

BEING A
MIGRANT Migrant
Workers
Survey
in TURKEY





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PREFACE

In 1988, a meeting was organized to discuss the problems of Turkey and how to contribute to the solution of these problems. Eventually we established the Human Resource Development Foundation (HRDF). Today, we continue to implement services and activities in the fields of migration, reproductive health/rights, and community development with the same enthusiasm of the early years.

In 1991, a massive migration from Bulgaria to Turkey established the first steps of HRDF's migration work. This was followed by our work to support the Bosnian War veterans, and then to support Kosovar migrants who came to Turkey in 1993. In 1999, working in collaboration with the Union Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), we started providing counseling services to refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey. This became the main area of our Irregular Migration Program.

During our work with asylum seekers and refugees in several regions of Turkey, the conditions and needs in Turkey led us to be active within the anti-trafficking area in the early 2000's. Combatting Human Trafficking Program which we started in 2003 continues today. For over ten years now, we have been working to support the victims of human trafficking and protecting their rights in collaboration with the state.

While implementing activities under our Irregular Migration Program which targets asylum seekers, refugees and victims of human trafficking, we became aware of the problems faced by migrant workers in Turkey who were becoming more visible everyday. We came across migrant workers frequently during our everyday work. Trying to support them we realized that there wasn't much work done in this area. When we tried to make reference to existing literature, we realized that although very important work had been carried out by academicians, it's been stated that there was insufficient qualitative and quantitative data on this subject. Based on these observations, we decided to work in this area and started to seek funding. EU Delegation to Turkey provided financial support to HRDF to implement activities in this area. This report was prepared with that context and includes the results of the survey carried out on migrant workers.

With this publication, we will share the results of the survey that aims to contribute to the development and implementation of rights based migration policies in Turkey, as it is a major destination country in this region.

We would like to thank everybody who supported us during the survey, especially the migrant women and men who shared their migration stories with us. We would also like to thank Tuba Dündar and Elif Özer for the preparation of this publication, and to Prof. Dr. Ayşen Bulut and Prof. Dr. Nuray Özgülnar who carried out the final reading of the report and provided contributions and suggestions.

Turgut Tokuş
HRDF President of Board

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INTRODUCTION

Every year, due to reasons such as poverty, social conflict and political turmoil in their own countries, millions of people decide to migrate. At some stage most of these people end up becoming undocumented migrants during this migration process.

Turkey is a junction between migrant receiving and migrant sending countries due to being located in a geography that is highly affected by migration flows in different ways. It has become a haunt for irregular migration flows especially with the increasing international migration in the 1980s. The nationalities of the migrants show that a wide geography has become the source for the migration flows towards Turkey. Migrants come to Turkey from many countries of Asia, Africa and East Europe.

Information on migrants denotes that there are four types of migrants who come to Turkey. These are: (1) Irregular migrants who come to work; (2) Transit migrants; (3) Asylum seekers and refugees (4) Regular migrants. These groups are transitional; migrants, depending on the conditions and opportunities can transit from one status to the other.

The irregular migration concept relates to the migrants that are not legally allowed to stay in the country, and consists of people who use Turkey as a transit country, or people who stay and/or work in the country without the necessary documents.¹

With the increase in the number of migrants coming to Turkey, the needs in this area have also increased. HRDF implemented a project to support the migrant workers and to identify the human rights violations that they face.

A survey that was implemented under the project titled “Protecting and Promoting the Human Rights of Undocumented Migrants” which was supported by European Union Delegation to Turkey in 2013 – 2015. The project targeted a sub group of irregular migrants called “circular migrants”. Circular migrants are migrants who go to the destination country for a temporary period of time to work with no intention of staying and plan to go back after earning a certain amount of money.

The target group of the survey comprised of migrant workers from the former Soviet Union countries and especially those who are coming from Central Asia. The primary reason to choose this group is that the majority of the migrant workers in Turkey are nationalities of these countries.² Other reason and assumptions for choosing this group are explained in the following section.

The results of a quantitative survey conducted with migrant women and men workers, results of focus group discussions conducted with migrant women, results of a survey conducted with job recruiters and summary of an in depth interview conducted with an employer are presented in this report. This report which is enriched with definitions of widely used concepts in the field of migration and introduction of international documents, aims to provide information to policy makers and practitioners so as to contribute to the development of rights based migration policies.

BACKGROUND

Human Resource Development Foundation

The Human Resource Development Foundation (HRDF) established in 1988, has been implementing activities to contribute to the solutions of problems stemming from irregular population movements, and to eliminate the factors that hinder social development.

HRDF is one of the internationally accredited executing agencies of the United Nations Population Fund since 1997, and has a special consultative NGO status with the UN Economic and Social Council since 2002. HRDF received tax exemption status with the Cabinet Decree in 2001.

During the early years of HRDF, Turkey's urbanization process gained momentum, cities became industrial centers, and mass migration movements started to change the social structure. Reproductive health was one of the areas influenced by this new era of vast changes, and new needs arose in this area constantly. Founded by academicians working in the reproductive health area, fulfilling these new needs became a priority for HRDF. In the following years a program to support the empowerment of women with a focus on gender equality was also included in HRDF's priority areas.

Global changes have affected all countries and one of the many results of these changes were the increased migration movements. Turkey has been influenced by these changes and turned into a country of immigration from a country of emigration. Assessing the needs, HRDF developed and implemented programs in the migration area since its establishment, initially targeting regular migrants, then asylum seekers and refugees, and lastly foreign victims of human trafficking.

HRDF has included migrant workers in its target group with the implementation of the project "Protecting and Promoting the Human Rights of (Undocumented) Migrant Workers". HRDF experts, during their course of work have observed that the status of migrants is transitional, and a migrant whose visa duration has ended can become undocumented and unprotected in one day. This can harbor the risk of encountering many human rights violations including human trafficking. An undocumented migrant can be legal again by applying for asylum.

Undocumented Migrant Workers Project

HRDF implemented the project entitled “Protecting and Promoting the Human Rights of Undocumented Migrant Workers” with the financial support of the European Union (EIDHR) between the dates 1 January 2013 – 31 March 2015.

Several activities were implemented under this project which aimed to protect and promote the human rights of migrant workers, and to contribute to the development of rights based policies for these groups.

These activities were; 1) Migrant Workers Survey; 2) Psycho-social counseling for the migrant women staying at the Removal Center in Istanbul; 3) Development and distribution of informative materials in Russian, Georgian, Uzbek and Moldavian languages and provision of one to one counseling; 4) Development and distribution of a handbook for civil society organizations; 5) Presentation of the project and survey results to the stakeholders with a meeting organized in Ankara. 6) Preparing a report has been prepared to share the results of the Migrant Workers Survey.

Migrant Women

It should be noted here that migrant women have been given special emphasis in this project.

With the increase in the number of migrant women, the gender dimension of migration and migrant work has become an area that needs special emphasis. According to a 2005 report of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), fifty percent of all migrants in the world are women. Studies on migrant women show that labour migration is a more difficult process for migrant women.

It is observed that the migration background of the migrant women from Central Asia who are the target group of this project is influenced by gender inequality. The literature shows that the political, economic and social transition that took place after the Soviet period has had a negative impact on women. The decrease in employment opportunities and salaries and the increase in unemployment initially pushed women out of a work life, and the diminishing state services such as free kinder garden and education etc, increased the burden on women’s shoulders.

It is observed that the women who hit the road as suitcase traders during 1990s have become cheap labourers in informal sectors and/or in the entertainment industry in today's world. Women have to face the difficulties of being a woman and being a migrant in their social and work lives.

Definitions regarding migration

With the increasing migration in the world, various terms have been used to explain the migration process. Some of the concepts used in this area are explained in this section.

Migrant

A migrant is a person who moves from one country to another in order to find work or better living conditions. Generally, migrants migrate to another country with their own free will, they don't have fear of persecution in their own countries, and they continue to be under the protection of their countries.³

Undocumented/irregular Migrant

Undocumented/irregular migrants are persons who do not fulfill the requirements established by the country of destination to enter, stay or exercise an economic activity. In this context, migrants can be undocumented through various ways: (1) Persons who have fled through borders, or who have used fraudulent documents to enter the country, or (2) persons who enter the country legally and then who become illegal are all undocumented migrants. Variations of the second group are: persons who enter the country as tourists but do not leave the country in time; persons who enter the country as asylum seekers but do not leave the country after their applications is denied; or persons who enter the country and stay legally but work without work permits.⁴

Illegal Migrant

This is another definition used to identify irregular migrants. International Labour Organization criticizes this definition stating that: “persons who enter and work in the country without legal permission are called as being illegal, hidden, undocumented or irregular. The term “illegal migrant” has some normative implications and side meaning and implies that there is a crime committed”.⁵

Circular/pendulum migration with the aim of working

This type of migration defines movement of the migrants who go to a destination country several times for better economic opportunities. The majority of these migrants enter the destination country legally but either overstay, or violate the conditions of their stay thus become the subject of irregular migration. In the example of Turkey, there are two main groups under this model: circular migration for suitcase trade purposes, and circular migration to become domestic workers, construction workers, agricultural workers or sex workers in the informal sector.⁶ Several surveys indicated that most of the irregular circular migrants in Turkey are nationals of countries that were formed following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

National Legislation

Law of Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP)

The Law 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) was approved by the President on 10.04.2013, and published in the Official Gazette No. 28615 dated 11.04.2013. The purpose of this Law is to regulate the principles and procedures with regard to foreigners’ entry into, stay in and exit from Turkey, and the scope and implementation of the protection to be provided for foreigners who seek protection from Turkey, and the establishment, duties, mandate and responsibilities of the Directorate General of Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior.

Directorate General for Migration Management

Directorate General was established by Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection. The Directorate General for Migration Management has been established under the Ministry of Interior with a view to implement policies and strategies related to migration; ensure coordination between the related agencies and organizations on these matters; carry out the tasks and procedures related to foreigners' entry into, stay in, exit and removal from Turkey, international protection, temporary protection and protection for the victims of human trafficking.

Law on Work Permit for Foreigners

The objective of Law on the Work Permit for Foreigners (Law No. 4817) is to regulate the work of foreigners in Turkey with a system of work permit, and to specify the rules regarding the working permits to be given to these foreigners. Article 4 of the Law states that the foreigners are obliged to get permission before they start to work dependently or independently in Turkey. The permit is issued by the Turkish Ministry of Labour and Social Security. There is a "By-Law" dated 2003, and a comprehensive "Guideline" dated 2014 for the implementation of the Law.⁷

The employer in Turkey is required to file an online application to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security to get a work permit. The system does not allow foreigners to work wherever they want. A worker cannot make a personal work permit application without the employer's application. In the case of applications filed abroad, foreigners are required to file an application (using information obtained from Turkish employer) at a consulate of the Republic of Turkey in the country of which they are a citizen or a permanent resident. In case of applications from within Turkey, foreigners shall hold residence permits with a remaining term of at least six months.⁸

If and when a migrant works without a work permit, s/he becomes irregular/undocumented. "Illegal worker" is a term used for migrants who work without the official documents. According to the "Law on Foreigners and International Protection" Article 54-ğ; "A removal decision shall be issued in respect of those foreigners listed below who are determined to be working without a work permit."

Migrant Workers Survey Background and Design

Like many other countries in the world, irregular migration and informal economy are interrelated in Turkey. By its nature, main principles of decent working conditions like social security, labour safety and labour rights are not regularised in the informal sector. Main fields of informal sector are domestic work, the entertainment sector, service sector, sweatshops and prostitution. Workers at informal sectors whether migrant or native, by definition, work informally. But it is a fact that the majority of the migrant workers being a source of cheap labour can find employment only in the informal sectors. The migrant workers who are the subject matter of this report are the ones who work without work permits. If a migrant doesn't have a valid visa or residence permit, apart from working illegally, is also in a situation of staying illegally in Turkey. Working and staying illegally in Turkey increase the risks of migrant workers and they become easy targets for human rights violations.

Circular migrants as a subgroup of undocumented migrants are selected as the target group of this project. The population of this subgroup has also been limited to the migrants coming from the former Soviet Union countries especially from Central Asia. The main reason for this selection is the majority of the migrant workers in Turkey arriving from these countries.⁹ Another reason for this selection is the assumption that working with a group of people with common language (Russian) and considerably homogenous cultural background could facilitate the implementation of the activities. Lastly, HRDF's experience of working with the nationals of this geography over the past years could also facilitate the implementation.

The aim of the survey is to reveal the situation of the target group with regards to human rights violations by collecting information on their work and living conditions. The findings of the survey will be shared with the policy makers and the improvement of the living and working conditions of migrant workers will be advocated.

Survey Design

Qualitative and quantitative data collection methods have been utilized for the survey. Questionnaire survey and focus group discussions are the main techniques utilized.

Besides the survey carried out with migrant workers, a small scaled survey with recruiters and an in depth interview with an employer have also been conducted as these persons are the other elements of migrant work.

I- Migrant Workers Questionnaire Survey

Migrant workers have been reached in Istanbul and Batumi. Both migrant women and men were interviewed. The survey aimed to collect information about below subjects:

- Basic demographic characteristics
- Information on entry and departure to and from Turkey
- Information on the last entry to Turkey
- Last employment
- Work life in Turkey
- Problems in work life in Turkey
- Social life, other problems and connections with the country of origin
- Legal and health problems, and support needs.

Ethical Approach: Respondents were informed about the aim of the project and the survey; they have been ensured that their names will be kept anonymous and they were informed regarding the usage of the data. Official identification information was not requested from any of them.

Migrant Workers Survey - İstanbul

Two different groups of migrant workers were interviewed in Istanbul. One group was migrants who were working freely in Istanbul and were reached at their workplaces, or at the flats they live. The other group was the migrants who have been detained by the police, and were interviewed at the Istanbul Removal Center (RC).

Interviews at workplaces/flats were conducted from May 2013 to July 2014. A total of 84 migrants were interviewed during this period, 51 women and 33 men.

These persons were reached through a non-probability sampling technique called snowball technique.¹⁰ Therefore the survey population is not a representative population.

The interviews at the Removal Center were conducted from October 2013 to June 2014. A total of 68 migrants were interviewed during this period, 37 women and 31 men.¹¹ The main reason we conducted some of the interviews at the Removal Center was the assumption that more accurate information could be collected from the migrants who were already out of the work force. It was assumed that workers will not be under pressure of losing their jobs if they say negative things about their work conditions. Also we were able to reach a more heterogenous group at the Removal Center.

Migrant Workers Survey - Batumi

Interviews have also been conducted with Georgian workers who have worked in Turkey and returned back to their country. The aim of this specific survey was to learn about the work experinces of returning migrants and inquire about their situation regarding violation of human rights. These interviews were conducted by a Georgian NGO named TANADGOMA.¹² It is known that many Georgian migrant workers come to Turkey especially from Batumi.

A total of 10 women and 10 men were interviewed between the dates October - November 2013.

II – Focus Group Discussions with Migrant Women

A total of 8 focus group meetings have been conducted with a total of 77 migrant women at the Removal Center.¹³ Groups were comprised of between 6 - 10 migrant women. Participation at the group was on a voluntary basis and participants were informed that they can leave the group if they wanted. Participants were also informed that the information collected would be anonymous and their consent was taken after that. The focus group discussions were carried out in a spacious room with the door closed. Only participants, moderator and the rapporteur were present in the room. Participants were selected among migrant women who could communicate in Turkish.

Number of migrant workers reached during the research

No. of migrants who have filled in the questionnaire : 172 persons (98 women/74 men)

No. of migrants who have participated at FGDs : 77 women

Total : 249 persons

MIGRANT WORKERS SURVEY

Migrant Women Survey Results - İstanbul

In this, and the following section, selected results of the data analysis are shared. A more comprehensive evaluation of these results can be found at the Conclusion chapter of the report.

The results of the interviews with 51 migrant women working in İstanbul, and 37 migrant women who are waiting at the Removal Center have been shared in this section. The related tables are under the Annex 1.

INITIALLY WE AIMED AT UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT WOMEN

Where are you from?

How old are you?

What is your marital status?

Do you have kids?

What is the last school you have completed?

In both groups, the women interviewed had similar characteristics. The majority of the women were from Georgia, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. There were also women from Krgysiztan and to a much lesser extent from Ukraine, Russia, Moldova and Armenia. (Table W1)

Although there were women from every age, the middle aged women were the majority. In terms of marital status, the group was very heterogeneous; there were married, single, divorced and widowed women, and most had kids. (Tables W2, W3, W4)

The majority of the women were high school or university graduates; however among the women at the Removal Center, there were many women who were primary school graduates. (Table W5)

Were you living in rural or urban residences in your country?

Who were your household members in your country?

The majority of the women were living in urban centers in their countries. Some were living with their spouses and kids whereas women who were not married were living with various family members. (Table W6)

WHAT WERE THE REASONS THAT PUSHED WOMEN TO MIGRATE...

*Were you employed?
What was your monthly income?*

The majority of the women in both groups stated that they were working in their countries before coming to Turkey. Among the qualified jobs where women were employed, working as a nurse was the most common. There was also a doctor, painter and a psychologist among them. However, the majority of the women were working in unqualified jobs such as cleaners, market stalls and factories. Almost half of the women earned 100\$ - 250\$ monthly, and one third earned less than 100\$. (Tables W7, W8)

*Have you been unemployed?
Does your spouse work?*

Almost all women have encountered unemployment problems in their home countries. They were often able to find only part time or temporary employment. For example, one woman worked as a nurse and as a salesperson in the space of a year. Another woman worked in a library and at a factory. Women stated that not only they, but that their husbands also have difficulty in finding jobs. (Tables W9, W10)

*Did you have any problems within your family, in your community
or due to political climate?*

We tried to understand if there were other reasons other than economic reasons that pushed women to migrate. Very few women mentioned problems related with social life that might influence migration decision; mentioned problems were domestic violence and ethnic discrimination. It should be noted that respondents were not very eager to answer such questions during a questionnaire survey, but during the group meetings, we learned that women faced various social and cultural problems in their countries. (Table W11)

WE WANTED TO LEARN HOW THEY FIRST CAME TO TURKEY. WHY DID THEY PREFER TURKEY, AND HOW DID THEY PLAN IT

*Have you been abroad for work before?
Have you been to Turkey before?
Why did you choose Turkey?
How did you come to Turkey?*

The majority of the women in both groups had not travelled abroad for work before, and more than half the women were in Turkey for the first time. (Table W12)

When asked to list their reasons for choosing Turkey as a destination country, the most common answer was "It is easier to find jobs in Turkey" and second "There are acquaintances in Turkey". The third important factor was stated as "It is easy to come to Turkey".

Among the women interviewed, the majority "came to someone they knew and then found a job" but there were also women who "found a job before coming to Turkey" or who came to Turkey "without any job or acquaintance connection". (Tables W13, W14)

WHAT ARE THE PLANS OF WOMEN REGARDING STAYING AND WORKING IN TURKEY

*Where did you plan to work in Turkey?
How long do you plan to stay in Turkey?*

The majority of the women thought that they could find employment in the domestic work sector in Turkey. In this report "domestic work" is defined as including cleaning, child care, elderly and patient care. There were women who didn't have plans but thought that "I can do whatever work I find" or women who listed some areas like working at textile workshops. There were women who planned to stay in Turkey "as long as she can" or who plan to stay "for a predetermined time, or until earning a predetermined amount of money". Also there were a few women who plan to "stay in Turkey permanently". (Tables W15, W16)

Based on these answers we can say that this group was an example of circular migrants. Their migration plan was to stay and work in Turkey temporarily.

THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS BEING LEGAL IN TURKEY

Do you have a visa or residence permit?

The most important problem that migrant workers expressed was having no documents to legally stay in Turkey. The majority of the women interviewed told us that they are "illegal". As for the women who were staying in Turkey legally, very few had residence permits, but most had unexpired visas. (Table W17)

WE INQUIRED THE WORK LIFE OF THE MIGRANTS BY ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THEIR LAST JOB

What is your last job?

How long did you work in your last job?

How did you find this job?

Half of the women were working within the domestic sector; the second large group consisted of women working in textile workshops. There were also women who were suitcase traders, or sex workers. (Table W18)

The length of the working period can be interpreted in several ways, we therefore asked women for how long they had worked in their previous jobs. One third of the women had worked for more than 1 year (1-5 years) while one third had worked less than 3 months. (Table W19)

Finding a reliable employer is as important as finding a well paid job. Half of the women found their jobs with the help of acquaintances, and a lesser number of women found jobs through recruiters in Turkey, or with their own efforts. It is possible to say that for migrants who have been living in Turkey for some time, it is easier to find jobs without contacting recruiters. (Table W20)

IN ORDER TO FIND OUT IF WOMEN HAVE ENCOUNTERED RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AT THEIR WORK PLACES WE TRIED TO LEARN THE WORK CONDITIONS

How many days a week do you work?

How many hours a day do you work?

There were women who worked for 7 days/week without taking any leave. But mostly they were working for 6 days/week. Women working in other sectors other than domestic work stated that they worked between "8 – 10 hours" daily. On the other hand, domestic workers couldn't determine the length of daily work due to the nature of the work itself. (Tables W21, W22)

What is your salary?

Almost half of the women interviewed at their workplaces earned 350\$ - 400\$ monthly. Women interviewed at the Removal Center on the other hand received higher salaries. One third of this group stated that they earned 550\$ - 700\$

monthly. There were women who earned 1000\$ or more monthly, most of these women were those mainly working in the sex work sector. (Table W 23)

Where do you live?

Where do you stay on your off days?

The housing situation of the women is generally determined by their jobs. Most of the domestic workers lived in the households they worked in. Second in row were the women who rented flats with other women. (Table W 24)

The only time that the domestic workers socialized was on their day off, and on those days they would stay with friends. Some of them would pay for their stay, whilst others were accepted as visitors. There were also women who returned back at the end of their leave day. (Table W25)

WE EXPANDED THE QUESTIONS ON WORK LIFE TO INCLUDE ALL JOBS IN TURKEY

Have you been mis-treated in any job you worked at?

*Have you worked anywhere where you were not given your salary,
or received less than agreed?*

One third of the women stated that they had been subject to at least one type of violence, and although most of them had faced verbal abuse, there were women who had been subject to physical violence and even sexual harassment, and a few women also stated that they had been raped. (Table W26)

More than one third of the women stated to have received no salary, or partial salary in at least one job. (Table W 27)

In any of your jobs, were Turkish workers paid more for the same work?

Did you keep your own passport at all times?

Although there were some women who stated to have been paid less than Turkish workers, the majority either didn't know others' salaries, or worked in places where there were no Turkish workers. (Table W28)

There were women who stated that employers or the recruiter kept their passport. Although keeping the worker's passport can be seen as a way of ensuring employer's own security, there are many occasions where this is used to oppress the worker. Confiscating the passport is defined as a crime in Turkish law. (Table W29)

*Did you work in an unhealthy place?
Did you have other problems in your work place?*

One fourth of the women stated to have worked under unhealthy conditions. There were domestic workers who slept in rooms with unhealthy conditions. These rooms were cold, dump, and stuffy. Women stated that the most difficult job was patient care and it can be unhygienic. Sex workers also stated that their job is unhealthy. A woman who was working in a factory stated that the environment was unhealthy. (Table W30)

Most women did not mention other problems at the workplace when asked, but some re-emphasized the “long working hours”, “low salaries” and “maltreatment of the employer”.

*Have you been dismissed from any of your jobs? Why?
Have you left any jobs with your own will? Why?*

Almost one fifth of the women had been dismissed from their jobs. The most frequently mentioned reason was “objecting to the conditions of the job”. Some of the women said that they were not given any reasons. (Table W31)

On the other hand, we have seen that women tend to leave the jobs that they don't like. The most frequently mentioned reason was “inappropriate work conditions, or heavy work conditions”; the second reason was “finding a better paid job”. But there were also women who left their jobs because of “maltreatment” or “problems in their payment”. There were also women who had not left any jobs, and most of them were still working in their first jobs.

TO BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES OF LIVING IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY, WE ASKED WOMEN ABOUT THEIR SOCIAL LIVES

*What do you do with the money you earn?
How did you use the money?*

The majority of the women stated us that they sent the money they earned to their families. As undocumented migrants in Turkey, they were unable to open bank accounts and didn't have other options as keeping the money in hand would be risky. Due to money transfer systems such as Western Union charge high

commissions, they either send the money with people they know or in cases where land transportation is used, like the Georgians, they would utilize the informal money transfer systems that the bus companies have established. (Table W 32)

The majority of the women informed us that the money would be spent on children's or sibling's education costs and the livelihood of the household. Also some women have paid off their debts, bought a flat, paid for the health care of sick parents etc with the money earned.

*Is there any family member living in Turkey?
Do you meet with your friends from your country who live here?
Do you have Turkish friends?
What do you do in your leisure time?*

Almost half the women stated that some of their family members (spouse, children, and siblings) are living in Turkey. Women mostly either live with their relatives/acquaintances or they meet with them during their day off. A small group of women were working in the same workplace and so would see each other daily. To a lesser extent, there were women who can only speak by phone and meet with each other on their day off. (Table W33)

It is not very common for migrant women to have Turkish friends; nevertheless, one fifth of them told us that they have Turkish friends. (Table W34)

Leisure time is important not only for resting but for psychological relaxation, we asked women what they do in their leisure time. Most frequent answer was "I do not go out/stay home and rest". These women stated that they were afraid to be spotted by the police. While some women stated that they did not have time for leisure, some stated that they meet with friends and relatives. There were a few women who had a "second job".

PROBLEMS PROBLEMS! ASKING SEVERAL QUESTIONS WE TRIED TO BETTER UNDER-
STAND THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF WOMEN

*Have you lived in a house with unhealthy conditions?
Who would you turn to if you needed support?
Did you have any problems with your social circle in Turkey?
What are the most frequent problems of migrants (other than residence/work permit)?*

There were women who had to live in houses with unhealthy conditions. Some women who got together to rent flats complained about not being able to find decent places to rent; they generally ended up renting basement flats without any light or air. We were told that sometimes landlords exploit migrants' illegal statuses and charge higher rents than the market value. We had the chance to see a couple of these unhealthy accommodations. (Table W35)

Women were asked whom would they turn to for support when they had problems. Most of them said that they had family members/relatives in Istanbul but they emphasized that "they would take care of their own problems". Some women informed us that they would get support from their Turkish friends and (former) employers.

The majority of the women stated that they did not have any problems in their social lives, but there were some women who have faced maltreatment including sexual harassment, and even rape. (Table W36)

In order to list all of the possible problems that a migrant could face in Turkey, we asked respondents the problems that other migrants encounter. The problems listed were as follows: worrying about not being able to save enough money, missing their family, homesickness, heavy working conditions, long working hours, maltreatment of the employer, sexual harassment, rape, discrimination, exclusion, language problems, loneliness, insecurity, feeling fear when starting a new job etc. Among these factors, the most worrying one was "migrant women forced to prostitute".

WE TRIED TO LEARN THE COMMON HEALTH PROBLEMS AND MECHANISMS TO COPE WITH THESE PROBLEMS

Did you have any health problem in Turkey?
Did you go to doctor?
What was your health problem?
Did you face any problems during the treatment process?

Almost half the women have had health problems in Turkey. Some of them were not able to go to the hospital for treatment; but overall, they did seek treatment at private hospitals/doctors. A few women have gone to state hospital. The common health problems of women were lumbar pain, cold, flu, teeth problems and broken limbs. There were a few women who mentioned psychological problems. (Table W37)

Among the women who had gone to the hospital, very few mentioned problems at the hospital. Mentioned problems were mainly related with “money” and “language”. A woman whose hand was cut told us that her supervisor took her to the hospital and requested that the doctors did not get her caught by the police.

FINALISING: DESPITE EVERYTHING, WHY TURKEY?

Which conditions would you need to be able work?

What are the reasons for continuing to stay in Turkey?

If you had to go back to your own country, would you like to go abroad again?

If to Turkey, why?

Almost all women stated that they needed permits to be able to peacefully work in Turkey. Some women stated conditions like “no discrimination”, “good treatment by the employers”, “regular overtime pays”, “decent work/decent income”.

When they were asked to tell the reasons of staying in Turkey despite all the hardships, the majority of them stated that “they are able to earn more money in Turkey”. Some said “it is easier to live in Turkey”. Few women stated they wished to become “Turkish citizens” in order to live in Turkey permanently. (Table W38)

Almost all of the women that we met at the Removal Center were about to be deported. Some of them stated they were not planning to go abroad again. Almost half of them were willing to come to Turkey again. Amongst these women, some women stated “it is possible to find work here”. There were those who “wanted to settle” and who said “it is comfortable to live here”. There were women who had spouses, kids, mothers in Turkey.

Migrant Women Survey Results - Batumi

A similar survey has been carried out in Batumi- Georgia with 10 return migrant women workers. In this section, selected results of this group have been shared.

Characteristics and migration stories of return migrant women workers showed similarities with other women in the survey. Mostly middle-aged women, married and divorced/separated women with children were reached. Their level of education was high school and above. One third of them were working, but the rest were jobless. Half of the women earned 250\$ - 400\$ per month, however some of them earned less.

All of them had come to Turkey for work. Most of them had arranged their jobs and accommodation beforehand. The majority of them entered and exited from the customs in order to remain legal. Very few of them obtained residence or work permits. Most of them have worked in the domestic sector, whereas a few of them worked in agriculture. Most of them worked 7 days a week. Generally their working hours were unspecified due to the nature of the work. On average they stated that they earned 400\$ - 550\$. Nearly half of them stated that they had been subjected to verbal abuse.

One agriculture worker had a relatively different experience. She informed us that she had been humiliated for being a migrant; she was not paid properly and was expected to work under heavy weather conditions. She informed us that she lived in a basement with no ventilation, heating, furniture, shower or toilet facilities. She stated that she had health problems but could not go to a hospital.

In the Batumi survey, women return migrant workers also stated that they would feel comfortable if they had permits/documents. They said it was quite difficult to go and come back from Georgia so as to renew their Visa regularly. They repeated the possibility of "earning money in Turkey" as a condition to prefer labour migration to Turkey.

Migrant Men Survey Results – İstanbul

The results of the interviews with 33 migrant men who were working in İstanbul, and 31 migrant men who were waiting at the Removal Center have been shared in this section. The related tables are under the Annex 2.

INITIALLY WE AIMED AT UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT MEN

Where are you from?

How old are you?

What is your marital status?

Do you have kids?

What is the last school you have completed?

The majority of the men interviewed were from Turkmenistan, Georgia and Uzbekistan. A smaller number of them were from Azerbaijan and Krgysiztan. There was one from Ukraine and one from Abhazia. (Table M1)

The survey was carried out with men from every age, but the majority of them were aged between 18-34. In terms of marital status, there were married and single men. Different from the women migrant group, a few of the men were divorced or widowed. We can assume that men can re-marry if their marriages do not work out. However, in the women's survey we deduced that it is hardy possible for women, especially for women with children to re-marry. (Tables M2, M3, M4) Majority of the men were educated at high school level or above. But there were some who were primary school graduates. (Table M5)

Were you living in rural or urban residences in your country?

Who were your household members in your country?

The majority of the men were living in urban centers in their countries. They have migrated to İstanbul from urban areas. Married men were living with their nuclear or extended families. Unmarried men were living with their parents. (Table M6)

WHAT WERE THE REASONS THAT PUSHED MEN TO MIGRATE...

*Were you employed?
What was your monthly income?
Have you been unemployed?
Does your spouse work?*

The majority of the men stated that they were working in their countries before coming to Turkey. Although there were university graduates among the respondents, they generally held unqualified jobs in agriculture, bazaars or similar sectors. Almost half of the men earned 250\$ or less monthly. Nearly every three out of four men have had unemployment problems. Spouses of some of the married men were also working. (Tables M7, M8, M9, M10)

*Did you have any problems within your family,
in your community or due to the political climate?*

The majority of the men stated that they did not have any problems related with social life that might influence their migration decision. Few men complained about ethnic discrimination and one man from sexual orientation discrimination (Table M11)

WE WANTED TO LEARN HOW THEY FIRST CAME TO TURKEY. WHY DID THEY PREFER TURKEY, HOW DID THEY PLAN IT...

*Have you been abroad for work before?
Have you been to Turkey before?
Why did you choose Turkey?
How did you come to Turkey?*

The majority of the men haven't been abroad for work. Moreover, more than half of them have come to Turkey for the first time. (Table M12)

When they were asked to list their reasons for choosing Turkey as a destination country, the most common answer was "It is easier to find jobs in Turkey" and the second was "There are acquaintances in Turkey". The third important factor was stated as "It is easy to come to Turkey". For those who were coming from Georgia, "easy transportation" was again an important reason. Most of the men that we met at the Removal Center stated that they "did not make prior contact" before coming to Turkey. On the other hand, men who were still working stated that they

had “found the job before coming to Turkey” or had “come to someone they know and then found a job”. (Tables M13, M14)

WHAT ARE THE PLANS OF MEN REGARDING STAYING AND WORKING IN TURKEY...

*Where did you plan to work in Turkey?
How long do you plan to stay in Turkey?*

The majority of the men had not made any prior plans on the type of work they would engage in in Turkey. Most of them migrated with the thought “I can do whatever work I find”. Among the sectors anticipated were textile and construction. There were those who planned to work as waiters, porters and to a lesser extent as gardeners and textile worker. (Table M15)

The majority of the men respondents stated they plan to stay “for a predetermined time or until earning a predetermined amount of money”. We also met with a few who plan to stay in Turkey “as long as he can” and who plan to “stay in Turkey permanently”. (Table M16)

THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS BEING LEGAL IN TURKEY...

Do you have a visa or residence permit?

More than half of the migrant men workers in the survey were “undocumented”. There were those with Visas, as well. Since there were many Georgian migrant workers who were still working during the survey, this increased the number of “documented” respondents, because Georgians come in and out of Turkey in 3-month intervals to re-new their Visas. But still, no one had a work permit, and even though they had valid visas, working without work permits made them “undocumented”. (Table M17)

WE INQUIRED THE WORK LIFE OF THE MIGRANTS BY ASKING QUESTIONS ON THE LAST JOB...

*What is your last job?
How long did you work in your last job?
How did you find this job?*

The majority of the men were working in textile workshops. "Car washing/gas station attendants" followed this group. Other migrant men have found jobs in carpet washing, bakery, construction and other service sectors. (Table M18)

The majority of the men had worked for more than a 1 year (1-5 years) at the same job. For Georgian men, who relied on 3-month Visa intervals, generally worked in the same sector but for different sweatshops. Therefore, those men stated they were in their last jobs at most 3 months. The majority of the men stated they had found their jobs with the help of "acquaintances from their home countries". Those who were still working stated they found jobs through "recruiters in Turkey". However most of those we met at the Removal Center stated they "found jobs themselves" without contacting recruiters. (Tables M19, M20)

IN ORDER TO FIND OUT IF MEN HAVE ENCOUNTERED RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AT THEIR WORK PLACES WE TRIED TO LEARN ABOUT THE WORK CONDITIONS...

How many days a week do you work?

How many hours a day do you work?

Where do you live?

What is your salary?

The majority of men mainly worked for 6 days a week, but there were some that worked for 7 days. The daily working hours ranged from 8 - 10 hours. Some of them worked for more than 10 hours. (Tables M21, M22)

The majority of the men were living in flats that they rented with acquaintances. A few of them, such as those working in gasoline stations or sweatshops were living at their workplace. On average they earned 400\$ - 550\$ monthly. Some of them had an income of 250\$ - 400\$. There were those who earned 550\$ - 700\$. (Tables M23, M24)

WE EXPANDED THE QUESTIONS ON WORK LIFE TO INCLUDE ALL JOBS IN TURKEY...

Have you been mis-treated in any of your work places?

Did you work in a job where you were not paid your salary fully or partially?

In any of your jobs, were Turkish workers paid more for the same work?

One third of the men stated that they have been subject to verbal violence and to a lesser extent physical violence at their work places. Violence was exerted mainly by the employers but they also stated that co-workers and other persons exerted violence. (Table M25)

Almost half of the men stated to have received no salary, no overtime or received a partial payment of their salary in at least one job. One fourth of them stated to have been paid less than Turkish workers at least in one or more jobs. There were those who didn't know others' salaries and with no other Turkish co-workers. (Tables M26, M27)

*Did you keep your own passport at all times?
Did you work in an unhealthy place?
Did you have other problems in your work place?*

The majority of the men had kept their passports themselves. Only a very few were kept by their employers. Some of those men could get their passports back on their off days. (Table M28)

Half of the men stated to have worked under unhealthy conditions. These jobs were in construction, factory, car washing and textile sectors. Workers generally complained about chemical use, lack of occupational health and safety and dangerous machines. (Table M29)

When asked about other problems at their workplace, the most common responses were "long working hours" and "heavy working hours". Following these, they mentioned "low salaries", "misbehavior of the employer", "problems related to living in Istanbul", "language barriers" and "homesickness" as other problems.

*Have you been dismissed from any of your jobs? Why?
Have you left with your own will any of your jobs? Why?*

Almost one fourth of migrant men were dismissed from their jobs. Various reasons mentioned were "objecting to the conditions of the job", "health based reasons", "asking for their wages". The majority of the men left their past jobs with their own will. Reasons to leave jobs were mentioned as "maltreatment / problems in the payment", "inappropriate work conditions or heavy work conditions" and "finding a better paid job". (Tables M30, M31)

TO UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES OF LIVING IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY WE ASKED MEN ABOUT THEIR SOCIAL LIVES...

What do you do with the money you earn?

How did you use the money?

The majority of the men told us that they were sending the money to their families. They said they generally sent the money "by hand", meaning through people they know, however there were some who sent money via Western Union even though it charges high commissions. They said they were using their money for "family subsistence". "Buying a house/car" followed this answer. A few number of men said they used their money "to pay debts", "look after the sick", "pay for wedding costs". (Table M32)

Is there any family member living in Turkey?

Do you meet with your friends from your country who live here?

Do you have Turkish friends?

What do you do in your leisure time?

Half of the men stated that one or more of their family member or relatives were living in Turkey. More than half of the men shared houses with people from their home country. We can assume that almost three fourths of migrant men socialize frequently amongst themselves. (Tables M33, M34)

One third of the men stated they made friends with Turkish citizens. This response was more frequent among detained migrants. When asked about their leisure time, men said they generally "rested indoors and did not go out". Some stated that they "met with acquaintances" and some said they did not have any leisure time. (Table M35)

PROBLEMS PROBLEMS! ASKING SEVERAL QUESTIONS WE TRIED TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF MEN

Have you lived in a place with unhealthy conditions?

Whom would you turn to if you needed support?

Did you have any problems in your social circle in Turkey?

What are the most frequent problems of migrants (other than residence/work permit)?

One third of the men stated they had to live in places with unhealthy conditions. This response was higher among migrant workers who were still working. (Table M 36)

Women were asked whom would they turn to for support if they had problems. Most said “they would take care of their own problems”, however some said “they can get support from their fellowmen”.

The majority of the men stated that they have not had any significant problems outside of their work life; there were some men who had been subjected to verbal violence, physical violence and other problems. When asked about the problems that other migrants encountered, the problems listed were as follows: fear of deportation, homesickness, heavy working conditions and language problems.

WE TRIED TO LEARN THE COMMON HEALTH PROBLEMS AND MECHANISMS TO COPE WITH THESE PROBLEMS.

*Did you have any health problem in Turkey?
Did you go to a doctor?
What was your health problem?
Did you face any problems during the treatment process?*

Three fourths of the men stated they did not have any health problems requiring treatment. However there were some men who did have some health problems but they could not go to hospital. The most common health problems were colds, arm/leg fractures, skin incisions, and dental problems. Among the men who had gone to the hospital, none of them mentioned problems at the hospital. (Table M37)

FINALISING: DESPITE EVERYTHING, WHY TURKEY?

*Which conditions would you need to be able work?
What are the reasons for continuing to stay in Turkey?
If you had to get back to your country would you like to go abroad again?
If to Turkey, why?*

Majority of migrant men stated that they were willing to stay in Turkey. They said "it is possible to find work / gain money in Turkey". Some said "it is comfortable to live in Turkey". Most of the men mentioned that they would request a safe stay in Turkey primarily. A couple of them wished "better working conditions" and "decent treatment by others". (Table M38)

The majority of the men that we met at the Removal Center were about to be deported. One fifth of them stated they were not planning to go abroad again. Almost half of them were willing to come to Turkey again. The rest of them stated they would be traveling to another country for work. Those who wished to come back to Turkey again stated that it was because of the possibility to find work here. Some also stated they wanted to settle in Turkey.

Migrant Men Survey Results - Batumi

A similar survey has been carried out in Batumi- Georgia with 10 return migrant men workers. In this section, the selected results of this group have been shared. Characteristics and migration stories of Georgian return migrant men workers showed similarities with the other men in the survey.

Most of the return migrant men were aged between 18 - 29 years of age. The majority was single. Their level of education was similar to Georgian return migrant women respondents. They were mostly high school or university graduates. Nearly half of them were working, but the rest stated they suffered from unemployment.

All of them came to Turkey for work. More than half of them had arranged their jobs beforehand and then came to Turkey. The majority of them planned to work for a predetermined duration, or save a specific amount of money and then return back home. The majority of them entered and exited through customs in order to remain legal.

Half of the return migrants had worked as seasonal labourers in Turkey. The second most frequent group comprised of textile workers. Almost all of them had found jobs through acquaintances. According to the Visa regime of Georgian migrants in Turkey, Georgians can stay up to 3 month-intervals in Turkey, then exit, and then can come back after 3 months. This applies to Georgian women, too. Therefore the longest period a Georgian worker can stay in one work is 3 months. Nearly half of the men worked 7 days a week without a day off. Half of them worked for more than 10 hours a day. More than half of them stated they earned 250\$ - 400\$ per month. Rest of them stated they earned more.

Almost half of the men stated they had been subjected to violence at their workplaces. More than half of them mentioned that they were paid less than they were told. Passports of a few were taken by their employers, but they could take them only when they went out. Three fourths of them had worked in a work environment with "unhealthy conditions". Examples include: factory workers had to breathe chemicals; agriculture workers had to bear severe weather conditions; construction workers had to work under insufficient safety measures. Two of the respondents' experience was striking. One said: "I worked in a detergent factory for two months but I was not paid at all. The boss said he would pay upon my visa expiry but still did not pay. I went there again to ask for my money but could not

get it anyway". Another worker talked about his discontent: "It is very hard to work in Turkey, employers treat workers like slaves. Living and working conditions of workers are like slaves".

A very small percentage of men were dismissed from their jobs without their will. On the other hand, all of them had at least one job that they left with their own will. They generally had to leave jobs because of "going back home", however there were those who had left due to "heavy working conditions" or "maltreatment".

Nearly three fourths of the men had to live in unhealthy conditions for a long time. The houses were generally very crowded with poor physical conditions. Basement flats had no ventilation, heating, furniture, shower or toilet facilities. More than half of the men said that they had Turkish citizen friends. One of them said he was keeping in touch with his Turkish friend after returning back to Georgia. More than half of the respondents said they had health problems but could not go to a hospital. Colds, headaches, kidney problems were among some of the health problems mentioned by Georgian return migrant men.

In the Batumi survey, return migrant workers also stated that they would feel comfortable if they had permits/documents. They were willing to work in Turkey because they said it was possible to gain money in Turkey.

The results of Istanbul and Batumi survey with women and men migrant workers and focus group discussions are evaluated in the last section of this Report.

Focus Group Discussions with Migrant Women

To obtain more detailed information, a qualitative survey was conducted only with migrant women. Focus group discussions (FGDs) were organized in Kumkapı Removal Center with detained migrant women. A total of 8 FGDs have been carried out and a total of 77 detained migrant women have been reached. These meetings were designed so to share participants' migration stories, living experiences in Istanbul, problems they have faced; and to discuss possible solutions to these problems. During these friendly group meetings, detained migrant women profoundly shared details of their journey to Turkey, their living and working conditions, private lives, children and future plans. The group discussions started with how they end up in Removal Center and continued with what it is like to be a migrant in Turkey.

The Only Chance is to Migrate

We asked women the reasons behind coming to Turkey. They complained about scarcity of employment opportunities for women, difficulties in earning money and maintaining subsistence back in their home countries.

"I am a 43 years old university graduate. I was a teacher back home. I have 4 children to look after. No husband. I had an income of 250\$ per month back home together with earnings from extra work. This was not enough to look after my kids."

"I am 38 years old. I was an accountant. I earned 100\$ per month. I could not afford living and came to Turkey with a student visa. I am detained because it was forbidden to work with a student visa. I will be deported."

"Here in Turkey, monthly income for domestic cleaner is 500\$ for newcomer migrants who do not speak Turkish. We come, then learn some Turkish and learn cleaning, then there are jobs that pay 600-800\$. On our off days, we go for daily works. There is no job, no income in my country. I want to work here."

"Men do not work and expect their wives to look after the family in our country. Every task is carried out by the women. That's why we come to Turkey. In almost every family there is at least one migrant worker: to Russia, to Europe, to Turkey and to Arab countries."

"Divorced, separated women migrate, at least one migrant in every household... Husbands do not work. Mother-in-laws and father-in-laws demand money from women to bring home."

Problems Related to Work Life

Migrant women working in textile sector stated that in some occasions their overtimes were not paid or they were underpaid. The common problems mentioned were working without any job security or insurance at workplaces including domestic sphere and textile ateliers.

Women who found jobs through recruiters mentioned the commissions. According to their experience, recruiters take half of their first month's income. Recruiters also take their passport away. Sometimes recruiters and agencies might be misleading regarding the difficulty of work tasks. Women emphasized that they accept all types of work in Turkey because incomes in their home countries are very low.

"I was told to look after one kid. When I went to work, there were two kids in the house".

"I worked as a domestic cleaner and care taker at a 4-storey villa in Üsküdar. I was working till 3 AM, but still I was told to wake up at 6 AM to start working again. I quitted this job."

Migrant women talked about sexual abuse at their workplaces as one of the problems they suffer. They mentioned that this abuse is prevalent at textile ateliers where there is intense migrant women labour. There were some migrant workers

who had been abused by their bosses. The same applies to domestic workers, where the women migrants are faced with sexual abuse by male inhabitants. In the group discussions, some women talked about their own experience whereas some talked about others' they knew.

"There is sexual abuse at shops where migrant women work. They work on daytime, and they sleep at the basements of shops at nights. Some bosses ask for sexual services at nights. When women refuse, bosses do not insist but still they may ask. There are bosses who insist, too."

"An 80 years old man employed me to look after his old wife. He asked me to sleep with him. When I said no, he took away my passport. He said if I refused to sleep with him, he would call the police and denounce me to be deported. He did not pay my wage. He called the police and that's why I am here at detention. I was working without work permits. I will be deported".

"At the domestic sector, bosses at home and elderly men ask for sexual services at nights."

Among the detained migrants, there were those who have worked as sex workers. During the group discussions, it was understood that what seemed as a consensual sex work, contained confiscation of women's passports and debt bondage at the initial phases. These women quit resisting at one point, paid the "debts" and then became sex workers. There were women who have earned considerable money from prostitution. These narratives imply that what started as a trafficking process could turn into sex work with time for some migrant women.

Some detained migrant women of Central Asian origin who were awaiting deportation, feared that the fact that they have worked as sex workers can be transferred to their home country officials. These women state that if they are deported with this accusation, they will face trouble upon their return such as

discrimination, imprisonment or being called to courts. They stated that they may be charged with a penalty of 5 years of exit ban. They are afraid to be prohibited to exit their countries. This forthcoming limitation on travel abroad stresses them to a great extent. Some of them mentioned that deportation based on prostitution and display of this information could also bring difficulties in several spheres of life including barriers to their children's school attendance or in finding employment etc.

Problems Related to Social Life

Most of the pressing problems of social life were marriage related. There were many women who were married to Turkish citizens, some didn't have official marriages but had children out of wedlock. Some were officially married. Problems included registration of new-borns, domestic violence, obtaining residence permit through spouses etc. Many migrant women were not aware of their rights and were in despair.

"I am legally married to a Turkish man. My residence permit is issued on the basis of my marriage. I have a 9 years old child from my ex-spouse and he is here living with us. My Turkish husband frequently engages in extramarital relations with other foreign women. I could not bear this adultery anymore and I filed for a divorce. I paid a lot of money to the lawyer. But then my husband got furious at me, and I had to withdraw the divorce petition because he exerted violence towards me. He then opened a divorce case against me and then cancelled my residence permit. I have been living in Turkey with my kid for many years; but now I and my son are here in Kumkapı waiting to be deported. We are brought to Kumkapı because he cancelled our residence permits. Now I appealed deportation decision, waiting to hear for an answer. I have a life here. My son cannot continue to his school, locked here..."

Lack of knowledge on rights and laws obstruct all migrants' lives in Turkey. In group discussions at the Removal Center, we saw that women were not well informed on marital rights, marriage and divorce procedures, residence permit applications and renewals, children's registration to official authorities, registration of migrant children to schools and continuation of education, etc. Undocumented migrant women victims of violence were reluctant to seek support because they were afraid to come on surface. Some of the women who have children out of wedlock

whose fathers are Turkish citizens were in the hope of stopping deportation based on their children's status.

"I have been living in Turkey for 7 years without residence permit. I have a religious marriage with a Turkish citizen and we have a son. My husband didn't register our son. My boy doesn't have an identity card. As I am undocumented I will be deported. But what will happen to my son? How will I take him with me? He has no documents, neither from Turkey nor from my country. Wouldn't the airport police ask who this kid is; where his registration papers are... How will I prove that I am his mother? The father is upsetting me, saying; "I will get the kid and you will be deported, I will marry another woman and she will be his new mother". How can I be separated from my son? What can I do?"

Claiming rights, access to justice

Unequal income distribution in origin countries and Turkey's being a centre of attraction in the region contribute to the increasing number of migrants. When high number of migrants and their lack of knowledge on migration related issues combine with states' strict migration regimes, dramatic incidences are likely to occur. During focus group discussions with detained migrants in the Removal Center, the core of the conversation revolved around the issue of deportation and its destructive impacts on lives of migrant women in Istanbul. Unfortunately women were not informed about their rights or how to claim these rights.

One of the main problems, mentioned frequently was the deportation decision of women with children. Some women were about to be deported together with their children and others have been separated from their children and children stayed with fathers. These were the problems encountered mainly by two types of migrant women: (1) undocumented migrant women with children born out of wedlock and (2) migrant women with children who have become undocumented as a result of divorce from a Turkish citizen.

Migrant women are struggling with many vital problems that necessitate legal aid. They, generally, are not able to pay lawyer fees to take their case to court and there are no civil initiatives to provide legal services to migrants.

It is imperative for Turkey, as a destination country, to take necessary measures in this area in harmony with international conventions to protect human rights of migrants.

RECRUITER AND EMPLOYER INTERVIEWS

The numbers of migrant women and men heading to Turkey increase along with the demand for labour in the informal sectors. In parallel to this development, a new and profitable sector has emerged; which is the mediating between migrant workers and employers. Agencies and individual intermediaries have undertaken this recruitment process by seeking both employers and employees. These intermediaries earn money through commission; the commission is taken either from the employer or from both.

To better understand this phase of the migrant labour phenomenon, we planned to interview the recruiters. Employment agencies and freelance recruiters targeting migrant workers were contacted however the Employment agencies declined our request to carry out an interview, so interviews were carried out with freelance recruiters only.

Interviews with Recruiters

Interviews were carried out in 2014 during September and October with one woman and four men recruiters who arrange jobs for migrant workers mainly in the domestic sector. Recruiters were very sensitive about anonymity as they were working informally. The interviewer briefly introduced the aim of the project and how their responses would be used. They were assured that their IDs would be kept confidential. Recruiters were Turkish nationals who were working individually and their experience in this area ranged from 2 years to 20 years.

Who approaches recruiters?

- Generally they find jobs only to migrant workers.
- Both migrant women and men contacted recruiters.
- Migrants mainly from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Georgia, Azarbaijan, Moldova and Ukraine are searching for jobs.
- Approximately 10-15 migrant women and 1-3 migrant men approached recruiters on a monthly basis seeking jobs.
- Every month between 5 and 20 employers contacted recruiters.

What are the jobs? What is the monthly income? Where are they working?

- Migrant men are generally demanded for villa/farm-houses, factories, restaurants (waiters and dishwashers) and daily waged work.

- Migrant women are generally demanded for live-in domestic work (including caretakers, babysitters, patient-care); and some jobs on a daily basis.
- Average monthly income for migrants is 1000-1500 TL (as of year 2014). This amount may vary from time to time according to the employer.
- Migrant workers are placed in jobs that are not only in Istanbul but also in Ankara, Antalya, Bodrum, İzmir, Bursa and Adana.

How do migrants find recruiters? How much do the recruiters earn?

- Migrant workers generally contact the recruiters through acquaintances.
- Recruiters are paid the employees first month salary as their commission. Only one recruiter stated that he is paid the first months salary from both the employer and the worker.

What are the human rights violations migrant workers encounter?

- Migrant workers work for more hours for a lesser wage.
- They are subjected to verbal violence including insults, swearing and threats.
- They are subjected to physical violence.
- There are occasions where their wages are not paid.
- They believe that they are undervalued by their employers.
- Migrant women live with the risk of sexual abuse and rape.

What complaints do employers hold against migrant workers?

- Employers complain that migrant workers quit jobs without prior notification.
- Employers complain that migrant workers may steal.

Are employers willing to get work permits?

- Recruiters stated that employers are positive about getting work permits if the conditions are convenient.

In-depth Interview with Employer

An in-depth interview was conducted in July 2013 with an employer who has knowledge about the migrant work life. He was reached during the migrant workers survey. He owns a carpet washing business and has in the past recruited migrant workers for his workshop, as well as placing them in other jobs. In this section, migrant workers' situation has been shared from his perspective in his own words.

At the very beginning of the interview, the employer stated that the primary reason behind labour migration is economic.

"Georgians' average monthly wage is 200-250 Lari (100-150 Dollars). However in Turkey they have a chance to earn 550TL -800TL, almost equal to Turkish minimum wage".

The reason behind this high demand for migrant labour, according to the employer is that, it is cheap labour and migrants agree to heavy working conditions without objection.

"If a Turkish national is recruited, his wage would be 1200-1300 TL. If you recruit a migrant worker this amount goes down to 800 TL. The Turkish worker would have social security. One day, he wouldn't come to work for being sick and another day, for a family related health problem. However the migrant worker is always present at work, under the control of the employer. No objection. The boss cannot commission hard tasks to a Turkish worker. Turkish workers refuse hardwork. Migrants carry heavy bags in textile sector, big sacks in cargo sector. They are washing cars and carrying heavy tiles. These are all hard work. Employers do not get work permits, because it has a cost. 300 TL every month to the social security agency, plus 300 TL to the state (tax). If the wage is 1000 TL, it makes 1600 with the extras. Then it is no longer cheap labour, it becomes expensive labour."

According to his observations, migrant workers are subject to several human rights violations at their workplaces. There are those who cannot get their wages, as well as those whose overtimes are not paid.

“Workers who cannot get their wages are mainly in the textile ironing/packing sector, where employers can establish an underground iron/pack atelier very easily with a machine costing 5000 TL. Then he gathers 10-15 Georgians, Turkmen and Turkish workers. He makes 40.000-50.000 TL per month. He uses illegal electricity and unregistered labour. Then in two months he runs away leaving behind the machine and the atelier. This happens in subcontractors. Employer does not pay wages and escapes. Therefore ironing workers cannot always get their wages. However, in the textile / manufacturing sector, the machines are expensive and employer cannot one day disappear leaving behind this production machine. He is there, present, paying wages regularly”.

He added that some migrants are living under very bad conditions.

“They sleep in workplaces. They sleep among rats and bugs. They refrain from talking about rights violations because they are afraid of losing their jobs. They live under bad conditions for it is cheap. They pay 75-100 TL per month. It is also reality that nice houses are not rented to migrants. What can you expect from a house of 15 inhabitants? Generally basements, damp and small houses as they are cheap... They are the lowest level labourers, so are their living conditions. Just like the construction workers that come from East of Turkey live in worksites, think of migrants workers as the same”.

He mentioned that migrants are faced with maltreatment from their social environment.

“Drug addicts and alcoholics raid Georgian migrants’ houses for racketeering. They threaten migrants with knives and confiscate their money, cell phones. They know that migrants do not go the police. In such occasions we intervene and warn the public not to do so. They are subject to such violations that they can’t tell. Or they have become so used to maltreatment that what comes as violation to us does not sound so to them at some point. Scolding by bosses is just an example. Migrants think that their bosses can shout at them or someone can break their windows. They slowly start to get such things as granted because they do not know their rights. You can belittle those who are not aware of their rights”.

The interview with an employer was enlightening for the project outcomes. He shared his experience and observations regarding migrant workers openly. Our hypothesis that migrants do not explicitly talk about exploitation during the outreach survey was supported by his words. He explained that migrants fear losing their jobs and that’s why they don’t talk about maltreatment to people that they do not know very well.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS ON MIGRANT WORKERS

Individual's right to work is mentioned in international conventions. The most fundamental of these is the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights". Article 23 of the Declaration states: "(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work."

The International Labour Organization (ILO) is a UN body working directly on the labour conditions of individuals. The main mission of the ILO is to strengthen social justice, and international human and labour rights.

They are the only tripartite U.N. agency with government, employer, and worker representatives, and they organize International Labour Conferences where conventions and recommendations are crafted, adopted and international standards are set. The main function of the ILO is to ensure justification of Conventions and Recommendations by the tripartite structure. When a convention comes into force, it creates a legal obligation for ratifying nations to apply its provisions. Recommendations do not have the binding force of conventions; they act as guidelines in policy-making, legislation and implementation.

Migrant labour and migrant workers' rights are mentioned in some of the ILO Conventions that Turkey has ratified. Turkey has adopted 56 of the ILO Conventions, of which 8 refer directly to international labour standards.¹⁴

Below is a selected list of ILO Conventions that have clauses that concern migrant workers:

- No. 182 Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999)(ratified)
- No. 181 Convention concerning Private Employment Agencies (1997) (not ratified)
- No. 156 Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (1981) (not ratified)
- No. 143 Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention (1975) (not ratified)
- No. 105 Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (1957) (ratified)
- No. 97 Migration for Employment Convention (1949) (not ratified)
- No. 29 Forced Labour Convention (1930) (ratified)

ILO No. 189 Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers (2011) and Recommendation No. 201

ILO No. 189 Convention on Domestic Work is an internationally binding instrument. Recommendation No. 201 of the Convention is not binding; it leads the government to better implement the provisions of the convention.¹⁵

ILO No. 189 Convention has helped millions of domestic workers all around the world make their voices heard at international agenda. Human and labour rights of domestic workers have gained legal admission by means of ILO NO. 189 Convention. It is highly essential for migrant women, for majority of the domestic workers are migrant women whose rights are overlooked and this Convention specifically focuses on their rights.

The Convention is considered as a milestone for domestic workers with its articles on elimination of all forms of forced labour, fight with discrimination, and ensuring equal treatment to male and female workers.

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families

Drafted in 1990 and entered into force in 2003, the UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families is solely about migrant workers.

Turkey has signed the Convention in 1999 and amended in June 2004.¹⁶ With ratification, Turkey has guaranteed the protection of migrant workers and their families from exploitation and human rights violations.

The Convention foresees that migrant workers shall enjoy equal treatment as nationals. It calls for ensuring same working conditions for seasonal migrant workers as well as other workers. Although the Convention mainly focuses on documented/regular migrants and their families' rights, it mentions the fundamental human rights of all migrant workers and their families. The Convention admits that documented migrants have more legitimacy in their access to rights when compared to undocumented migrants; however it recognizes protection of their fundamental human rights too. Part III of the Convention specifically focuses on human rights of migrant workers and members of their families.

CEDAW General Recommendation No. 26 on Women Migrant Workers (2008)

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women that was adopted in 1979 and was ratified by Turkey in 1985, affirms that migrant women, like all women, should not be discriminated in any sphere of life.

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, pursuant to the Convention, issued a general recommendation (No.26) on some categories of women migrant workers who may be at risk of abuse and discrimination. CEDAW General Recommendation No. 26 is about migrant women workers. The recommendation is very important for it focuses on rights of irregular/undocumented migrant women who cannot benefit from country's administrative or legal protection system.

CEDAW General Recommendation No. 26 covers rights and the needs of undocumented women who have become today's reality. No matter which category they belong to, the Committee calls for state responsibility and protection against discrimination for all migrant women. The articles of the Recommendation focus on the possible violations of rights for women and on liabilities of decision-makers to prevent these violations.

Istanbul Convention (Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence)

The Istanbul Convention requires that state parties adopt legislative and practical measures to prevent and combat violence against all women, as well as to coordinate measures through comprehensive policies. Although undocumented migrants are not direct subject matters to the Convention, it calls for protecting victims of violence regardless of women's nationality, asylum, undocumented or other status. For instance, Article 59 mentions the situation of migrant victims of violence whose residency status depends on their spouses. The Convention calls states to take necessary measures to ensure autonomous residence permits irrespective of the dissolution of the relationship.

Turkey is the first country to sign the Convention on 11 May 2011. Turkey ratified the Convention in March 2012 and it entered into force in August 2014. It contains the most comprehensive provisions in the elimination of violence against women.¹⁷

MIGRANT LABOUR AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking is one of the major risks that migrants, especially migrant women may face during their migration process. Gender inequality prevalent in societies increases women's, especially migrant women's vulnerability to victimization. Women and young girls' limited access to social opportunities and women's subordination create suitable environment for trafficking.

In many international documents human trafficking is regarded as "modern day slavery" and is considered as the exploitation of the most vulnerable groups in society. Human trafficking is a term covering different forms of exploitation. Forced prostitution of women and children, forced labour of women, men and children at factories, sweatshops and agriculture, domestic servitude, forced begging of children, forced burglary, and removing one's organs without consent are among the different forms of trafficking. Child marriages in exchange of goods, kidnapping of children to become child soldiers, illegal adoption of children are also among the many forms of trafficking. Most common ways of controlling the victims are exerting violence, restricting their freedom, forcing, seizing their ID and passports, debt bondage and threatening them and their families.

Human trafficking is both a national and a transnational crime. Migrants can be victims of trafficking at their final destination. Trafficking generally occurs in unregulated, informal sectors and victims of this crime often do not give statements against their perpetrators. Traffickers deceive victims with false promises of legal and high-income jobs in foreign countries. With these hopes, victims are removed from their homelands, transported to a foreign environment where they find themselves vulnerable and in dangerous conditions.

International Labour Organization estimates that between 2002 and 2011, a total of 20.9 million people became victims of forced labour globally, trapped in jobs which they were coerced or deceived into and could not leave. The figure means that around three out of every 1,000 persons worldwide are in forced labour at any given time and 5.5 million of them are children.¹⁸ Globally, women and young girls are trafficked more frequently. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation make up 87% of all reported trafficking cases.¹⁹

There is a correlation between the high rates of migrant women victims of trafficking and rise in women's migration. According to the IOM data, 175 million people, live outside of their home countries and 50% of this migrant population is female.²⁰ In the past, the majority of migrants were men; however nowadays more and more women take the risk of migrating alone. In this new global order where women are responsible for their and their families' livelihood, more and more migrant women can be victimized by traffickers.

Human trafficking was defined in international law for the first time, in "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime" known as Palermo Protocol. This widespread definition has set out the basis for many countries' national legislation. The "Convention" and its supplementing "Palermo Protocol" was opened for signature in 2000. Turkey has amended it on 30.01.2003.

This Protocol is regarded as a milestone, as it is the first international legally binding document that defines human trafficking comprehensively. It has set the ground for international action against human trafficking. It requires state parties to criminalize human trafficking in their national legislations and to combat this crime.

Another important anti-trafficking document is the "Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings" which was opened for signature in 2005. EC Convention takes into consideration other anti-trafficking documents and aims to strengthen the protection efforts and to improve the standards established by former documents. Turkey has signed the Convention on 19 March 2009. Ratification by the Turkish Parliament is expected soon.

The Council of the Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings mentions all forms of human trafficking. It establishes a monitoring mechanism called GRETA which will ensure state parties' implementation of the Convention. GRETA is an independent and elected group of experts. Last but not least, the Convention emphasizes the importance of gender equality. According to the Convention, state parties shall take necessary legal and other actions to provide victims with physical, psychological and social support.

Human Trafficking in Turkey

Human trafficking crime has been re-defined under article 80 of the new Turkish Penal Code that came into force on 1 June 2005. Perpetrators of this crime are charged with imprisonment up to eight to twelve years and a fine corresponding to 10,000 days.

In Turkey, victim identification and victim support is regulated by the Turkish National Referral Mechanism. According to data almost all identified victims of trafficking in Turkey are migrant women. Interviews with trafficked migrant women reveal that they planned to come to Turkey as migrant workers. They have been deceived with false job promises by traffickers who introduced themselves as recruiters. Most of them thought of becoming domestic workers before coming to Turkey, but ended up as victims of trafficking.

V. is a 25 year-old migrant woman from a small village in her country, who came to work in İstanbul:

"I have 5 kids. We are 11 siblings. My husband passed away. Two of my kids stay with me; three of them are with their grandmother. We are in a very poor economic situation. I can feed my kids only with milk and rice everyday. I worked as a cleaner in my country but couldn't afford a living. I gained 10 \$ per day, if and when there was cleaning job. Then I met a woman named T. who

occasionally traveled to Turkey. She promised me a job in Istanbul. She told me that I would work as a cleaner in a supermarket. I needed a job so desperately. She knew my situation. I trusted T., left my kids to my mother and came to Turkey. Some people met me at Istanbul Airport. They first took away my passport, saying it was necessary to work. When I wanted to see the workplace, they told me that right now there is no job and I had to wait. After a couple of days, they told me that "the job is prostitution". When I said no, they beat me. I was not allowed to go out. I could not inform anybody. They sold me to a man in İzmir for 2500\$ saying that it was my debt. The man started selling me to clients. When I refused, I was constantly beaten. I feared those men. It took 14 days for me to plan an escape. Then I ran to a street shop. I spoke no Turkish, I just pointed the phone. I called my friend from my home country to ask for help. He found me 157 Helpline on internet. I then called 157 for help. Police came and took me from where I was. The Police raided the house where I was kept, only after that I could get my passport."²¹

Turkey has been combatting human trafficking since early 2000s. Initiatives to prevent trafficking and provide support to victims of trafficking have been put in place. Legislative measures, trainings on human trafficking to state officials in cooperation with relevant institutions and civil society organizations are among Turkey's anti-trafficking efforts. The Department for Protection of Victims of Trafficking has been established under the Directorate General of Migration Management. However the ever changing modus operandi of human trafficking makes it difficult to implement effective preventive measures all around the world to end this vicious crime.²² It is not enough to focus only on prevention efforts to end the crime. Comprehensive migration policies which are sensitive to human rights need to be developed in the fight against human trafficking.

CONCLUSION

Summary and Evaluation

The “Migrant Workers Survey” consists of questionnaires conducted with migrant workers who are at different stages of their migration journey, as well as recruiters, and an employer, who also are elements of migrant work. Different techniques have been used in the survey. Structured questionnaires were used to conduct interviews with a total of 172 migrant workers, men and women. A total of 8 Focus Group Discussions were conducted with 77 migrant women. A total of 5 recruiters were interviewed using a questionnaire, and an in-depth interview was conducted with an employer. With these interviews we aimed to reach all actors of migrant work. In this section, the summary of the survey results and their evaluation are shared.

Questionnaires were conducted with migrants in their households where they live in groups, at their workplaces, and at the Removal Center. Interviewed migrants were not homogenous based on their age, marital status, education and other demographic features. Based on this result, we concluded that the migration decision is not generally determined by demographic attributes of a person.

Women have been engaging in migration movements in increasing numbers. During this survey, we have encountered migrant women who were sole providers for their family’s living. There were those who had to close their homes and leave behind their children to start the migration journey. These factors connote that woman migration is surrounded by more difficulties than that of man.

One of the main findings of the survey is that migrants come to Turkey because it offers a variety of jobs; also wages are relatively higher than wages at the origin countries. We observed that migrants were generally unemployed in their home countries and even if they found jobs, these were mostly unqualified, part-time and low-paid jobs regardless of their level of education. When the wages were compared, it was observed that the lowest pay in Turkey was almost twice more than the amount in home countries. In addition to job opportunities; geographical proximity, ease of entry and presence of acquaintances have played a role in the decision to migrate to Turkey.

The labor migrants in this survey fall under the category of circular migrants that was defined at the beginning of this report. They were mainly planning to work in Turkey as long as possible and earn money; and then return to their home countries.

The anxiety of the migrants because of their undocumented status made it quite difficult for us to learn different problems that they face in Turkey. Migrants declared their undocumented status as the most concerning problem and all other problems were the consequence of this situation. They all have entered Turkey legally (visas/visa-exemption). Visas allow migrants to stay legally in the country for a while, but most of the respondents have overstayed their visa and become “undocumented”. There were also migrants who have visas/residence permits but they were working without work permits which again put them into “undocumented” situation.

The main aim of this survey was to document the rights violations that migrant workers are faced with in their work lives. The migrant women that we interviewed were mostly domestic workers; migrant men on the other hand were not working dominantly in one main sector. Nevertheless, a relatively larger group of migrant men were working in the textile sector; they were followed by car washing/gas station workers and construction workers. Among respondents, there were those who worked 7 days a week without any day off and who worked 12-13 hours a day. This can be defined as cheap labor based on the wages paid for such long working hours. While it is an economical advantage for employers to employ unregistered workers, it means deprivation of social and health security for migrant workers. Difficulty in accessing healthcare for undocumented migrants is an explicit human rights violation. Migrant workers stated that they avoid going to hospitals in case of work accidents or illnesses. They preferred private health clinics in cases of an emergency.

Being undocumented leads to insecurity amongst migrants, and may render migrants, especially migrant women vulnerable to exploitation at the work places. Women stated that there were times when they were not paid for overtime, they were subject to maltreatment at workplaces, and that they could not resist these violations. Maltreatment varied from verbal violence to sexual abuse, and even to rape. There were women whose passports were taken away by their employers. This was observed mainly in the domestic sector. Although it seems like a precaution taken by the employer for safety reasons, it can also be used as a means of control over the domestic worker. Confiscation of passports is criminalized in Turkish Penal Code.

For the migrant workers, finding a trustworthy employer is as important as the amount of income. Migrant workers said that they found jobs via recruiters or

acquaintances. To find reliable recruiters is only possible through social networks. We have met migrants who stated to have been deceived by recruiters. Individual recruiters and agencies in Turkey connect migrant workers and employers without any rules or regulations, and they operate without any official control. Therefore it is always a risk for migrants to approach recruiters who have bad intentions. For example many migrant victims of trafficking have been deceived by recruiters in their home countries or in Turkey with false promises.

We observed that migrants were almost easily leaving the jobs that they disliked. We can assume that frequent job changes could bring some disadvantages. Unemployed live-in domestic workers have to pay for their accommodation while they are not earning money. Being unemployed could create a feeling of insecurity. Frequent job change could lead to the lack of mutual confidence which is generally established with prolonged employment in the same workplace. On the other hand, migrant's ability to leave one job and find another one can be considered as an important opportunity. The relative practicality of changing jobs is also an indicator of demand for migrant labor.

Social lives can mitigate hardships of being a migrant. Data revealed that migrants had relatives, acquaintances and family members in Istanbul and they were constantly in contact with each other. Some of them were sharing flats or would meet on their off days, and some of them worked in the same places. Also it was revealed that they prefer to seek help from their acquaintances in case of trouble. As most of the migrant workers prefer to live in Istanbul, they have the opportunity to meet and share their worries and joys which lead to a solidarity that could ease some of the problems of being a migrant.

Migrants, especially migrant women stated that they were occasionally faced with difficulties in their social lives as well. We met with women who had been subject to verbal violence, sexual abuse and even rape. When being a migrant coincides with being a woman, the difficulties increased.

The Georgia Survey on return migrants was planned with a specific objective. Our assumption was that return migrants would feel more secure back home and therefore would provide more realistic responses to our questions on rights violations they faced during their worklives in Turkey. However at the end of the survey, when results from other survey groups (migrants working in Istanbul and detained migrants in Removal Center) were compared, it was seen that survey location did not affect the responses related to rights violation.

General evaluation of the results revealed that the majority of migrants had positive experiences regarding Turkey despite the rights violations and other problems that they suffered. They felt inclined to explain these maltreatments with statements like “it happens everywhere”. They adapted to the social life and made friends with Turkish people despite many obstacles. We also met with migrants who were willing to live in Turkey permanently.

Employer and recruiter interviews verified the results of the migrant workers survey. Recruiters and employer mentioned the same problems that the migrants mentioned. They also talked about demand for migrant labor and the reasons behind this demand. They indicated that migrant workers deserve higher salaries when type, quality and difficulty of the work they perform are taken into account. During the focus group discussions with detained migrant women, it became possible to identify migrant women’s problems in more detail. These women were settled in Turkey, and have established civil or common law marriages with Turkish citizens. In the group discussions, women talked about domestic violence, dependency of their residence permits to spouses, unregistered children born in and out of wedlock and problems related to deportation. All these problems were related with their migrant status. They complaint about being uninformed on their rights or on solutions to any of their problems; they suffered from lack of support in relation to these issues.

After the interviews were completed and the data processed, the results showed that administrative and legal measures are needed to protect the rights of migrants in Turkey. These measures need to be planned and implemented in cooperation with relevant institutions. It is inevitable that these comprehensive and multi-disciplinary changes will take time. However, this should not hinder taking urgent measures to support migrants, regardless of their immigration status. Some of the most fundamental measures are:

1. Safe and clean temporary accomodation for migrant women under risk,
2. Relevant services for the migrant women victims of violence,
3. Easy to access emergency healthcare for migrants,
4. Multi-lingual information on administrative issues,
5. Free legal aid, and court representation for selected cases,
6. Access to education for migrant children,
7. Raising the awareness of the general public, especially employers of migrant workers on human rights, migrants’ rights and labor rights.

Epilogue

Our aim in presenting this report was to highlight the situation of migrant workers' in their everyday life in Turkey. We gathered information regarding the lives of migrant workers on a wide scale, ranging from rights violations against migrants, to their social adaptations and future expectations.

Most of the migrants that we reached were "undocumented" and this status made them not only "foreigners" but also "illegal". Being "illegal" was far more problematic than being "foreign" within a country's culture, language, written and unwritten laws, and our surveys were carried out under this shadow.

We saw that despite all the hardships, migrants still prefer Turkey to their homelands because of the variety of opportunities in Turkey. Majority of the migrants were working, earning money and engaging in social life although in a limited way.

However, migration process is not safe, comfortable and free from human rights violations. Migrant workers have been subject to varying forms and severity of maltreatment, rights violations and unsafe working conditions. They had negative migration experiences as well as positive ones. Migrant women were more disadvantaged in the migration process.

It would be ideal for citizens of a country to enjoy the right to work in their own homeland and for migration to be a choice. Therefore all states are expected to strengthen citizens' wellbeing and to develop policies that respect human rights.

On the other hand, Turkey and other migrant receiving countries should develop migration policies that are in harmony with the global developments and also policies that are gender sensitive. The urgent steps that were recommended in the above section need to be taken to protect basic human rights of migrants. International Conventions that Turkey has ratified are guidelines in this endeavour.

We believe that Turkey will soon become a country that respects human rights of migrant workers as well as its nationals.

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- ⁷<http://www.casgem.gov.tr>
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- ⁹ibid
- ¹⁰Snowball Technique: The researcher first chooses a small sample. The subsequent respondents are then chosen from among the first group’s contacts and thus the sample is expanded. This method is preferred by researchers who work on hard to reach groups that require high confidentiality.
- ¹¹Migrants who are officially banned freedom of movement and brought to Removal Center can be categorized in three groups: (1) Irregular migrants who are willing to use Turkey as a transit country while trying to reach Western countries, (2) Irregular migrants who have come to Turkey to live and work, but without necessary official documents, (3) Asylum seekers whose refugee claims have been rejected and who are required to leave the country.
- ¹²More information about TANADGOMA can be found on: <http://www.tanadgomaweb.ge/>
- ¹³Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) is a qualitative research technique applied with 6-8 people’s participation with similar characteristics who preferrably do not know each other before. The aim is to have a discussion based on a scheduled flow over a specified theme. The objective is to obtain multi-faceted information about participants’ views, experiences, interests, inclinations, thoughts, conceptions, emotions, habits and behaviors over the subject of study.
- ¹⁴Bağcı, H. (2015). ILO Sözleşmelerinin İşgücü Piyasasının Düzenlenmesine Yönelik İncelenmesi. <http://www.ekonomipolitik.org>
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- ²¹This quotation is taken from our interview with a victim of trafficking. This victim is rescued by her calling 157 Hotline. 157 Hotline has been operational since 2005 in cooperation with the state and IOM. It is a multilingual free hotline.
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APPENDIX

Annex 1. Migrant Workers Survey Tables - Women

	Employed ¹	RC ²	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Turkmenistan	9	12	21	24
Kyrgyzstan	1	6	7	8
Uzbekistan	15	13	28	32
Georgia	25	5	30	34
Other	1	1	2	2
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
18-24	2	8	10	11
25-29	2	11	13	15
30-34	7	8	15	17
35-39	7	2	9	10
40+	33	8	41	47
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Single	11	8	19	22
Married	28	11	39	44
Divorced	7	12	19	22
Widowed	5	6	11	12
Total	51	37	88	100

¹ "Employed" category is used for migrants who attended the survey while working or looking for work

² "RC" category is used for migrants who attended the survey while staying in Removal Center

Table 4. Distribution of migrant women by parenthood

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
With children	39	24	63	72
Without children	12	13	25	28
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 5. Distribution of migrant women by level of education (last school completed)

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Literate	0	2	2	2
Elementary	5	11	16	18
High School	32	19	51	58
University	14	5	19	22
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 6. Distribution of migrant women by place of residence at origin country

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Urban	41	28	69	78
Rural	10	9	19	22
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 7. Distribution of migrant women by employment history at origin country

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Employed	37	20	57	65
Unemployed	14	17	31	35
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
(-) 100 \$	10	11	21	37
100-250 \$	21	4	25	44
250-400 \$	4	3	7	12
400-550 \$	1	0	1	2
550 \$ (+)	0	2	2	3
N/A	1	0	1	2
Total	37	20	57	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Mostly unemployed	36	31	67	76
Sometimes unemployed	9	3	12	14
Mostly employed	6	3	9	10
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
Employed	19	4	23	26
Unemployed	9	4	13	15
N/A- Single	23	29	52	59
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
No problems	42	30	72	82
Ethnic discrimination	2	2	4	4
Domestic violence	7	5	12	14
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 12. Distribution of migrant women by previous travel to Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
First travel	28	21	49	56
Travelled before	23	16	39	44
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 13. Distribution of migrant women by initial employment arrangement

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Came to acquaintance then found work	26	11	37	42
Found work and then came	17	7	24	27
No arrangement	3	19	22	25
Other	5	0	5	6
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 14. Percentages of migrant women's reasons for coming to Turkey (multiple answers)

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
				%
Employment opportunities	26	23	49	57
Acquaintances	25	22	47	54
Easy to learn Turkish	2	4	6	7
Easy to come	18	3	21	22
Easy to live	4	1	5	5
Other	7	0	7	7

Table 15. Percentages of migrant women by type of planned work (multiple answers)

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
				%
Domestic services	46	24	70	78
Any work	10	8	18	21
Not came to work	0	3	3	4
Textile	15	0	15	15
Other	3	2	5	6

Table 16. Distribution of migrant women by planned duration of stay in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
A certain amount/time	21	12	33	38
As long as possible	25	13	38	43
Permanently	5	12	17	19
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 17. Distribution of migrant women by legal status in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Tourist Visa / Visa exempt	15	7	22	25
Residence permit	1	5	6	7
Undocumented	35	25	60	68
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 18. Distribution of migrant women by last employment in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Domestic services	26	21	47	53
Textile	23	3	26	30
Suitcase trade	0	3	3	3
Sex work	0	7	7	8
Other	2	3	5	6
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 19. Distribution of migrant women by duration of last employment

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
0–3 months	16	8	24	27
3–6 months	11	4	15	17
½ - 1 year	7	11	18	21
1–2 years	9	7	16	18
2–3 years	3	4	7	8
3–5 years	5	2	7	8
5 + years	0	1	1	1
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 20. Distribution of migrant women by methods used to find employment				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Acquaintance from home country	21	21	42	48
Acquaintance in Turkey	22	3	25	28
Recruiter from home country	4	3	7	8
Herself/Other	4	10	14	16
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 21. Distribution of migrant women by number of days worked per week				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
5 days	17	3	20	23
6 days	28	20	48	55
7 days	1	10	11	11
Other	5	4	9	10
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 22. Distribution of migrant women by daily work hours				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Other	3	8	11	13
8-10 hours	23	5	28	32
10+ hours	0	2	2	2
Domestic worker (unspecified hours)	25	22	47	53
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 23. Distribution of migrant women by monthly income in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
100-250\$	0	1	1	1
250-400\$	22	0	22	25
400-550\$	6	7	13	15
550-700\$	8	17	25	28
700-850\$	9	0	9	10
850-1000\$	4	0	4	5
1000\$ +	1	9	10	11
N/A	1	3	4	5
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 24. Distribution of migrant women by accommodation while employed

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Live in domestic worker	23	22	45	51
Rented accommodation	2	2	4	5
Shared rented accommodation	24	9	33	37
Other	2	4	6	7
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 25. Distribution of live-in migrant domestic workers by accommodation on days off

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Returns home	5	11	16	18
Acquaintance home (paid)	13	5	18	21
Acquaintance home (for free)	3	4	7	8
Other	3	0	3	3
Not live-in domestic worker	27	17	44	50
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 26. Distribution of migrant women by human rights violations encountered at work place

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Verbal violence	3	8	11	13
Physical violence	0	3	3	3
Rape	4	2	6	7
Sexual abuse	8	0	8	9
Confiscation of money	1	1	2	2
No violation	35	23	58	66
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 27. Distribution of migrant women by problems encountered in wage payment

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Couldn't get some/all	20	11	31	35
Received full	31	26	57	65
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 28. Distribution of migrant women by salary discrimination in comparison to Turkish workers

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Turkish earns more	13	5	18	20
Earn the same	4	1	5	6
Doesn't know	20	7	27	31
No Turkish worker	13	24	37	42
N/A	1	0	1	1
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 29. Distribution of migrant women by passport possession

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Passport held by employer	17	7	24	27
Kept own passport at all times	30	21	51	58
Kept only on leave days	4	9	13	15
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
In one job	9	6	15	17
In more than one job	6	1	7	8
No such job	36	30	66	75
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Terminated	17	2	19	22
Not terminated	30	35	65	74
N/A	4	0	4	4
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Sends home	49	25	74	84
Keeps here	1	5	6	7
Not enough to save	1	4	5	6
Other	0	3	3	3
Total	51	37	88	100

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
No one	24	20	44	50
Close family members	18	12	30	34
Other relatives	9	5	14	16
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 34. Distribution of migrant women by friendships established with Turkish people				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Has Turkish friend	17	8	25	28
No Turkish friend	33	29	62	71
N/A	1	0	1	1
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 35. Distribution of migrant women by unhealthy living conditions				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Unhealthy home	30	1	31	35
No problem	21	36	57	65
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 36. Distribution of migrant women by problems encountered in their social environment				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
No problem	33	35	68	77
Abuse/rape	12	0	12	14
Verbal/physical violence	6	2	8	9
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 37. Distribution of migrant women by access to health care				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
No health problem	32	15	47	53
Could not go to hospital	7	3	10	11
State hospital	3	2	5	6
Private hospital	9	17	26	30
Total	51	37	88	100

Table 38. Distribution of migrant women by reasons to stay in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Employment opportunity	48	12	60	67
Desire to settle permanently	1	3	4	5
Other	1	3	4	5
No coming back (deport)/ NA	1	19	20	23
Total	51	37	88	100

Annex 2. Migrant Workers Survey Tables - Men

Table 1. Distribution of migrant men by nationality				
	Employed ¹	RC ²	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Turkmenistan	14	13	27	42
Kyrgyzstan	0	2	2	3
Uzbekistan	0	8	8	13
Georgia	16	0	16	25
Other	3	2	5	8
Total	0	6	6	9
Turkmenistan	33	31	64	100

Table 2. Distribution of migrant men by age				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
18-24	16	4	20	31
25-29	8	9	17	27
30-34	3	9	12	19
35-39	4	5	9	14
40+	2	4	6	9
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 3. Distribution of migrant men by marital status				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Single	20	14	34	53
Married	12	14	26	41
Divorced	1	2	3	5
Widowed	0	1	1	1
Total	33	31	64	100

¹“Employed” category is used for migrants who attended the survey while working or looking for work

²“RC” category is used for migrants who attended the survey while staying in Removal Center

Table 4. Distribution of migrant men by parenthood				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	%	%
With children	12	17	29	45
Without children	21	14	35	55
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 5. Distribution of migrant men by level of education				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Illiterate	0	1	1	2
Elementary	10	6	16	25
High School	21	8	29	45
University	2	16	18	28
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 6. Distribution of migrant men by place of residence at origin country				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Urban	28	20	48	75
Rural	5	11	16	25
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 7. Distribution of migrant men by employment status at origin country				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Employed	23	24	47	73
Unemployed	10	7	17	27
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 8. Distribution of migrant men by monthly income at origin country

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
(-) 100 \$	3	10	13	20
100-250 \$	10	9	19	30
250-400 \$	5	2	7	11
400-550 \$	3	1	4	6
550 \$ (+)	1	3	4	6
No income	11	6	17	27
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 9. Distribution of migrant men by unemployment history at origin country

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Mostly unemployed	20	24	44	69
Sometimes unemployed	5	2	7	11
Mostly employed	8	4	12	19
N/A	0	1	1	1
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 10. Distribution of migrant men by spouses' employment history at origin country

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Employed	3	2	5	8
Unemployed	10	12	22	34
N/A- Single	20	17	37	58
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 11. Distribution of migrant men by non-economic problems encountered at origin country

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
No problems	31	27	58	90
Ethnic discrimination	2	2	4	6
Religious problems	0	1	1	2
Other	0	1	1	2
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 12. Distribution of migrant men by previous travel to Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
First travel	19	23	42	66
Travelled before	14	8	22	34
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 13. Distribution of migrant men by initial employment arrangements

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Came to acquaintance then found work	11	1	12	19
Found work and then came	15	3	18	28
No arrangement	5	27	32	50
Other	2	0	2	3
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 14. Percentages of migrant men's reasons for coming to Turkey (multiple answers)

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
				%
Employment opportunities	26	13	39	61
Acquaintances	15	7	22	34
Easy to come	13	2	15	23
Easy to live	2	1	3	5
Easy to learn Turkish	0	10	10	16
Other	4	0	4	6

Table 15. Distribution of migrant men by type of planned work

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Waiter	0	3	3	5
Carrier	0	2	2	3
Any work	19	17	36	56
Textile	5	0	5	8
Construction	5	0	5	8
Other	4	9	13	20
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 16. Distribution of migrant men by planned duration of stay in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Certain amount/time	17	17	34	53
As long as possible	11	8	19	30
Permanently	1	6	7	11
N/A	4	0	4	6
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 17. Distribution of migrant men by legal status in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Visa / Visa Exempt	18	2	20	30
Student Visa	1	0	1	2
Undocumented	13	29	42	66
N/ A	1	0	1	2
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 18. Distribution of migrant men by last employment in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Textile	12	6	18	28
Gas station/ car wash	6	5	11	17
Bakery	3	3	6	10
Carrier	2	2	4	6
Construction	2	3	5	8
Carpet wash	4	0	4	6
Waiter	0	3	3	5
Gardener	0	2	2	3
Other	4	7	11	17
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 19. Distribution of migrant men by duration of last employment

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
0-3 months	18	8	26	40
3-6 months	5	3	8	12
½ - 1 year	3	5	8	13
1-2 years	3	8	11	17
2-3 years	2	1	3	5
3-5 years	0	4	4	6
5 + years	0	1	1	2
N/A	2	1	3	5
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 20. Distribution of migrant men by methods used to find employment

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Acquaintance from home country	16	15	31	48
Recruiter in Turkey	8	0	8	13
Recruiter from home country	2	0	2	3
Himself/Other	7	16	23	36
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 21. Distribution of migrant men by number of days worked per week

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
5 days	10	1	11	17
6 days	13	15	28	44
7 days	8	11	19	30
Other	2	4	6	9
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 22. Distribution of migrant men by daily work hours

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Other	0	2	2	3
8-10 hours	19	17	36	56
10+ hours	9	10	19	30
Domestic worker (unspecified hours)	1	0	1	2
N/A	4	2	6	9
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 23. Distribution of migrant men by monthly income

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
100-250\$	0	2	2	3
250-400\$	14	1	15	24
400-550\$	11	11	22	34
550-700\$	4	12	16	25
700-850\$	2	3	5	8
N/A	2	2	4	6
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 24. Distribution of migrant men by accommodation while employed				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Live-in domestic worker	0	1	1	2
Rented accommodation	0	2	2	3
Shared rented accommodation	29	24	53	83
Workplace	4	4	8	12
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 25. Distribution of migrant men by human rights violations encountered at work place				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
No violation	27	20	47	73
Verbal violence	5	9	14	22
Physical violence	1	2	3	5
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 26. Distribution of migrant men by problems encountered in wage payment				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Couldn't get some/all	16	10	26	41
Received full	17	21	38	59
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 27. Distribution of migrant men by salary discrimination in comparison to Turkish workers				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Turkish earns more	7	8	15	23
Earn the same	5	10	15	23
Doesn't know	21	9	30	47
No Turkish worker	0	4	4	7
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 28. Distribution of migrant men by passport possession				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Passport held by employer	0	3	3	5
Kept own passport at all times	30	26	56	87
Kept only on leave days	3	2	5	8
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 29. Distribution of migrant men by unsafe work environment				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
In one job	9	8	17	27
In more than one job	5	2	7	11
No such job	19	21	40	62
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 30. Distribution of migrant men by employment termination				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Terminated	7	4	11	17
Not terminated	23	27	50	78
N/A	3	0	3	5
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 31. Distribution of migrant men by reasons of quitting employment				
	Employed	RC	Total	Total
				%
Didn't quit/First job	8	2	10	16
Heavy work/ Bad conditions	8	12	20	31
Maltreatment / No money	10	9	19	30
Found a higher paying employment	7	2	9	14
Work is completed	3	8	11	17
Other	6	1	7	11

Table 32. Distribution of migrant men by salary savings

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Sending home	30	25	55	86
Saving here	1	2	3	5
Not gaining enough to save	0	2	2	3
Other	2	2	4	6
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 33. Distribution of migrant men by presence of relatives living in Istanbul

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
No one	15	15	30	47
Close family members	13	9	22	34
Other relatives	5	7	12	19
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 34. Distribution of migrant men by socializing with people of origin country

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Live together	19	18	37	58
Stay together on days off	2	5	7	11
Via phone / time to time	6	5	11	17
No connection	2	3	5	8
At work	2	0	2	3
N/A	2	0	2	3
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 35. Distribution of migrant men by friendships established with Turkish people

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Has Turkish friend	4	14	18	28
No Turkish friend	29	17	46	72
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 36. Distribution of migrant men by unhealthy living conditions

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Unhealthy conditions	14	3	17	27
No such problem	19	28	47	73
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 37. . Distribution of migrant men by access to health care

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
No health problem	24	16	40	62
Could not go to hospital	5	9	14	22
State hospital	1	1	2	3
Private hospital	3	5	8	13
Total	33	31	64	100

Table 38. Distribution of migrant men by reasons to stay in Turkey

	Employed	RC	Total	Total
	N	N	N	%
Employment / income	32	8	40	62
Other reasons	1	4	5	8
Not come back (deport)	0	14	14	22
Undecided (deport)	0	5	5	8
Total	33	31	64	100