



Financed by the European Commission - MEDA Programme

Cooperation project on the social integration of immigrants, migration, and the movement of persons



Robert Schuman Centre

Ahmet İçduygu

The Labour Dimensions of Irregular Migration in Turkey

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

The Labour Dimensions of Irregular Migration in Turkey

AHMET İÇDUYGU

CARIM

EURO-MEDITERRANEAN CONSORTIUM FOR APPLIED RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

RESEARCH REPORT, CARIM-RR 2006/05
BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO DI FIESOLE (FI)

© 2006, European University Institute Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

This text may be downloaded only for personal research purposes. Any additional reproduction for such or other purposes, whether in hard copies or electronically, requires the consent of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. Requests should be addressed to forinfo@iue.it.

If cited or quoted, reference should be made as follows:

[Full name of the author(s)], [title], CARIM Research Reports [series number], Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI):European University Institute, [year of publication].

Printed in Italy in October 2006
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Publications/ http://www.carim.org/Publications/ http://cadmus.iue.it/dspace/index.jsp

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies carries out disciplinary and interdisciplinary research in the areas of European integration and public policy in Europe. Details of this and the other research of the centre can be found on: http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Research/

The EUI and the RSCAS are not responsible for the opinion expressed by the author(s).

CARIM

In November 1995, the European and Mediterranean Ministries of Foreign Affairs met in Barcelona in order to establish the basis of a new partnership, which is described in the Barcelona Declaration. The main goal is to transform the Mediterranean region in a peaceful and prosperous area, and to progressively establish a Euro-Mediterranean free-market zone. The Barcelona process includes three main subprocesses: a dialogue on political and security issues aiming to create stability and to promote democracy and human rights in the region; a dialogue on financial and economic cooperation intended to increase partners' welfare and to create a free-market zone; dialogue on social, cultural and human issues improving mutual understanding and strengthening civil society links.

The Valencia Ministerial Meeting in April 2002, went a step further by outlining a "Regional cooperation programme in the field of justice, in combating drugs, organised crime and terrorism as well as cooperation in the treatment of issues relating to social integration of migrants, migration and movement of people" (referred to in the document as the JHA-Regional MEDA programme). This programme has been adopted by the European Commission on the 16/12/2002 (PE/2002/2521).

The "Cooperation project on the social integration of immigrants, migration and the movement of persons" (EuroMed Migration) is a MEDA regional initiative launched by the European Commission (EuropeAid Cooperation Office) in February 2004 as part of the above programme. It aims at creating an instrument for observing, analysing and forecasting the migratory movements, their causes and their impact, in Europe and in the Mediterranean partners.

The Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM) has been set up in order to implement the EuroMed Migration project. The Consortium is composed of a coordinating unit established at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute (Florence), and a network of thirty scientific correspondents based in Mediterranean partner countries. External experts from the north and the south also contribute to its activities.

The CARIM carries out the following activities:

- Mediterranean migration database
- Studies and research
- Training

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: www.carim.org

Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
European University Institute (EUI)
Villa Malafrasca

Via Boccaccia, 151 50133 Firenze (FI)

Italy

Tel: +39 055 46 85 878 Fax: +39 055 46 85 755 Email: carim@iue.it

Abstract

After two decades of irregular migration flows in many Mediterranean countries, scholars are asking whether irregular migrants are the direct cause of the growth of informal economies, or whether informal economies create a demand for migrants in order to reduce production costs. Drawing on evidence from three recent field studies (IOM Study on Irregular Migration in Turkey, 2003; ILO Study on Irregular Migrant Labor and Human Trafficking in Turkey, 2004; and the İstanbul Chamber of Commerce Study on the Consequences of International Migration for the Market, 2005), this report examines the relationship between irregular migration flows and the informal economy in Turkey.

Given its geographical position at the crossroads of Asia, Africa and Europe, Turkey faces irregular migration flows as both a destination and a transit country. Irregular migration flows into Turkey consist mostly of increasing numbers of transit migrants heading for Europe or other parts of the developed world, clandestine immigrant workers, asylum-seekers and refugees. In the last decade, the major incoming migration flows have been from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Significant numbers also arrived from Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, the Russian Federation and Georgia with the intention of working illegally in Turkey for a limited period of time.

The migrant labour market in Turkey is characterized by the ease with which irregular migrant workers are absorbed into the large informal economy that poses challenges to the overall economic system in Turkey. While some irregular migrants fall prey to criminal trafficking networks, there is empirical evidence of fraud and abuse of migrant workers by intermediaries and employers with some being subjected to forced labour or restriction of freedom of movement or confiscation of identity documents. Finally, the widespread nature of economic informality in Turkey is likely to generate ample opportunities for irregular migrant workers who do the less desirable jobs generated by informalization, and help reduce production costs in formal industries. In doing so, they facilitate informal production and engage in the distribution of certain economic activities.

Introduction

Well-established irregular migration and labour networks operate around Turkey in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean Basin, the Black Sea region, and the Middle East. Turkey has traditionally been a country of emigration, but since the early 1980s it has become a country of immigration and transit, attracting mainly irregular migrants. This report distinguishes four main types of foreign nationals entering Turkey: transit migrants; illegal labour migrants; asylum-seekers and refugees; and regular migrants (İçduygu 2000; 2003; 2005; İçduygu and Keyman 2000). The first three categories often overlap and fluctuate as migrants drift from one category to another depending on their circumstances and opportunities. Based on official sources (BFBA, Ministry of the Interior), in the early 2000s the annual number of migrants of all categories in Turkey was estimated at over 200,000, of whom under two-thirds (ca. 150,000) stayed legally and 50,000 illegally. Asylum-seekers accounted for only a small proportion (2%) of the total body of migrants (see Table 1; İçduygu, 2005).

While the existence of irregular migration to Turkey is relatively well-documented, the questions of how much or to what extent this is the main cause of the country's informal labour market remain unclear. In the last two decades Turkey has faced increasingly large-scale movements of irregular migrants. As a result, the country has to deal with the unauthorized employment of these migrants, although there has been a decline in the numbers of irregulars in the last 3–4 years. This report focuses on the dynamics and mechanisms of the irregular migratory flows to Turkey, labour dimensions of these flows for the Turkish economy, and the dynamics and mechanisms of the insertion of irregular migrants into the informal economy, and examines how Turkey has experienced the labour outcomes of irregular migration in recent years. As noted by an ILO publication, "[o]nly recently has there been increasing awareness of the gravity of trafficking and smuggling for labor exploitation and the coercive condition to which migrants, men as well as women, can be exposed in various economic sectors." (ILO 2003: 5).

There is a complex relationship between migration and the informalization of economies. The standard dichotomy between a *supply side* approach focusing on the growth of the informal labour sector as an outcome of the influx of new (irregular) migrants, and a *demand side* approach focusing on how flows of irregular immigrant labour help offset production costs, is not entirely satisfactory as an explanation. For instance, too much formalization may boost demand for irregular migrants to work in the informal sector since this reduces production costs. Thus, demand influences supply. However, where there is very little regulation, the likelihood of irregular migration would still be high. Migrant networks may play an important role in the further flow of irregular migrants. Overall, the assumption that all illegal migrants work in the informal economy is misleading, as is the view that all workers in informal economies are migrants.

I. Irregular migration to Turkey: an overview

Today, irregular migration to Turkey is much more diversified in terms of migrants' origins, personal characteristics and prospects when they are compared with their earlier counterparts. One group of irregular migrants are partly economically and partly politically motivated migrants coming mainly from the Middle East, Iraq and Iran, but also from Asia and Africa, who enter Turkey and stay there for some time planning to migrate illegally to West and North Europe (İçduygu, 2005). Another group consists of people from the former Soviet bloc countries, such as Romania, the Russian Federation, Moldova and Ukraine, who enter the country legally, but remain or work after the expiry of their entry visas. A third group is asylum-seekers mainly from Iraq and Iran, whose asylum applications have

_

For a comprehensive debate on the migration and the informal economy that focuses on the European case, see the special issue of Journal and Ethnic Migration Studies (JEMS), April 1998 (vol. 24, no. 2).

been rejected or are still being processed. Because of the uncertainties involved in this process, many of these migrants go underground.

The origins of irregular migration into Turkey can be traced to three historical developments, each of which contributed to the political-economic dynamics of the last two decades.

The first is the *immigration crisis in Western Europe*, which led to the formulation of increasingly restrictive immigration and asylum policies and practices in the 1980s and 1990s when thousands of migrants left their homes en route for Europe, only to find themselves in transit countries, like Turkey, on the edge of Europe. In an international environment where rigid policies set serious limits on immigration and asylum flows, differential responses to these international regimes led to increasing transit migration to Turkey. Many immigrants from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East came to Turkey, often without proper immigration documents, with the intention of moving to a third country in the West.

Secondly, the *collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe* allowed increasing mobility for those in search of jobs and income abroad. Men and women from Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation, moved to Turkey, often with a regular tourist visa, but then worked in sectors of the informal economy.

Thirdly, the *influx of asylum-seekers and refugees* was directly related to repressive political regimes in the Middle East and neighbouring counties, and the foreign military intervention in these regions. In the last two decades, this category consists mainly of people from Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq.

In Turkey there is a degree of overlap between the categories of asylum-seekers and economic irregular migrants. This is partly because both types of flow originate in the same countries, namely Iran and Iraq, and partly because both types of migrants are to some extent illegal due to their entry, stay and departure prospects, which, as previous studies have shown, are highly dependent on the opportunities and the availability of the financial means necessary to make migratory moves (IOM 1996; İçduygu 2000). Meanwhile, Turkey's position with respect to the 1951 Convention and its exclusion of non-European asylum-seekers, who account for the majority of migrants in Turkey, means that these economically motivated irregular migrants and politically mobilized asylum-seekers are often treated as one group.

There are two types of flows bringing migrant workers into the Turkish labour market: asylum-seekers and refugees; and undocumented or clandestine migrants. However, asylum-seekers account for a minor portion of the irregular migrants in Turkey. Until recently the Law of Settlement (1934) only allowed asylum-seekers and refugees 'of Turkish descent and culture' to work in Turkey legally, so that for a long time, most asylum-seekers and refugees have tended to find employment in the underground economy. This changed in 2003 with the Law on Foreigners' Work Permits, which allowed migrants to apply for work permits if they had already applied for asylum and obtained a residence permit in Turkey for a period of at least six months (Ministry of Labour and Social Security 2003; Çiçekli 2004). In accordance with Turkish legislation, asylum-seekers and refugees may now look for work under specific and limited conditions and, as elsewhere, often share the same or similar work conditions with those economic migrants already working in the Turkish 'underground economy'.

Flows of asylum-seekers and refugees to Turkey

In a regional context Turkey remains a significant destination for asylum-seekers. Although Turkey still does not accept non-European refugees on a *de jure* basis (based on the geographical limitation in the 1951 Geneva Convention), *de facto* almost all asylum applications are made by non-Europeans. This is mainly due to Turkey's historical, geographic, ethnic, or cultural ties with the home countries of asylum-seekers, and because Turkey offers a relatively safe and easy-going climate compared to

other alternative destinations. Excluding dependants, a total of 23,707 asylum applications were received from 1997 to 2005; including dependants, the number rose to 44,399 (see Table 2). Of these applications 46% were from Iranians, 44% from Iraqis, and the remaining 10% were from asylum-seekers from other countries. In recent years there has been a considerable decline in their numbers: in the late 1990s and the early 2000s, the annual numbers of asylum-seekers including dependants were around 6,000, but in the mid-2000s, it is calculated as below 4,000. As of 2005, there were over 6,000 non-European refugees and asylum-seekers living in Turkey, over one-third of them were recognized refugees who must be settled in third countries. Naturally, many recognized refugees and asylum-seekers awaiting UNHR decisions on their status were in search of work in the informal economy.

Flows of undocumented or clandestine migrants

There are two main types of irregular migration flows into Turkey: workers from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (South-North direction), and transit migration from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa (East-West direction).

The first group includes *migrant workers* from Moldova, Romania, Ukraine and Russian Federation, in search of employment in Turkey. These migrants are often subject to a movement of *circular migration* in which same migrants move repeatedly between their home country and Turkey. Some sectors of Turkish economy, in particular domestic work, sex and entertainment, textiles, construction, and some service sectors, absorb them as temporary workers. Many of them enter Turkey legally in accordance with Turkish visa requirements but overstay their visas and then become illegal while in the country.

The second group involves *transit migrants* who come to Turkey mainly from the Middle East (Iran and Iraq), and from Asia and Africa (Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Somalia). These migrants enter Turkey with the intention of temporary stay on their way to developed countries in the West and North. Most of them are smuggled into Turkey. Others arrive legally with tourist visas, but often drift into illegality as they overstay their right of entry, or try to enter a third country without proper travel documents.

By definition, there is no direct data on these irregular migration flows, however some indicative numbers are available. The Bureau for Foreigners, Borders and Asylum of the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior (BFBA, Ministry of the Interior) reports that there were nearly 95,000 apprehended cases of irregular migrants in 2000, but this figure dropped to 56,000 in 2003, and to 43,000 in 2005 (see Table 3). From 2001 to 2005, the first ten source countries were: Iraq (19%), Moldova (9%), Pakistan (8%), Afghanistan (6%), Iran (4%), Romania (4%), the Russian Federation (3%), Ukraine (3%), Georgia (3%), and Bangladesh (3%). In the same period 44% of these apprehended migrants were transit migrants who planned to go on to a third country, while the remaining 56% had come to Turkey to look for work there (see Tables 4 and 5).

Since the focus of this report is the position of irregular migrants who enter Turkey to sell their labour, we will focus on the issue in a more detailed way. A significant number of these migrants who enter the country legally are likely to drift into illegality by overstaying their tourist visas. These migrants work and reside in the country illegally. They are mostly Romanians or citizens of the former Soviet Union (Kirişçi 2001; 2005). While the number of irregular migrant workers as a proportion of the total apprehended cases of irregular migration has increased in recent years, their overall numbers are declining. This is because after acquiring freedom of movement inside the EU, citizens of some Eastern European countries who previously opted for Turkey as a destination country now prefer to go to Western Europe, and secondly, the crisis-ridden economy of Turkey and the increasing rate of unemployment² mean that the Turkish labour market is no longer as attractive to foreign workers.³

_

² Milliyet Daily (2003), "Turkey is the fourth country among OECD countries in terms of unemployment", 20 Oct., p.7.

Although it is difficult to estimate the number of irregular migrant workers in Turkey (sometimes estimated as high as one million),⁴ a conservative estimate would be several hundred thousand. Most had not been in Turkey for more than a couple of months and shuttle between their home countries and Turkey for temporary employment, trade and other economic activities.

Irregular migrant labour from Eastern Europe started in the early 1980s. Traditionally, part of the trade and economic activities associated with irregular migrant labour was known as 'suitcase trading' which began in the 1980s with Polish traders, and then extended to include Romanians and citizens of the former Soviet Union. The practice peaked in the mid-1990s and subsequently declined. It is estimated that in the 1990s, of the 3,000,000 people arriving from the former Soviet bloc countries on tourist visas, 64% were suitcase traders (Johnson's Russia List, 2002). Although most of them intended to return home before their visas expired and were generally not active on the illegal labour market in Turkey, they are in a sense the forerunners of irregular migration (Johnson's Russia List, 2002). However, even if the suitcase-trading phenomenon per se was not part and parcel of irregular migration flows, irregular migrants were certainly among such traders. This is born out by the fact that after the collapse of the communist regimes, the number of CIS citizens entering Turkey increased significantly in the 1990s, a large proportion of whom were traders on tourist visas. Their numbers rose dramatically, from under half a million in 1990 to over 1.6 million in 1996 (see Table 6). Although these figures declined again in the second half of the 1990s, large numbers continued to arrive from the CIS countries: 1.5 million in 1997; 1.3 million in 1998; 1 million in 1999; 1.3 million in 2000 and 1.4 million in 2001 (İçduygu and Akçapar 2004). There was a sharp increase after 2002: over 2 million in 2003, 2.8 million in 2004, and 3.4 million in 2005. These figures reflect the total numbers entering Turkey from the CIS, and shed light only indirectly on the profile of these traders. While some of them are irregular migrant workers and suitcase-traders (Yükseker 2003), many are genuine tourists.

While suitcase-trade immigration from the former Soviet bloc countries fell in the mid-1990s, the number of citizens of these countries in the irregular migration flows to Turkey increased significantly. Alongside this process there is an increased incidence of women from the former Soviet bloc working as prostitutes in Turkey (Johnson's Russia List, 2000); Hughes 2000; Erder and Kaşka 2003). Young women from countries like Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Romania and Moldova dominate the prostitution sector in Turkey and became very visible in the entertainment sector in large cities and holiday resorts. There is no reliable data on the trafficking of women in Turkey, but one can assume that considerable exploitation takes place in these sectors (Erder and Kaşka 2003) although prostitution and the entertainment sector are dominated by independent intermediaries, rather than organized gangs (İçduygu and Toktaş 2002). Migrant workers are also employed in agriculture, construction, domestic work, textiles and food-related industries.

Not only irregular migrants from the former Soviet bloc countries, but also migrants from the neighbouring Balkans and Middle East, found employment in the above-mentioned sectors in the informal economy in Turkey. Again, one can indirectly refer to the entry statistics for those enter Turkey from the Balkan and Middle Eastern countries (see Table 7). The number of citizens entering Turkey from these countries increased significantly in the 1990s and 2000s, a large proportion of whom were tourists, but some were certainly workers employed in Turkey. In these two decades, their numbers rose dramatically, from below 200,000 in 1980 to over 1.2 million in 1990, to 1.77 million in 2000, and to over 3.3 million in 2004, and finally to 4.2 million in 2005.

(Contd.)

Interview with Prof. Nilüfer Narlı of the Marmara University of Istanbul (2002), "The Numbers of Foreign Illegal Workers in Turkey Declined", Nokta, 16–29 August.

⁴ According to an article by A. Ateş (2003) TEKSİF (Türkiye Tekstil Örme ve Giyim Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası, Textile, Knitting and Clothing Workers' Union in Turkey), December 2003 (one of the 35 unions in the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions) it was reported that the number of illegal workers in Turkey was 5.5 million, of which one million was estimated to be immigrant workers.

II. Irregular migrant labour in Turkey

The migration of foreign labour in Turkey is a new phenomenon and to date there has not been any scholarly research on irregular migrant labour in Turkey, but anecdotal evidence and media reports suggest that foreign labour constitutes a 'significant presence'. Turkey, traditionally a country of emigration (İçduygu 2003; Erder and Kaşka 2003), has increasingly become a magnet for regular and irregular migrants, and regulations have proven insufficient or inappropriate to deal with this situation. For instance, only 13% of foreigners holding a residence permit also had a work permit, evidence that a large informal labour market absorbs foreign labourers without work permits although they have residence permits (Erder and Kaşka 2003: 15). Needless to say, there are many irregular migrants in the country who have neither residence permits nor work permits. Reports in the media indicate that Turkey has been at the centre of migratory flows since the early 1990s.

- •In 1992 illegal workers from the Philippines were reported as being employed in the textile industry by companies such as *Niva Tekstil, Ortadoğu Tekstil, Ben Tekstil*, and *Cemtaş* although they had no residence or work permits (*Nokta*, 1 November 1992).
- •In 1994 two Romanian migrants living and working illegally in an Urhan plastic factory in İstanbul were injured in a factory fire (*Bugün*, 14 January 1994).
- •In 1994 the daily newspaper, *Cumhuriyet* reported the arrival of large numbers of illegal migrant workers from Romania, Bulgaria, Russia and Azerbaijan, and the arrival of others from Algeria, Palestine, and other Middle Eastern countries who then worked in the construction for wages as low as 300,000 Lira (USD 7) a day (*Cumhuriyet*, 7 July 1994).
- •In 1997 illegal migrant workers from Azerbaijan claimed that their employers failed to pay their daily wages, and reported that they worked in Tekirdağ, painted houses and worked at the construction site (Akşam, 24 June 1997).
- •In 1999, a 24-year-old Romanian worker metal worker reported that he had entered Turkey eight times in the last eighteen months, and had worked in different cities in Turkey, including Antalya, Fethiye, Bodrum, Tekirdağ, and İstanbul. He complained that the police did not allow migrants to wait for employers in the so-called 'labour market' and that employers did not pay wages on time (*Milli Gazete*, 15 February 1999).
- •In 2002, speaking at a meeting in Konya, the Minister of Labour and Social Security, Okuyan, underlined the threat posed by illegal foreign workers to the Turkish labour force,⁵ and stressed the need for legal arrangements to neutralize illegal foreign labour in Turkey; the article suggested that foreign workers had become a social problem with the deepening of the economic crisis in Turkey since February 2001 (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 July 2002).
- •In 2003, a 25-year-old Ukrainian woman who had arrived in Turkey at the age of 19 as a suitcase trader, became involved in prostitution, and then married a Turkish man from whom she was trying to obtain a divorce (*Milliyet*, 22 July 2003).
- •In 2004, according to information in the Turkish media, Istanbul has turned into a centre of the illegal woman labour market, which consists of workers mainly from the former socialist countries. Commission agents bargain and distribute the illegal workers under the cover of consulting agencies. Since the fall of the Iron Curtain and the opening of the borders in Turkey the illegal business with women workers from Ukraine, Moldova, Bulgaria, Uzbekistan, and Gruziya has been flourishing, informs the BBC's Bulgarian office correspondent in Istanbul (BBC News, 20 July 2004).
- •On 11 January 2004, Turkish newspapers published the appalling story of a 21-year-old Ukrainian woman, identified as Tatyana Litvinenko, who was rescued in a police raid on an Istanbul brothel, where she was forced into prostitution. The woman, reported the newspapers, came to

_

^{5 &}quot;Ivan is steeling the bread of worker Mehmet", Medyakronik, 25 July 2001; www.medyakronik.com.

Turkey in July of last year when she was seven months pregnant in hope of working as a babysitter before she ended up in the hands of a transnational human trafficking gang operating the brothel (*Turkish Daily News*, 13 February 2005).

Irregular migrants in Turkey find employment in sectors of the county's enormous informal economy. It is claimed that the informal economy accounts for approximately 46% of the labour force in Turkey. In developed countries the rate of unregistered labour is estimated at 2–15% of the working population (Munck 2002: 138), but this rises to 30–80% in developing and less developed countries in the South (ILO 1996). Consequently, when irregular migrant workers want to find employment in Turkey, the informal labour market seems sufficiently large to accommodate them (Koç 1999).

In the absence of reliable and comprehensive research or data on irregular foreign labour, media reports offer some information with which we can sketch a rough picture of the phenomenon. Based on these reports, migrant workers can be classified in terms of their major sectors of activity: (1) Moldavian women providing household services; (2) women from Eastern Europe, the Russian Federation and Ukraine working in the entertainment and sex sectors; (3) mostly men from Eastern Europe and some from Asia and Africa working in construction; (4) mostly women from Eastern Europe, the Russian Federation and Ukraine working in the textile and clothing industries; (5) a mixture of foreign nationals working in the restaurant and other food-related sectors; and (6) mostly men from the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan working in agriculture. Migrant workers usually work in low-paid, dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs, typical of the informal labour market and the picture confirms the stereotype of irregular migrant workers as a 'reserve army of labour' or 'secondary labour force' (see Lever-Trace and Quinlan 1988).

In parallel to the declining performance of the Turkish economy, the increasing unemployment rates since the 2001 financial crisis, and the determined efforts of the Turkish authorities to combat irregular migration, there seems to have been a considerable decline in the number of irregular migrants working illegally in Turkey (interview, Prof. Nilüfer Narlı 2002). This trend is more evident in some sectors than in others, i.e. migrant workers are now less visible in agriculture, construction, and textiles. Meanwhile, the Law on Foreigners' Work Permits (2003) has created liberal working conditions for non-nationals and should pave the way for radical changes for migrant workers in Turkey.

III. Irregular migrant labour in Turkey: an evaluation

Most of the data used here come from three recent field studies carried out by the author: the IOM Study on Irregular Migration in Turkey (2003), the ILO Study on Irregular Migrant Labor and Human Trafficking in Turkey (2004), and the İstanbul Chamber of Commerce Study on the Consequences of International Migration for the Market (2005) (İçduygu 2003; 2004; İçduygu and Akçapar 2004).

Who are the migrant workers?

Migrant workers are heavily concentrated in domestic service, the entertainment and sex industries, textiles, construction, and the restaurant and food-related service sectors. Women outnumber men in most sectors, the main reason probably being that in the sectors studied, other than construction, women make ideal employees. This reflects the general picture in the 'underground' economy in Turkey. In these sectors, cheap labour is needed and women (especially migrant women) are found in the lowest levels of the employment hierarchy. These migrants are aged 20–50, with the average being

⁶ A Turkish national daily, Tercüman (2003), reports the results of research by the Ankara Chamber of Commerce on the informal economy in Turkey (22 August, p. 7).

in their early thirties. Women employed in domestic service work tend to be older than those working in the entertainment and sex industries. The textile industry employs women as young as 20 but also middle-aged women. These three sectors are dominated by women, unlike the construction sector, which is exclusively for young males. In the restaurant and food-related service sector, we find both men and women of ages ranging from 20 to 50.

Nearly half the migrants are married due to the higher age and the gender of migrants in domestic work, textiles, and restaurant and food-related industries. For these workers, migration is a strategy to save money for a better standard of living in their home country. Currently in Turkey there seem to be more jobs for migrant women in the informal economy than for men. Moreover, women are more likely than men to maintain contact with home, send remittances and to return (Pettman 2003). Because migrant women find employment in the informal economy more easily, their husbands often have to stay at home and assume women's traditional roles (e.g. taking care of the house, fields and children). There is evidence of an increased incidence of family break-up among households where the mother is a migrant worker forced to spend long periods abroad.

Of these migrants, many Moldavians are engaged in domestic work, caring for children or the elderly. The women interviewed in the entertainment and sex sector came from Moldova, Russia, Romania, Ukraine and Belarus. Indeed, the name "Natasha" is now synonymous with any woman working in the entertainment and sex industries. Even women working in other sectors of the informal economy are often treated as prostitutes. The migrant workers in the textile sector are mainly from Moldova and Romania, and migrants in construction are from Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Romania and Moldova. The restaurant and food-related service sectors employ illegally working migrants from Ukraine, the Philippines, Pakistan, Bulgaria and Romania.

Unlike the first wave of migrant workers who were more urbanised and better educated, a large proportion of these migrants are not from large cities. While there are some well-educated migrants in the group, most used to work as manual labourers, handymen or had no income in their homelands. Some of the foreign workers with a higher level of education and training were forced to accept employment below their level of qualifications and experience.⁷

Knowledge of Turkish is quite widespread among migrants working in Turkey and facilitates their lives at work, but there is little evidence that they use this skill to integrate socially.

Reasons for coming to Turkey

Most migrants interviewed reported that they had left their country of origin for economic reasons, and planned to stay in Turkey only temporarily. Their main objectives were to raise money, send remittances home and improve their status at home by buying land, property or sending their children to better schools. Given the relatively flexible visa regulations between Turkey and the CIS states and Eastern Europe, migrants can enter Turkey easily. People from Moldova, Romania and Azerbaijan can enter Turkey with a one-month visa issued at the border. Nationals of the Russian Federation, Belarus and Ukraine may enter Turkey for a period of two months. Iranian and Bulgarian nationals are exempt from visas for three months. For Iraqi, Philippino and Pakistani citizens, the issuing of visa is dependent on the purpose of their visit; they can obtain a visa at Turkish embassies abroad for a maximum period of one month. In the past, foreigners whose visas were about to expire travelled to the TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) and returned to Turkey even on the same day. As of June 2002 this is no longer possible, and the TRNC only issues transit visas valid for one week.

-

⁷ For instance, the group interviewed included an accountant working as a caretaker for the elderly, a veterinarian, a teacher and a ballet-dancer working as prostitutes, a laboratory assistant working as a salesperson, a car technician carrying parcels and mopping floors, one accountant and a nurse working as a dishwasher and cleaner. In other cases, housewives and farmers with only primary school education are responsible for children and the elderly.

Irregular migrant workers tend to return to their country of origin after a specific period of time, although there are cases in which foreign workers overstayed their visas for periods of up to six years. The informal economy in Turkey conceals these people well and despite checks by the authorities, it is almost impossible to detect every illegal foreign worker.

Whether they are men or women, whether they work in the domestic sector or construction, the migrants from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republics are all searching for a better life where they can earn more money. The reasons for which they migrate are economic; they usually return when they have saved enough money, but return to Turkey or travel to a different destination if possible. Those from Iraq and Iran have either fled their countries for political reasons or fear of persecution. They work illegally in order to survive while they await a decision from UNHCR on their refugee status. Apart from wage differentials, effects of capitalist penetration following the break-up of the Soviet bloc, failures in capital, credit, and insurance markets in some sending countries are other key factors, which are also hypothesized by the new economics of labour migration (Massey, 1999).

Migrant workers choose Turkey as a destination country for the following reasons:

- •Turkey is close to their countries of origin and, therefore, it is easier and cheaper to come to Turkey than to migrate elsewhere;
- •Turkish visa regulations facilitate the entry of nationals from Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union as well as Iran to Turkey (visas are issued at the border), whereas entry to a EU country involves waiting in long queues at embassies and paying much higher fees with no guarantee that their application will be accepted;
- •Speaking Turkish is an asset for many of these migrants in their search for jobs;
- •The presence of social networks in Turkey is often a key factor in the decision to migrate;
- •Migrant workers earn much more in Turkey than in their countries of origin and can find work relatively easily in the informal economy (supply and demand dynamics).

Entering Turkey and finding employment

The labour dimension of human trafficking is a major problem for many countries, but our research suggests that many foreign workers in Turkey do not need to use traffickers due to the flexible visa regulations. Most migrants use some form of agency or intermediary in their homeland and/or in Turkey, especially when they first decide to come to Turkey. Although there is no evidence to suggest that these are connected with mafia-type trafficking networks, migrants are often misled and sometimes forced into prostitution, although less severly than in other parts of the world. Migrant workers were indebted to agencies or intermediaries as they borrowed money to cover travel costs and initial expenses in Turkey. In return for finding jobs in Turkey and covering travel expenses, agencies usually require migrants to pay a high commission from their earnings. In some cases, the first two or three months' salary are claimed by the agency. In other cases, migrant workers were dismissed without payment or the agency confiscated their passports.

In the sending countries intermediary companies, working under the guise of 'tourist agencies', issue passports, obtain visas and pay the travel expenses of the migrant workers unfamiliar with international travel. Later, the tendency among migrant workers is to use social networks to find employment in Turkey. In some cases, when it is time to leave the country, temporary migrant workers find a friend or a relative to replace them. In some cases, if the working conditions are too difficult and the pay is too low, they change workplace with the help of their countrymen, who they meet in parks and other public places. Both İstanbul and Ankara have 'markets' for foreign labour where employers arrive in the morning and select workers who meet their needs for work by the day in construction or domestic work. In the Eyüp and Aksaray districts of İstanbul, and in the Maltepe and Ulus districts of Ankara, it is easy to find women willing to work as domestic servants or men willing to work as gardeners or construction workers.

The life of a migrant in Turkey

In addition to debt dependency and the repayment of advances migrants in Turkey are faced by other problems caused by their 'illegal' status which in turn makes them more vulnerable to exploitation. Long working hours, confiscation of identity documents and passports, limited freedom of movement, constant fear of the police and of deportation, threats by employers or police related to overstaying their visas or deportation. Some migrant workers end up in small workshops or private households, working illegally without any job security, social insurance or civil and legal rights. Those working in the entertainment and sex industry have no access to health care, making them vulnerable to AIDS, and other sexually transmitted diseases. Furthermore, foreign workers have to deal with feelings of homesickness and alienation when they first arrive in Turkey and suffer from social isolation.

The main "self-perceived" problems of migrant workers by sector are cited below.

- •Domestic work: bribery, homesickness and loneliness, agency debts, high fines for overstaying when leaving Turkey, restrictions on their freedom of movement, confiscation of passports, fear of the police and of being apprehended.
- •Entertainment and sex industries: the risk of sexually transmitted disease, long hours, molestation or sexual harassment, mafia involvement, constant fear of being apprehended, bribery, and fear of the police.
- •Textile industry: excessive red-tape, sexual harassment, fear of the police, bribery, visa regulations and fines due to overstaying, housing problems, lack of work permits.
- •Construction: no residence and work permits, fear of being apprehended, fear of the police, social isolation and long working hours.
- •Restaurant and food-related service sector: visa regulations, absence of work permits, fear of the police, long working hours, dirty work, employers' lack of trust.

Working illegally is a crime in Turkey. At times, inspectors from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security together with the officials from the Ministry of the Interior, Department of Foreigners, deport these illegal foreign workers and fine both the employers and employees working illegally. Although new regulations have increased the fines for employers of foreign illegal labour (General Directorate of Labour of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2003), in some cases the workers are deported or tolerated. Bribery is often cited as one of the main problems experienced by illegally working migrants.

Future prospects and other destinations for migrant workers?

Most migrant workers plan to return home after saving enough money. In fact, most of them are circular migrants who periodically come to Turkey, work in Turkey, return home for a period, and when necessary, come back again. They consider returning to their homeland permanently if economic conditions improve and if they can find employment. Other desired destinations reported by these migrants include Italy, Russia, the UK, USA and Canada where they believe that living and working conditions are better or that wages are higher. Very few migrants have no intention of returning to their country of origin.

The experiences and views of employers

Turkish employers hire migrant workers without work permits and with no right of association, social insurance or health coverage in order to minimise labour costs and discourage unionization. Workers who are illegal as a result of their entry or overstaying their visa constitute a harder-working, lower-cost, labour force for hard pressed employers.

Employers in all sectors are generally middle or upper-middle class, often married and well-educated, with the exception of the entertainment and sex industry. Domestic-sector employers tend to be the most highly educated and recruit their employees through agencies or through personal contacts upon recommendation. In the entertainment and sex industry the use of intermediaries and agencies is more common, while in the domestic sector, agencies have been replaced by other recruitment methods, such as 'Babysitter Market' (Dadı Pazarı) in İstanbul, or social networks. Those recruiting migrant workers are generally small to medium-size enterprises where competition is high and cost-cutting is vital. In general, "pay less for better work" is the slogan of employers hiring foreign nationals. The most commonly cited reasons why Turkish employers prefer foreign workers are as follows:

- •They are more tolerant, disciplined and hard-working than their Turkish counterparts;
- •They are better educated and qualified and speak foreign languages;
- •It is cheaper to employ migrant workers;
- •The high demand for foreigners in the entertainment and sex industry;
- •They provide better services and are less likely to complain.

The survival strategy adopted by employers, especially small and medium-sized establishments, is to hire cheap and flexible labour. Migrant workers tend to be willing to work longer hours, demand less, cannot claim basic labour rights, and are more disciplined, hard-working and qualified than their Turkish counterparts. These workers are usually in Turkey for a limited period, are undocumented and at the mercy of their employers.

Demand and supply mechanisms are important factors in these flows. As a part of the informal economy, the domestic sector is one of the rapidly growing sectors of the global economy and migrant women working as domestic help illustrate the feminization of migration flows (Anthias 2000). Middle and upper-middle class families in Turkey look for qualified people to care for children and the elderly. As the rate of female participation in the Turkish labour market increases, so does the demand for paid domestic labour. This demand is reinforced by the relative shortage of day-care centres for children and homes for the elderly. Live-in foreign domestic workers are also a status symbol for the middle and upper-class families who employ them.

On the other hand, with the expansion of the tourism and entertainment sectors, there is an increased demand for foreign nationals, either as prostitutes, dancers or waitresses (see Phizacklea 1998). Moreover, the textile industry in Turkey has been hit by international competition, instigating a need for lower-cost labour. As of the 1980s, Turkey experienced a substantial increase in overall textile production. According to recent data, Turkey is among the twenty principal world employers in the textile and clothing industries (ILO 2000).

Immigrants increase the size of the labour force and may contribute to higher levels of unemployment and lower wages for nationals, but they may also increase demand, as they are consumers themselves (Stalker 2000: 85–86). In the cities, where there are considerable numbers of irregular migrant workers, serious confrontations between the latter Turkish workers were neither observed nor addressed. However, in the Turkish press, migrant workers are often held responsible for increasing levels of unemployment and criminality. Despite this, Turkish employers report that migrant workers are more disciplined, submissive, respectful, and qualified than their Turkish counterparts. They prefer to live-in (domestic work) and are willing to work longer hours. They

⁸ In the smaller cities in northern and eastern Turkey, more tension is reported between the local population and temporary immigrant workers. However, research is needed to corroborate such reports.

⁹ Hürriyet (15 February 1999, p. 5), "Istanbul kaçak işçi cenneti" (Istanbul, the paradise of illegal workers), and Sabah (26 December 2001, p. 3), "Sevgilisini kapan patronunu bıçakladı" (He stabbed his boss who took his lover), quoted by S. Ganglof and J.F. Perouse (2001) La Presence roumaine a Istanbul, p. 29.

usually work well, are punctual and reserved. They establish good contacts with clients and are generally well educated. Employers cited the following negative aspects of employing migrant workers:

- •Temporariness (once you teach them the job they leave)
- •Police checks and deportations
- •High fines payable if caught by the police
- •Insurance problems in cases of accident, illness or death
- Language and communication problems
- Distrust and theft

It seems that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages for employers, as evidenced in the fact that the process continues despite the government's decision to impose heavier fines on employers of illegal workers. Among the employers of irregular migrants, those with domestic workers complain most about illegality. Until recently foreigners were unable to work in the domestic sector, but amendments in the Law on Foreigners' Work Permits, effective since September 2003, allow foreigners to work as domestic servants and their work permits are issued by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

In answer to the question of whether it would be better for migrant workers to have social benefits, and whether they would be willing to employ them if they had to pay higher taxes, nearly all employers of domestic workers and employers in the textile industry responded positively. By contrast employers in the entertainment and sex industries, construction, and the restaurant and food-related service sector responded negatively, saying that they would not and could not employ migrants if they had to pay higher taxes or wages. They agreed, however, that migrant workers should be covered by social security and issued with work permits.

IV. Conclusion

There is a complex relationship between migration and the informalization of economies. The causes of informalization do not necessarily lie in the influx of immigrants into various sectors. In order to understand the root causes of informalization we must examine the structural patterns or transformations in economies, rather than assuming that immigrants are the direct cause of informalization. According to Sassen (1988), many immigrants participate in the informal economy and exploit the opportunities it offers, but this has to do with the structural transformations that the economies are passing through. In other words, immigrants do not create the conditions of informality, but take up the opportunities it offers once the conditions of informality are created. They do the less desirable jobs generated by informalization, which in turn reduces the costs of production of formal industries. In so doing, they facilitate informal production and engage in the distribution of certain activities.

Irregular migration flows into Turkey encompass three main categories of migrants. The first are mostly migrants from the former Soviet bloc or Eastern European countries, such as Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation, who come to Turkey in search of work. Some industrial and service sectors absorb them; for instance, Moldavian women are employed as domestic helpers; Moldavian, Ukrainian, Romanian, and Russian women work in the sex and entertainment industries; Moldavian and Romanian women are employed in the textile industry; Iranian, Iraqi, Moldavian, and Romanian men find employment in construction; and men and women migrant workers of different nationalities work in restaurants and other food-related sectors. Many of these migrants enter Turkey legally, but overstay or fail to obtain a visa renewal. The second form of irregular migration to Turkey includes transit migrants, mainly from the Middle East (mostly Iranians and Iraqis), Asia (e.g. Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India), and Africa (e.g. Morocco,

Nigeria, Algeria, and Egypt, and Somalia). These migrants often consider Turkey a transit zone on their way to West European countries. The third group of irregular migrants are rejected asylum-seekers who, reluctant to return home, search for illegal jobs or opportunities to enter another country illegally. Irregular migrants in the second and third groups often find occasional employment as manual workers in construction, restaurants and other food-related sectors, in small-scale retailing or as street vendors in big cities such as İstanbul and Ankara.

The vast majority of migrant workers in Turkey are women. This is consistent with the global trend towards an increasing feminization of migration with workers being concentrated in the sectors of domestic work, the entertainment and sex industries, and clothing and textiles. Although most foreign workers are motivated to migrate by economic difficulties in their countries of origin, they consider their stay in Turkey to be temporary. Due to relatively flexible visa regulations for nationals of some countries of origin, these migrants can enter Turkey relatively easily, but if they stay beyond the terms of their permit, they are fined between USD 200–500 on leaving at the border. Furthermore, they are forbidden to re-enter Turkey for a period of 3 months to 5 years, depending on the extent of the violation. Other factors, which contribute to the appeal of Turkey as a destination include its location, the ease and affordability of travel and social networks (friends and relatives already working in Turkey). Higher wages and greater availability of work in the informal sector in Turkey than in their countries of origin are the main pull factors for migrants.

Among the main reasons for departure from the homeland, migrants cite the need to earn money and pay debts, to support their families, to escape unemployment and poor economic conditions and to search for a better life. Our research also indicates that a large proportion of these migrants were not born and raised in large cities unlike the more urbanised and educated first wave of migrant workers in the early 1990s. In recent years the better educated and skilled migrant workers generally have to accept poorly paid jobs that do not correspond to their education or qualifications.

Working illegally is a crime punishable under Turkish law and illegally working migrants often report being bribed. The illegal situation of migrant workers may aggravate the trafficking in human beings for labour exploitation and lead to the worsening of working conditions. Our research, however, suggests that many foreign workers in Turkey did not use traffickers due to Turkey's flexible visa regulations for people coming from countries to the North and North-East of Turkey. Most of the respondents used some form of agency or intermediary either in their homeland and/or in Turkey, especially for their first entry. Intermediaries in the country of origin and the destination country collaborate, acting as private employment offices. There is no evidence to suggest that they are connected with trafficking networks. However, our study contains a number of cases of migrants being misled about work and working conditions by the intermediary agencies. Few women reported that they were forced into prostitution. After the collapse of the Soviet Union intermediary companies sprung up, operating under the guise of tourist agencies, to issue passports, obtain visas and pay the travel expenses of the migrant workers unfamiliar with international migration. Migrants are also promised better-paid jobs in the destination country; (but indeed many of them later cannot actually get those jobs). In return for finding jobs in Turkey and covering travel expenses, agencies/intermediaries usually require migrants to pay high commissions from their earnings.

Debt dependency and the repayment of advances are not the only forms of exploitation faced by migrants. Not having a work or residence permit makes them particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Many migrants reported molestation and sexual harassment, limited freedom of movement, confiscation of their identity documents, constant fear of the police and of deportation, and threats of deportation by employers and/or the police. We found that migrant workers are usually too scared to go to the police to claim their rights. Due to the high wage differentials between Turkey and their countries of origin, migrant workers are willing to accept very poor working and living conditions. They are often overworked, and sometimes are not paid. Most of them are unfamiliar with Turkish laws, are not legally represented and cannot join unions. Some migrant workers end up in small workshops or private households, working illegally without any job security, social insurance, civil or

legal rights. They have no access to health care, which is a particular problem for those working in the sex industry, making them more vulnerable to AIDS, and other sexually transmitted diseases.

Turkish employers cited a series of reasons for preferring foreign workers. First, they are considered more disciplined, hard-working and better educated than their Turkish counterparts and they speak foreign languages. Furthermore, they are also cheaper to employ. In short, 'pay less money for better work' is the common slogan among Turkish employers when recruiting migrant workers from the informal labour market.

These temporary and irregular migration flows are probably best understood in the context of a large informal economy, where irregular employment is common even among the Turkish population. In Turkey the informal economy absorbs the majority of migrants as well as many Turkish nationals seeking irregular and temporary employment and labour. Moreover, the informalization of labour has flourished and has been adopted by many small and medium-sized enterprises as a survival strategy to cope with economic crisis, fierce competition, and heavy tax burdens on employers. The insertion of irregular foreign labour into the informal economy is neither entirely hidden nor entirely in line with the legal requirements of a formal economy, but is an integral part of the Turkish economy. In Castells' (2000) theory of a network society, irregular migrants insert themselves into the informal contexts of the economy through social and information networks, and communication technologies from 'below', not 'above'. This means that the Turkish economy generates a demand for labour which is then met by immigrants through international migratory networks.

A comprehensive approach is the only long-term and satisfactory response to the challenges posed in the linkage between immigration and the informal economy. Policies to control and combat illegal immigration and illegal labour are indeed necessary, but are unlikely to be effective on their own, unless coupled by efforts to regularize both immigration flows and economic activities.

Ahmet İçduygu Director of the Migration Research Programme at Koc (MiReKoc) Department of International Relations Koç University Rumelifeneri Yolu, Sarıyer İstanbul, Turkey

References

- Anthias, F. (2000), "Women on the Move in Southern Europe", in F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis (eds.) *Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 1–13.
- BFBA, Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of the Interior (2001a), *Documents and Views on Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum, 2000*, Ankara: Ministry of the Interior (in Turkish).
- BFBA, Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of the Interior (2001b), *Illegal Migration* around the World and in Turkey, Ankara: the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of the Interior (in Turkish).
- Castell, M. (2000), The Rise of the Network Society, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Çiçekli, B. (2004), *The Work Permits of Foreigners*, Ankara: TİSK Publications (in Turkish).
- Erder, S. and S. Kaşka (2003), Irregular Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of Turkey, Geneva: IOM.
- General Directorate of Labour of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (2003), *Law and Regulations on the Work Permits of Foreigners*, Ankara: General Directorate of Labour of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (in Turkish).
- Hughes, D. M. (2000), "The 'Natasha' Trade: The Transnational Shadow Market of Trafficking in Women", *Journal of International Affairs*, 53(2): 625–52.
- ILO (1996), World Employment Report 1996, Geneva: ILO.
- ILO (2000), *ILO Report for discussion at the Tripartite Meeting on Labor Practices in the Footwear, Leather, Textiles and Clothing Industries*, Geneva: ILO.
- ILO (2003), Report of the Trade Union Consultation Meeting, Forced Labor Outcomes of Irregular Migration and Human Trafficking in Europe, Geneva: ILO.
- IOM (1996), Transit Migration in Turkey, Budapest: IOM Information Programme.
- İçduygu, A. (1995), "Refugee pressure versus immigration pressure in Europe: the perspective from a sending country: the Turkish case", paper presented at the European Population Conference, Milan: Sept. 1–3.
- İçduygu, A. (2000), "The Politics of International Migratory Regimes: Transit Migration Flows in Turkey", *International Social Science Journal*, 165: 357–67.
- İçduygu, A. (2003), Irregular Migration in Turkey, Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- İçduygu, A. (2004), *Türkiye'de Kaçak Göç*, İstanbul: İTO.
- İçduygu, A. (2005), Turkey and International Migration, İstanbul: SOPEMI Report for Turkey.
- İçduygu, A. and Ş. Akçapar (2004), Irregular Migration, Trafficking and Irregular Labor Market, İstanbul: Report prepared for ILO.
- İçduygu, A. and E.F. Keyman (2000), "Globalisation, Security, and Migration: The Case of Turkey", *Global Governance*, 6(3): 383–98.
- İçduygu, A. and Ş. Toktaş (2003), "How Do Smuggling and Trafficking Operate via Irregular Border Crossings in the Middle East?", *International Migration*, 40(6): 25–54.
- Johnson's Russia List (2002), "Russian Prostitutes Seen to Pose Threat to Turkey's Security and Economy", available on-line at: www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/6064-11.cfm.

- Kirişçi, K. (2001), Justice and Home Affairs, Issues in Turkish-EU Relations, İstanbul: TESEV.
- Kirişçi, K. (2005), "A Friendlier Schengen Visa System as a Tool of 'Soft Power': The Experience of Turkey", *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 7(4): 343–67.
- Koç, Y. (1999), "Combating with Irregular Foreign Labor", unpublished report prepared for Türk-İş (Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions), Ankara: TÜRK-İş, see, http://www.turkis.org.tr.
- Lever-Trace, C. and M. Quinlan (1988), A Divided Working Class, London: Routledge.
- Massey, D. (1999), "Why Does Immigration Occur?", Hirschman *et al.* (eds.) *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 34–52.
- Munck, R. (2002), *Globalization and Labor: The New 'Great Transformation'*, Zed Books Ltd. (Turkish translation).
- Pettman, J. J. (2003), "International Sex and Service", E. Kofman and G. Young (eds.) *Globalization Theory and Practice*, London: Continuum, pp. 151–73.
- Phizacklea, A. (1998), "Migration and Globalization: A Feminist Perspective", K. Koser and H. Lutz (eds.) *The New Migration in Europe: Social Constructions as Social Realities*. London: Macmillan, pp. 21–38.
- Sassen, S. (1988), "New York City's Informal Economy", Conference on Comparative Ethnicity: Conference Papers, Vol. IV, Paper 9, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Stalker, P. (2000), Workers Without Frontiers: The Impact of Globalization on International Migration, Geneva: ILO.
- Yükseker, D. (2003), Laleli-Moskova Mekiği Kayıtdışı Ticaret ve Cinsiyet İlişkileri, İstanbul: İletişim.

Table 1: Indicative number of immigrants to Turkey, 1996-2005

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Undocumented Migration	18,800	28,400	29,400	31,600	94,600	92,400	82,800	56,200	61,200	43,841
Illegal entries					51,400	57,300	44,200	30,348	34,745	19,920
Overstays					43,200	35,100	38,600	25,852	26,455	23,921
Asylum application		5,100	6,800	6,600	5,700	5,200	3,794	3,966	3,908	3,914
of which: Iran		1,700	2,000	3,800	3,900	3,500	2,505	3,108	2,029	1,716
of which: Iraq		3,300	4,700	2,500	1,600	1,000	974	342	964	1,047
Residence Permit					168,100	161,254	157,670	152,203	155,500	131,594
of which: work					24,200	22,414	22,556	21,650	27,500	22,130
of which: study					24,600	23,946	21,548	21,810	15,000	25,240
of which: other					119,300	114,894	113,566	108,743	113,000	84,224

Source: Compiled by the author from data obtained from UNHCR Ankara Office (2002–2005). Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of the Interior (2000–2005).

Table 2: New asylum applicants to Turkey, 1997–2005

Year	Ira	nians	Ir	aqis	Others		Total	
	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons
1997	746	1,392	1,275	2,939	83	117	2,104	4,448
1998	1,169	1,979	2,350	4,672	124	187	3,643	6,838
1999	2,069	3,843	1,148	2,472	184	290	3,401	6,605
2000	2,125	3,926	791	1,671	108	180	3,024	5,777
2001	1,841	3,485	497	998	372	709	2,710	5,177
2002	1,456	2,505	402	974	219	315	2,077	3,794
2003	1,715	3,092	159	342	373	514	2,247	3,948
2004	1,225	2,030	472	956	540	912	2,237	3,898
2005	1,021	1,716	490	1,047	753	1,151	2,264	3,914
Total	13,367	23,968	7,584	16,071	2,756	4,375	23,707	44,399

Source: Compiled by the author from data obtained from UNHCR Ankara Office (2002–2005). Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylumatthe Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of the Interior (2000–2005).

Table 3: Irregular migration in Turkey, apprehended cases, 1995-2005

Country of origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Afghanistan	24	68	81	921	2,476	8,746	9,701	4,246	2,178	3,442	2,363	34,246
Albania		1		9	792	1,026	1,137	580	341	318	220	4,424
Algeria	27	25	69	207	102	430	305	542	378	397	375	2,857
Armenia	4	2		1	98	474	452	505	494	835	858	3,723
Azerbaijan	21	3	3	10	620	2,262	2,426	2,349	1,608	1,591	1,410	12,303
Bangladesh	113	322	301	2,408	1,193	3,228	1,497	1,810	1,722	3,271	1,524	17,389
Bulgaria	21	22	39	103	1,005	1,699	1,923	3,132	989	550	363	9,846
Egypt	4	12	99	29	94	382	184	182	222	257	137	1,602
Georgia	37	9	9	5	809	3,300	2,693	3,115	1,826	2,294	2,348	16,445
Germany		1	1		372	629	458	586	988	1,477	984	5,496
India	2	25	18	102	189	779	599	475	846	803	206	4,044
Iran	252	362	364	1,116	5,281	6,825	3,514	2,508	1,620	1,265	1,141	24,248
Iraq	2,128	3,319	5,689	14,237	11,546	17,280	18,846	20,926	3,757	6,393	3,591	107,712
former Yugoslav Rep. Macedonia	1				439	488	384	197	185	105	54	1,853
Moldavia	19		17	5	5,098	8,312	11,454	9,611	7,728	5,728	3,462	51,434
Morocco	28	53	93	295	369	1,401	849	603	361	402	171	4,625
Nigeria	1	20	30	84	137	450	301	733	117	142	34	2,049
Pakistan	708	435	307	1,798	2,650	5,027	4,829	4,813	6,258	9,396	11,001	47,222
PRC				1	115	545	264	674	787	788	339	3,513
Romania	68	12	107	36	3,395	4,500	4,883	2,674	2,785	1,785	1,274	21,519
Russian	5	4	52	2	1,695	4,554	3,893	2,139	2,130	1,266	1,152	16,892
Sierra Leone				20	42	462	273	121	14	6	2	940
Syria	78	86	144	476	776	1,399	782	462	623	1,097	983	6,906
Tunisia	3	48	81	44	76	255	216	191	274	301	300	1,789
Turkey					2,085	3,289	5,304	6,951	5,660	3,341	2,164	28,794
Ukraine	9	4	17	4	1,715	4,527	3,451	2,874	1,947	1,341	1,335	17,224
UK		2		4	233	643	423	451	510	563	662	3,491
Uzbekistan	1	1			142	587	535	533	584	714	652	3,749
Stateless					61	322	235	0	0	0	0	618
Other	7,808	13,948	20,603	7,382	3,632	7,695	8,055	6,908	8,461	10,644	662	95,798
Unknown		20	315	127	292	2,998	2,499	1,934	826	716	4,074	13,801
Total	11,362	18,804	28,439	29,426	47,529	94,514	92,365	82,825	56,219	61,228	43,841	566,552

Source: Compiled by the author from data obtained from UNHCR Ankara Office (2002–2005). Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of the Interior (2000–2005).

Table 4: Transit type of irregular migrants to Turkey, top five source countries, 1995–2005

Country of origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Afghanistan	24	68	81	921	2,476	8,746	9,701	4,246	2,178	3,442	2,363	34,246
Bangladesh	113	322	301	2,408	1,193	3,228	1,497	1,810	1,722	3,271	1,524	17,389
Iran	252	362	364	1,116	5,281	6,825	3,514	2,508	1,620	1,265	1,141	24,248
Iraq	2,128	3,319	5,689	14,237	11,546	17,280	18,846	20,926	3,757	6,393	3,591	107,712
Pakistan	708	435	307	1,798	2,650	5,027	4,829	4,813	6,258	9,396	11,001	47,222
Total (five)	3,225	4,506	6,742	20,480	23,146	41,106	38,387	34,303	15,535	23,767	19,620	230,817
Others	8,137	14,298	21,697	8,946	24,383	53,408	53,978	48,522	40,684	27,380	24,221	325,654
Total	11,362	18,804	28,439	29,426	47,529	94,514	92,365	82,825	56,219	51,147	43,841	556,471

Source: Compiled by the author from data obtained from UNHCR Ankara Office (2002—2005). Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior (2000—2005).

Table 5: Labour type of irregular migrants to Turkey, top five source countries, 1995–2005

Country of origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Georgia	37	9	9	5	809	3,300	2,693	3,115	1,826	2,294	2,348	16,445
Moldavia	19		17	5	5,098	8,312	11,454	9,611	7,728	5,728	3,462	51,434
Romania	68	12	107	36	3,395	4,500	4,883	2,674	2,785	1,785	1,274	21,519
Russian Federation	5	4	52	2	1,695	4,554	3,893	2,139	2,130	1,266	1,152	16,892
Ukraine	9	4	17	4	1,715	4,527	3,451	2,874	1,947	1,341	1,335	17,224
Total (five)	138	29	202	52	12,712	25,193	26,374	20,413	16,416	12,414	9,571	123,514
Others	11,224	18,775	28,237	29,374	34,817	69,321	65,991	62,412	39,803	38,733	34,270	432,957
Total	11,362	18,804	28,439	29,426	47,529	94,514	92,365	82,825	56,219	51,147	43,841	556,471

Source: Compiled by the author from data obtained from UNHCR Ankara Office (2002–2005). Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior (2000–2005).

Table 6: Entry of persons from the Soviet Union and former Soviet Republics, 1964–2005

	1964	1970	1980	1990	1996	2000	2003	2004	2005
Soviet Union	414	4,824	40,015	22,2537	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	1,235,29	680,473	1,285,82	1,593,70	1,855,90
Central Asian Turkic States									
Kazakhstan	-	-	-	-	31,373	40,733	65,748	83,315	106,167
Kyrgyzstan	-	-	-	-	8,052	8,177	14,185	24,712	31,017
Tajikistan	-	-	-	-	3,087	988	3,591	4,918	6,811
Turkmenistan	-	-	-	-	5,035	11,115	16,685	26,621	34,292
Uzbekistan	-	-	1	-	13,558	21,728	19,527	20,327	26,634
Subtotal	414	4,824	40,015	22,2537	1,296,39	763,214	1,405,56	1,753,59	2,060,82
South									
Armenia	-	-	-	-	5,345	17,704	23,596	32,982	36,633
Azerbaijan	-	-	-	-	100,249	182,124	193,275	330,995	411,111
Georgia	-	-	-	-	116,709	180,481	172,935	234,535	367,148
Subtotal	-	-	-	-	222,303	380,309	389,806	598,512	814,892
Western Newly									
Belarus	-	-	-	-	474	9,988	31,562	63,472	77,029

Table 6: Entry of persons from the Soviet Union and former Soviet Republics, 1964–2005 (cont'd)

	1964	1970	1980	1990	1996	2000	2003	2004	2005
Moldova	1	-	-	-	8,291	65,112	58,905	71,055	89,849
Ukraine	-	-	-	-	93,794	153,651	227,298	278,047	367,103
Subtotal	-	-	-	-	102,559	228,751	317,765	412,574	533,981
Total	414	4,824	40,015	222,537	1,621,25	1,372,27	2,113,13	2,764,68	3,409,69
General	229,347	724,754	1,057,36	2,301,25	8,538,86	9,748,28	13,461,4	16,854,3	20,275,2

Source: Compiled by the author from data obtained from the Foreigners Department of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior and State Statistical Institute Annual Reports.

Table 7: Entry of persons from neighbouring Balkan and Middle Eastern states, 1964–2005

	1964	1970	1980	1990	1996	2000	2003	2004	2005
Middle East									
Iran	12,796	14,247	42,082	219,958	379,003	404,148	512,810	630,021	957,244
Iraq	3,919	6,518	14,046	13,372	14,137	21,433	29,940	112,196	107,972
Syria	9,996	13,284	26,384	113,959	92,033	123,787	154,108	196,996	287,343
Gulf States*	-	-	-	43,088	40,029	15,021	43,503	44,121	62,648
Pakistan	1,961	7,383	4,800	7,347	12,410	7,842	12,336	10,326	11,698
Subtotal	28,672	41,432	87,312	397,724	537,612	572,231	752,697	993,660	1,426,905
Balkans									
Albania	-	-	-	1,924	20,971	29,593	32,682	43,983	50,513
Bosnia	-	-	-	-	12,115	28,807	35,119	41,794	44,716
Bulgaria	693	18,214	26,523	-	139,648	378,329	1,007,535	1,313,741	1,620,939
Greece	3,042	11,313	19,477	203,720	147,553	191,504	368,425	460,019	548,268
Macedonia	-	1	-	-	41,269	109,868	117,819	116,563	119,157
Romania	-	-	-	352,034	191,203	267,108	184,182	168,889	201,807
Serbia-	-	-	-	-	44,600	-	186,423**	192,685	-
Montenegro									
Yugoslavia	5,661	28,352	13,817	296,843	-	130,417	-	-	175,294
Subtotal	9,396	57,879	59,817	854,521	597,359	1,135,626	1,932,185	2,337,674	2,760,694
Total	38,068	99,311	147,129	1,252,245	1,134,971	1,707,857	2,684,882	3,331,334	4,187,599
General Total	229,347	724,754	1,057,364	2,301,250	8,538,864	9,748,288	13,461,420	16,854,377	20,275,213

^{*} Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates.

Source: Compiled by the author from data obtained from the Foreigners Department of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior and State Statistical Institute Annual Reports.

^{**} In the statistics used for preparing this table, Serbia Montenegro is sometimes referred to as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.