminists in affluent countries once liked to imagine – as sisters and allies struggling to achieve common goals. Instead, they come together as mistress and maid, employer and employee, across a great divide of privilege and opportunity (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003:11).

Since the common assumption emphasizes that entering labor market emancipate women, two ‘emancipated’ women come face to face in the case of migrant domestic workers, whose ‘emancipations’ are deeply interlocked with each other. The relation between these two ‘emancipated’ women is integrated deeply through the relations with patriarchy and capitalism. Thus, the case of migrant domestic workers is important to remind us big the picture, and our ‘main enemies’: both patriarchy and capitalism.

The relation is shown well in feminist debates how domestic labor has been imposed on women, and defined as a feminine attitude which has been gained so-called naturally. In this point, patriarchy and capitalism work as an interlocked system which define domestic labor as women’s labor and that is why its importance is undervalued. Although domestic labor became paid in the market, it still continues to be performed by women, and is defined as a low-status job. On the other hand, when women participate to labor market to the carrier oriented jobs, domestic works are not shared by family members, and main responsibility of them stay on women. In this point, to overcome this double burden women appeal to paid domestic workers.

Since globalization and neoliberal policies force people to migrate to overcome increasing poverty and negative rates of economic growth, “feminization of survival” (Sassen, 2000) came also to stage. Women became more and more responsible for the survival of household, and started to migrate to foreign countries. As an inevitable consequence of changing labor process and work conditions in the world in general and in service sector, in particular, migrant women started to be concentrated on low- paid and low status jobs due to gendered, raced and classed nature of labor markets.

As one side lies in the oppression of women in the labor market, the other side of the debate has rooted in solidarity and resistance practices of the workers. In the literature, scholars mostly mention the oppression and control over migrant domestic workers. Some of them analyze it from historical perspective and found similarities and differences between slaveries, servants and today's domestic workers. However, to define migrant domestic workers only as oppressed has risks to not point out solidarity and resistance practices. Since knowledge is situational, locational and partial there cannot be an universal claim that these women are only passive agents. While there is a huge oppression, domestic workers also create solidarity and resistance practices, and became active agents of their stories. To open up the theoretical discussions, argued in this chapter, at a more concrete level next chapter shows the field work on migrant domestic workers from Georgia in Turkey.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF RESEARCH

As a part of critical theory, the feminist standpoint theory is the methodology of this research since the feminist standpoint theorists emphasize the relation between the production of knowledge and the practices of power, and thus challenge the conventional scientific knowledge, which proposes that feminist standpoint theory is not only an explanatory theory, but also a methodology of feminist research (Harding, 2004: 1). Unlike the conventional approach which argues that politics damage the production of ‘scientific knowledge’, the feminist standpoint theorists emphasize that the “good science” and “good politics” cannot be differentiated; indeed, the “good politics” enriches the “good science” (Harding, 2014: 6). In this respect, the main concern of the feminist standpoint theorists is to reach the knowledge of the oppressed to understand and change the power relations. The feminist standpoint theorists claim that the knowledge of the oppressed is crucial to show not only how social relations work in general, but also how they can be changed in and through the potential of the knowledge of the oppressed. Thus, experiences of the oppressed regarding knowledge production have a significance due to their power to explain both the dominated and the dominant. This emphasis on experience sets the ground for the knowledge produced within the feminist standpoint theory. According to the feminist standpoint theorists, experience is defined as a main tool to reach the knowledge of the oppressed. Knowledge is androcentric and ignores the experiences of women (Smith, 2004; Hartsock, 2004). Therefore, the feminist standpoint theory focuses on the daily experiences of women since its main concern is to constitute woman as a subject of knowledge, give an epistemic privilege to women's experiences and reach the knowledge of women (Smith, 2004). Although the feminist standpoint theory varies in itself and various scholars put the emphasis on different aspects of it, this theory can generally be defined as a “way of taking women's experience as fundamental to knowledge of political relations between women and men” (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002: 60). Herein, it is important to



remember the plurality within the standpoint theory since there is no single standpoint. As Hartsock points out, a standpoint is not a fixed position, rather it “is an achievement, something for which the oppressed group must struggle, something that requires both science and politics” (as cited in Harding, 2004: 8).

Focusing on the male-dominated nature of knowledge and challenging the conventional understanding of science, the critics of objectivity and neutrality are fundamental for the feminist standpoint theorists. In the conventional way of science, scientific knowledge must be neutral and objective. By adopting this neutrality which is defined as the “God trick” by Haraway (Haraway, 2004), researchers need to ‘speak from no particular place, speak from nowhere’. In this context, reason, progress and dualities play an important role in the Enlightenment thinking. According to Enlightenment thinkers, the researcher uses her or his mind guided by reason and there are also certain dualisms which are taken for granted (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002: 28). But, indeed, this binary thinking creates a hierarchy between the two parts of dualities and separates them from each other; therefore, it keeps mind separate from body or emotion from reason. Thus, the researcher in the field is separated from her or his subjectivity. However, the feminist standpoint theorists challenge the assumptions of Enlightenment thinking and believe that the production of knowledge cannot be distinguished from the situation that the researcher exists in. They emphasize that knowledge is situational, partial and constituted, thus the ‘knowing self’ is not safe from this, being also situated and socially constituted (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002: 74). They suggest that the researcher needs to take into account her own subjectivity while carrying out the research. “Making the researcher visible makes power relations between women a critical feature of understanding the complexity and variety of gendered power relations” (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002: 65). Accordingly, these emphases of the feminist standpoint theorists on self-reflexivity and the importance of interaction between the researcher and the interlocutor pave the way for to a minimized hierarchy during the research process. The feminist standpoint theorists challenge the notion of ‘knowing subject’ and argue that

any research process itself is political. Criticizing ‘the knowing subject’ prevents us from positioning the researched group as an ‘object’ of research and enable us take into account their agencies, and thus the interaction between the researcher and the researched is ensured. From a theoretical perspective of feminist standpoint, the interaction between the researcher and the interlocutor is made possible, so that both of them can explore their own ‘real’ experiences and create a place to change. The feminist standpoint theory problematizes not only power relations in general, but also the power relation embedded in the research processes.

While taking experience as a ground of knowledge, the feminist standpoint theory does not claim that all women share the same experiences. They take into account the diversity in women's experiences and various power relations between women (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002: 65). Thus, the knowledge produced based on experience brings us to the point that all knowledge claims asserted from a perspective of feminist standpoint is always situational, locational, partial and conditional. Defining knowledge as situational, partial and conditional challenges universalism and the categorization of women as a unified category. At this point, the standpoint theory only argues that some social situations are better to tell about the ‘reality’ than other situations (Harding, 2004: 131). In the light of this argumentation, the main concern of the feminist standpoint theorists is to reveal women's subjective specificities and unearth the interlocked nature of women's experiences, which not only leads us to understand not only the women's oppression, but also makes them a source of knowledge and change. Haraway states that “feminism loves another science: the sciences and politics of interpretation, translation, stuttering, and the partly understood. Feminism is about the sciences of the multiple subjects with (at least) double vision” (Haraway, 2004: 93).

The focus of the feminist standpoint theory on intersectionality constitutes another motivation to choose the feminist standpoint theory as the methodology of this research. This emphasis on intersectional nature of oppression is important in various aspects. First of all, taking intersectionality into account prevents us from taking only one form

of oppression as primary and thus gives us a chance to identify “one critical link among interlocking systems of oppression” (Collins, 2004: 110). On the other hand, intersectionality challenges dualistic thinking and is aware of the fact that defining oppression through dichotomies such as men versus women and white versus black rejects the agency of the subject since “subject/object gain their meaning only in relation to their difference from their oppositional counterparts” (Collins, 2004: 110). As for the situation of women domestic workers, their experiences are shaped by various disadvantage positions such as being woman, being a migrant and being low-class. In this respect, the feminist standpoint theory is a valuable tool to understand this intersectionality without constructing hierarchy between forms of oppression and show the links among them (Collins, 2004).

Furthermore, the feminist standpoint theory is the methodology of this research since the significance of women's labor, taking experience as a ground of knowledge (Hartsock, 2004; Weeks 1998; Rose, 2004). While most of the standpoint theorists have rooted their analyses in the Marxist tradition and focused on different parts of women's labor such as emotional labor (Rose, 2004) and reproductive labor (Hartsock, 2004), all of them consider the issue of labor from a broader perspective. As Week briefly puts forward, “labor is not just activity that directly produces capital, but activity that produces society itself, including the networks of sociality and the subjects they sustain” (Weeks, 2004: 185). Taking women's labor practices as a ground of knowledge is not only important to unearth the experiences of oppression, but also to show the potentiality of labor practices for change (Weeks, 2004: 87). Moreover, as Hartsock suggests,

regardless of whether particular women actually do this kind of work (and of course, many do not), women are generally (through differently) constructed to be the kinds of people who can perform these duties, and are usually (through variously) expected to be the ones who should (Hartsock, 1983a: 291 as cited in Weeks 2004: 187).

For this reason, women's labor plays a critical role to reach both within and outside the academia (Weeks, 2004).

As a consequence, this research aims to create a place not to write stories not 'about' migrant domestic workers, but rather to write stories 'with' them in the light of the feminist standpoint theory. It takes into account intersectionality in order to unearth the experiences of migrant domestic workers from Georgia which have been shaped all by gender, race, religious and class. I believe that the feminist standpoint theory gives us a critical tool to understand the gendered nature of labor and differentiating experiences between men and women due to their way of being migrant.

Since Turkey became a destination country for irregular and regular migration, the migrants working in low-status and low-paying jobs, i.e., the migrants working as domestic workers have constituted the largest part of this migration flow. Since 1990s, Turkey has faced different migration flows such as Filipino domestic workers (Weyland, 1997), Moldavian domestic workers (Kaşka, 2006; Kümbetoğlu, 2005; Keough, 2006) and other migrations from post- Soviet countries (Ege, 2002; Çelik, 2005). In the last years, the number of domestic workers from Georgia started to increase visibly, and there is no research which particularly focuses on this new migrant group. In this respect, the main focus of this thesis is on the migrant domestic workers from Georgia working in Turkey. My main motivation in focusing on especially this group arises from the increasing number of Georgian domestic workers in Turkey. There are several factors motivated me to focus on the Georgian domestic workers although there have been various migrant groups working in the same sector in Turkey. First and foremost, the language barrier they face in Turkey plays an important role for me to choose the women from Georgia. Domestic workers from Moldavia are mostly Gagauz and they know Turkish as their mother-language (Kaşka, 2006). Domestic workers from Central Asia are mostly Muslim, and thus languages have similarities. Moreover, these two groups mostly considered in Turkey as 'ethnic Turkish' groups. However, the domestic workers from Georgia mostly do not know Turkish, and they do not have the same

cultural background as the other groups of domestic workers have. So, why did they start to be employed more and more? Even this question was enough to convince me to focus on the domestic workers from Georgia; in addition, it paved the way for considering not only the employed side, but also the employer side of this relationship. In order to understand this new migration flow and employment situation, I interviewed with seven employers in Istanbul and Ankara in June and July 2014. Conducting interviews with both employers and migrant domestic workers has enabled me to consider the situation from both sides.

The research was conducted in June and July 2014 with eleven domestic workers from Georgia whose ages are between 35 and 55 and who perform child-care, patient care, elder-care and housework. I also conducted in-depth interviews with seven employers who employed Georgian domestic workers in Ankara and Istanbul. All interviews were conducted in Ankara and Istanbul. In this research, the main method has been in-depth interview. In order to reach both the employers and the domestic workers, I used my personal contacts and the snowball sampling technique. I knew some friends who were employing domestic workers from Georgia, and one of the interview was conducted with one of these friends' mother. Moreover, I asked my friends and relatives whether they knew someone who employed domestic workers from Georgia. In this way, I could get the chance to reach both the employers and the migrant domestic workers. I also asked every domestic worker that I interviewed whether they had any friends who would accept to be interview with me. And they directed me to their friends, but I could only reach two domestic workers in this way.

The interviews with domestic workers lasted from 60 minutes to 90 minutes. Nine of them were conducted within the house-work place of the workers. Since the employers knew me, they allowed the workers to be interviewed within their working hours. In eight of the interviews, the employers were at home and I conducted the interviews in separate rooms alone with the domestics. During one of the interviews, there was nobody in the house except me and the interviewee. The other two interviews were

conducted at café alone with the domestics on their day-offs. The lengths of the interviews with the employers were around 60 minutes. While the six of them were conducted in the houses of the employers, one of them was conducted at café.

Unlike quantitative research methods, conducting in-depth interviews from a feminist perspective creates the opportunity to challenge the notion of 'knowing subject' and helps to create interaction and minimize hierarchy between the researcher and the researched. Moreover, using the method of in-depth interview has provided me with an opportunity to reach women's experiences and ideas through their own words (Reinharz, 1992). As Reinharz states, "this asset is particularly important for the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas together or having men speak for women" (Reinharz, 1992: 19).

Apart from the three interviews conducted in Russian, all the interviews were conducted in Turkish. While the main intention was to use a tape-recorder during the interviews, it was only in use in the two of the interviews due to the vulnerability of the women regarding their legal situation in the country; therefore, I took notes during the rest of the interviews. Yet, I was well aware that taking notes had its own limits for this research. I had to stop my interlocutors several times to write exactly what they say, since I did not want to relay their sentences with my own language but to cite them word-by-word knowing that how we narrate something is as important as the content of this narrative. Although I knew that interrupting my interlocutors was a mediation of their narration and it would have jeopardized the flow of conversation, I still believed that word-by-word citations are necessary to my methodology in order to include women's narratives with their own voices.

On the other hand, during the interviews, the women showed the photos of their relatives and told the stories about their families. We had a chance to meet several times, which may show that they felt comfortable during the interviews and participated sincerely in them.

The data on the migrant domestic workers from Georgia were also obtained through the participant observation in Ankara when I made regular visits to a friend's house, who had employed some domestic workers from Georgia. These visits gave me the chance to observe the daily life practices of the domestic workers from Georgia and their relation to their employers. The period of the participant observation also included visiting Aksaray, Laleli and Beyazıt in Istanbul, where the women meet other domestic workers on their leave day and send money or gifts to their families in Georgia. This area, especially Laleli and Aksaray has significance due to its shuttle trade history which I will mention in the following sections. Deniz Yüksek (2003) has done an extensive survey on shuttle trade and I wanted to visit these neighborhoods to make personal observations. There are still many shipping and export firms trading with post- Soviet countries, and this area became a place where migrant from post- Soviet countries meet each other. Moreover, I visited the Nişantaşı Bazaar in Ankara, where the women mostly spend their free days and shop together. Furthermore, since I expressed that I was conducting a research on the experiences of the domestic workers from Georgia in Turkey, almost everybody told that they had once employed foreign domestic workers, or that they had some relatives or friends of theirs who had employed before or/and now the increase of the migrant domestic workers in Turkey. Thus, it created the chance to become familiar with the research area and also showed how common it was to employ migrant domestic workers within households in Turkey.

As for terminology, rather than using the term 'illegal', which is mostly used on a state level and which is often associated with criminality, I will use the term 'irregular' for those migrants who do not have any work and/or residence permit or any official papers to stay and work in a country. It is ironic that most of the women migrating from Georgia as well as other post-Soviet countries enter Turkey 'legally' and then become 'illegal' mostly due to Turkey's visa policies and the lack of labor regulations. What makes them 'illegal' in the eyes of the state is their lack of work permit or expiration of the time they can 'legally' stay in Turkey. Thus, my use of the term 'irregular' instead of

‘illegal’ aims to highlight the fact that what is defined as legal and illegal always depends on state policies. It also aims to emphasize that the terms ‘legality’ and ‘illegality’ is not natural, unchanging, or intrinsic to certain individuals or groups. Rather, the boundary between legality and illegality is often blurred when one can easily shift to the realm of illegality as a result of state policies as in the case of Georgian domestic workers who become “illegal” when their visa or work permit is expired. Finally, the term ‘irregular’ aims to point out the irregular migration and labor patterns whereas ‘illegality’ is mostly used pejoratively and often denotes criminality. An irregular migrant is defined as

a person who, owing to unauthorized entry, breach of a condition of entry, or the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country. The definition covers inter alia those persons who have entered a transit or host country lawfully but have stayed for a longer period than authorized or subsequently taken up unauthorized employment (IOM, 2011).

My use of these terms for the domestic workers from Georgia mostly aims to emphasize that they do not have work permit or that they expire their ‘legal’ presence period in Turkey, thus their irregularity mostly comes from “staying longer period than authorized” and their “unauthorized employment” in Turkey. The irregularity of migrant domestic workers is different from that of other migrant groups such as asylum seekers and refugees. That is to say, unlike transit migrants which will be discussed in the following sections, but shortly whose aim is to arrive in a third country, migrant domestic workers aim to work in Turkey, not to arrive in another country. Moreover, unlike refugees and asylum seekers, all of my interlocutors crossed the border with official papers. Thus, being aware of its limitations and contradictions, I will refrain from using the term ‘illegal’ in this research.



### 3.1. Limitations of Research

The main limitation of the research was the language barrier. I had the advantage of speaking Russian<sup>16</sup>, which is nearly the native language of the Georgian women. While some of the interviewee could speak fluent Turkish, most of the domestic workers that I had reached had limited language skills in Turkish. Thus, the language barrier limited te number of interviews I could conduct.

Another limitation was the duration of stay of the women in Turkey. Non-stability of the women in the country due to work and residence permit, two of the interviews that had been planned were not be able to be carried out; while I was conducting the interviews, two women I had planned to interview with were already in Georgia. This ‘flexibility’ will be discussed in the next chapters of the thesis.

Moreover, the legal situation of the women constituted another limitation. The domestic workers who had a work permit or who were in Turkey for the ‘legally’ defined period of time without a work and residence permit but with their passport and still in a ‘legal’ process accepted my demand for an interview easily. On the other hand, even though I had an interview with the women without a work permit, I did not reach the women who passed the legal time period to stay in the country. The legal framework between Turkey and Georgia will be discussed in the next chapters of the thesis.

Since there are not reliable data regarding the number of the migrant women in Turkey, we do not know how many migrant women are working and staying irregular in Turkey. I would like to stress that I was also not able to reach the irregular workers whose visa permits have expired and who do not have work and residence permits, and thus have become literally irregular.

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<sup>16</sup> Speaking Russian was very effective while working on the migrant domestic workers in Turkey since most of them came from post-Soviet countries. Thus, I conducted some of the interviews in Russian by myself.

Finally, reaching out the interviewees through employers is another limitation of this research. Even though they told their previous job experiences openly, none of them were willing to make any comments about their current work conditions.

## CHAPTER 4

### SETTING THE SCENE: TURKEY AND GEORGIA

In this chapter, I will first summarize the migration flow to and from Turkey. Although Turkey has been traditionally known as an emigration country, it has a long immigration history. Since 1990s, it has also become a main destination for women from the post-Soviet countries who come to work especially in the service sector. In order to be able to understand this increasing number of woman migrants, I will firstly focus on the visa regime between Turkey and Georgia and the legal framework of migration in Turkey. Then, I will analyze Georgia as a host country to deepen my analysis in terms of the migration flows and the economic situation.

#### 4.1. Migration Policies in Turkey

In the globalization era, the concepts of international migration have also blurred. Almost all countries became both ‘sending’ and ‘receiving’ countries at the same time, which shows that these concepts have become inadequate to define migration in this era (İçduygu, 2010: 22-23). Instead, some new concepts such as ‘transnational spaces’ have emerged, and thus it has become almost impossible to differentiate between the ‘temporary and permanent migration’ or ‘legal and illegal migration’ (İçduygu, 2010: 22-23). At this point, Turkey's sending, receiving and transiting roles in the international migration regime constitute a striking case which can enable us to understand the dynamics and mechanisms of the interrelation between globalization and migration (İçduygu & Keyman, 2000: 384). And this research mainly focuses on globalization and migration, as two essential phenomena to understand global domestic labor.

Turkey has been traditionally known as an emigration country<sup>17</sup>. Since the early 1960s and 1970s, large numbers of people have migrated from Turkey to Western Europe,

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<sup>17</sup> The emigration history of Turkey can be expanded to the last days of the Ottoman Empire and the first two decades of the Turkish Republic. In those years, the majority of the non-Muslim population in Turkey

especially to Germany, based on a bilateral labor agreement (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 1; IOM, 2008). And in the late 1960s, Turkish labor migration started to flow to Australia and Arab countries in which the Turkish government mainly aimed to decrease the growing unemployment (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 3). While the economic recession affected Europe in the mid-1970s, the Middle East experienced the economic boom at the same times (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 5). Thus, the Turkish government changed the direction of labor migration towards the countries such as Libya, Saudi Arabia and Iraq (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 5). However, this flow decreased in 1991 because of the Gulf War (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 5). After the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the increasing number of Turkish companies started to make investments in the Russian Federation and other post-Soviet countries, which paved the way for Turkish engineers, managers and workers to be employed there and set up a small business such as bakeries and restaurants both in these countries and in Bulgaria and Romania (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 5). In the 1980s, the migration motivations were more political. The asylum seekers were the major migrant group due to the 1980 Turkish military coup and the “increase in the violence surrounding efforts to suppress the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), a separatist movement in south eastern Turkey” (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 5).

More recently, in addition to its emigration history, Turkey has also become a transit country for irregular migrants from Asia who aim to reach the Western countries. Also, Turkey is a destination country for the asylum seekers from the neighboring Middle East countries (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 1). Due to a geographical limitation<sup>18</sup> to its obligations under the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, Turkey accepts refugees only from the European countries, thus it is a transit zone for the other migrants and a place for the first asylum (IOM, 2008). Moreover, especially due to the

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migrated to many countries around the globe (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> While Turkey is one of the first signatories of 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, it maintains the geographical limitation to Convention. This geographical limitation means that Turkey does not grant refugee status to asylum seekers since they come from outside from Europe.

last political situation in Syria, an increasing number of people from Syria started to migrate to Turkey in the last years. According to official data from Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management recorded that between April 2011 and September 2013, approximately 500.000 people migrated from Syria to Turkey. Besides, there are also an increasing number of European Union member-state nationals, professionals and retirees who are settling in Turkey, particularly in İstanbul and the Mediterranean resorts (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 15).

Although Turkey is known as an emigration country, it also has a long immigration history (Danış, Taraghi, Perouse, 2009: 459). Since the Republic was established, Turkey has allowed immigrants from the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East who mostly come from the same religious or ethnic-Turk background. This migration flow increased during the early years of the Republic due to new policies which aimed to increase the population (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009: 10). Between the years of 1923 and 1997, there were more than 1.6 million people who had immigrated to and settled in Turkey (Kirişçi, 2007: 93). Most of these migrants were from the Balkans, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania which were the parts of the Ottoman Empire once; therefore, these migrant groups were warmly welcomed and got the ‘immigrant’ status (Danış, Taraghi, Perouse, 2009: 459). Sema Erder (2000, as cited in Danış, Taraghi, Perouse, 2009) uses the term “muhacir” to show the difference between the state-supported migration and the recent irregular migration to Turkey which continued until 1970s. This difference has been pointed at also by other scholars through the terms of “the immigrant” and “the foreigner”, the immigrant being the only group that has been accepted with a proper migrant status by the Turkish ancestry and culture, and all the other groups migrating to Turkey being classified as “foreigners” (Erder 2007: 7-8, İçduygu, 2007: 206 as cited in Toksöz, Erdoğan, Kaşka, 2012: 17). Toksöz et al. explain all these phenomena through the legal migration regulations of the Turkish Republic (2012: 17). After the 1980s, Turkey changed its immigration structure and became a destination country for the people migrating from Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet

countries to Turkey under the name of ‘foreigner’ according to the Turkish law (Toksöz et al., 2012: 17-18). This immigration flow which was mostly limited to ethnic Turks living in the neighboring areas was welcomed as the part and parcel of the nation-building processes until the 1980s (Danış et al., 2009: 460) and they were easily melt in the Turkish identity (IOM, 2003: 12); however, the immigrants coming to Turkey after 1980s were not welcomed. They were defined as “foreigner” (İçduygu, 2007: 206 as cited in Toksöz et al. 2012:17) since they did not share the same political and cultural background as the Turkish people (Toksöz et al. 2012:17).

Since the early 1990s, Turkey has faced a new form of immigration from the neighboring countries, European Union nationals and transiting irregular migrants (Kirişçi, 2007: 93). This new migration form “allows nationals of Iran, the former Soviet Union as well as of Balkan countries to enter country quite freely, either without visas or with visas that can easily be obtained at airports and other enter points” (Kirişçi, 2007: 93).

As İçduygu (2006) mentions, the roots of the irregular migration to Turkey can be examined through three historical events. These are 'the immigration crisis in Europe', “the collapse of the communist regime in the Eastern Europe” and “the influx of asylum-seekers and refugees” (2006: 2). The first event has a strong relation with Europe and its rigid international immigration policies. While in the 1980s and 1990s thousands of migrants left their countries to reach Europe, the rigid and restrictive policies regarding immigration and asylum seekers directed them towards the transit countries such as Turkey located on the edge of Europe (İçduygu, 2006: 2). Consequently, many migrants from Africa, the Middle East and Asia came to Turkey with a motivation for moving towards a third country (İçduygu, 2006: 2). The second event is the dissolution of the Soviet Union which increased the mobility of people and caused them to move abroad and search jobs there; thus, many men and women from Moldova, Romania, Ukraine and the Russian Federation moved to Turkey mostly with a tourist visa and started to work in the informal economy (İçduygu, 2006: 2). Actually, the possibility to enter the

country in this way is so high in countries such as Turkey which have flexible visa requirements (Kaşka, 2006: 24). And the third event is highly related to the political regimes of the Middle East and the neighboring countries; the people migrating from Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq to Turkey in the last two decades constitute the third category of migrants in Turkey (İçduygu, 2006: 2). As it can be understood from these events, the immigration flows to Turkey have created different categories which are hard to be differentiated from each other. As İçduygu (2013) explains:

This is a fairly new phenomenon and presents itself in many different forms. In addition to the immigration of ethnic Turks, which also often includes asylum seekers, there are four main types of inflows of foreign nationals to Turkey: (1) asylum seekers and refugees; (2) transit migrants; (3) irregular labor migrants and (4) regular migrants (İçduygu, 2001). The first three often overlap and fluctuate as migrants may drift from one status into the other, depending on circumstances and opportunities (İçduygu, 2003: 12).

Actually, there are two main types of irregular migration flow into Turkey (İçduygu, 2006: 3). One is constituted by the transit migrants who have come to Turkey to pass to a third country; in other words, their intention is a temporary migration to Turkey (İçduygu, 2006: 3). The other one includes the migrant workers from Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, and the Russian Federation who have been searching for an employment in Turkey and mostly subject to the circular migration (İçduygu, 2006: 3). Some of the sectors in the Turkish economy such as domestic work, sex, entertainment, textile, tourism and construction have employed them as temporary workers in (İçduygu, 2006: 3; İçduygu et al. 2013: 5). At this point, increasing number of migrant domestic workers has a strong relation with the restructuring of Turkish economy. While economies which based on export-oriented industries created the expansion on informal economy, and increase in the employment of migrant workers, born of the new middle class caused to increase employing migrant domestic workers. (Dağdelen, 2008: 268)

On the other hand, this migration flow also includes women of the Eastern-Bloc who carry out suitcase trade and are defined as the pioneer of this irregular migration flow.

Suitcase trade started in the 1980s and reached its peak in the mid-1990s. As Yüksekler (2003) mentioned in her research where she described transnational trade networks between post-Soviet countries and Turkey, after the removal of the Soviet borders, women from Eastern Bloc started to migrate Turkey for suitcase trade. They mostly buy garments and textiles from the country and sell them at the marketplaces of their hometown. However, the emergence of transportation companies which started to organize the transportation of commodities better affected small-scale suitcase traders (Yükseker, 2003: 131). Moreover, with the growth of trade volume and institutionalization of suitcase trading, it had lost its importance especially after the integration of Russia and old East Bloc countries to world economy (Toksöz & Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2011:173). However, as Dağdelen mentioned in his research which focus on the changing labor market positions of irregular Moldavian migrants in textile sector in Istanbul, these small-scale suitcase traders have ended up being sales assistants in Laleli (Dağdelen, 2008: 110).

In this irregular migration flow, the number of the migrants from Georgia has also been increasing in the last years. The table given below clearly shows a much greater increase in the entries from the countries from which people are coming to Turkey for employment purposes. As we can see in the table, the number of people coming from Georgia increased from 180,480 in 2000 to 1.149.362 in 2011. Moreover, while the number of people entering Turkey from Georgia was 367.148, it increased to 1.109.615 in 2010. The visa regime between the countries was also important in this increase; Turkey and Georgia had adopted a visa-free regime in 2006. In the hope to understand the increasing numbers of the migrants from Georgia, the next chapter will examine the migration regulations in Turkey.



**Table 1. Number of Foreigners Entering-Exiting Turkey by Year.**

Nationality	2000		2005		2010		2011	
	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit
Russia Fed.	680.473	674.434	1.855.900	1.869.414	3.091.974	3.072.663	3.447.001	3.428.168
Iran	404.148	345.394	957.244	678.584	1.884.898	1.870.755	1.879.034	1.863.657
Bulgaria	378.329	375.870	1.620.939	1.621.955	1.432.416	1.447.369	1.488.425	1.485.094
Georgia	180.480	166.748	367.148	356.995	1.109.615	1.094.619	1.149.362	1.138.870
Syria	123.787	121.411	287.343	273.410	898.123	889.821	970.163	962.076
Ukraine	153.650	146.360	367.103	367.579	555.502	553.546	588.406	585.411
Azerbaijan	182.124	153.319	411.111	400.132	484.922	475.981	576.230	563.022
Romania	267.108	253.476	201.807	197.567	350.683	352.152	383.681	383.994
Iraq	21.433	13.137	107.972	108.599	280.448	267.941	369.093	356.135
Kazakhstan	40.733	39.175	106.167	105.648	247.690	246.422	315.644	314.072
Turkmenistan	11.115	10.645	34.292	29.700	114.389	108.382	137.472	128.939
Moldova	65.112	53.735	89.849	85.523	96.047	95.965	100.852	99.686
China	21.599	19.556	40.935	42.053	74.763	73.615	92.820	93.225
Uzbekistan	21.728	20.535	24.634	23.627	68.066	63.725	84.962	80.367
Armenia	17.704	14.518	36.663	36.340	69.268	68.474	72.349	71.825
Total	2.569.523	2.408.313	6.509.107	6.197.126	10.758.804	10.681.430	11.685.494	11.655.494
Overall Total	9.748.338	9.393.355	20.275.213	19.672.616	27.024.609	26.902.576	29.362.434	29.232.463

Source: GDS, Foreigners, Borders, Asylum Bureau cited from Toksöz, Erdoğan, Kaşka, 2012.

#### 4.1.1 Legal Framework

Since Turkey became a destination country for irregular labor migration, woman migrants who have come from the post-Soviet countries to Turkey in order to get employed for elder and child care services and/or domestic tasks have constituted the majority of the migrants. Entering Turkey with a tourist visa is the main form of this irregular labor migration. Moreover, this method has a strong relation with the implementation of the visa-free regime for some countries. In the case of Georgia, Turkey and Georgia has started a visa-free regime since 2006, which means that “ordinary and official passport holders are exempted from visa for their travels up to 90 days” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

It is widely accepted that Turkey does not have a systematic migration policy to regulate the new migration movement. Nevertheless, it can be argued that there have been some important attempts to provide a proper migration regime meeting the necessities of recent migration flow (Kaşka, 2006: 27); these attempts include 1994 Asylum Regulations, 2003 Law on Work Permit For Foreigners, 2005 National Action Plan for

Asylum and Migration and 2006 Settlement Law. Since 2003, the law numbered 4817 was one of the main regulation for the foreign workers in Turkey which had been drafted in line with the European Union Acquis (Kaşka, 2006). According to this law, domestic service also became an area where foreigners can be employed; this was not possible with the previous laws and regulations (Eder & Kaşka, 2003: 27). After the regulation in the law numbered 4817, foreigners could take a job in the field of domestic services. This regulation can be considered as the first regulation which focuses on the migrant employees. However, migrant domestic workers still had difficulties with the law numbered 4817, which obligates non-Turkish citizens to obtain a work permission before they start to work dependently or independently in Turkey. Even this law which have aimed to regulate working conditions could not be successful in some aspects, because the main target of the law was professionals and qualified workers. Thus, it did not bring any changes in the conditions of domestic workers, textile workers and other irregular labor migrants (İçduygu, 2010: 34).

On the other hand, the regulation in the law numbered 5683, which was enacted in 2012, is slightly different from 4817 in the sense that it allows non-Turkish citizens to apply for a work permission directly after their arrival in Turkey. Different from the law numbered 4817; this new regulation in the law numbered 5683 takes into consideration the foreigners who enter the country to work with a tourist visa. Therefore, this regulation is highly important for the migrant domestic workers in Turkey. However, the regulations in the law numbered 5683 are also problematic from the perspective of the migrant domestic workers. For instance, woman migrants were used to come to Turkey from Georgia as tourists and work here as domestic workers for three months since it was the maximum duration that they could stay in the country. After the three months, they returned to their country for a short time and then came back to Turkey in order to continue to work without a work permission. The official time for visa was 90 days. Even though they did not have the work permission, their stay in the country was regular and 'legal'. But after the following changes done in the law numbered 5683 on 1

February 2012, their status also changed. According to the new law, 90 days stay permission has been replaced with '90 days within 180 days' which means that non-citizens' stay in Turkey must be commensurate with their stay out of Turkey. Thus, this makes the situation of the domestic workers in Turkey more vulnerable. According to the amendment in the Law Regarding Residence and Travel of Foreign Subjects in Turkey, if foreigners exceed the time limit of their visa, they have to leave the country or apply for a residence permit, otherwise they need to pay fines or can be banned from re-entering Turkey (Kocaoğlu, 2012: 20). The ban or the fine is determined according to the period of overstay. In addition, this border policy makes it hard to reach reliable data for domestic migrant women. As it is mentioned above, during the period of 90+90, employers mostly do not get the work permission, and thus the status of migrant domestic workers remains irregular or to be regular in the Turkey, mostly domestic work shared between female family members of domestic workers' household which will explain in the next chapters.

As it stands, migrant domestic workers may get their work permit in two different ways. Applications for work permit can be done from both inside and outside of Turkey. Foreigners who do not reside in Turkey or do not have at least a 6-month residence permit may apply for a work permit to the Turkish consulate in their country by submitting the labor contract that they have signed with their employer in Turkey. Foreigners who are still in Turkey with a tourist visa and cannot get a residence permit may also follow this procedure. If foreigners who want to be employed for domestic services in Turkey have at least a 6-month residence permit that has not expired yet may apply for a work permit without going back to the country of origin.

Law on Foreigners and International Protection brought important changes to the articles 5683 and 4817. First it need to be mentioned that the articles of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection regarding the visa procedure and in-country period have not undergone any changes; “the in-country period allowed by the visa or visa exemption cannot exceed 90 days in every 180 days” under the Law on Foreigners and

International Protection. The most outstanding change in the Law on Foreigners and International Protection has made it possible for foreigners to use their work permit or the ratification of their exemption from work permit drawn up by the Ministry as a residence permit. This rules out the residence permit that was given for employment purpose in accordance with the previous procedure. This also calls off the obligation for foreigners “to apply for a residence permit for employment purpose at least in a month” in order to validate their work permit obtained through applications done from inside or outside of Turkey. The law makes it possible to use the ratification of exemption from work permit as a residence permit, as well.

In addition, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection has changed the provision illustrated in the 5<sup>th</sup> article of the law no. 4817 which states that the term of a periodical work permit should be determined by taking into consideration the residence permit and the term of the labor contract of the foreigner. According to the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, the maximum term of the periodical work permit that foreigners may get with their first application is one year. Under the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, the term of the labor contract is not the only factor which is going to be taken into account in designation of the term of work permit.

While the previous law punished the foreigners working without a work permit with an administrative fine, it did not have a separate provision regarding the deportation of the foreigners working without a work permit in the law and application regulation no. 4817. However, the 54<sup>th</sup> article of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection under the title of Persons Subject to a Removal Decision has a provision which requires the foreigners who have been detected to be working without a work permit to be deported.

## 4.2. Patterns of Migration in Georgia

Georgia is a country from which people mostly migrate to the Russian Federation, the United States, Greece, Germany, Turkey, Austria and some other European Union countries (IOM, 2008: 11). According to the data that IOM revealed in 2013, the population of the country is 4.3 million while the immigrants constitute 4.4 per cent of the population, and the net immigration rate for the years between 2010- 2015 is -5.8 migrants / 1.000 population (IOM, 2013). The 2002 Census shows that Georgia has lost almost 20 per cent of its population due to emigration since the 1989 Census (IOM, 2008: 12). Remittances have become an important source for the state as in the global economy since the remittances transferred to Georgia amounted to 812.6 million USD, which constituted 6 per cent of the GDP of the country in 2011 (EPRC, 2011: 7).

According to the Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe Report (Badurashvili & Nadareishvili, 2012), the dissolution of the Soviet Union affected all the post-Soviet countries, and Georgia is one of those countries which experienced the ‘transition’ from the centrally organized economy to the capitalist one. However, this process was more complicated for Georgia due to the civil war which took place at the beginning of 1990s. In the first years of the transition, Georgia faced with corruption, inflation, unemployment and poverty (Badurashvili & Nadareishvili, 2012).

Some researchers define the external migration of Georgia as a process having three steps; the first one being “the collapse and conflict between 1990 and 1995”, the second one being “the economic struggle between 1996 and 2004” and the last one being “the hope and rebuilding after 2004” (Badurashvili & Nadareishvili, 2012: 6). As Georgia has been ethnically diverse country<sup>19</sup>, many people started to emigrate after the Soviet Union

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<sup>19</sup> Georgia has a highly ethnically diverse population (for more detail, see Joanne val Selm, 'Georgia Looks West, But Faces Migration Challenges at Home', (2005). This is why, I will use the term ‘from Georgia’ rather than the term ‘Georgian’ in order to indicate this diversity.

eased the restriction on migration. This migration flow includes Georgian Jews, who migrated to Israel, and ethnic Greeks, whom Greece provided with residence in the late 1980s. This ethnic migration also included ethnic-Russians who moved to Georgia from the USSR and moved back to Russia after the independency of Georgia (Badurashvili & Nadareishvili, 2012: 6). For Georgia, the Russian Federation was one of the main destinations for emigration due to its historical ties with the Soviet Union, as well as the geographical and cultural proximity (IOM, 2002: 12). Even after the independence of Georgia, the migration flow was mostly constituted by ethnic Russians, and the emigration increased also for the other groups due to the economic reasons (IOM, 2002: 12). In other words, the migration of ethnic minorities generally increased in this period.

In the second period, the main motivation of emigration was the economic situation of the country. In this period, economic crises and retrograding life conditions constituted the main reason of many high-skilled citizens and/or elites who left the country to arrive in the neighboring countries such as Russia; at that time, there was no visa regulation between Russia and Georgia (Badurashvili & Nadareishvili, 2012: 6).

This economic struggle between 1996-2004 continued to affect the migration flows afterwards. Buckley defines the 'uncertainty' as one of the crucial element of transition, but this uncertainty also push people to migrate (Buckley, 1997: 5). There are still high numbers of Georgia citizens who migrate abroad and they are mostly labor migrants with temporary nature (Badurashvili & Nadareishvili, 2012: 6).

During the same years, the migration policy between Russia and Georgia started to be changed because of the increasing number of irregular migrants and the political tension between the two countries (IOM, 2002: 12). The Russian Federation introduced visa to Georgia in 2000 while other countries which are the members of Commonwealth of Independent States had still a visa-free regime. As a response to the detention of four Russian military officers by the Georgian authorities on charges of espionage in September 2006, many people from Georgia living in Russia were expelled from the

country in 2006 due to the violation of the immigration law (IOM, 2002: 12). These changes also affected the migrants' choice of destination. In 2006, Turkey introduced a visa-free regime for Georgia; the closure of the Russian border has made Turkey another main destination and transit country for some Georgia citizens (IOM, 2002: 13). Actually, the increasing labor emigration from Georgia had also some transformations in its nature, so that the number of female migrants in this flow increased.

Considering its history, it can be argued that the Georgian labor emigration was mostly male-dominated and this trend continued after the independency of the country. In the early years of independent Georgia, the route of the male-dominated migration mostly directed to Russia, where migrants from Georgia were employed in construction and made petty trade (Hoffman & Buckley, 2012: 78). Researches generally have not paid attention the increasing number of female labor migrants from Georgia; however, there also some scholars who particularly focus on this topic (Zurabishvili, 2010; Hoffman & Buckley, 2012). According to researches, Georgia has powerful norms on the gender roles which define men as breadwinners, and women as housekeepers (Hoffman & Buckley, 2012: 78; Sumbadze, 2006 as cited in Hoffman & Buckley). This creates a conflict between women's migration and the social norms which define migration as a male activity; in other words, women's migration challenges the idea of 'proper' woman (Hoffman & Buckley, 2012). Therefore, it can be stated that the Georgian migration has been feminized in the last years. In 2013, according to IOM's data, the woman migrants constitute 52.5 per cent of all migrants from Georgia (2013). Actually, the migration outside the CIS countries tend to be feminized in accordance with the demands of the labor market for laborers to work in domestic services and other feminized areas (Hoffman & Buckley, 2012). And Turkey is one of the main destination for women from Georgia who come here to be employed as domestic workers. In this respect, in the hope to understand this new migration flow and the experiences of these women, the next chapter will focus on woman migrants coming from Georgia to work as domestic workers in Turkey.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS FROM GEORGIA IN TURKEY**

In this chapter, I will analyze the experiences of women domestic workers from Georgia in the hope to understand how being a migrant woman affect their experiences in Turkey. In the light of the relevant literature, I will also show how globalization in general and the changes in post-Soviet economies in particular have affected migration and what happened to these women who migrated to Turkey as domestic workers? Considering that what is at stake now is the feminization of migration, I will try to understand whether this phenomenon has created any change in gender roles.

I will firstly give the socio-demographic features of the interviewees, which provide a better understanding of the experiences of the women and the findings of the field. Second I will explore the main motivations of the women for migration and how they have taken this decision. Third, I will look at how they have chosen their destination country and decided to migrate to Turkey. Fourth, I will focus on the women's working experiences to understand their working conditions at the private domain. Fifth, I will try to figure out how their life experiences in Turkey have been shaped by two different disadvantageous positions; namely, being a woman and being a migrant. And then, I will focus on their future plans to figure out whether this migration and work experience have created any change for their future expectations. And finally, I will try to explore the reasons behind the employment of the migrants as domestic workers, especially woman migrants from Georgia. Why would an employer who has never been to foreign countries in her/his entire life and who cannot communicate with her/his employee want to have a foreign caregiver? Therefore, I will be also analyzing the reasons behind the preference of migrant domestic workers rather than non-migrants.



Since Turkey has become a destination country for different kinds of regular and irregular migration, the domestic workers who migrated especially from the post-Soviet countries constituted the majority of the migration flow. Although there is a limited amount of research focusing on these migration and employment types in Turkey, many researches started to pay particular attention to the situation of the migrant domestic workers in Turkey (Kaşka, 2006; Çelik, 2005; Keough, 2006; Akalın, 2009; Ege, 2002; Kümbetoğlu, 2005; Atatimur, 2008; Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2010).

As it can be seen from the literature, the mobility of migrant domestic workers has been defined as from the less developed/Third World countries to the advanced/First World countries. The main reason of employing migrant domestic workers is related with the collapse of the welfare state and the increasing number of women participating in the labor market. At this point, Turkey became a significant case. Turkey is not an advanced economy (Kaşka, 2006: 14) and the increasing number of women participating in the labor market is not the case for Turkey; actually, it never has reached large numbers on this issue. Beside these two crucial points, Turkey is a host country for migrant domestic workers, which makes it a striking case to understand the changes in the international migration. As Guy Standing (2011) points out, the contemporary migration movement is not only from 'poor' to 'rich' countries; “roughly a third of the world's migrants have moved from a poor to a rich country, a third have moved from one rich to another and third have moved from one poor country to another” (2011: 91). In this respect, Turkey fits well to the complex structure of contemporary migration flows.

Being a non-advanced economy and a host country at the same time, Turkey hosts migrants from various nationalities and ethnicities. I have chosen to focus on the migrants from Georgia for the reasons that I have discussed in the methodology chapter. However, the preference of mine to focus on Georgia has another significant aspect which Keough also discusses for the Moldavian case in her research. From this point of view, Georgia “holds wider significance and questions our categorizations of states into ‘postsocialist’, ‘postwelfare’, ‘third world’, ‘global south’ and/or ‘postcolonial’”

(Keough, 2006: 432).

In other words, this research can provide us with a way to reconsider our categorizations of the states and can help us to improve a common global analytical frame to understand the similarities among migrations of domestic workers which is roughly the result of the economic decline caused by economic globalization and restructuring (Keough, 2006: 434). Focusing on Moldovan domestics in Turkey, Keough points out in her research: it is widely clear that

we need such a common global analytic frame of the political and economic dynamics of migrant domestics, who are now a common export not only of the South and Southwest Asia, Central and South America, and Africa, but of Eastern Europe and whose remittances serve to keep states in all of the here regions afloat. The example of migrant domestics from Moldova illuminates how political-economic processes in these disparate regions are in fact very similar and thus how our categorization of states a problematic (Keough, 2006:434).

At this point, Turkey with its particularity and Georgia as a ‘postsocialist’ country constitute a striking case to understand globalization, international migration, the restructuring of global economy and globalization of domestic labor. In this respect, this part of the research will focus on the woman domestic workers from Georgia to understand how being both a migrant and woman at the same time affects their experiences.

### **5.1. Profile of Interviewees**

Firstly, I will try to illustrate the women’s socio-demographic profiles to have a better understanding of their experiences as migrant domestic worker. As in-depth interviews are the main method of data collection in this study, I will try to chart the information regarding the women in the tables to grasp their profiles comprehensively. The research is based on in-depth interviews conducted with eleven domestic workers aged between 35 and 55 who have migrated from Georgia to Ankara and Istanbul to perform child-

care, patient care, elder-care and housework. While seven of them have a work permit, four of them are working without it. The four of the women are working and living in Istanbul, and the other seven are living in Ankara (Table 2).

**Table 2. Age, Work Definition, Legal Status, Location**

NAME <sup>20</sup>	AGE	Type of Domestic Work	LEGAL STATUS	Location
Maria	47	Child-care	Work permit	Istanbul
Anna	54	Elder-care	Work permit	Istanbul
Eva	42	Patient care	Work permit	Ankara
Isa	48	Elder-care	Work permit	Ankara
Tamara	40	Child-care	No work permit	Ankara
Rita	59	Elder-care	No work permit	Ankara
Manana	46	Elder-care	No work permit	Istanbul
Naira	37	Child-care	Work permit	Ankara
Nino	42	Elder-care	Work permit	Ankara
Tea	36	Elder-care	Work permit	Ankara
Medea	39	Housekeeper	No work permit	Istanbul

<sup>20</sup> All the names which are using for domestic workers and employers are pseudonyms.

The women's work experiences and term of employment at their current job vary. All of them have previous job experiences in Turkey as domestic workers. Their current job was not their first job experiences in Turkey. However, some of them also have other job experiences. For instance, Eva worked in a textile workshop in Istanbul when she arrived in Turkey, and she has been working as a domestic worker for six years. Similarly, Tamara also worked in several workshops before she started to work as a domestic worker. Since this research is confined to their work experiences as domestic workers, the table does not include the number of jobs that they worked other than domestic work. The women's domestic job experiences range between 2 to 8 years. (Table 3.)

Eight of my interviewees are married, one of them is single, and one is divorced. Moreover, one of the interviewees is a widow who lost her husband before her migration to Turkey. The husbands of the six women live in Georgia, and the four of these are unemployed. The other two husbands are in Georgia, one being working in agriculture and the other having an own enterprise. The two women's husbands live in Turkey having joined their wives to Turkey after their wives migration. Their husbands work in textile workshops in Istanbul, and these jobs have been found by their wives after women's migration to Turkey. However, since these two women work as live-in domestic workers, they do not live together with their husbands (Table 4).

Only two women do not have children. The ages of children the other nine women have vary between 6 and 25. The two women (Medea and Naira) have young children in Georgia, and after their migration to Turkey, Naira's sisters and the mother-in-law of Medea are taking care of their children. The other five women also have grandchildren. While the main motivation of the two women (Manana and Rita) for migration is to pay for their grandchildren's health costs, the others support their children and the maintenance of their families with their remittances.

**Table 3. Number of Jobs and Term of Employment at the Current Job**

NAME	Number of Jobs	Term of Employment at the Current Job
Maria	3.	4 years
Anna	2.	6 months
Eva	7.	2 years
Isa	2.	2 years
Tamara	Cannot remember	2 months
Rita	3.	1.5 years
Manana	5.	6 months
Naira	3.	2 years
Nino	3.	1 year
Tea	4.	6 months
Medea	8.	2.5 months

**Table 4. Marital Status and Husbands' Location and Occupation**

NAME	Marital Status	Husbands' Location	Husbands' Occupation
Maria	Married	Istanbul	Working in a workshop
Anna	Widow	-	-
Eva	Married	Georgia	Farmer
Isa	Married	Georgia	Unemployed
Tamara	Divorced	Georgia	No information
Rita	Married	Georgia	Unemployed
Manana	Married	Istanbul	Working in a workshop
Naira	Married	Georgia	Unemployed
Nino	Married	Georgia	Own Job
Tea	Single	-	-
Medea	Married	Georgia	Unemployed

The average education level of the women is high. Seven of the women graduated from university, three of them graduated from high school, and the other two graduated from technical high school. Nine of them had various work experiences before migrating to Turkey, the other two had not worked as a paid worker before. Since unemployment increased in Georgia, the women started to lose their jobs or started to work in different

jobs than what their education had prepared them for.<sup>21</sup>(Table 5.)

**Table 5. Education and Last Job in Georgia**

NAME	EDUCATION	Last Job in Georgia
Maria	University - Economics	Domestic Worker
Anna	Technical high school- Nursing	Unemployed –Before she was working as a nurse
Eva	University- Banking	Unemployed
Isa	University- Economics- Accounting	Accountant
Tamara	High school	Agriculture
Rita	University- Teaching	Russian Language Teacher
Manana	High school	Never worked
Naira	University – German language	Teacher
Nino	University- Teaching	Working in Museum
Tea	University- Law	Solicitor
Medea	Technical high school- Nursing	Never worked

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<sup>21</sup> The jobs mentioned here are the latest or most distinct jobs that the women had in Georgia.

Five of the women had an internal migration experience in Georgia. While ten of the women stated that their migration to Turkey was their first international migration experience, one of them stated that her current migration to Turkey was not her first time. She mentioned that she was also in Turkey 3 years ago, in the summer of 2011, as a seasonal agriculture worker in the Black Sea region of Turkey, and returned back to Georgia. However, she migrated to Turkey again as a domestic worker 2 years ago. The time they have spent in Turkey ranges between 2 and 10 years. The two of them worked in workshops in Istanbul before starting to work as domestic workers. They define domestic tasks as being easier and better-paid than the tasks that they performed in workshops. Moreover, the cities that the women are working in now are not the only places where they have worked in Turkey. Four of them stated that they worked in Izmir and Bursa as domestic workers before their current jobs in Ankara and Istanbul. However, except for one woman, none of them worked as domestic workers in Georgia. (Table 6)

I conducted seven interviews with employers in Ankara and Istanbul. When a domestic worker is hired for elder-care, the daughters or the wife of the elderly person define themselves as the employer, not the elderly person himself or herself. Thus, the interviews were conducted with them. Their ages range between 32 and 64. Four of them are paid workers, one of them is a housewife and the other two are retired. The retired two women worked as nurse and office holder before their retirement. Moreover, four of the employers graduated from university, one having a master's degree. And two employers graduated from high school. Five of the employers live in Ankara, and the other two live in Istanbul. Except for one woman, the other six are married. All the employers that I conducted interview with are women. (Table 7)



**Table 6. Migration Experiences, Length of Stay and Previous Jobs in Turkey**

NAME	Migration Experiences	Length of Stay in Turkey	Previous Job in Turkey
Maria	Internal migration	6 years	-
Anna	-	2 years	-
Eva	-	10 years	Workshop in Istanbul
Isa	Internal migration	4 years	-
Tamara	-	7 years	Workshop in Istanbul
Rita	-	4 years	-
Manana	Internal migration	3 years	-
Naira	Internal migration	3 years	-
Nino	Second time migrating in Turkey	2 years	Seasonal Agriculture worker
Tea	Internal migration	4 years	-
Medea	-	6 years	-

**Table 7. Employers' Demographic Profile**

NAME	EDUCATION	SEX	AGE	PROFESSION	CITY	Marital Status
Ayse	Post-graduate (master degree)	Female	32	Yoga Trainer	Ankara	Single
Nazlı	University	Female	40	Teacher	Istanbul	Married
Elif	University	Female	52	Retired	Ankara	Married
Sevim	High School	Female	43	Housewife	Ankara	Married
Esra	High School	Female	64	Retired	Ankara	Married
Yonca	University	Female	44	Business Woman	Ankara	Married
Gonca	University	Female	38	Dentist	Istanbul	Married

Four of the employers employ domestic workers from Georgia for elder-care, one of them for both elder and patient care, and the other two for childcare. Before employing migrant domestic workers, three of the employers employed Turkish domestic workers in a live-out position, and one of the employers employed only Turkish domestic workers. For five of them, it is not the first time that they have employed migrant domestic workers. These five women stated that they employed migrant domestic workers from various nationalities (Uzbek, Russian, Moldovan, Azerbaijani, Filipino, Kyrgyz).

The four of the employers have found their workers through intermediary agencies and mediating women whose contact information was given to them by their acquaintances.

The other three employers have reached their migrant domestic worker through their personal networks including relatives or friends who have employed migrant domestic workers before.

## **5.2. Need to Work**

As it is discussed in the section IV. 2., after the dissolution of the Soviet Russia, the transition from the centrally planned economy to a market economy affected Georgia negatively. The civil war at the beginning of the 1990s not only caused an economic collapse in the country; 270.000 people were displaced in 1993 (European Bank, 2013). Thus, in addition to the economic disruption, the country also faced with high numbers of internal migration and displacement, which also strengthened the economic difficulties. At the beginning of 1990s, Georgia faces with increasing unemployment, privatization and decrease in the living standards. In the second half of the 1990s, Georgia attempted to become independent from Russia politically and economically. Under the effect of these new international policies, IMF and the World Bank started to be influential in Georgia. Thus, between the years of 1997 and 1999, the government introduced major privatization and implemented several reform programs including both economic and political changes (Stefes, 2006: 47).

Diminishing care opportunities which had been provided by the state during the Soviet area also affected women's participation in the labor market. Since gender roles in Georgia define women as 'mothers', the lack of social services affected women's participation in the labor market and searching for new jobs. And unemployment was another important issue after the independence of Georgia. The sectors in which women labor had been concentrated such as agriculture, education and industry faced amazing decreases. Increasing unemployment affected women more than men. Women became the ones who lost their jobs first and two-thirds of job losses were constituted by women in Georgia (ILO, 1998). At this point, migration became one of the main ways to cope with this unemployment and increasing poverty. The migration patterns in Georgia also

show us the feminization of migration. “About 20 per cent of the Georgian population has migrated in search of work over the last decade, leaving just 100 men to every 124 women” (IFAD, 2007).

All the interviewees mentioned the economic difficulties they had faced in Georgia. Almost all of them defined Georgian economic conditions as their main motivation to move to another country. As a 54 years old Anna mentioned that she decided to migrate after her husband death since she needed to take the responsibility for the whole family and there was no job in Georgia. On the other hand, Tamara and Nino told that their credit debt caused them to migrate since they could not afford their debt with their salary. Tamara had been engaged in agriculture before her migration and deeply affected from the collapse of agriculture in Georgia after the country’s independency.

The economic restructuring of the Georgian economy also brought about some changes in the education system. Before its independence from the Soviet Russia, the state expenditures on education decreased dramatically as in the other state-funded sectors. The share of education in GNP reduced from 7 percent in 1991 to less than 1 percent in 1994 (EFA, 2000). That is to say, the privatization of education system affected women’s decision to migrate since they considered their children’s welfare and wanted them to get a better education. Naira and Medea explained their main reason for migration was to guarantee their children’s future since they were too small and the women were the only members of their family who worked. Only Medea and Naira have small children among all the interviewed women. Having small children has a two sided result on the women's decision of migration. Although the main motivation is to build a good future for their children and provide them with a better education, they feel sad and guilty for being far away from their children.

I moved for them, but I left them there. It was hard, it was hard also for them, but time is passing. I came to Turkey three years ago, and three years have already passed. We say that time passes as bird. I still continue to work here, and they continue to grow there (Naira

37 years old).

I am the only family member who works and earn money here, what could I do? I have three children, my husband is unemployed. There is no job in Georgia. When I came here, one of my children was attending to the primary-school, and we needed money to let her study, and first and foremost, we needed money to eat from hand to mouth (Medea . 39 years old).

Since the mothers have left the country to work abroad, the childcare is mostly provided by other female members of the household in the home country. Medea mentions that she has left her children with her mother-in-law, and Naira's sister takes care of her children when she is away. The significance of getting childcare through other female members of the family is explained in the literature (Parrenas, 2000; Kümbetoğlu 2005); in addition, hiring someone else is also explored through various cases. Although Parrenas (2000) and Hondagneu-Stelo (2001) and other scholars mention that in some countries lower-class women are hired for childcare services, it is not the case for Georgia. Since none of the interviewees have mentioned that they have hired a paid worker for childcare services, but they all have mentioned their unpaid female relatives. Thus, while in the destination country domestic duties pass to the migrant women, in the home country these duties pass to the other female members of the family. As it is discussed in the section II.2., women' experiences show that regardless of whether it is paid or unpaid, domestic work remains on the shoulder of women, and migration or paid nature of this work does not create radical changes in the gender division of labor.

As a result of interviews, it can be seen that although there are several reasons for the migration of the women, almost all of them are related to the economic conditions, directly or indirectly. In this respect, Sassen's (2000) concept of "feminization of survival" can be utilized here to describe the women's decision to migrate. Sassen (2000) introduces the concept to figure out how migrant women became the main or single wage earner's of their families (Sassen, 2000). As most of the interviewees had mentioned, they are the only or the main wage earners of their family, which motivated

them to take the decision to migrate. Among the women who had taken a decision to migrate, only Nino and Eva had a husband who had been working. The husband of Eva was a farmer and Eva was unemployed, and the income they got from agriculture was not enough. The husband of Nino was working in his own enterprise, but Nino stated that he could only pay his own debt and could not contribute to the family budget. The husbands of the other six married women were unemployed. At this point, migration became a survival strategy to overcome economic difficulties.

The migration stories that the women told in the interviews mostly contains an internal migration behind. Four of the women (Maria, Isa, Manana, Naira) that I interviewed mentioned that they first moved to Tbilisi, the capital city, to search for a job. Also, Tea moved to Tbilisi to study and continue to work there. Even though some of them got some jobs there, they decided to move abroad since the jobs were mostly low-paid there. Unlike their migration abroad, the internal migration mostly included all the family members. As 47 years old, university graduated Maria states:

I studied economics, and worked as an economist in the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) times. When we split up from Russia, everything was broken up. I became unemployed. We – the whole family - moved to Tbilisi to get a job, I also couldn't find a job there, I started to work as a live-on domestic worker, but I was earning nothing, so I decided to move abroad (Maria, 47 years old).

As Maria mentions, most of the women attended higher education in their home countries. Among the eleven interviewees that I interviewed, seven of them (Maria, Eva, Isa, Rita, Naira, Nino, Tea) are university graduates, two of them (Anna, Medea) graduated from a technical high school, and other two (Tamara, Manana) are high school graduates. Anna and Eva were unemployed before they took a decision to migrate, and Manana and Medea had not experienced paid labor before. However, the other seven women worked in different jobs. They decided to migrate abroad not because they could not find an employment, but because they could not find well-paid, qualified jobs in Georgia. As Rita mentioned, she was working as a Russian language teacher, however

the changes in the education system affected her since English became an elective language in Georgia instead of Russian. Her salary also decreased with the decreasing number of Russian classes in schools, and she decided to migrate to earn more. Tea, who worked as a solicitor in the private sector for a short time in Georgia, also highlights low level of wages and mentions that as a lawyer she could earn around 150 dollar in Georgia. Therefore, they ended up with working at relatively well-paid but less prestigious jobs, i.e. domestic services, abroad.

The salary that women could get in Georgia ranged between 30 dollars and 150 dollars. The lowest wage belonged to Maria who was working as a domestic worker in Georgia, and she emphasized that she was earning around 30 dollars a month in Georgia. Isa also figured out this contradiction and mentioned that as an accountant she could only earn 50 dollars a month:

I studied accounting in Georgia, I attended university, but the salary I was earning there was funny. I take care of the elderly here, but I earn much more than I earned in Georgia. For instance, I have a friend who was a pediatrician in Georgia and she works as a domestic worker here. They were earning so little in Georgia that they also migrated here as domestics. I find this situation hurtful. These clever people spend their times here for nothing. Okay, this is also a job, and that is also job I know. We earn money and send it to our families, I know, but I feel sad about this (Isa, 48 years old).

What is defined above as hurtful and made Isa feel sad about the wasting of her clever friends in domestic services is described as the “brain waste” by Lutz (2002). Lutz uses the “brain waste” to define the situation of these women who were professionals in their home country but were unable to find an economically fulfilling job and moved to other countries to help to support their families by “resorting the their apparently ‘natural skills’ at the risk of losing their social standing” (Lutz, 2002: 98). This situation is highly common among the migrant domestic workers due to the gendered and raced structure of the labor markets of host countries (Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2010). In this perspective, it is very less likely for a migrant woman to find a professional job in accordance with her

educational or occupational background not only because of the labor regulations that hinders migrants' access to well-paid and prestigious professions but also because of gendered and raced structure of the labor market that restricts migrants women's access to these kind of jobs. Moreover, it should be noted that migrant labor has become key to the neoliberal state and global capitalism as migrant workers often have no choice but to accept low-status, low-paid and flexible jobs. From this perspective, the state regulations of labor and migration prevent migrant women from working in other sectors related with their education, but direct them to mostly informal and low-skilled jobs, such as live-in domestic positions which are not preferred by citizens.

Another issue that was discussed by the interviewees was their situation in the home country. Rita and Manana mentioned that they took the decision of migration due to their grandchildren's health problems. . The transition period had several social and economic impacts which also include changes in the health system. After the independence of Georgia, the state faced with an economic corruption, and especially with the introduction of neoliberal policies, it withdrew from the health system which was funded by the state before. Thus, people were forced to pay for the basic health services. As it can be seen in the case of Rita and Manana, the privatization of the health system has a serious impact on the increasing emigration from the country. Rita and Manana, decided to migrate since the high cost of health-care could not afforded only by their children.

Another interesting point in this issue is the fact that most of the migrant women are over forty and they are grandmothers. Five (Maria, Anna, Rita, Manana, Nino) of the women I interviewed are grandmothers. Actually, the migration of grandmothers is defined as the "grandmothers' migration" (Solari 2010: 218; Palenga- Möllenbeck, 2013: 564). The scholars relate this phenomenon to the average birth age of women since the "Soviet-era doctors advocated 18 as the ideal age for first births" (Solari 2010: 218). As a post-Soviet country, Georgia fits this interpretation since most of women from Georgia gave their first birth approximately in their 20s. In 2010, mothers' mean age at first birth were 23.9 (2010 est.) (Indexmundi, 2012). Age is defined as the push and pull factor of



migration by Palenga- Möllenbeck (2013) and Solari (2010) in their Ukrainian case; they take it into account as a part of the ‘new’ Ukraine which is one of the post-soviet nation-state projects. On the other hand, Palenga- Möllenbeck (2013: 564) mentions that the migration of grandmothers can be interpreted as a case in which women's roles of carer and breadwinner conflict less. In my research, when I asked the interviewees whether the decision of migration had belonged to themselves or to the other members of the family, most of them emphasized that this was their own decision. Since Georgia has strong gender roles and a gendered division of labor (Hoffman & Buckley, 2012), this challenge still remains regardless of whether women who migrate are ‘grandmothers’ or not.

When I could not get any money, I decided to migrate abroad, I took the decision on my own, and my husband totally objected to my decision. But I said, “what can I do? I will go”. He was so nervous, at those times – 2004 – the number of the migrants from Georgia were not so high in Turkey, so it was also a problem. My husband was a problem, but I came here anyway (Eva, 42 years old).

Even though the increase in women's migration have had an effect on men's opposition to women's decision of migration, the construction of gender roles continues through socially constructed discourses. And these discourses have also had an impact on women's definition of their migration. As the findings of Hoffman and Buckley in their research focusing on the returned female migrants in Georgia show, these women define their migration decision as their only available option for their economic survival, rather than an active decision-making to cope with the social stigma surrounding them (Hoffman & Buckley, 2012: 82).

However, as a single woman, Tea decided to migrate in order to raise her life standards. She mentioned that she had only her mother and father, and they subsisted in a village on farming and the retirement salary of her father without any serious economic problem. However, after her migration to Tbilisi for university, she did not want to return to her hometown and started to live and work there. However, low salary and the

life conditions in Georgia directed her to migrate abroad. She wanted to improve her life.

In addition, the destination country preferred to migrate also has had different impacts on women and society. At this point, under the next section, choosing Turkey as a destination country will be discussed.

### **5.3. Decision to Migrate Turkey**

Why do women from Georgia choose to migrate to Turkey? Apparently, there are several reasons affecting the choice of the destination country. First of all, the geographical proximity has been playing a crucial role especially since the visa-regime between Turkey and Georgia was changed. Because Turkey has a position as the neighboring country to Georgia and the visa-free regime has been implemented between the two countries since 2006, women from Georgia are more motivated to migrate to Turkey rather than to the other destinations such as Greece, Spain and Italy. However, social norms are still playing crucial roles when women choose their destination country. The women who migrated to Turkey and Greece are defined as ‘indecent and disrespectful’ women by their society since these destinations are mostly related with commercial sex work (Hoffman & Buckley, 2012: 84). In the interviews, the women who came to the cities to which the migration of women is high did not express that kind of a perception; however, Eva and Tamara mentioned that their families did not familiar with the migration to Turkey, and when they decided to migrate to Turkey, their families referred to the perceptions mentioned above.

All the women with whom I conducted an interview have entered Turkey as tourists with their passport. Moreover, Nino migrated to Turkey in 2011 to work as a seasonal agriculture worker during the summer. She decided to come to Turkey as a seasonal agriculture worker due to the temporary nature of this work and the proximity between Turkey and Georgia. In 2011, she worked in the Black Sea Region of Turkey, Fatsa, and this migration experience also affected her decision to migrate to Turkey as a domestic worker since she became familiar with Turkey.

While women mostly arrive in Istanbul and Ankara, Manana went to Bursa and Isa, Tamara and Rita went to Izmir to work as domestic workers. Except for Rita, the other three women were directed to these cities through agencies, and Rita went to Izmir since she knew a friend in Turkey who found her a job there.

The travel expenses also play a crucial role in decision of the destination country. In this respect, Turkey becomes the cheapest alternative for migrants from Georgia because of the low cost of travel expenses between the two countries. Since traveling by bus is the cheapest transportation and there are several companies organizing travels to various cities, all the interviewees have come to Turkey by bus. Most of the women stated that they met their travel expenses by themselves without borrowing any money. However, only Maria and Nino borrowed money from their friends.

In Georgia, there are many women like me. I started to think where I should go. I said, let's go to Turkey, let's go to Spain. I started to learn English. I wanted to go to Italy and Greece, but to go Greece and Italy is too expensive, you need too much money. You need 3.500 euro. How could I find 3.500 euros? If I had 3.500 euros, why would I need to leave my country? The closest place was Turkey, so I decided to go there. To come to Turkey is just 50 dollars. But I did not even have 50 dollars to pay for the bus. I paid my travel fee after I started to work in Turkey. Thanks to God, I had someone familiar who worked in the bus company, and she allowed me to pay later (Maria, 47 years old).

The explanation of Maria gives us two significant clues. First of all, it shows that the female domestic migration from Georgia is not only directed to Turkey, but also to the European countries such as Greece, Spain and Italy, which did not get much attention in the literature. Thus, it depicts the gap in the literature. Secondly and most importantly, it shows us that knowing someone in the destination country affects women's decision of migration, which, I suppose, needs much more attention. Even though they may not know someone personally in the destination country, knowing other women who have migrated before them can be read as an encouraging factor for them to migrate. In her interview, Nino describes this as follows:

When I decided to go to Turkey, I was nervous. I didn't know Turkish, I didn't know Turkey, but I said to myself that I could overcome this. There was a neighbor of mine who had come to Turkey a year before I came, and I said, 'why couldn't I?'. There were many women who migrated to Turkey from my town, so many women that you cannot imagine (Nino, 42 years old).

Knowing someone not only encourages women to migrate, but also creates solidarity networks among migrant women working in Turkey. These networks also help women to find jobs. At this point, Lutz' concept of the "brain waste" can be reconsidered from another perspective. According to Irek's research (1998 as cited in Lutz, 2002: 92) which was conducted with the Polish workers in Berlin working in the informal economy, migrant domestic workers are not only exposed to hard living conditions, but

many of them became entrepreneurs, and formed their own hierarchical networks, exploit their fellow countrywomen and establish their own small business in Poland. These women have been invaluable for Poland's most recent economic miracle. Thus, they did not remain in the country where they -as they put it- were "condemned to slave labor", work that those left behind were not supposed to know about (Irek, 1998 as cited in Lutz, 2002: 92).

In order to be able to explore these new sides of the migration of domestic workers that the Poland case reveals regarding the hierarchical networks and entrepreneurship of migrant women, the next section will focus on the job placement processes of the women from Georgia.

#### **5.4. Finding Job in Turkey**

Knowing someone who would act as a mediator like in the story of Maria helps women to postpone their travel expenses and/or help them to find jobs in Turkey. In this process, some actors can be ordered. Having someone from relatives or friends in Turkey who has migrated here before and worked as a domestic constitutes a way of finding a job.

My sister was the first one here. Once her employer asked her whether she knew someone from Georgia to be employed in their

friend's house as a domestic worker, my sister directly told me that there was a job. I was thinking to come to Turkey, when my sister told me the about the job, I came here and started to work in that house. I took care of one old man. I worked in the same house until he passed away (Anna, 54 years old).

I had a friend here, in Ankara. She used to live in my home town. When she came back to Georgia for holiday, I asked her how things were going in Turkey, and told her I also wanted to go there. She said that she could find a job for me and I said okay. She found me a house to work and explained to me what I needed to do. I mean, she explained how to behave in front of employers etc., and I gave her my first salary. I know many Georgian women like me here. They came here, they stayed in a room with other 10-15 women like them until they found a job, they found the job through the company and they paid money to the company. Mine was better, I have also paid money, but when I came here, I had already had a job (Rita, 53 years old).

As Rita mentions in the above statement, it is not only 'solidarity' that is in operation to find a job. The mediators such as companies or familiar women working in the business earn profit from these kinds of job placements. In this process, two main actors come to the stage; one of them is the women who have migrated before, so to say, the early comers or early migrants, and the other one is the agencies which are called 'companies' in the statement of Rita.

Some of the women who migrated to Turkey years before as domestic workers and have continued to work in the sector mediate the process. They mostly find a house for their fellow-citizens to work in exchange for money. On the other hand, private employment agencies also play an important part for women to find a job. As it is discussed in the section II.3, globalization is a multidimensional phenomenon and has impacts especially on economy and labor market. Since globalization and neoliberal policies have increased unemployment, flexibility has increased and new forms of jobs and employment processes have come to the stage. Since the employment process itself has been privatized, private employment agencies have started to play an important role in restructuring of these new economies. Their aim is to regulate informal recruitment

processes and struggle against unemployment especially through activating the unskilled labor (Rittersberger-Tılıç & Kalaycıoğlu, 2012: 312). These agencies' mission is defined as to bring employers and workers together for specific sectors. At this point, domestic services constitute one of the main areas in which they are working. In Turkey, while there are agencies which are dependent on the Turkish Employment Organization (İş-Kur), there are also many agencies which work informally. However, there are differences between the employment processes of internal domestics and migrant domestic workers in this respect. According to the regulations regarding private employment agencies, they cannot mediate between employers and foreign workers who do not have their work permits. And since most of the foreign domestic workers get their work permit after they have found a job in Turkey, the majority of agencies operating for migrant domestic workers work informally.

Although some agencies establish their companies and seemingly work formally, they also work with migrant domestic workers in the recruitment process informally. According to Atatimur's research (2008), the agencies are mostly established as companies, but they work in the informal sector and confiscate women's passports during the recruitment process (Atatimur, 2008). Informality in the case of domestic workers open the door of exploitation of migrant domestic workers. While the women did not stated that their passports had been confiscated by their agencies, Isa mentioned the hard living conditions she had gone through in the place of the agency until she got an employer. She emphasized that the agency she applied to was Turkish. She paid the travel expenses herself and then stayed in the office of the agency designed as a flat when she came to Turkey. During the time she spent there, she was not allow to go out and had a limited amount of food to eat. These kinds of agencies are not only established in Turkey, some of them also are located in Georgia or have transnational boundaries between countries. Some of these agencies also meet the travel expenses and get documents for women at the beginning of their migration. When, agencies meet the travel expenses, they go from village to village and announce the date of departure from

Georgia, and women prepare their papers according to the announced date. At the time of departure, busses of agencies pass of through towns and pick up all women. (Toksöz & Ulutaş, 2011: 175)

The agencies do not only work to find jobs, women also apply to those agencies when they need to change their job, or when they have problems with the household. Unlike mediator migrant women, these agencies take commission both from migrant women and from employers. The interviewed women who had agency experiences told me that the agency took their first salary and they paid 50 dollar to the agency every three month. Also, some employers apply to the agencies when they have a problem with the workers. Kaşka (2006) defines the way agencies work as a regulation of irregularity. Although the agencies operate informally, they have established some standards for the domestic labor market, and even they have defined the maximum and minimum level for wages (Kaşka, 2006: 76-80). Even though most of women do not prefer to use agencies to find a job, for some women who do not have any connections in/with Turkey, these agencies become crucial.

I found my first job in Turkey via a company. I was staying in the office where 10 other women were waiting to be selected. Employers come and go, you only sit. They look at you. You feel yourself like... I don't know, but too bad. They were talking with the owner of company. At the beginning, I didn't know any Turkish, I couldn't understand what they were talking about. But I spent a week there (Manana, 46 years old).

However, sometimes agencies and mediating women work together and extend their network to Georgia. When Naira decided to migrate to Turkey, her neighbor who had worked in Turkey as a domestic worker and then returned back to Georgia told her that she knew certain agencies in Turkey and could arrange everything for Naira. Thus, Naira started her trip after her neighbor arranged everything and found an agency for her in Turkey. She said that she was lucky and got a job soon without staying too many days in the place of the agency. However, Anna mentioned that she knew some friends who took

the bus from Georgia through these agencies, came to Turkey and stayed in these busses until they got a job.

Due to the hard conditions in the recruitment process and commission rates taken by agencies, women do not prefer agencies as a mediating actor, especially after their first employment. Women mostly leave agencies and try to constitute their own network.

### **5.5. Experiences at Private Domain**

All of the interviewed women work in live-in positions. This aspect of domestic work which requires a live-in position constitutes one of the main motivations for employers to employ a migrant domestic worker, but this will be discussed in the next chapters. Out of the eleven women I interviewed with, the six of them take care of the elderly, the one looks after a patient, the three of them are responsible for child care, and the one is employed as a household keeper. The seven of the women have work permits while the four of them are irregular domestic workers. The women with work permits emphasize that the new regulation has affected the way they get their work permits. They claim that their employers have got their work permits for them since they themselves do not want to pay fines in case they are caught by the authorities. According to law numbered 4817, the employer needs to pay 6.795 TL for the each foreigner that works for her or him without a work permit, and the fine for the employee who works without a work permit is 679 TL. Also, independent foreign workers need to pay 2.718 TL and in the case of the repetition of this situation, the fine will be doubled (Kocaoğlu, 2012: 33-34). On the other hand, the gross wage paid to migrant workers need to be at least the same as the determined minimum wage. Between the dates of 01.07.2014 and 31.12.2014, the determined net minimum wage is 891.04 TL, and all the social security premiums are 417 TL. Thus, the cost of employing domestic workers amounts to 1308.04 TL (yabancipersonel.com).



More importantly, one of the main reasons for having a work permit has closely related to the new regulation since it has formulated the residence time as ‘90 within 180 days’ instead of ‘90+90 days’. As it is explained in the section IV.1.1, the former 90+90 regime allowed Georgian citizens to enter Turkey with a tourist visa and it was valid to stay for 90 days. After the 90 days, the women domestic workers who had come with a tourist visa used to go abroad for a few days and then re-enter Turkey again for another 90 days. In this regime, women did not have work permits, but their residence in Turkey was regular with the entry and exit regulations. Women and employers used very commonly this method of working for 90 days, exiting and re-entering the country and then working for another 90 days. However, the latter regime of ‘90 within 180 days’ allows Georgian citizens to stay at most 90 days in a period of 180 days in Turkey. It means that if women have come to Turkey to work and worked for 90 days, they need to leave the country at least for another 90 days in order to be able to turn back. This creates a complicated employment process both for employers and employees since there has emerged a fast circularity for workers. Thus, the employers who do not want to change their employees have decided to get the required work permit documents for their domestic workers.

However, the four women (Tamara, Rita, Manana, Medea) I interviewed who work without work permits still use the old way to survive in an irregularity. One of them who is responsible for domestic work has been employed just for three months, and she said that she would get back to her country after her legal period was over in Turkey. And the two other women (Rita, Manana) who have been employed for the elder-care are able to continue their employment by working alternately. When one of these women has completed her legal time, she goes back to Georgia, and the other woman from her family comes to Turkey to sustain the same job. It means that the same domestic work is shared by the two female family members of the same household.

On the other hand, regardless of whether they have their work permits or not, when the women go to Georgia for holiday, they ask other domestic workers to replace them

during the period that they are abroad. Or if they cannot find other migrant women for several days, employers apply to agencies which provide them with another migrant domestic worker for a certain period of time. Wages paid to these temporary women workers are calculated on the basis of the days they are employed. However, if initially employed migrant workers do not have work permits, this situation often creates a disadvantage situation for them and leaves women vulnerable to unemployment since employers could get fire domestic worker because of the lack of work permit and hire temporary one permanently. This situation best illustrates how employment process of migrant domestic workers are saturated with flexibility, and precarious working conditions.

Whether migrant women have proper documents for employment or not also affects their work experiences. All domestic workers, especially those who work in a live-in position, do much more than what is said in their work definition for very long hours starting from the early morning until the late night. However, being irregular in the destination country has tremendously aggravating effects on women's work experiences. In addition to working for extremely long shifts from the early morning to the late night, they are also threatened by the fact that they may not get their salary. In some cases, employers appropriate workers' passports to force them keep working. In my research, none of the interviewees mentioned that their employers appropriated their passport or forced them to work. However, Naira mentioned that she could not get her salary for her last job.

I have a work permit now, I feel much more comfortable. You know, when I came to Turkey, my second job was to take care of a sick old man. I worked there for 6 months. I did everything, but he was too crusty. I said to myself that this was my job, so I needed to work. However, after 6 months, I couldn't manage anymore, and said to the son of the man that I would leave, so he should give me my money. He did not accept, he said to me that since I decided to leave, I didn't deserve my money. He said that I was leaving him in the lurch. But I was feeling so bad. I said to him that I could not manage anymore. He didn't listen to me and told me to go to the police if I

had any problems. He said that there was no money for me. I didn't have the permit. How could I go to the police? I left the house without taking my salary for the last 2 months. I worked for nothing (Naira, 37 years old).

Since human trafficking also includes the “of abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability to achieve the consent of a person to be controlled by another person for the purpose of forced labor” (Penal Code Law No. 5237, Article 80 as cited in Atasü-Topçuoğlu & Atauz & Akbaş, 2009), what Naira was mentioned in her story is human trafficking. Thus, it is striking example to show women's vulnerability and exploitation that they encounter. It is clear that since they do not have work permits, they became more open to exploitation.

Being migrant makes women more vulnerable to exploitation; therefore, women create their ways to resist this vulnerability. One of these ways is to make up excuses (Hondagneu-Stelo, 2003: 65) to their employers, because if they explain their dissatisfaction with the job, or if they say that they found a better job, they are afraid to be blamed with betrayer and disloyalty by their employers.

However, the experiences of women are not only shaped around their legal status. Language becomes an important indicator since they mostly learn Turkish after their arrival in Turkey. Unknowing Turkish affects the period of time that they spend to find a job and also the type of job that they may find. On the other hand, they have learned so quickly by following up Turkish TV serials and communicating with their employers in Turkish. Moreover, they have their language books and dictionaries given to them by the women that had migrated before them or by the agencies that they had applied to find a job. These language books include some of the main sentences which they will need to use in their job. On the other hand, since employers mostly prefer the domestics who can speak Turkish, they learn Turkish very quickly.

I was looking for a job when I arrived in Turkey. I applied to an agency. I was there to be selected and to find a house to work. I

waited there for 10 days. Nobody selected me because I didn't know Turkish. I studied there for 10 days and learned some Turkish, just enough for me to be selected (Isa, 48 years old).

Naira also mentioned how language skills were important during the recruitment process. She did not know Turkish before her migration to Turkey and was worried about getting a job. However, she could speak German, and the agency found her a job in a Turkish-German family that she spoke German with. However, not all the women are as lucky as Naira in terms of language. The women's work experiences also get more complicated since employers and domestic workers have difficulty in understanding each other. They get more isolated within the house since domestic workers could only communicate with their employers using some basic sentences.

As for the economic aspects of employment, it should be stated that the salary migrant women get varies according to the city in which they work. In Ankara, women get paid between 550 dollars to 650 dollars per month. In Istanbul, this may increase up to 700 dollars per month. If women get work permits, they also get premiums. Nino, a migrant woman from Georgia who takes care of an elderly in Ankara, gets the lowest salary among the other participants. She gets paid 450 dollars per month.

She – the employer – told me that she could only pay 450 dollars to me, but she also said that she would pay my premium, thus I accepted the job. Before getting this job, I was working without the work permit, it was hard. You don't have any rights. If you can't get your money, you don't have the right to say something. If you are ill, you can't go to the doctor. So, I said yes to 450 dollars (Nino, 42 years old).

The migrant women's salaries are paid on a monthly basis. All the women work 6 days of the week and have only one day off. For the day off, the employers pay the domestics between 20-25 TL as pocket money. Moreover, sometimes their employers give them gifts. These gifts include clothes for the women or other kinds of stuff for the family of the women. Maria has been working in the same household for four years, and she emphasized that she had a good relationship with her employers. While gifts mostly

include clothes or small souvenirs, only Maria among the other interlocutors mentioned that her employers sent her to Cappadocia for holiday. They covered all the expenses for her and organized a two-day holiday.

Although the day-off is mostly Sundays, the leave day may be changed according to the employers' decision. If the employers expect a guest or they need to go somewhere else, the leave day will be postponed. While sometimes this is dictated to the worker as an obligation and without asking her at all, mostly it works through a familial rhetoric. As Hondagneu-Sotelo's (2003) research which was conducted from mid- to late 1990s regarding Latina immigrant domestic workers in Los Angeles County in the U.S. shows, this familial rhetoric which situates domestic workers as a part of the family, "just like one of the family" (2003: 67) blurs the boundaries between paid work and unpaid favors, which in turn often leads to exploitation (Hondagneu- Sotelo, 2003: 67). Actually, these conflicting positions can also be seen in the interviews. In the case of Nino, the one who gets the lowest salary among the interviewees and justifies it through her premium, states that she also likes her employer and she would like to help her when she is in need.

My employer, I mean, the daughter of the old woman that I take care of, is really kind. She asks me every time whether I need something or not. She behaves me very well. I know, it is hard for her to constantly think about her mom since she is just 30 years old. I earn less, but she helps me and I help her (Nino, 42 years old).

I mostly go out on Sundays, but if my boss asks me to stay at home on Sunday, then I stay. You know, I love children that I take care of. The youngest one, she is pretty. She also likes me, and when my boss goes out on Sunday, they tell me to go and join them. They consider me as a family member. And I go out with them (Naira, 37 years old).

The situation can be considered as a kind act on behalf of families employing domestic workers. However, this would be a naive interpretation in most of the cases. Even though migrant domestic workers join the 'family' for a day-out, they still have to fulfill

the requirements that they need to do at home. They again either as a ‘member of family’ or as a migrant domestic worker continue to take care of children or the elderly. Actually, for domestics taking care of children and the elderly, working hours are much more flexible and can be prolonged until late at nights. Isa, Manana and Anna who are responsible for elderly-care are living alone with the elderly people that they take care of, and except Tamara and Nino, women have separated rooms within the households. However, Nino mentioned that she stayed in the same room with ‘old woman’ and Tamara was staying in the children’s room. This is to say that these women do not have a room of their own, which is necessary for their leisure time and privacy. More importantly, this is also to say that caring and working continues even during the nights albeit in an unpaid manner. With respect to this, Manana's story clarifies my point on flexible working hours. Manana takes care of an old woman and stays with her in a flat where only the two of them lives. The daughter of the old woman lives in the same apartment, but in a different flat. In the interview, Manana said:

You know, the old woman has psychological problems. She wakes up in the nights and walks, but she does not realize what she does. One night, she fell down and stroke her head. She is ill, as you know. At the beginning, I was staying in another room, but when she stroke her head, her daughter told me to sleep in the same room with her. Thus, I also wake up when she gets up at nights. I will show you that my bed stands just in front of hers in order to prevent her from harming herself (Manana, . 46 years old).

While live- in employment of migrant domestics is an advantage in some aspects, it also causes exploitation of their rights. Since live-in employment includes accommodation, it decreases the cost of living and increases the salary (Akalın, 2007: 214; Cox, 1999: 135 as cited in Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2010). However, as it can be understood from Manana's expressions, live- in employment of domestics prolongs their working hours and opens up the ways of exploitation by employers. Moreover, since they live alone with the elderly that they take care of, flexibility within the employment process also effects

women' free-time, and free-time activities. The only time that they can go out is day-offs, mostly once a week, sometimes once every two weeks.

Health also becomes an important issue since women do not have their work permits. Since four of them are irregular in Turkey, they do not have any social and health security. As they emphasize, they mostly bring some medicines from Georgia and ask help from their employers when they get serious health problems. On the other hand, out of the seven women who have their work permits and thus have health insurance, two of them (Anna and Nino) mentioned that they were planning to go to the dentist to get dental plate. Maria mentioned that she went to the doctor for her leg pain and maybe she would have a surgery. Medea and Tea mentioned that they had never had a health problem since they came to Turkey. However, health issues are not only physical health problems. As it can be seen in the interviews, the women's experiences as migrant domestic workers highly affect their mental health, as well. Their live-in working conditions cause isolation, especially when women do not have any 'private area'. Their highly flexible work hours and day-offs also have an effect on women's mental health since all these conditions do not create any place for the women to refresh themselves and relax (Lordoğlu, 2010). According to the research of Etiler and Lordoğlu (2010) which focuses on the health issues of domestic workers in Turkey, most of migrant domestic workers face mental health problems. One of the interviewees of Etiler and Lordoğlu (2010) who works in a private employment agency for Georgian women mentions that a medicine which is called 'neurosis medicine' by women is commonly used by migrant women. As the manager of the agency acknowledges, women state that they take these medicines to 'remain standing'.

When I talked to the women about their daily routines, most of them said that they were happy with their work. But this can be related to the fact that I was 'someone' introduced to them by their employers. However, when they started to explain their typical days, the excessively long working hours and flexibility in their tasks revealed themselves.

I wake up in the morning, at around seven o'clock. Because the child goes to the school. I prepare her breakfast and send her to the school. Then, I go back to my bed to sleep until 08:30. But mostly I can't sleep, you know, I am used to waking up early. At 08:30, I get up and start to work. The child comes back from the school in the afternoon. I prepare her food again and take care of her. In the evening, I prepare the dinner and the table for the hosts. Then, I go to my room if there is no guest. You know, when it finishes, it changes. But I am okay, I have got used to it. I like what I am doing. However, sometimes I don't want to do anything. I don't know why, I don't want to wake up and work (Maria, 47 years old).

The explanation of Maria about her daily routine shows how flexible and employer-centered her job definition is. There is no definite time, no definite job. Everything is 'changeable'. While women are mostly employed for elder- or childcare, they also become responsible for other domestic duties. As Tea mentioned, she was hired for elder-care, but she also did cleaning and cooking in the house. Thus, as Anderson mentions (2000), the difficulty in the definition of domestic work comes to the stage. Moreover, the 'undefinable' reluctance of Maria harbors important clues about the isolated nature of domestic work. Since the workplace and the living place have become the same sphere and the socialization is limited to the day-offs, both the employers and chatting with the family members from Georgia. On the other, when the women are taking care of the elderly, this isolation is felt deeply. Taking care of the elderly includes a non-stop care according to domestic workers. And if they live alone with the elderly person, they only see that elderly person during the days.

Since talking with their family is an important issue to decrease the effect of this isolation, all the women mentioned that they communicated with their families through internet and mostly via Skype. They mentioned that they had previously used to buy phone cards to call their families and friends in Georgia, but in the last years they used mostly the internet. Globalization also affects the perception of the women regarding the communication methods with their families. Since they mostly communicate via Skype, they talk to their families in Georgia everyday mostly when they are alone in the



household during the day. And this affects the women's experiences of loneliness, and helps them to overcome the "problem without no name" (Friedan, 1963).

Live-in employment also causes a great amount of oppression and control over domestic workers. Being a foreign who live and work in the same place expands employer's limits of control. Some employers even try to control what domestics eat, what they wear, and what they can do in their free time. This excessive use of control is quite obvious in Medea's story. Medea is a 39 years old woman working as a housekeeper in Istanbul. Before she was hired for this job, she had worked in several different houses. She had been employed through an agency at the beginning.

Once a woman came to the agency. They wanted me as their domestics. I was so happy, because I was not comfortable there at all. Then the man in the agency told me that "nobody will ask, but if they do, just tell them that you are Muslim". I didn't understand, but I said okay, but I was saying "my god forgive me". They were too rich. Do you know that \* (She says the name of one of the famous markets in Turkey)? This family was the owner of these chains. There were four more domestics like me, all from different countries. The employers were living in a huge house together with the man's brothers. I mean, five families were living in the same house. First, they gave us something like a uniform. I said okay. They gave us trousers and really long dresses that we needed to wear. The dress had long sleeves. Then, they gave us a scarf to cover our heads. I didn't understand, but I took it. It was not allowed to take off the scarf, but they made my head itchy. One day, I took it off while I was alone in the room. Then, suddenly the rain started and I ran out to the garden since the laundry was there. Since I was panicked to keep the laundry dry, I forgot to cover my head. This time, the dad of the family, the old man, hodja was coming home and he saw me. Although I tried to explain that it was raining, it did not work. Several days after this event, I think they understood that I was not a Muslim and they fired me. I don't know what is wrong with that. If I am a Christian, am I a bad person? (Medea, 39 years old).

The explanation of Medea gives us important clues about the extent of control exerted over the migrant women. It is also important since it shows the intersectional nature of

experiences of woman domestic workers. Although certain researches do take into account the factor of race, there are fewer studies which focus on the role of religion in employment processes (Anderson, 2007: 252). Except for Medea, all the women mentioned that they did not have any problem with their employers regarding religion. Mostly, they showed me their room with the pictures of Jesus and Maria, and said that it did not create any problem for their employers. However, since the employers that I could conduct interviews with did not define themselves as conservatives, it can be also the reason why religion does not become an issue between the workers and the employers.

The control over women starts with what they eat and finish with where they sit. Tea, who is responsible for the elder-care, mentions that her employer mostly makes jokes about the fact that she is eating too much.

In the breakfast, I am also sitting with the family members. Every time they talk about the fact that I am eating too much. They say, “you are losing your beauty”. They say “if you continue to eat like this, you couldn’t move soon”. I get nervous whenever my employer makes jokes about what I eat (Tea, 36 years old).

While eating too much is a problem in which the employers interfere, sometimes where to eat is also decided by them.

I am not eating with them. I am eating in the kitchen when they finish eating. I clear the table, make tea for them and then start to eat. I don’t know why, but my employer didn’t tell me that I can sit with them around the table (Tamara, 40 years old.).

The employers also interfere in the women's clothing not only within working hours, but also in their day-offs. As one of the interviewees told:

When I get prepared to go out, she tells me that my clothes are so frilly. She says that I need to make up less and wear simpler clothes (Nino, 42 years old).

The research of Constable (2003) which focuses on Filipino workers in Hong Kong explains that these control mechanisms operate in a wide range of spheres which includes what domestics need to wear, changing time of the day-off without asking the employee, or deciding the time that the employee will sleep (Constable, 2003). These findings are compatible with the words of my interviewees, too. However, the important thing is that these practices not only show the extent of the oppression and control over the women, but also position them as inferior people (Constable, 2003).

The relation between the employer and the employee is another important issue regarding this interlocking nature of domestic work. Most of the women state that their current relation with their employers is on good terms. However, they also mention the bad behaviors of their ex-employers. While some of them mentioned that they faced with insults coming from their employers, Tamara mentioned that she suffered from sexual abuse by her ex-employer. She did not want to explain the details of the event, but she said that she did not accept to work with an only-male employer from that day on. While Manana did not face with any sexual abuse, she was fired from her previous job because she was a young lady.

When I came to Turkey, my company told me that there was a job position in Bursa for a caregiver to take care of an old man. I took the bus from Istanbul and went there. The employer, the son of the old man, came to the bus station to pick me up. When he saw me, he said 'oh, you are young, I didn't want a young lady'. That time I didn't understand what he told me, because I didn't know Turkish. Then we went home. In the house, there were two sons of the employer and the old man. The employer had just got divorced from his wife. After two days, he told me that "you are returning back to Istanbul". I understood that I needed to return, but I didn't understand why. They gave me money for two days and took me to the bus station. The young son of the employer explained me with his hand gestures that his parents had just got divorced. I understood that they didn't want me, they didn't want a young woman (Manana, 46 years old).

Not only being a migrant woman from a different religion, but also being young affects the experiences of the domestic workers. This intersectionality also continues when they go out to the public spaces. The next chapter will examine the life experiences of the domestic workers in this respect.

### **5.6. Experiences at Public Domain**

Being a migrant woman worker affects not only the experiences of the migrant domestic workers at work place, but also their experiences at the public domain. The first problems arose from their limited language skills since most of the women did not know Turkish when they arrived in Turkey as it explained in the previous section. Unknowing Turkish affects the women's both work and life experiences and obstructs their daily experiences. The women also feel less comfortable when people understand that they are foreigners since they face discriminative practices. Also, as Medea mentions, when they do not have work and residence permits in Turkey, they do not speak Georgian on the street.

As mentioned in the previous section, all of the interviewees have a day-off once a week. In their day-offs, women mostly meet other migrant domestics. According to the interviewees, they mostly meet other women from Georgia while they also meet a few women from different countries. In their day-offs, the women go to the cafe, or to the bazaar to shop. The interviewees in Istanbul told that they mostly go to Laleli to send money or gifts to their families by cargo. However, the women in Ankara mostly go to the Nişantaşı Bazaar. The Nişantaşı Bazaar is a kind of bazaar which is more likely a shopping mall. These kind of bazaars mostly sell fake products under the names of original brands, and they are cheaper than standard shopping malls. While cheap prices can be said to be the main reason of the women to choose these places to shop, the free shuttles can also be considered as another important motivation to go there. In Ankara, women mostly go there in the early morning on their day-offs, and they shop until the afternoon. Actually, they meet in front of the bazaar doors with other domestics. After

the shopping, they mostly go to the cafe. Ankara Interurban Bus Terminal (AŞTİ) is another place to meet for the women if there is a newcomer. While they welcome the newcomer, they also send gifts to their families by buses working between Georgia and Turkey. Another thing that the women do on their day-offs is to go to the houses of the other women who are from Georgia and work as domestics in Turkey.

I have a friend who takes care of an elderly in Bakırköy. Sometimes I go there to see her. Her employer says nothing, they rather say to me 'come, come' (Manana, 46 years old).

On my free days, I meet other friends. They are also from Georgia. One of them has a flat, because she lives on her own, not as a live-in like me. We meet there, chatting, talking. When I was changing my ex-house and try to find new one, I also stayed in her flat for a week (Eva, 42 years old).

In other words, the women constitute their own networks in which they share their experiences and problems; they spend their free-time together. If one loses her job, another woman tries to find her a new job, or resolve other problems that they have. In this respect, it can be argued that the women are creating their own solidarity networks in the country to which they have migrated.

Anna and Isa also mentioned that since they lived alone with the elderly person they take care of, they do not have regular day-offs. Because they need to leave the elderly person to her or his family to be able to go out. However, families may not come at some weekends and Anna and Isa continue to stay at home. And this isolation has psychological effect on them. Anna said that sometimes she only went out once in two or three weeks. She stayed at home alone with the old 'woman' for the rest of the time and felt under lock and key.

On the other hand, the Manana and Maria have their husband in Istanbul, and one has a son in Istanbul. While these women work as live-in domestics, their husbands also work in the workshops. Even, Isa is working in Ankara, and her son is also working in a

workshop in Istanbul. As they mentioned during the interviews, these three women migrated to Turkey first, and then found a job for their husbands and son.

First I came here, I started to work as a domestics, then I learned that there were also jobs in Istanbul for which men could be employed , and found a job for my husband, too. Actually, I wanted to let my son come here first. He wanted to be a football player. He came, but he couldn't manage, and didn't get what he wanted, so moved to Greece. Then, I brought my husband here, now he works in Istanbul Manana, 46 years old).

Actually, the women who have their husbands in Turkey say that they do not meet her husbands regularly on their day-offs. . Manana whose husband is in Turkey mentioned that she did not come together with his husband regularly. She said that while her day-off was mostly on Wednesdays, her husband's day-off was on Sundays. But she also mentioned that when she wanted to see her husband, she changed her take-offs. She did not define this situation as a problem and said that 'being separated is better'. The other woman Maria, who has a husband in Istanbul mentioned that they met almost on every day-off in a house rented by her husband with other migrant workers. The woman who has her son in Istanbul cannot see him since she works in Ankara. On the other hand, these family networks point at the new patterns in the migration flow. In this migration flow, the family ties play an important role. Even though the traditional migration pattern is male-dominated and the women who join in these migration flows are defined as dependent followers, the Georgian case challenges this assumption. In the Georgian case, the women are independent migrants who pave the way for the other members of their family to come to Turkey. It means that they migrate independently and lead the migration of the rest of their family as pioneers.

On the other hand, while the women go out with other migrant domestic workers, they mostly face with sexual harassment and verbal abuse. All the interviewees mention that they have experienced this kind of harassment and abuse at least once during their time in Turkey.

When I first came to Turkey, walking in the street, Turkish men were looking at me, and saying something. At that time, although I didn't know Turkish, I could understand that they didn't have good intentions. I heard several bad stories about Turkish men showing that I shouldn't trust them (Tea, 36 years old).

Once, while I was passing along the street, a man was just standing at the corner. He suddenly started to scream at me "devoshka" (young lady in Russian). I don't know how he understood that I know Russian. Okay, maybe he got that I was not Turkish, but how he was sure that I was from Georgia (Medea, 39 years old).

I don't know what they think. Since we come from Georgia, do they think that all of us are prostitute (Tamara, 40 years old)?

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the economic disruption forced women to migrate after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Mostly, they were subject to irregular migration. Thus, after the 1990s, many women from post-Soviet countries started to become Turkey in order to work in sex industry. Prostitution and trafficking have constituted a significant part of this irregular migration flow (Eder & Kaşka, 2003: 28). Especially in the Black Sea part of Turkey, the women from post-Soviet countries working as sex workers started to increase. According to Eder and Kaşka (2003):

in the early 1990s, media attention was mostly directed at the Natashas in the Black Sea region of Turkey. Even the term Natasha used in news items to refer to women from ex-Soviet countries and their involvement in prostitution was reproduced by the media (2003:28).

Özgen also pays attention the same issue with her research on the border town between Turkey and Iran, namely Iğdir, as being integrated to global capitalism with its growing sex industry and border trade. She is discussing cross border prostitution and exploring the otherness and othering of certain nationalities through women's bodies. (Özgen, 2006)

This stigmatization of the women from the post-Soviet countries still continues in Turkey. As the women explain in their statements, they are mostly considered as

‘Russians’. And if they are Russian, it means they are ‘Natashas’. Since they come from the post-Soviet countries, they are also stigmatized as ‘Natashas’, a word meaning sexually available woman and used to refer to sex workers. This perception affects women and as they mentioned, they became more ‘careful’ about their clothes when they went out. Eva mentioned that she tried to look like a ‘Turkish’ woman by dressing up like them and changing her hair color in order to save herself from these abuses. However, streets are not the only places that the women face with this perception. The internet has also become a sphere that sexual abuse continues. As a young single woman, Tea mentioned in the internet they also faced with sexual abuses. She emphasized that men did not leave her alone not only on the street, but also on the websites such as Facebook. Men find them in these websites and ask for sexual relation. ‘I don’t know how they know I know Turkish’ says Tea.

The migrant women are not only faced with sexual abuse by men in the public spaces, they are also faced with the police threat. Being irregular or regular differentiates the experiences of the women from one another. The seven of the interviewees have their work permits and they say that they are more relaxed in the street because they have papers to show to the police. However, the three of them were working without work permits before their current job and they mention their old experiences anxiously. Since the two of the women work without work permits, they say that they feel stress when they walk around in the public spaces. Even though they have some fears, the six of them say that they have not got any problems with the police so far. However, there are those five women who have faced with the police, and they emphasize that the police appropriated their passport in the hope to get money from them. Thus, considering the threat of the police and sexual abuse they face in their daily lives, it can be argued that the women lived and worked under “doubled informal conditions” (Dağdelen, 2008: 255). Eva mentions her previous experiences when she did not have her work permit:

I heard several stories from my friend which imply that I need to be careful when I see the police. I was sitting in the park once, and



some policemen came and asked me to show my passport, and I gave my passport to them. One of the policemen asked me questions and said that if I wanted my passport back, I needed to give him some money, or else we would go to the police station and I would be deported. I was afraid and gave him some money. At the beginning, I couldn't understand how the policemen realized that I was working here and not Turkish (Eva., 42 years old).

In the interviews, we put forward ideas regarding how the policemen could realize them even they were only sitting in the park or walking in the street. There emerged various ideas. Was it because of their clothes? Or because of their look? Because of their make-up? Or because of their golden teeth? Since the golden teeth is an indicator of the social status in the most of the post-Soviet countries and in Georgia as well, most of the women have golden teeth, which is not common in Turkey. Thus, the way that they show their social status in their home country has become an apparatus of control in the foreign country.

When I asked the women how often they visited Georgia, the most common answer was twice a year. Rather than going to Georgia, they prefer to save travel expenses and stay in Turkey. They mostly go there twice a year if they have a work permit. Tamara mentioned that she would like to go to see her family, but added that "I need to save money". Naira and Medea, who have young children in Turkey, mentioned that they only could go to Georgia every 3 or 4 months to see their children. Medea says that her children are forgetting her. She moved to Turkey six years ago and her youngest child was 3 years old when she moved to Turkey. Thus, she says that "they are forgetting me and I am trying to go there as often as I could".

On the other hand, almost all of the women mention that they sometimes go to another household for cleaning on their day-offs, and thus earn some supplementary income. None of the interviewees go to other houses for cleaning regularly. While they earn between 120-125 TL for a cleaning day in Istanbul, this amount decreases to 50- 75 TL in Ankara. But what are the migrant domestic workers doing with their salary and

supplementary income? What are their future plans? In the next section, I will try to answer these questions.

### **5.7. Remittances and Future Plans: In Between Countries**

The migrant women from Georgia in Turkey work round the clock. They work at least 6 days a week, and most of them work even on their day-offs as a cleaning maid in different houses. All the interviewees mention that they send all the money they get directly to their families in Georgia. Since they work in live-in positions, they do not spend any money for accommodation and food. The pocket money given by their employers for their day-off is the only money they spend for themselves.

As mentioned in the section of Georgia, the migrant women's money which is sent back to Georgia constitutes an important part of the Georgian economy since 9 per cent of the population receive remittances (EPCR, 2011:7). However, remittances are not only limited to money. They also include electronics and gifts which are hard to find in Georgia, or cheaper in Turkey.

I had sent all my money both to my son and my daughter. Now, only to my daughter. She got married, but her husband is unemployed. I am doing everything for them, paying their rent, for instance. I also bring them plasma TV, sweeper etc. I mean, everything I could take from here (Maria, 47 years old).

These remittances help to boost the economy of Georgia and improve the economic conditions of the families there; however, they also prolong the time that the migrant women have to spend in Turkey by working. When I asked them about their future plans, they mostly said that they would continue to work in Turkey as long as they were healthy, until they saved enough money to buy a house in Georgia and/or live there without any economic problems.

I will return to Georgia, but I don't know when. I need to save enough money for my children's future, for their education. When I get this money, I will go back (Naira, 37 years old).

I will return to Georgia, but I need money to live there. I need to buy a house first, if I can save enough money for it, inşallah (a Turkish word which means "god willing"). As long as God gives me health, I will continue to work. I don't want to take any money from someone else, I used to earn my own money. Even if my husband were rich, I wouldn't take money from him. I feel stronger like this, I like feeling like this (Isa, 48 years old).

Since the women are working night and day and sending all their money to their family, enough money to buy a house can hardly be saved. Since little money is saved, the women continue to work. This vicious circle reminds me of the story of Sisyphus from Greek mythology who was sentenced to roll up a big rock up to the top of a hill and repeat this action forever. However, to define these women only as the victims of this migration process will be not right. As Isa mentioned, these experiences empower them since they earn their own money. They also turn into active decision-makers in their families since they ensure the maintenance family members. Paid work does not only provide them wages to be spent for urgent necessities, but also improves their self-confidence and makes them more hopeful for their futures. While this freedom does not liberate them wholly, it gives them "pseudo-emancipation" (Abadan-Unat, 1977:52).

On the other hand, all of the interviewees want to go back to Georgia one day. None of them wants to settle down in Turkey. Being separated from their families and living in a foreign country are the two of the main reasons why they do not want to settle down in Turkey. Women whose husbands and/or son are living in Turkey also do not want to settle in Turkey. As Manana said "I will return to Georgia one day, but I don't know when?", other women also express similar statements.

No matter how good Turkey is, it can't be good as my own country. I like Turkey, but my family is there. I don't want to spend my whole life away from them (Medea, 39 years old).

I like Turkey, Istanbul is beautiful. I like my job, I earn well. But you know, it is different when you are in your own country or in a foreign one. Even you know Turkish, even you learn the culture, you are indeed a foreigner. People never accept you as one of them. I want to live in my country. I mean, not all the time. I can come here again to work, and then go back to Georgia (Tea 36 years old).

As it can be understood from the expression of Tea, even though the women do not want to settle down in Turkey, some of them consider migration as something temporary and periodically repeatable. Another indicator which shows that they do not have any intention to settle down in Turkey is their definition of their own mobility. None of the interviewees use the word 'migration' for their mobility. Rather than migration, they mostly use the word 'coming'. I believe, their preference of the word 'coming' is related to the temporary nature of their migration and their experiences and future expectations they get while going and coming between the two countries.

### **5.8. Relationship between Migrant Domestic Workers and Their Employers**

The employment of migrant domestic workers has started to increase in Turkey, especially after 1990s. There are various reasons behind this significant increase. First of all, the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the consequent economic crises in these countries generated a big migration flow to Turkey; there were no job opportunities for these women except for the ones in the service sector. Second, the demographic changes in the population of Turkey and the increasing number of dependent old people caused a deficit for elder-care (Rittersberger-Tılıç & Kalaycıoğlu, 2012: 307). And lastly, the changes in the welfare policies of the Turkish state also accelerated this significant increase. In Turkey, the welfare policies are traditionally based on families (Buğra, 2012), which means that the state puts its care responsibilities on the shoulder of families. However, after the neoliberal restructuring of the state, started to slim down the welfare policies and this paved the way for a dramatic decrease on the care services which were provided by the state.

Therefore, formal care services are mostly provided by the private sector, but they are usually very expensive for middle class families, thus people are mostly directed to the informal service sector, to the labor of paid domestic workers. Migrant domestic workers come to the stage right at this point. Most of them are employed for the services of child and elder care. It can be argued that Turkish domestic workers still constitute the majority in the field of live-out housekeeping (Akalin, 2007). The findings of this research are also compatible with the argument mentioned above since the majority of migrant domestic workers coming from Georgia are employed in care services. While the six of the women are employed for elder-care, the one of them takes care of a sick person and the three of them are hired for childcare. Only one of the women is employed as a housekeeper. Since the state does not provide people with institutional care services enough, these care services have traditionally been provided by families (Rittersberger-Tılıç & Kalaycıoğlu, 2012: 308) hiring someone for these responsibilities as a solution. However, Akalin (2007) touches upon a different point with respect to childcare; according to her, women do not prefer to take help from their relatives for childcare since it affects their own family relations and damages their authority (Akalin, 2007: 215). At this point, hiring Turkish and/or migrant domestic workers for childcare services has become a contemporary phenomenon in Turkey. Before 1960, internal migrant domestic workers constituted the majority of the paid domestic labor. The dissolution of the USSR and the effects of globalization caused an increase in the number of international migrant domestic workers after 1990s. One of the main motivations for employing migrant domestic laborers is based on their low wages. Migrant women are hired for domestic services with lower wages than non-migrant domestics. However, it is important to remark that the lower wages here do not necessarily correspond to an absolute value of the wage; it represents a kind of comparative value related to their working time and the wage rate. Since migrant domestic workers mostly work in live-in conditions and work for long hours, it can be seen that they should be given more for their work load compared to non-domestic workers (Erdođdu & Toksöz, 2013: 11). Moreover, their higher education level in

comparison to Turkish domestics also affects the employers' decision. The employers prefer migrant domestic workers since they have a profession and a better education. Also, the employers' conviction that migrant domestic workers are more obedient, which is highly related to their 'foreignness', also makes them the preferable group to be hire for domestic works.

The live-in employment of migrant domestic workers is another reason for the increase in the demand. Turkish domestic workers mostly work live-out due to the patriarchal power of male members of their families (Akalin, 2007: 213). This patriarchal power rooted in the familial ideology in Turkey. "According to familial ideology in Turkey, the proper place for a woman is in the home, attending to housework and the children, while her husband is the breadwinner" (Ecevit, 1991: 58). Moreover, since patriarchal capitalism defines woman as the main responsible for domestic duties, the working hours of Turkish domestics are also affected by this pressure since they have their own families and responsibilities within their own households in Turkey. Thus, the 24-hour availability of migrant domestic workers make them the perfect group to be employed by the middle and upper class households in Turkey. Also the seven of my employer interviewees mentioned that live-in working conditions also affected their choice.

Turkish women don't accept to work live-in, but we need someone to stay with our mother at night. I have my own family, I have children, so I only have time to take care of them. We used to share the responsibility for our mother among the sisters and brothers of the family. She used to stay in the houses of her children by turns on a 3-month basis. However, it was also hard for my mom. It is better right now, she stays in her own flat which is close to us, and a foreign woman helps her (Nazlı, 40 years old).

I started to employ a foreign woman when I gave birth to my second child. At the time, I also had a little child, and it was hard for me to organize everything. Thus, I started to employ a helper. You know, Turkish women –she refers internal domestics– want to go home too early, but I needed someone who could help me in the evenings as well and sometimes at nights. Indeed, childcare is also another duty

that continues for 24 hours. Turkish women don't accept to stay, they want to return their home (Sevim, 43 years old).

Since the state does not provide care services and attaches this responsibility to families, especially to the women of families, they find the solution in employing migrant domestic workers who can provide them with these kinds of services night and day. They are available for 24 hours, all day and all night (Akalm, 2007). Moreover, as Sevim states, since migrant/Georgian domestic workers do not have their families in Turkey, they do not have any other care obligations. However, Turkish domestic workers also need to maintain the reproduction of their own families. Thus, migrant domestic workers meet the care deficit of Turkey while their own reproduction duties stay in their home country (Chang, 2000). Actually this also constitutes another reason for employing migrant domestic workers since employers believe that Turkish women mostly use their family as an excuse for a day-off.

I also employed a Turkish woman, but do you know that they always have an excuse? My son has got sick, my mother has got sick, my husband had an accident... They are lying and using their families as an excuse. But Georgians are always around and help you when you need them (Gonca, 38 years old).

While Turkish domestic workers are blamed to be liars, migrant domestic workers are welcomed since they leave their families behind and are ready to 'serve' for the families they have been employed. On the other hand, as it can be seen from the statement of Gonca, most of employers define domestic workers by their nationality. There are different stereotypes for every nationality. While Filipinos are defined by their level of education, by being 'highly educated' and 'hard-working', Russians are defined by being 'loose woman', and the women from Central Asian such as Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan defined by being 'liars' or 'uncouth'.

I employed domestic workers from different nationalities: Filipino, Uzbek and now Georgian. The Filipino was perfect, she was educated and knew what to do, how to behave. As for the Uzbek... I don't know how to explain, but since they know Turkish, they want

to direct you. Especially when I was not at home, she was trying to give directions to my dad. I didn't like the way she was. She didn't know how to sit, how to behave. When I employed a Georgian, I didn't know how they were first, but I am really satisfied with them now. Of course, there are also bad Georgians, but you know, they are shier' (Yonca, 44 years old).

While statement of Yonca reveals the nationalist stereotypes about the migrants domestic workers, it also gives us some clues regarding why the demand for migrant domestic workers from Georgia has increased in Turkish households. In my interviews with the employers, the five out of seven interviewees mentioned that they especially preferred Georgian domestic workers.

I faced with several problems with foreign women except for the Georgians. Compromising with Georgian is easy. They adopt very easily. These Georgians are more withdrawn, they are not shrewd yet (Ayşe, 32 years old).

In her article "A Very Private Business" (2007), Anderson analyzes the relation between employers and employees in the United Kingdom and explore whether there is a special demand for migrant domestic workers, whether employers search for particular characteristics which can also met by United Kingdom citizens (2007: 248). According to her research, the preferences and dislikes of employers are mostly explained by nationality (Anderson, 2007: 253). In my research, the same patterns are also seen in the employers' expressions. They define their preferences through domestic workers' nationality. In other words, the employers express their preferences and dislikes through nationalistic terms.

The age factor also plays a crucial role in the employment process of domestic workers. Employers prefer to hire old and woman domestic workers, especially for the elder- or childcare. The four of the interviewees hire domestic workers for elder-care, the one of them is for sick and elderly care, and the other two for childcare. In my research, hiring migrant domestic workers for elder-care is the most common, and almost all of the employers prefer to hire older women.



I mostly prefer women over 50, I want them to be friends of my mother when I am not at home (Ayse, 32 years old).

I prefer older ones, you know, they are more patient. Young ones leave the job directly after they face a problem. My husband is crusty because of his age, thus I want someone who can overcome with this (Esra, 64 years old).

Palenga- Möllenbeck's (2013) research on the Polish handyman and care workers in Germany explores how age, ethnicity/citizenship and gender play crucial roles during the employment process and how this employment process reproduce these social inequalities (Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2013). She argues that age becomes an indicator of experience with some other components during the recruitment process, and this argument makes sense also in the Turkish case. As she highlights, the demand for Polish women in Germany comes with a specific intersectionality of gender, ethnicity and age; I believe that the same patterns can also be followed in the case of the domestic workers from Georgia in Turkey. While the intersectionality of old age, female gender and foreign nationality mostly results in a disadvantageous positions for employment seekers, in this case it becomes an advantage (Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2013: 564). However, the case of the Georgian migrant domestic workers slightly differs from the Polish domestic workers in Germany since the employers mention that young domestic workers is a threatening factor. The four of my interviewees claim that they do not want to employ young women because they see them as a 'threat' to their marriage.

You know, before this woman, I had employed a young lady. Honestly, she was beautiful. One day, I was playing with my child upstairs. Then she came to me and asked me whether she could go to sleep. I said okay. Then, she changed her dress, you know, she put on a nightwear which was so sexy. You can't imagine, I am sure you never see something like this. Then she went downstairs where my husband was watching television. I didn't do nothing, I was waiting for my husband's reaction. After 10 minutes, my husband came in panic. I trust my husband, but you are also woman, you know what I mean. Thus, I fired her, and after that I preferred to employ old ones (Sevim, 43 years old).

I don't want to live with a young woman in the house. I am traveling a lot, and honestly I don't want to leave my husband with a beautiful young lady at home. And, for them, you know, the relation between man and woman is totally different than it is for us (Yonca, 44 years old).

The employers' defining young domestic workers as a threat to their marriage show the significance of appearance in the employment process. In addition to gender, nationality and age, the migrant women's bodies also play a role in this process. As Cox mentions, "in addition to the broad categories of ethnicity and gender, the specific shape of domestic workers' bodies has also been revealed to be an important component of their ability to access work and their experiences at work" (Cox, 2007: 285).

While certain discriminative patterns can be found in the expressions of all the employers, most of them think that they behave well to their employees. By all means, 'behaving well' is an ambiguous definition and highly subjective. When they try to persuade me that they are good to their employees, they mostly mention some other 'bad employers'. They mostly differentiate themselves from these 'other exploitative bad employers' who sexually abuse their employees and seize their passports, and emphasize how good they are in relation to them.

I am a boss, but you know I don't behave her like a boss. All in all, we live together, we share the same house. I know some employers who do not let women go out or force them to drink water from tap. I am not one of them (Gonca, 38 years old).

You can ask her, she is really happy here. Before working with us, she used to take care of a little child in another house. As she says, they appropriated her passport. What kind of people these are! Actually, you know, we are the good ones, she feels herself like a member of the family (Elif, 52 years old).

On the other hand, when I asked them about the legal status of their workers, four of them mentioned that they got work permit for their workers. Esra explained that they got work permit because they wanted to secure themselves. According to her, since they got work permit, it prevented the worker from leaving the job suddenly. Ayse mentioned that

she was afraid of the fine that she would have to pay if the authorities realized that she was hiring a domestic worker without any work permit. She said that she did not want to take the risk. However, three employers mentioned that they did not get work permits for their domestic workers. Yonca justified this with the costly and long procedures. She said that employers and workers did not receive any benefit from having a work permit and that it only helped the state to earn money. Nazlı who did not get a work permit for her workers and employs two different domestic workers from the same family for 3 months in turn said that she preferred this way of employing because she believes that after staying 3 months in Turkey, the workers also miss Georgia. She argues that this way is better for both herself and her workers.

In parallel with the theoretical debates, all the employers that I have talked to are women since domestic tasks and care duties are seen as their responsibilities. While performing paid labor becomes an important point in manhood and is defined as man's duty, womanhood is defined through domestic labor. The woman who hires domestic workers and the domestic worker who enters the labor market seem to cross these gender roles. However, it is striking to see that although domestic work has become paid and its responsibility has passed to another person, the woman of the family is still in charge of the care services in the house. In other words, the relationship between the employers and the domestic workers still occur between two women. As it can be understood from this case, the women of households are defined as the employers, and even though the employers do not perform the domestic tasks, they are still the ones who are responsible for organizing all these tasks. However, all the employers who themselves work in various sectors of the labor market mentioned that they became free after the migrant domestic workers came.

This is an emancipatory help. Yes, I did something for my mother's care, but indeed, I became free (Ayşe, 32 years old).

## 5.9. Concluding Remarks

Turkey has become a destination country especially for the women of the post-Soviet countries, and Georgia as a post-Soviet country is one of those countries which has a high rate of emigration to Turkey. In the last two decades, the number of domestic workers from Georgia has increased dramatically. Women's main motivations to migrate are highly related with the economic difficulties in Georgia, and choosing Turkey as a destination country mostly stems from the geographical proximity and visa-free regime between Turkey and Georgia. Another important issue is the social networks that the women have in Turkey. These social networks play an important role in the migration decision and the recruitment process.

Although employers have started to get work permits for domestic workers in the last years, there are still migrant women who live irregular in the country. Thus, being an irregular migrant woman affects women's work and life experiences deeply and makes them more vulnerable to exploitation. However, the social networks that these women have in Turkey also play an important role at this point of their migration stories. They create solidarity areas which transform their vulnerability. On the other hand, being the only or the main working member of their families and the experiences they have got through migration locate the migrant women as active decision-makers both in their family and in their own life.

While they are aware of the discriminative practices that they are exposed to while doing their job, most of the migrant women state that they have a good relationship with their employers. Most of the employers also define themselves as good employers who have 'mercy' and a good relationship with their workers. In the recruitment process, nationality, age and appearance play significant roles as the new dimensions which affect the hiring decision. On the other hand, the employers mostly assert that to hire a domestic worker is an emancipatory 'help' since they get rid of their domestic duties thanks to the migrant woman. However, the relationship between the domestic workers

and the employers is more complicated than depicted by the employers since both the employers and the workers are woman and the employers' emancipation is highly interlocked to the workers' exploitation.

## CONCLUSION

In this research, I have examined how globalization and the restructuring of post-Soviet economies affect women's lives and their decisions to migrate in the case of the migrant domestic workers from Georgia in Turkey. Focusing on the experiences of the woman domestic workers from Georgia, I have aimed to highlight their experiences in Turkey, and show the hard working and living conditions that they encounter. In this research, globalization, neoliberal policies and transition of post-Soviet economies have been defined as one of the main reasons which compelled the women in Georgia to migrate.

In order to unearth the experiences of the migrant domestic workers from Georgia in this research, I conducted eleven in-depth interviews with the domestic workers from Georgia within the scope of my field study. Since their lives and work experiences are closely related to their relationships with the employers, I also conducted seven in-depth interviews with the employers. Conducting interviews with both the employers and the employees enabled me to understand the increasing demand and supply of the migrant domestic workers in Turkey and unearth the complexity of experiences of migrant domestic workers. Focusing on the experiences of the woman domestic workers from Georgia in Turkey, I have aimed to show the interrelations among globalization, domestic labor and feminization of migration.

Migrant women are the main human resources of domestic services all around the world. As researches show, it is possible to meet woman migrant domestic workers in almost all the countries of the world. Since the state started to withdraw from care services as a result of neoliberal policies, the welfare policies of the states have been increasingly eroding. Moreover, aging population with elderly's increasing need for care services, disintegration of extended family and the erasure of familiar modalities of care and support have created the condition of possibility for an alternative care economy which have been mostly carried out by the labor of migrant women in the last years. Increasing participation of women in the labor market as well as the increasing female migration have made migrant women essential actors of this budding care economy.

Although domestic labor is traditionally performed by women and has socially been undervalued, it has also become a commodity that is paid in the market. However, despite its paid nature, domestic work still preserves its gendered, low-status, and often non-prestigious structure.

Association between domestic labor and women's nature as if women are naturally inclined to take care of domestic work explain why migrant women are mostly concentrated in domestic work. Moreover, attributing domestic labor to women's nature also explains why domestic is defined as non-prestigious and low-paid, since it is 'feminized' and thus undervalued. Furthermore, the fact that domestic work is performed in the so-called private sphere and embedded in love and care relations often makes it invisible and thus increase the conditions of possibility for exploitation, insecurity, and precarity of migrant domestic workers.

Feminization of migration reveals itself as one of the resulting effect of globalization on international migration flows. This concept sheds light on migrant women's experiences and enables us to show how the global restructuring affects women and men differently. Moreover, feminization of migration also shows that in the destination countries migrant women are mostly working in the sectors which are related to their socially constructed gendered roles. Women from post-Soviet countries constitute a large part of feminization of migration. After the dissolution of the Soviet Russia, the transition from centrally planned economies to market economies had dramatically affected post-Soviet countries. Thus, these countries had faced economic disruption, privatization and decrease in the living standards, which forced people to migrate abroad. As in the case of Georgia, migration from post-Soviet countries comprises of women since they come to be more responsible for the survival of their households. Thus, women have become the sole or the main working member of their families and their migration has become a survival strategy. As it can be followed in my field research, the interviewed women define their migration as their only solution to survive.

The household which is traditionally defined as a private sphere has become a working place for migrant domestic women. Women are crossing the geographic borders; however, they find themselves isolated within the boundaries of households since they are employed in live-in positions. This isolation has a double-sided effect. When the private sphere becomes a 'work' place, the definition of work gets complex and the border between paid job and unpaid favors is blurred. While women are mostly employed for specific tasks such as caring the elderly or children, they are held responsible also for all other domestic tasks. As it can be seen in the my field research, the working hours of Georgian domestic workers gets more flexible, the job definition gets more employer-centered, and the migrant domestic workers are subjected to their employers 24 hours a day. In addition, the interviewed women mentioned an unidentifiable reluctance, a feeling of being confined to somewhere, and the feeling of loneliness. This shows us that the physical isolation leads women to emotional isolation and has adverse effects on their psychological well-being of women. At this point, using their day-offs becomes more important since these are the only times that they could meet friends and enter the social life. However, when women come together with other migrant women and share their problems and free-times on their day-offs, being a migrant woman continue to affect their experiences and they come across different kinds of oppression that women always encounter on the street. As all the interviewees mentioned, they face sexual and verbal abuses in the public sphere. The only time period when the effect of their isolation decreases becomes another sphere of oppression.

The common point of all the researches about migrant domestic workers in Turkey is that migrant women have become more vulnerable to exploitation since they are irregular migrants in Turkey. As four of my interlocutors who do not have work permit mentioned that being irregular migrants also plays an important role which shapes women's experiences and deepens the oppression they face. While the legal framework of Turkey on migration has changed in accordance with the increasing migration flow to the country, it still marginalizes migrated populations. The state ignores the informality



and irregularity of migration labor since informality reduces the burden of regulation and provides cheap labor, which is important to compete with the globalized economies. The irregularity of women caused to deepen their vulnerability and had an important impact on them. Irregularity obstacles not only their presence in the public sphere and creates a police threat and the risk of deportation, but also their access to the social services in which health constitutes an important part. As the interviewed women mentioned, they try to find a solution for their health problems by applying to their employers or bringing medicines from Georgia. Moreover, as the domestic women mentioned, not having a work permit affects their free-time activities and even prevents them from speaking their mother language in the public sphere due to the fear of being caught by the police.

Since domestic labor has become a critical domain to construct male and female gender roles, the encounters between employers and domestic workers are also interesting places to look for the gender division of labor and the process of recruitment under the globalization and neo-liberal policies. The interviews with the employers have also enabled me to see the patterns of preference of domestic workers which have been shaped around domestic workers' education, nationality and age. Although middle-upper class women hire migrant domestic workers to be free from their domestic duties, the interviews with the employers show that hiring domestic workers does not change the common perception of the gender roles. All the interviewed employers are women, and they are still responsible for organizing domestic tasks.

Working as a migrant domestic had several impacts on the women' experiences. Since the women are mostly defined as 'housewives' and located within the household, and since the 'public' sphere is defined as men's place where the breadwinners of family work, migrating to another country as the main or the only working member of family is an important parameter which may be expected to change this perception. Moreover, the interviews show that the migration of women also challenges the traditional migration theories which define women as dependent followers of men in the migration flow. At

this point, the important finding of this research is to see the changes on the gendered migration patterns; three of the domestic workers have found jobs for their husbands and sons in Turkey after their own migration. I believe this is an important indicator which shows that there have emerged certain changes in the traditional patterns of migration. Considering their first migration to Turkey, coming alone to another country which they are not familiar with, seeking and finding a job there, trying to improve their own social networks, and being a pioneer of their family members' migration, the migrant domestic workers have become more assertive and powerful to manage their lives.

The concentration of migrant women in domestic services is not only because they are migrant, and provide a cheap labor. Other factors such as gender, nationality, religion are also important determinants in this process. As the interviews show, the experiences of the domestic workers are not only shaped around their gender roles, but also around their race, class, age, and religion. At this point, intersectionality provides us with an understanding concerning the critical link between certain systems of oppression. Since the experiences of the domestic workers are shaped around various social positions, intersectionality becomes an important concept to understand women's experiences without constructing hierarchy between the systems of oppression.

Due to time restrictions and limited access, this research only includes eleven interviews with domestic workers from Georgia, and seven with employers from Turkey. Moreover, the only group I could reach during my field research were women with work and residence permits and women who were working without work and residence permit but still in the 'legal' visa period of their presence in the country. However, the research could not include the women who have passed their 'legal' time period in Turkey and became undocumented in the country. In addition, due to same limited time and access, I conducted the research only in Ankara and Istanbul; however, there are also other destination cities for migrant domestic workers such as Izmir, Bursa, Zonguldak and Artvin. As each locality has different migration and labor patterns, social networks, and spatial practices, it would be highly productive to explore how migrant women's

experiences as domestic workers change or continue over space. In order to reveal different experiences of migrant women, further studies should be conducted on domestic workers in different locations and with different legal positions.

Moreover, I have attempted to show in this research that the experiences of the migrant domestic workers from Georgia are shaped through their various social positions such as their gender, nationality and age under the macro-level developments such as globalization and neoliberal policies; however, I could not pay enough attention to the importance of religion in the employment and working processes of the domestic workers from Georgia. Thus, further studies may also focus on this dimension to unearth women's experiences better.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki Gürcistan göçmeni ev işçilerinin deneyimlerine odaklanarak bir yandan göçmen kadınların deneyimlerini anlamayı, öte yandan, göçmen ev içi emeğin düşük ücretli, düşük statülü ve çoğunlukla enformel olan doğasına işaret etmeyi hedeflemektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, Türkiyeli işverenlerin göçmen ev işçisi istihdam etme sebeplerine odaklanarak, hem Gürcistan göçmeni kadınların deneyimlerini daha iyi anlamayı hem de ev ve bakım işlerinin ücretli emek üzerinden sağlanmasının cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinde herhangi bir değişiklik yaratıp yaratmadığını göstermeye çalışmaktadır. Kısaca, bu çalışma küreselleşme, göçün kadınlaşması ve ev içi emek arasındaki ilişkiyi feminist bir yöntemle incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

1920'lerden beri ev içi emek feminist hareketin gündeminde yer almış, özellikle 1970'lerden beri feminist tartışmalar içinde önemli bir yer tutmuştur. 1970'lerde ortaya çıkan ikinci dalga feminist hareket, Marksist kategorileri toplumsal cinsiyet körü olmakla suçlamış, ücretsiz ev içi emeği feminist kavramsallaştırmayla analiz etmeyi hedeflemişlerdir. Ev içi emeği kadın ezilmişliğinin temel sebebi olarak gören bu yaklaşımlar, ev içi emeğin kadınların doğuştan sahip oldukları bir özellik olarak inşa betimlenmesini, kadınların aile üyelerine karşı duyduğu sevginin bir göstergesi olarak tanımlanıp karşılıksız bir emek olarak inşa edilmesini eleştirmişlerdir. Öte yandan, feminist yaklaşımların bir kısmı ise ev içi emeği kadın öznelliklerinin kurulduğu bir alan olarak tanımlamakta, kadınların ev ve ev işlerine dair bilgisinin, kadın ve erkeği ayrıştırıcı bir bilgi olduğunu savunmaktadırlar. Her ne kadar feminist tartışmalar içinde ev içi emeğe dair farklı yaklaşımlar olsa da, bu yaklaşımların ortaklaştıkları nokta, ev içi emeğin toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin inşasındaki önemine yaptıkları vurgudur.

Ev içi emeğin görünmez kılınması, cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü ve toplumsal cinsiyet

ilişkileri ile yakından ilişkilidir. Cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü kadını özel alana, eve konumlandırırken, ev içi emeği değersizleştirmiş; öte yandan erkekleri kamusal alanda gerçek işleri yapan özneler olarak tanımlamıştır. Bu noktada kadınların doğuştan sahip olduğu bir özellik gibi tanımlanan ev içi emek de ‘gerçek’ bir işten ziyade bir uğraş gibi gösterilmiştir. Çünkü bu iddia, ‘gerçek’ işlerin ancak erkekler tarafından kamusalda yapıldığını söylemektedir.

Ev içi emek diğer emek türlerinden pek çok noktada farklılaşmaktadır. Ev içi emeğin belirli bir zaman diliminde yapılmaması, çalışma ve boş zamanın iç içe olması ve sevgi ilişkilerinin içine gömülü olması gibi pek çok farklılık, bu emek tipinin ücretli emek haline geldiğinde dahi net bir tanımının yapılamamasına neden olmaktadır. Net bir iş tanımının yapılamaması, ücretli ev işçilerinin çalışma koşullarını da etkilemekte, uzun çalışma saatleri, esnek çalışma koşulları gibi sorunlar gün yüzüne çıkmaktadır. Öte yandan, ücretli emek piyasada meta haline gelmiş olsa dahi patriyarkal kapitalizm altında hala kadınlar tarafından icra edilmektedir.

Küreselleşmenin en belirgin etkilerinden biri enformel sektörde yarattığı genişlemedir. Genişleyen enformel sektör içerisinde ise genellikle kadınlar tarafından yerine getirilen ücretli ev içi emek önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, neoliberal politikalar etkisi altında küresel ekonominin yeniden yapılandırılması, sadece enformel sektörün genişlemesine sebep olmamış aynı zamanda işgücünü kadınlaştırmış ve cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü güçlendirmiştir. Piyasada ücretli bir iş haline gelmesine rağmen, ev içi emek yine kadınlar tarafından gerçekleştirilmekte; düşük statülü, düşük prestijli ve düşük ücretli bir iş olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Öte yandan, neoliberal politikalar sonucu artan yoksulluk ve ekonomik zorluklar yoksul ülkelere göçü arttırmış, artan yoksullukla baş etmenin bir yolu olarak göç eden insan sayısını arttırmıştır. Kadınlar bu göç dalgası içinde önemli bir yer tutmakta, bu artış göçün kadınlaşması olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu noktada, göçün kadınlaşması hem artan kadın göçmen sayısını ortaya koymakta hem de göç etrafında farklılaşan kadınlık ve erkeklik deneyimlerini anlamaya yardımcı olmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, kadınların göç ettikleri ülkelerde genellikle düşük ücretli ve

statülü işlerde yoğunlaşmasının sebeplerini de ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir.

Sovyetlerin dağılmasının ardından, piyasa ekonomisine geçişin beraberinde getirdiği ekonomik sıkıntılar, artan işsizlik ve yoksulluk gibi nedenler, bu ülkelerdeki pek çok insanı göç etmeye zorlamıştır. Dönüşümden en fazla etkilenen gruplardan biri olan kadınlar, göçün kadınlaşması kavramının işaret ettiği gibi, bu süreç sonucu ortaya çıkan göç dalgasının büyük bir çoğunluğunu oluşturmaktadır. Türkiye ise pek çok post-Sovyet ülkesi için olduğu gibi Gürcistan göçmeni ev işçileri için de hedef ülkelerden biri haline gelmiştir.

Türkiye'deki refah sistemi genellikle aile üzerinden sosyal politikalarını ilerletmekte, dolayısıyla bakım hizmetleri de dahil pek çok sosyal hizmet genellikle aile üzerinden sağlanmaktadır. Patriyarkal kapitalizm altında, bakım hizmetleri söz konusu olduğunda aile genellikle kadına ve kadınların ücretsiz emeğine tekabül etmekte ve kadınların ev içi emekleri üzerinden sağlanmaktadır. Neoliberal politikalar sonucu bu durum devletin giderek daha fazla bakım emeğinden çekilmesine ve bakım hizmetlerinin neredeyse tamamen özelleşmesine sebep olmuştur. Buna ek olarak son yıllarda artan bağımlı yaşlı nüfusu, ücretli ev içi emeğe olan talebi artmış, bu talep özellikle yatılı ev işçisi istihdamına olan talep artışını da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu noktada, Türkiyeli ev işçileri üzerinde kurulan ataerkil tahakküm, kadınların yatılı olarak istihdam edilmesi önünde büyük bir engel teşkil etmektedir.

Büyük bir çoğunluğu düşük ücretli ve düşük statülü işlerde yoğunlaşan göçmen kadınlar, gittikleri ülkelerde eğitim düzeylerinden bağımsız olarak genellikle servis sektöründe, kadınlık rolleriyle ilişkilendirilen işlerde istihdam edilmektedirler. Özellikle son yıllarda bu işler içinde göçmen kadınların en fazla yoğunlaştığı alanlardan biri olarak ev içi emek gündeme gelmektedir. Bu noktada, göçmen ev işçileri Türkiye'de ortaya çıkan yatılı istihdam talebini karşılamak için uygun bir grup olarak belirlemekte, devletin sunmadığı bakım hizmetleri göçmen kadınların emeği üzerinden karşılanmaktadır.

Araştırmanın metodolojisi feminist duruş kuramına dayanmaktadır. Feminist duruş

kuramı, egemen olan erkek bilgisinin kadınların toplumsal ilişkilerde ikincilleştirmesine neden olduğu kadar bilgi üretim sürecinde de kadınların deneyimlerini görünmez kıldığı varsayımıyla, kadınların deneyimlerini bilginin temeli olarak tanımlamakta ve deneyimler üzerinden erişilebilecek bilginin kısmı, konumsal ve durumsal olduğu iddiasını taşımaktadır. Yaptığı farklılık vurgusuyla, tüm kadınların aynı deneyim ve koşullara sahip olmadığını vurgulayarak, her ezilmişlik halinin kendi özneliği üzerinden mevcut iktidar ilişkilerini değiştirmeye yönelik bir alan yarabileceğini savunur. Bu noktada, kadınların deneyimlerini bilgi üretmek için bir araç olarak görmekten ziyade, kadınlarla birlikte bir 'hikaye' yazabilmenin mümkün olduğuna olanak tanır. Öte yandan, kesişimsellik kavramına yaptığı vurguyla feminist duruş kuramı, göçmen kadın emeğini anlamak için önemli bir alan sağlamakta ve kadınların deneyimlerini şekillendiren farklı sistemleri ve bu sistemlerin birbirleri ile olan ilişkisini sıradüzen kurmadan anlamamıza olanak sağlar.

Tüm bu teorik tartışmalar ışığında, Gürcistan göçmeni onbir kadınla yapılan görüşmeleri içeren bu çalışma, ilk olarak kadınların göç etme kararını nasıl aldıklarını, Türkiye'yi hedef ülke seçmekteki nedenlerini, Türkiye'deki iş ve hayat deneyimlerini ve geleceğe dair planlarını aydınlatmayı hedeflemektedir. Kısaca, küreselleşme ve post-Sovyet ülke ekonomilerinin yeniden yapılanma sürecinin kadınların göç etme kararını ve göç deneyimini nasıl etkilediğini anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Çalışmada, küreselleşme, post-Sovyet ekonomilerdeki dönüşüm ve neoliberal politikalar, kadınların göç kararı almasının temel nedenleri olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Bu doğrultuda, bu araştırma öncelikli olarak kadınların göç etme kararını nasıl aldıkları sorusuna cevap vermeye çalışmıştır. Yapılan görüşmelerde de ortaya çıktığı gibi kadınlar göç etme kararlarının temel sebebi olarak ekonomik zorlukları göstermişlerdir. Piyasa ekonomisine geçiş döneminden sonra ortaya çıkan yüksek işsizlik, artan yoksulluk, eğitim ve sağlık hizmetlerinin özelleştirilmesi gibi etkenler kadınların işsiz kalmasına ya da aldıkları ücretlerle geçinememelerine sebep olmuştur. Bu noktada, kadınlar ekonomik zorlukları aşmak için göç etmeyi bir çözüm olarak görmüş, göç etme kararı almışlardır.

Neoliberal dönüşümün etkileri kadınların deneyimlerinde açıkça ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kadınlardan bazıları, sağlık hizmetlerinin ve eğitimin özelleştirilmesi gibi ekonomik dönüşümler sonucu torunlarının sağlık masraflarını karşılamak veya çocuklarının eğitimi sağlayabilmek için göç ettiklerini beyan etmişlerdir.

Türkiye'yi hedef ülke olarak seçmelerinin ise çeşitli sebepleri bulunmaktadır. Bu sebeplerden ilkinin coğrafi yakınlık oluşturmaktadır. Coğrafi yakınlıkla ilişkili olarak iki ülke arasındaki ulaşımın ucuz olması kadınların Türkiye'yi göç edilecek ülke olarak seçme kararlarını etkilemektedir. Türkiye ve Gürcistan arasında otobüs ulaşımı 50 dolar olup, her iki ülkede farklı şehirlere sefer düzenleyen pek çok otobüs firması bulunmaktadır. Zira görüşülen kadınların hepsi Türkiye'ye otobüs ile geldiklerini söylemişlerdir. Bunun yanı sıra, 2006 yılından itibaren Türkiye ve Gürcistan arasındaki vize uygulamasının kalkması da kadınların Türkiye'yi göç edilecek ülke olarak belirlemelerinde önemli rol oynamaktadır. Görüşülen kadınların tamamı Türkiye'ye pasaportları ile turist olarak giriş yapmışlardır. Öte yandan Türkiye'de bir yakınlarının/tanıdıklarının olması da göç etme rotasını belirlemede önemli bir etkidir. Kadınlar bu sayede kendilerini göçe daha hazır hissetmekte, göç etme kararını almaya dair cesaretlenmekte ve Türkiye'yi hedef ülke olarak seçmektedirler. Türkiye'de birebir tanıdıkları biri olmasa bile Gürcistan'da yaşadıkları bölgelerden Türkiye'ye çok sayıda kadın göçü var ise bu da göç etme kararlarını etkilemektedir.

Türkiye'de birini tanıyarak olmak, Türkiye'yi göç için hedef ülke olarak seçme kararını etkilemenin yanı sıra iş bulma sürecini de kolaylaştırmaktadır. Türkiye'deki tanıdıklar göç eden kadınlara kadınlar gelmeden ya da Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra iş bulmaktadırlar. Ne var ki Türkiye'de bulunan işler sadece tanıdıklar aracılığıyla olmamaktadır. Tanıdıkların yanı sıra aracı kadınlar ve özel istihdam büroları da bu alanda aktif olarak yer almaktadırlar. Aracı kadınlar genellikle Gürcistan'dan daha önce göç etmiş, ev işçisi olarak çalışan ve Türkiye'de sosyal ağlarını genişletmiş kadınlardır. Bu kadınlar genellikle buldukları işler karşılığında, kadınların ilk maaşlarını almaktadırlar. Öte yandan, özel istihdam büroları/ajanlar ise küreselleşmenin emek



piyasalarındaki etkilerinden biri olarak karşımıza çıkmakta, göçmen ev işçilerinin istihdamında önemli bir yer tutmaktadırlar. Bu ajanslar çoğunlukla enformel olup göçmen ev işçileri ve işverenler arasında aracılık yapmaktadırlar. Kadınlar Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra ajanslara başvurabildiği gibi, Gürcistan'dan da ajanslarla iletişime geçip, ajansların ayarladığı otobüslerle Türkiye'ye seyahat edebilmektedirler. Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra iş bulana kadar ajansların ofislerinde kalan kadınlar, buradaki zor koşullardan, dışarı çıkma yasağından ve kendilerine verilen az yemekten bahsetmektedirler. Ajanslar, genellikle kadınların ilk maaşlarına el koymakta, bazı kadınların beyanatlarına göreyse ajansa bağlı kalındığı sürece, ajanslar kadınlardan her üç ayda bir 50 dolar almaktadırlar. Ajanslarda karşılaştıkları kötü muamele, maaş kesintileri ve sonrasında ödenen paralar yüzünden kadınlar, ülke içinde kendi ağlarını oluşturduktan sonra genellikle ajansları terk etme, bu sosyal ağlar üzerinden iş bulmaya veya iş değiştirmeye devam etmektedirler.

Görüşülen kadınlardan tamamı yatılı olarak istihdam edilmektedir. Kadınlardan altısı yaşlı bakımı, bir tanesi hasta bakımı, üçü çocuk bakımı ve bir tanesi de ev işlerinden sorumludur. Fakat ev emeğinin tanımlanmasındaki zorluk kadınların iş tanımlarının yapılmasında da ortaya çıkmakta, her ne kadar kadınlar yaşlı, çocuk bakımı gibi belirli alanlar için istihdam ediliyor olsalar da evin diğer işlerinden de sorumlu hale gelmektedirler. Öte yandan, yatılı istihdam edilmek kadınların kalacak yer arama, bulma ve buna dair masraflarını azaltırken, işverenleri tarafından emeklerine 24 saat erişimi de beraberinde getirmektedir. Kadınların gündelik rutinlerine bakıldığında da görüldüğü üzere sabah herkesten önce kalkıp, akşam herkes yatana kadar çalışmaya devam etmektedirler.

Kadınlardan çocuk ve yaşlı bakan ikisi, baktıkları kişilerle aynı odayı paylaşmaktadırlar. Bakılan kişilerin gece de dahil herhangi bir ihtiyacı olduğunda, bu ihtiyaçlar kadınlar tarafından karşılanmaktadır. Bu hal, kadınların 24 saate sömürüye açık olmasına sebep olmakta, geceleri de çalışmaya devam ettiklerinin bir göstergesi haline gelmektedir. Kadınlardan ikisi hariç, dokuz tanesinin kendine ait odası bulunmaktadır. Fakat

kadınlardan üç tanesi bakmakta oldukları yaşlılarla aynı evde tek başlarına yaşamaktadırlar. Bu bilgiler, ev içinin işyeri olmasının kadınların üzerinde yarattığı etkiyi göstermek açısından önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Kadınların karşılaştıkları izolasyon kendilerine ait bir özel alandan mahrum kalmaya sebep olduğu gibi ayrıca baktıkları yaşlılarla aynı evde yalnız yaşayan kadınların sürekli bu alanda, bir evin sınırları arasında kalmasına sebep olmaktadır. Kadınlar izin günlerini kullanamamakta bazen 2-3 hafta evden çıkamamaktadırlar. Öte yandan, bu izolasyonun kadınların sağlığı üzerinde de etkileri olmaktadır. Kadınlar genellikle tanımlayamadıkları bir isteksizlik halinden bahsetmektedirler. Bu konuda yoğunlaşan araştırmaların da gösterdiği gibi kadınlar arasında anti-depresan niteliğindeki ilaçların kullanımını yaygındır.

Kadınlardan yedisi çalışma iznine sahipken, dört tanesinin çalışma ve oturma izni bulunmamaktadır. Çalışma izni bulunmayan kadınlar Türkiye’de pasaportları ile kalabilecekleri yasal sürenin içinde bulunmaktadırlar. Yasal düzenlemelere göre Türkiye’ye gelen Gürcistan vatandaşları, pasaportları ile Türkiye’de turist şeklinde 90 güne kadar kalabilmekte, 90 günün sonunda ülkeden çıkış yapmaları gerekmektedir, bir sonraki giriş ise ancak 90 gün sonra yapılabilmektedir. Bu düzenlemeye göre ülkeye gelen yabancılar, pasaportları ile Türkiye’de 180 gün içinde 90 gün kalabilmektedirler. Bu yasal düzenlemeler Gürcistan göçmeni ev işçilerinin deneyimlerini de etkilemektedir. Bu noktada çalışma izni olmayan kadınlardan iki tanesi 90 gün Türkiye’de kalıp çalıştıkları, 90 günün sonunda ise kendilerinin Gürcistan’a döndüğünü, ailelerinden başka bir kadının ise aynı evde çalışmaya devam ettiğini söylemektedirler. Öte yandan çalışma izni olmayan bir başka kadın ise şu an 2.5 aydır Türkiye’de olduğunu ve yasal süresi bitince ülkesine döneceğini söylemiştir. Düzensiz göçmen olma hali kadınların iş deneyimlerini de farklılaştırmakta, onları sömürüye daha açık hale getirmektedir. Kadınlardan bir tanesi çalıştığı bir önceki evden maaşını alamadığını, işverenin kadını polise şikayet etmek ve sınır dışı ettirmekle tehdit ettiğini söylemektedir.

Öte yandan çalışma izni olsun olmasın kadınların deneyimlerini etkileyen bir diğer faktör de dildir. Kadınların büyük bir çoğunluğu Türkiye’ye geldiklerinde Türkçe

bilmediklerini söylemişlerdir. Türkçe bilip bilmemeleri iş bulma süreçlerini ve işteki deneyimlerini de etkilemektedir. İşe alınma sürecinde genellikle Türkçe bilen ev işçilerinin tercih edilmesi iş bulma sürecini etkilerken, iş alındıktan sonrada haftanın 6 gününü geçirdikleri evde, işverenleri ile sınırlı iletişim kurabilmeleri kadınların karşılaştıkları izolasyonu arttırmaktadır.

Kadınların maaşları İstanbul'da 700 dolar, Ankara'da ise 450 ile 650 dolar arasında değişmektedir. Bunun yanında her iki şehirde de izin günleri için işverenler çalışanlara 20-25 TL civarı cep harçlığı vermektedirler. İzin günleri için verilen cep harçlığının yanında işverenler kadınlara hediyeler de almaktadırlar. Bu hediyeler genellikle kıyafet, Gürcistan'daki yakınlar için ufak hediyeliklerden oluşmaktadır. Öte yandan görüşülen kadınlardan bir tanesi işverenin kendisini Kapadokya'ya tatile gönderdiğini, tüm masrafları işverenin karşıladığını belirtmiştir.

Kadınlar haftanın altı günü çalışmaktadırlar. Görüşülen kadınların tamamı haftada bir gün izin günleri bulunduğunu belirtmiştir. Kadınlar genellikle pazar günü izin günlerini kullanmakta fakat bu günler işverenin kararına göre değişebilmektedir. İzin gününün belirlenen günden başka bir güne değiştirilmesi kimi zaman zorunluluk olarak yansıtılsa da, bazen de kadınlara 'aileden biriymiş' gibi davranılarak kadınların izin günlerini kullanmaları engellenmektedir. Bu hal, iş ile kişisel isteklerin sınırlarının bulanıklaşmasına sebep olmaktadır. Aileden biri retoriği ile kadınlar, belirlenen iş tanımları dışındaki işleri de yapmakta bunlar sevgi ilişkisi, aileden biri olmanın getirdiği sorumluluk olarak tanımlanmakta ve ücretlendirilmemektedir.

İzin günlerinde kadınlar Gürcistan göçmeni diğer kadınlarla vakit geçirmekte, genellikle parklarda buluşmakta ya da alışveriş yapmaktadırlar. Öte yandan düzenli bir şekilde olmasa da kadınların bazıları izin günlerinde başka evlere temizliğe gitmekte, böylelikle ek gelir elde etmeye çalışmaktadırlar. Fakat kamusal çıkabildikleri, rahatlayabilecekleri tek günleri olan izin günlerinde kadınların günlerini organize edişleri genellikle kamusalda karşılaştıkları ayrımcılık ve taciz etrafında şekillenmektedir. Kadınlar post-

Sovyet ülkelerinden geldikleri anda ‘nataşa’ olarak tanımlanmakta, bu tanımlama kadınların tacize ve tecavüze maruz kalmasına sebep olmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra çalışma izni olmayan kadınlar aynı zamanda polis tehdidiyle de karşı karşıya kalmaktadırlar. Kadınlar, polislerin kendilerini sınır dışı etmekle tehdit ettiğini bunun karşılığında kendilerinden rüşvet aldıklarını belirtmektedirler. Dolayısıyla rahatlamak ve yenilenmek için sahip oldukları tek gün olan izin günlerinde, kadınlar bu sefer farklı sömürülere maruz kalmakta tam bir rahatlama sağlayamamaktadırlar. Kadınlar, kamusal alanda karşılaştıkları bu ayrımcılığa ‘Türk gibi görünerek’ çözüm bulmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Kıyafet seçimlerinden saç rengi değiştirmeye kadar pek çok pratik ile kadınlar yabancı olduklarını gizlemeye çalışmaktadırlar.

Kadınlardan iki tanesinin kocası ve bir tanesinin oğlu da Türkiye’de çalışmaktadır. Burada önemli olan nokta, bu erkek göçünün kadınların göçü sonrası gerçekleşmesi, erkeklerin kadınların buldukları işlerde çalışmak üzere Türkiye’ye gelmeleridir. Kadınlar Türkiye’ye göçtükten sonra ailenin erkeklerinin yapabileceği işleri araştırmış ve erkeklerin göç etmesine öncülük etmişlerdir. Bu durum geleneksel göç teorilerinin kadınları erkeklerin kararları doğrultusunda göç eden bireyler olarak tanımlayışına meydan okumakta, göçün erkek egemen yapısındaki değişime işaret etmektedir. Kadınlar tanımlananın aksine göç hareketi içerisinde erkeklere bağımlı bireyler değil, aksine göç hareketinin öncüsü haline gelmektedirler.

Öte yandan Türkiye’de kocası ve oğlu bulunan kadınlar yatılı istihdam edildikleri için oğul ve kocaları ile birlikte yaşamamaktadırlar. Oğlu Türkiye’de olan kadın Ankara’da çalışırken, oğlu İstanbul’da çalıştığı izin günlerinde de görüşmemektedirler. Kocası İstanbul’da çalışan kadınlardan bir tanesi ise kocası ile çok sık görüşmediğini, izin günlerinin aynı olmadığını, arada kocasının izin gününe göre izin aldığını böylece görüşebildiklerini söylemiştir. Kocası İstanbul’da çalışan diğer kadın ise, kocasının diğer işçilerle tuttuğu evde izin günlerinde görüştiklerini belirtmiştir.

Tüm kadınlar kazandıkları paranın çoğunu Gürcistan'daki ailelerine yollamaktadırlar. Genellikle haftasonu işverenler tarafından verilen 20-25 TL'lik cep harçlığı dışında bütün parayı ülkelerine yollayan kadınlar, paranın yanı sıra Gürcistan'a elektronik, kıyafet gibi şeylerde götürmekte veya yollamaktadırlar. Bunlar genellikle kargo yoluyla veya Gürcistan- Türkiye arası sefer yapan otobüsler aracılığıyla yollanmaktadır. Öte yandan, kadınların hiçbiri Türkiye'ye yerleşmeyi düşünmemekte, ev alacak kadar biriktirince ya da Gürcistan'a döndüklerinde herhangi bir ekonomik zorluk çekmeyecek kadar para kazanınca ülkelerine dönmeyi planlamaktadırlar.

Araştırma boyunca onbir Gürcistan göçmeni ev işçisinin yanı sıra, yedi tane Gürcistan göçmeni ev işçisi istihdam eden işverenle de görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmeler boyunca Gürcistan göçmeni ev işçisi istihdam etmenin sebepleri anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Görüşülen işverenlerden biri hariç diğer altısı daha öncede hem Türkiyeli hem de göçmen ev işçisi istihdam etmiş, bir tanesi ise sadece Türkiyeli ev işçisi çalıştırmıştır. Göçmen ev işçisi istihdam etmenin temel sebebi göçmen kadınların yatılı olarak çalışmayı kabul etmesidir. Öte yandan, göçmen kadınların sahip oldukları yüksek eğitim düzeyi, daha düşük ücretle daha uzun saatler çalışmayı kabul etmeleri göçmen kadınları istihdam etmenin diğer önemli sebeplerini oluşturmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, işverenlere göre Türkiyeli ev işleri aileleri ile ilgili sürekli yalanlar ve bahaneler uydurarak izin almakta, aileleri uzakta olan göçmen ev işçileri ise her daim erişime açık olmaktadır.

Görüşülen işverenlerden beşi özellikle Gürcistan göçmeni ev işçisi istihdam ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu tercihin sebebini ise diğer milletlerden olan göçmen ev işçilerine göre Gürcistanlı kadınların daha uysal, daha çekingen ve gözü açılmamış olmaları gibi tanımlamalar üzerinden açıklamışlardır. Aslında bu açıklamalar istihdam sürecinde milliyetin ve milliyete yönelik stereotiplerin ne kadar önemli bir yer tuttuğunu göstermektedir. İşverenler tercih ve hoşnutsuzlukları milliyetler üzerinden tanımlamaktadırlar.

Milliyetin yanı sıra, yaş da işe alma sürecinde önemli bir etken olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Genellikle daha yaşlı kadınları tercih eden işverenler, yaşın deneyimin göstergesi olduğunu ve yaşça daha büyük olan işçilerin daha sabırlı olduğunu söylemişlerdir. Yaş, deneyim ve tecrübe üzerinden olumlanırken, genç olma hali ise istihdam kararını olumsuz etkilemektedir. Genç ev işleri, işverenler tarafından işverenlerin evlilikleri için bir tehlike olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Aslında bu durum bedenin istihdam sürecinde ne kadar önemli bir belirleyici olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu noktada, milliyet, cinsiyet, yaşın yanı sıra kadınların bedenleri de işe erişimleri ve iş deneyimlerini etkilemektedir.

Görüşülen işverenlerden dört tanesi istihdam ettikleri ev işçileri için çalışma iznine başvurmuşlardır. Çalışma iznine başvurmanın temel sebebi işverenler tarafından kendini güvenceye almak, çalışanın bir anda işi bırakıp gitmesini engellemek ve yetkililerin fark etmesi sonucu ödeyecekleri yüksek cezalar olarak belirtilmiştir. Öte yandan, çalışma izni almayan üç işverenden bir tanesi, bu sürecin çok uzun ve masraflı olduğunu bununla uğraşmak istemediğini, bu süreçten çalışanın ve işverenin herhangi bir faydasının olmadığını aksine devletin para kazandığını söylerken; bir diğer işveren 90-90 rotasyonu ile, 90 gün bir çalışan istihdam ettiğini daha sonra ise o kişinin Gürcistan'a döndüğü ve ailesinden başka birinin diğer 90 gün çalışmak için geldiğini söylemiştir. Bu sistemin hem çalışan hem de kendileri için daha iyi olduğunu, çalışanın zaten 3 ay sonunda evi özlediğini ve veriminin düştüğünü belirtmektedir.

İşveren olarak görüşülen kişilerin tamamı kadındır. Ev içi emek tartışmalarının da gösterdiği gibi kadınlar ev işlerine dair sorumluluklarını başka birini istihdam ederek üzerlerinden atmaya çalışsalar da hala bu işlerin organizasyonundan kadınlar sorumlu olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla ücretli emek üzerinden başkasına devredilen ev işleri cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümünde radikal bir değişiklik yaratmamıştır. Bu durum ev işlerini sadece bir kadının omuzlarından ücretli istihdam edilen başka bir kadının ellerine bırakılmıştır.

Tüm bu tartışmalar göstermektedir ki göçmen kadınların ev içi emekte yoğunlaşıyor olması sadece göçmen olmalarından kaynaklı değildir. Patriyarka, kapitalizm, ırkçılık gibi pek çok sömürü sistemi bu yoğunlaşmayı şekillendirmektedir. Kadınların deneyimlerinin de işaret ettiği gibi milliyet, din, yaş, cinsiyet gibi pek çok faktör tarafından şekillenen göçmen ev işçisi olma deneyimi ancak ve ancak bu farklı sistemler arasındaki ilişkileri sıradüzene koymadan incelemekle anlaşılabilir.

## APPENDIX B: TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

### YAZARIN

Soyadı: Diñer  
Adı: Cemile Gizem  
Bölümü: Kadın Çalışmaları A.B.D.

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce): In Between Countries: Experiences of Women Migrant Domestic Workers From Georgia in Turkey

### TEZİN TÜRÜ:

Yüksek Lisans   Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınmaz.

### TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: