IDENTITY DILEMMA: GENDER AND A SENSE OF BELONGING OR OF ALIENIZATION[*]

Hayriye Erbaş [**]

Özet

Kimlik Açmazı: Toplumsal Cinsiyet Ve Aidiyet Ya Da Yabancılaşma Duyusu

Düzey farklılığı olsa da hemen hemen bütün toplumlarda göçmenler genellikle ekonomik, konut edinme ve etnik ayırımlaşma sorunlarına neden olan bir üyelik ve aidiyet sorunu ile karşı karşıya kalkmaktadırlar. Göçmenler bir taraftan karşılaştıkları sorunların üstesinden gelmek diğer taraftan da yeni çevrelerinde dayanışma duygusunu yükseltmek amacıyla gündelik yaşam pratiklerini paylaşma mekânları ve mekanizmaları oluştururlar. Topluluk biçimlenişi mekanizmaları ve toplanma yer ve ilişkilerinin oluşturulması, ayrıntıda çözümlenmeyi gerektiren karmaşık etkileşim süreçleridir.

Bu makale öncelikle kadın ve erkeklerin yeni çevrelerinde gündelik yaşam pratiklerinde aidiyet duygusunun biçimlenişini açığa çıkartmaktadır. Gündelik yaşam pratikleri göçmenlerin çevreleriyle ilişkileri, yaşadıkları ülkedeki siyasal sistem bilgisi, kendilerini yurttaş ya da yabancı hissetmeleri ve yabancı arkadaş edinme gönüllülüğü yaşanan topluma üyelik dinamiklerine odaklanılarak çözümlenmiştir. İkinci olarak da bu yazı, özellikle nitel verilerin kullanımı aracılığıyla kimlik oluşturma ve alt-topluluk biçimlenişi sürecinde kadınların rolüne odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışma Türk göçmen topluluğu, özellilikle son dönemlerde Britanya'ya sığınmacı olarak yerleşen ve bu nedenle de dönmeyi pek düşünmeyen Kürt kökenli Türk vatandaşları üzerine gerçekleştirilen bir alan araştırmasına dayanmaktadır.

---

[*] This article is based on a paper presented at a conference on "Racism, Sexism and Contemporary Politics of Belonging", London, 25-27 August, 2004.
[**] *Prof.Dr., Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü.*

Summary

Despite the differences in its level, the reality is that in almost any society migrants face problems of membership and belonging that commonly result in economic, housing and ethnic segregation. Migrants construct places and mechanisms both in order to challenge the problems at hand and to share some of their life practices which increase their sense of solidarity in their new environment. The mechanisms of community formation and constructing meeting places and networks are complex processes of interaction which need to be analyzed in detail.

This article primarily highlights the formation of a sense of belonging as it is expressed in women's and men's daily practices in their new environments. Daily practices were analyzed by focusing on the dynamics of membership including the migrants' relations with their environments, their knowledge of the political system of the country in which they live, their feelings of being an alien or a citizen and their willingness to have foreign friends. Secondly, this essay analyzes the role of women in the process of identity construction and the formation of a sub-community, mainly using qualitative data. The study is based on a field study of a community of Turkish migrants especially focusing on Turkish citizens with Kurdish origins those recently settled in Britain; who were migrate as refugee and do not expect to return.

Key words: *Migration; Gender; Ethnicity; Citizenship; Migration Policies; Politics of Belonging; Alienization; Refugees.*

1. Introduction

Migration, especially international migration, is an important problem for many European and other developed countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia. It is becoming even more important in this era of 'globalisation' or 'new times,' as it is sometimes called, an era in which distances have become even closer. This can be easily observed when we looked at the minority population in different societies. The percentage of the minority population out of the total population of the main part of Western Europe, for example, was significantly higher in 1980 than in 1950. It doubled in France and the increases were even greater for the other countries (Castles 1987: 86). It has also become increasingly important for developing or underdeveloped countries over the last three decades. Population movements, in 'the new times,' as Miles and Satzewich point out (1990), differ from the past in terms of the changing patterns of these movements. It is a generally accepted fact that population movements

develop under certain circumstances. This means that populations are continuously moving but with changing patterns of movement. So some old patterns of migration are diminishing and new patterns are emerging. At the present, despite all restrictions due to communication technologies and globalisation, international migration continues to be more pervasive than ever before. The only difference, as Castles and Miller (1993: 8) identify, is its heterogeneity in that these populations consist not only of manual labour, which was the basic type in the past, but of many other types as well. These population movements and their results have caused a growth in the ethnization of cultural differences in societies, thus further enhancing the importance of the theorisation of social issues such as race, racism and ethnicity.

Turkey as a developing or underdeveloped country, for example, has been known as a population-sending country but now it is also considered a receiving country or a transit country that functions as a stage in the more extended migration by people, particularly from the Middle Eastern countries. Starting especially in 1960s there was a high rate of migration from Turkey to the Western European countries and, later, to Saudi Arabia and Egypt due to the manual labour movement dependent on contracts between countries. Later, population movements changed in nature and became characterized by refugee or illegal migration, as is the migration to the UK to be discussed in this paper. As a result of these developments there are many studies on Turkish migrants in Western countries, including those by Mandel 1989; Gitmez and Wilpert 1987; Kastaryano 1991: Köksal 1991. But there are few studies on migration from Turkey to the UK and especially on refugees or asylum seekers.

Despite the differences in its level, it is true that in almost any society migrants face difficulties with regard to economic, housing and ethnic segregation. Migrants construct places and mechanisms both in order to challenge the problems at hand and to share some life practices which increase their sense of solidarity in their new environment. The mechanisms of community formation and constructing meeting places and networks are complex processes of interaction, which need to be considered in detail. In these processes individuals are both passive users as the consumer and active producers who are confronted with many different dimensions of social life. Analyzing this process needs to relate the life spaces of working (economic segregation) and living (housing and ethnic segregation). The differences in feeling and in the roles of men and women in the process of being a member of the new society are also important to analyze.

2. Methodology

The objectives of this paper are primarily to highlight the formation of a sense of belonging as it is expressed in women's and men's daily practices in their new environments. Secondly, this paper analyzes the role of women in the process of identity construction and the formation of a sub-community, mainly using qualitative data. Thus the main hypotheses of the study are migrant can not easily get a felling of belongingness and they are alienated from some important aspects of daily practices. The sub hypothesis is that there are some differences between women and men in willingness to being a member of the new society and in the feeling of belongingness or alienization.

Daily practices were analyzed by focusing on the dynamics of membership including the migrants' relations with their environment, their knowledge of the political system of the country in which they live and their feeling of being an alien or a citizen. The sense of belonging or alienization was explored by questioning the extent of interaction with the environment and political participation. The extent of interaction with the environment is questioned by using of urban spaces of recreation, communication and cultural activities. Political participation questioned by the knowledge of Ruling Party, knowledge of the Prime Minister and knowledge of the National Election date. Feeling of being an alien or citizen includes participants' feelings and attitudes in relation to many aspects of daily life and willingness to have foreign friends.

The study is basically based on a fieldwork that has been carried out in 1996-1997 in London. But the observation of these people is started since 1988 and is still continuing. So the paper also includes evaluations based on qualitative observations. The quantitative data was gathered by using a standard questionnaire that included both open and close-ended questions, along with participant observations and numerous narratives or in-depth interviews. The sample for the quantitative data was limited to people who migrated to the UK after the mid-1980s as refuges. The quantitative data obtained through a questionnaire was collected from a sample of 80 people of which half were men and half were women thought to be representative of the refugees from Turkey to UK . The participants were selected trough snow-ball technique. All of the respondents were migrate as either refugees or asylum-seekers[1] and thus did not expect to return. They may be

---

[1] A refugee is someone whose status has been officially recognised by the receiving country. There are two types of refugees, 'quota' or programme and 'spontaneous' refugees. Quota refugees are those who are taken in as a group under an organised programme. They are

characterized who was "Alevi"-Kurds or "Sunni"-Kurds migrating after the mid-1980s from Turkey.[2] In-depth interviews were mostly administered to migrants that settled before 1980 in London. Thus this paper also gives a general picture of the overall "Turkish Community" in London and analyse the refugee and asylum seekers from Turkey in detail.

3. Theoretical Framework: How Can the Migration Process Be Captured?

International migration and its changing characteristics have created some methodological transformations in the analyses of population movements. For a long time, migration was seen only as manual labour movements and was thereby accepted as the result of mere economics (Miles and Satzewich 1990). But migration is a complex phenomenon that cannot be captured without a comprehensive approach requiring concrete analysis. In other words, meta-theories of migration must be used to capture the realities (See Wehrenreich 1986 as an example of the operationalisation of identity theory concerning racial and ethnic relations). In the context of migration and its consequences two basic approaches can be identified. One is the Marxist approach that emphasises the interrelationship between the development of capitalism and population movements. According to this approach, migration and its outcomes cannot be analysed without reference to class and class struggle. The other is a class-denying, non-Marxist approach for which religious and ethnic differences occupy an important position in analysing migration and its outcomes i.e. to understand life styles, life chances and identities. The Marxist approach generally neglects the other determinants of migration such as the political, cultural and individual. On the other hand, the second approach neglects structural determinants by giving more importance to the individual and cultural ones

Apart from these two general approaches there are many others trying to analyse the phenomenon in (post) modern societies. Some scientists see migration as a "colouration of class patterns"; while others see it as an expression of the creation of a "new underclass"; some see it as process of "threshold communities"; and others as a process of an emerging

---

accepted as refugees on arrival in Britain. Spontaneous refugees arrive of their own accord and apply for asylum on arrival. An asylum-seeker is a person who is seeking asylum on the basis of his or her claim to be a refugee (Bloch 1999: 113).

[2] There are two major language groups, Kurds and Turks and two major religious sect groups, Alevis and Sunnis in Turkey. So, there are both Alevi Turks, Sunni Turks and Alevi Kurds and Sunni Kurds as the basic ethno religious groups. The Alevi sect in Turkey is generally accepted as more secular one than the Sunni Sect. (for the ethno-religious groups in Turkey see Andrews, 1989; Robins 1993)

"multicultural society" (Lithman 1997). This theoretical transformation is occurring very rapidly. For example multiculturalism, which was accepted as a policy in solving the problems related to migration and its outcomes over the last two decades, has already started to receive criticism. Thus, the present time can be seen as one of reconsidering multiculturalism as a way of developing a sense of belonging. It is also a time of rethinking how people from different ethnic, cultural and religious origins can live together without assimilation on the one hand and without discrimination and racism on the other. Now migrant problems have started to be discussed under the concept of citizenship which depends on appropriate structures and processes and is related to social justice and democracy (For example, Castles 1984; Portes and Böröez 1989; Soysal 1994, Calhoun 1994).

Perhaps the most appropriate approach for the study at hand is one which incorporates structural as well as individual factors, a sort of conglomeration of the two general approaches above. Given that community formation and ethnicity is accepted as a process of being and forming (Anthias 1992), it seems, first, that the theorisation of migration and its outcomes, such as racism, ethnicity etc., need the evaluation of both micro-level social psychological analysis and macro-level structural analysis (Yinger 1983; Portes 1989: Richmond 1993). These macro-level analyses consist of economic, demographic, political and social conditions, with particular importance being placed on the relationship between the individual or the micro-level and the structural factors in which the individual member and identity construction process is situated. Migrants' characteristics, such as gender, class location, ethnic origin, religion/religious sects, educational level, ideology etc., comprise the individual or micro-level factors in the process of migration and its outcomes.

Secondly, analysing the process of migration also requires knowing the historical formation of both the sending and receiving countries and also the migrants' lives in their home countries. Otherwise, it is impossible to gain a true picture of the migration process; the people and their families must be investigated on both sides of the process (cited by Watson 1977: 2 from Watson 1974). At the stage referred to as 're-settlement' or 'post-migration,' whether the migrants' situation may be categorized as assimilation, integration or discrimination depends on the interaction of multiple factors of both the sending and receiving countries. Of course, this is not intended to suggest relativism or to imply that these phenomena cannot be analysed. Rather, it identifies its complexity, which needs to be taken into consideration. Figure: 1 represents a model for the dimensions of the

migration process. It is a fact that almost all migrants have numerous problems in their new environments. But more important is that the levels of the problems they encounter are different. In many countries, like France, for example, migrants are seen as threatening, but in others they are perceived as citizens and thereby are not excluded to the same extent. The increase in racism, like that which is sometimes levelled at migrants, should not simply be reduced to one factor, such as the fear of unemployment. "Rather it is necessary to look at various factors that are arising from a process of settlement and restructuring of the foreign population which was taking place in a situation of economic, social and political crisis" (Castles, 1984; 40). So it can be argued that in order to address the difficulties of migrants, the basic problematic is to develop an understanding of the conditions under which these different levels emerged.

In their new environments people are both 'creators/actors' and 'agents' that are shaped by certain historical conditions. They try to create their own life spaces under the influence of the new structural and non-structural aspects of the receiving country in relation to the structural and non-structural determinants of the sending country. In this process, due to the effects of bringing the conditions of the old environment and receiving the conditions of the new environment, distinct patterns of cultural and social relationships emerge. Hence, analysing the relationships between people and their environments is an important starting point for understanding migration. The environment here should be understood as including jobs and work; housing; shops and shopping; leisure and recreation; belonging and well-being. The basic question to be answered is what the environment means for people. Answering this question requires some sub-questions such as what is the significance of place for migrants; how do they use the environment that they find already existing; and what kind of environment or places do they need but can't find already intact. Thus, the question of what kinds of places they create is important in understanding migrant communities.

Another important aspect related to the post migration process, which will be discussed in this paper, is the perceptions and feelings of migrants which shed light on their lives and their attitudes and behaviours toward the people with whom they daily interact. Answering such questions necessitates a wide perspective of both structural and individual characteristics that enter into the migration and 'post migration' processes.

Figure 1 A Framework for Analysing Migration Process
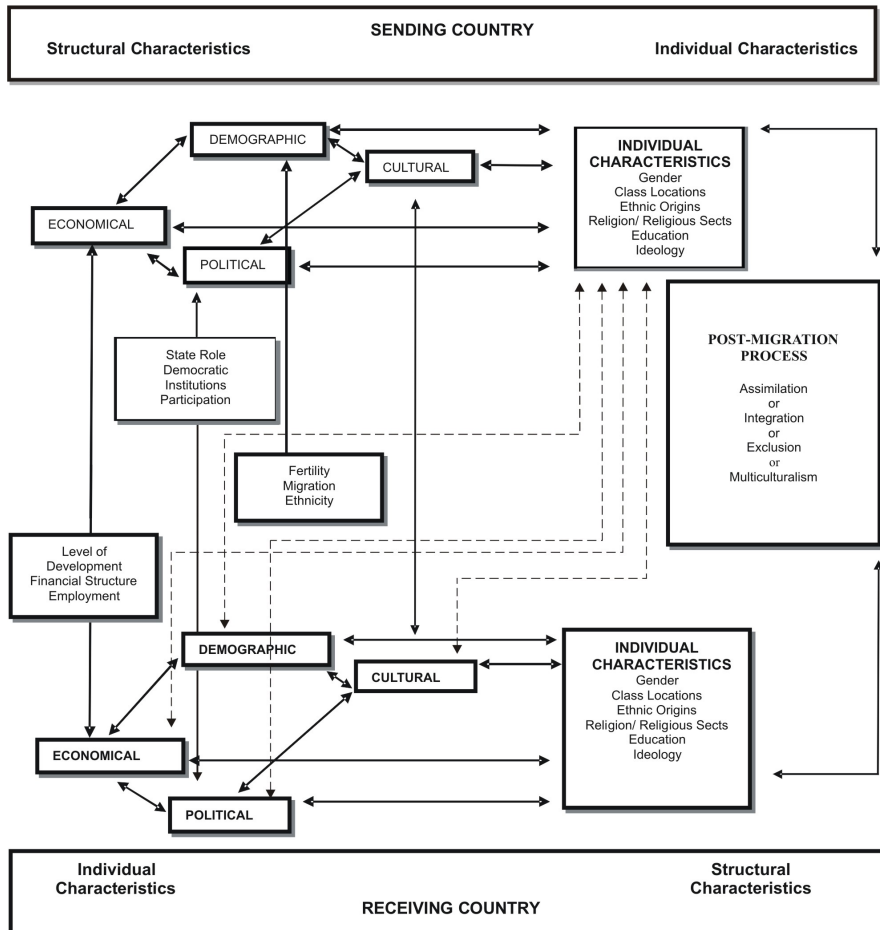
The importance of gender is another vital aspect in the study of migration and community formation. Evaluating the people and the environment enables us to understand the social position and mobility of migrants, and also the place of gender in this process. Anthias and Yuval Davis (1992) see women as central to the reproduction of national collectivities not simply in the sense of biologically giving birth to the future members of said collectivities, but also in symbolic and boundary-constructing terms. Case studies make it easier to understand the conditions of exclusion of women from certain spheres and also to understand the conditions of inclusion of women in places where women are determinants (See Lentin 1999 as an example).

4. A Short History of the Turkish Community in London

In almost any society migrants' face economic, housing and ethnic segregations; these difficulties differ not in their presence or absence but rather in their extent. The history of migration from one particular country to another has its own distinctive characteristics that make it unique. Understanding this phenomenon is only possible by analysing these peculiarities. There are many studies on Turkish migrants in Europe. Some examples of the studies are Blaschke, 1989; Mandel, 1989; Köksal, 1991; Kastaryano, 1991; Kaya, 1998, but few for migrants in UK.

For Turkish migrants in London the economic, housing and ethnic segregations are easily observed. Migrants construct places and mechanisms both in order to challenge these problems and to share some of their life practices which increase their sense of solidarity as a sub-community in their new environments.

The mechanisms of community formation, constructing meeting places and developing fellow networks are complex processes of interaction which need to be considered in detail. In these processes, individuals are both passive users as consumers and active creators who are confronted with many different dimensions of social life. In order to understand the Turkish community formation process and the role of gender in that process we should review the population movements and their peculiarities in detail. There are two basic flows of migration from Turkey to the UK: 1) Labour or Workers Migration; and 2) Refugee and Asylum Seeker's Migration:

4.1. Labour or Workers Migration

This flow of population to the UK, which started in the 1960s, may be categorized as labour migration and resembles that of other European countries in that it depends on contracts and what are referred to as 'quest workers'. In this time period, the government's signing of bilateral agreements with many European countries led to the sudden outflow of emigration from Turkey. Such an agreement was made with the UK in 1970. There were only twelve Turkish migrants' families in the UK before that time. 536 contract workers came to the UK in 1970, 1.289 in 1971, 82 in 1972, 116 in 1973, 133 in 1974 and 64 in 1975 (Unat at al. 1976). As a whole the total was only 2.232 workers, a small group compared to those in the other Western European countries. This group migrated especially from certain provinces in Turkey, namely from Bursa, Gümüşhane (Kelkit) and Niğde (Aksaray-Yuva). This group has peculiarities similar to those who migrated to Germany. Most of the people who migrated as workers at the beginning of this movement were Sunni-Muslim Turks who formed a sub-

community that still supported the religious-political rightist organisations (for a picture of Turkish Muslims' organization in London see Küçükcan 1996 and for Shaikh Nazım Murids see Atay 1993). They experienced economic, housing and ethnic segregations in London, where they were settled in two parts of the city, in the northeast and the west. Upon initial arrival, they were generally employed by Greeks from Cyprus. Their meeting places were constructed with one primary function in mind, to re-build their culture and thereby their sub-community, with the particular aim of solidifying their religious identity.

4.2. Refugee and Asylum Seeker's Migration

The refugee movements and asylum seekers migration from Turkey to the UK are heterogeneous:

a) The first population flow of refugees and asylum seekers started after the 1971 Military intervention. The group was basically made up of the students of the 1968 generation who were mostly real refugees, escaping because of political reasons. Because their number was slight at that time, they did not form a big community.

b) The second flow of refugees and asylum seekers started after the Military coup in 1980. People involved in this movement were not a homogeneous entity. There were people from different cultural/religious backgrounds from Turkey. The people who migrated at the starting years of the decade were also authentic political refugees that were committed activists.

c) The last flow of refugees and asylum seekers began in the mid-1980s. These were mostly Kurds, both Sunnis and Alevis, migrating starting in 1984 as a result of the increased militarization in East and South Anatolia. The flow of Alevi people to the UK started in the same period and accelerated later. Initially, around the end of 1980's, people arrived and applied as refugees individually, but later they started to apply for a refugee position as groups, with a group possibly including a hundred people. Certain community associations in the receiving country supported those groups. It was also common in this later period to come to the UK, live there for a period, and then apply for asylum status. Another category which contributed to the migrant population during this last flow of refugees were those who entered illegally or as tourists and have not returned since the second half of 1970s. For example, there were many people who came to Liverpool, as if, to see a football game between Liverpool and Trabzon Spor, but then never left. However, it should be noted that the population of migrants who still live illegally as asylum seekers in the UK is rather slight.

The examples mentioned above show the importance of the effects of migration policies and state interventions on the level of population flows. This population movement process has taken shape as results of both conditions in Turkey and also the British policies, which were largely friendly towards applications for refugee or asylum-seeker status some certain times. The revivalism of Kurdish and later Alevi sentiment, for instance, is one condition in Turkey which contributed to an increase in the population flows from Turkey to various other countries. Alevi communities in London also show the marks of such revivalism. Similarly, clashes in Sivas and the Gazi District in Istanbul in Turkey led the people to look for the title of asylum seeker as the easy way of external migration (For a discussion on Alevi revivalism in Germany see, Kaya 1998).

That such conditions and policies encouraged the migration is further supported by the population figures. In the boroughs of Harringay, Hackney and Islington of East and Northeast London alone, there are 20.000 political refugees, mostly Alevi-Kurds. According to one estimate there are 135.000 people who migrated from Turkey to the UK.

Having thus considered the history of Turkish migration to London both in terms of its three main waves and its possible causes, we may now move on to discuss the findings and conclusions of this study in particular. Before doing so, however, it is needed to reiterate briefly the population of migrants incorporated in this study. As it have been mentioned before the sample for quantitative data was limited to the people who migrated to the UK after the mid-1980s, especially after 1984, as refugees who were driven by either economic or political pressures from their home countries into the new environment. Most of the people who were interviewed (63.7 per cent) migrated between 1984 and 1990, with the others primarily migrating between 1991 and 1997 (33.7 per cent). The percentage of people who migrated before 1984 is only 2.6 per cent. The migration of the people in relation the Kurdish problem was most intense between 1980 and 1990 and migration in relation to Alevi revivalism grew more common after 1990. The existence of problems in the sending country, the acceptance of asylum-seekers by the Western countries and the kinship and friendship networks of people from Turkey make these years refugee movement years.

5. Findings and Discussion

The history of migration from Turkey to the UK shows the importance of the national policies of both the sending and receiving countries in the process, as discussed previously; the stages of population flow and the migration outcomes are diverse and changeable based largely upon such

policies and conditions. The last flow of migration from Turkey starting in the mid-1980s coincides with the time of ethnic or micro nationalism in Turkey as a result of social and ideological regulations, specifically those preferring multiculturalism as a way of regulating migration polices. Multicultural regulations function in almost every society to produce 'racialisation' and 'minorisation' trends, which result in the exclusion that brings about segregation in all aspects of social life. At the 'post migration' stage in particular, the receiving government's regulations and immigration policies affect the level of segregation or marginalisation experienced by the immigrants. Bano (1999:175) identifies the potential of such policies to contribute in this way by stating that "the danger of rigid pluralism is evident: it would encourage the creation of separatist politics, ghettoising minority communities outside the mainstream legal system and thus defining them as the 'other'". That this danger of which Bano speaks has been realized at least in part with regard to the participants in this study is evident in both geographical and economic terms. The segregation of migrants generally takes place in special regions of the receiving countries' cities and in a special sector of the economy. Turkish migrants in London show a visible segregate ethnic group that Anthias (1982) calls an 'ethnic economy'.

However, it is not the government policies alone which result in such geographical and economic separatism. Indeed, the nature of migration and the way in which decisions regarding migration and relocation are influenced by relatives both in the pre- and post-migration stages also impact the way in which the immigrant communities are formed. In the first stage, the pre-migration stage, where the decision to migrate is made, the results show that a high rate of people receive help in this decision, especially from their relatives. In particular, 'chain migration' has played a major role in the incorporation of kin and fellow villagers into the migration stream. The presence of relatives in London makes the decision to migrate easier for new comers. Most of the people who have been interviewed (90 per cent) have relatives in London before their migration. Thirteen percent of those people who were interviewed have more than 100 relatives in London while only 7.5 per cent have no relatives.

At the second stage of migration, namely the stage of 're-settlement' or 'post migration', people also get help from their relatives. The relatives in London, for example, helped the new comers in their settlement for a period until they were able to find a place of residence and a job. Percentages of people who get help from their relatives and acquaintances after their migration are 80.3 and 18.4 respectively. The percentage of people who didn't get help is only 1.2. Such solidarity between fellow countrymen

makes it easier to solve any kind of problems associated with their new life. It also impacts the way in which the immigrant community develops in that people tend to settle near those whom they know. As has been identified, therefore, one of the main characteristics of migration, even more obvious at the international level, is the selection of the neighbourhood. The rate of people in this study who have settled down in the neighbourhood of their relatives is 75.6 percent while the rate of those settling near acquaintances is 9.4 per cent.

These findings show that the people who migrate from the same part of their country of origin not only live close in the city but they also live as a sub-group in their neighbourhood. In this sense global cities, which have big migrant populations, maintain some of the characteristics of the immigrants' country. As Gitmez and Wilpert assert, the Turkish immigrants in Germany "form a micro-society with distinct social networks and, at times, conflicting ideological orientations. "The basis of this micro-society is Turkish nationality, which includes some minority identities" (Gitmez and Wilpert 1987: 87). Indeed, in some cases a whole group of co-villagers migrate to London, and thus even the culture of the individual village remains intact, not just the country. In these cases, some proceed by one- step (the migration of villagers to London) and others by two-step (the migration of villagers to a city in Turkey then to London) migration. The people who migrate to London from the cities those by two-step migration were also lived in the cities close to their relatives and co-villagers in urban 'gecekondu' (shanty-town) areas where they continue to live as in their villages in many respects.

It is in this way that immigrant communities come to exist as somewhat segregated, concentrated entities in a global city. Let us now turn to consider some of the characteristics of such migrant groups and communities.

5.1. The Migrants and Environment/ Space

Space is an important concept for understanding boundaries and their formation and reformation. Space consists both of a 'real' physical world and its 'social reality' created within that physical world: "There is of course, an interaction such that appreciation of *physical* world is in turn dependent on *social* perceptions of it... Societies have generated their own rules, culturally determined, for making boundaries on the ground, and have divided the social into spheres, levels and territories..." (Ardener 1993: 1-2). The meaning of new urban space for the migrant is mostly limited to his/her basic needs which may include the economic, domestic, political and cultural spheres. A migrants' interaction in these spaces, it was discovered, is largely dependent on gender.

Women, for example, control almost everything in the domestic and neighbourhood spaces. Even in the economic space, women are more active than men. Indeed, women in the sample are seen as the breadwinners who maximise the family budget for the future or re-production of the family. Because of the labour characteristics needed by the textile or clothing industry at that time, as well as because of 'feminisation' and 'ethnization' processes (Hall 1990), women earned more than men. They used the sewing machine and made piece-work clothing. Men, on the other hand, were generally ironing and received an hourly wage which was less than what the women got. These characteristics of the sector made woman more dominant than man in the occupational or economic space[3]. Thus, for many migrants, but particularly for women, the main environment takes shape in between their home and work, which is generally in the same local area.

Men, on the other hand, are noticeably different in the spaces they create and utilize. First, they may visit their relatives or co-villagers during non-working hours. Though an importance difference in the life pattern however, because these family and friends generally live in the same area of the urban environment, this does not widely expand a man's space in relation to a woman's. A more radical difference in men and women's use of urban space is seen in the area of recreation, communication and cultural activities. To assess the extent to which such spaces as these are entered, the respondents were asked to "indicate whether they never heard, heard, had seen once or had seen a few times" the main recreational and famous places that are included in the tourist guidebooks. The differences between men and women in this respect are obvious, especially for the places that are mostly far away from the 'Turkish neighbourhood'. The differences are significant for ten places out of the thirty. The mean analyses of the selected 30 places also show a significant difference between man and women in visiting the places (See Table 1 which includes 30 items for the environment scale, each item having 4 values between 1 and 4. So its values vary between 30 and 120).

Table 1 Migrants and Urban Space

Sex	Mean	N	Std.Deviation	Signf.
Women	57.1026	39	19.38365	.003
Men	69.2821	39	14,82166	
Total	63.1923	78	18.20451	

---

[3] This was the case when the research was carried out. Now the clothing or textile workshops are shrinking and they have shifted to the countries where labour is cheaper. Many Turkish migrants have their own work places, such as Turkish restaurants, kebab houses, and grocers for which Turkish migrants may also work. Women generally don't work or work in their own work places now.

According to the results the percentage of people who visit certain urban places is low both for men and women but it is lower for women. In particular, women don't visit places outside their neighbourhood vicinity. Many women don't know even the places which are near their neighbourhood, such as London Bridge, or Liverpool Street.

Another indication of the extent of interaction with their environment is the ease with which a migrant is able to find a location or an address with which they are unfamiliar. The corresponding answers to the question of how to find addresses are shown in Table 2. As before, this table demonstrates an important difference between women and men. The percentage of people who can find an address by asking and using a map that enables them to visit certain places is higher for men than it is for women. This is a handicap for women and inhibits their ability to interact with the city in which they live. The reason for these discrepancies between men and women are generally because of the background characteristics of the women, including a low level of education and their attitudes toward gender roles.

Nonetheless, despite the existence of many barriers that exclude women from the new society, women are willing to engage in their new environment as much as they can. One of the interviewed women said the following in relation to her aspirations of seeing different spaces of the city:

You can't imagine how much I want to visit the places that I have never seen. But I can't go out of Hackney's borders. It frightens me to go to the places that I don't know. So, I spend my spare time only by going around in the boundaries of Hackney and looking in shop windows.

Table 2 Distributions of Women and Men in Finding an Address

	Can't go	By mini cab	By using map	By asking and using map	Other	Signf.
Women	47.5	5.0	17.5	30.0	-	.000
Men	2.5	12.5	20.0	62.5	2.5	
Total	25.0	8.8	18.8	46.3	1.3	

5.2. Political Participation and Community Leadership

Political participation is also an important indicator of determining the extent to which the migrants are a member of their new societies. Though political participation at the macro-society level was unexpected by the researchers, nevertheless the migrants' knowledge and interest in the political issues of the new society in which they lived was assessed because such knowledge indicates their level of involvement in the wider societal

context. In this area, as well, there are clear differences between women and men in terms of their knowledge in relation to the ruling party in the UK, the Prime Minister at that time and the date of the national elections (See Table 3).

Table 3 Knowledge of the Ruling Party, Prime Minister and the Date of National Elections

	Doesn't Know	Know	Signf.
The Ruling Party			
Women	72.5	27.5	.000
Men	27.5	72.5	
Total	50.0	50.0	
The Prime Minister			
Women	42.5	57.5	.000
Men	7.5	92.5	
Total	25.0	75.0	
Knowledge of National Elections			
Women	82.5.	17.5	.189
Men	70.0	30.0	
Total	73.3	23.8	

Another aspect of political participation can be seen in the leadership positions at the micro level, such as in the community associations. Community associations and ethnic organisations do not simply arise spontaneously in the new environment. Organisations and movements from the sending countries began to set up branches in the receiving country. Turkish migrants in Europe opened up branches of the organisations that exist in Turkey. The need for ethnic organisations is determined by the characteristics of the receiving country and the characteristics of migrants.

In the case of those involved in this study, the establishment of community centres initially served to meet the specific needs of the community, such as solving the problems of people in the context of working conditions, the Home-office or the council etc. However, as the community became greater and more complex, with the interaction of developments in the sending and receiving countries, the types of community centres and associations fragmented due to the rising of different identities. According to a report prepared by the Hackney Council there are 26 Turkish community centres and associations in London, which may be classified as follows[4]:

---

[4] This classification is depends on the organisations' self-identification.

1. Leftist political organisations: class and national identity emphasized
a. Class-identity based organisations
b. National-political organisations (Kurdish nationalist organisations)
c. Cultural organisations
2. Rightist political organisations
a. Religio-political organisations
b. National-political organisations
3. Gender Identity-based organisations
4. Other organisations based-specific service

The type of community organisations that were established from the options outlined above were shaped in accordance with the specific migrant groups' political and cultural characteristics. The organisations were either, on the one hand, established to create a sub-community similar to those in their home country or, on the other, established as a means to solve the problems of people within the wider society and a channel to help them be an ordinary member of the `new society`. The results of this study indicate that an organisation segregates or integrates depending on the dominant identity that gave the colour to the association. Furthermore, the extent to which women were involved and the impact of their involvement must also be assessed in this process as it proved to be important in these associations as well.

In weighing these two aspects of political belonging, we saw differences between the population flows at different times and the characteristics of the community centres and associations affiliated with those different population flows. The changing role of women according to the characteristics of these associations also was observed. For example, a remarkable similarity of political participation may be found between the first and the last migration flows in that these people basically tried to re-establish their sub-communities in their new environments by revival of their ethno-religious identities. Also similar between these two refugee flows is the involvement of women; the women of the first group and the last group of refugees are not dominant in the political activities of their community associations and may be said to be subordinate and ineffective. On the other hand, however, for the first and the second groups of refugees who migrated after the Military coups of 1971 and 1980 women are dominant nearly as much as men in their new involvements. This higher degree of involvement may be explained by the tendency of these groups of migrants to be leftists.

Generally for far leftist groups and for other groups the involvement of women in the organisation's establishment and management is low. But the involvement of women migrants as members or activists in the community centres is higher for the leftist groups than it is for the other ones, because of hence the rise in female activism after 1971 and 1980.

As a result it can be said that women's exclusion is not the case for all spaces. They may be excluded from public sphere and political arena but this does not necessarily preclude them from being dominant in some spaces, such as the economic one mentioned above, or even the political one at certain times. Thus, in the migration process, women function as real actors, helping to hold their family and community ties together and thereby creating their sub-community[5].

There are two Turkish idioms that express this role of women very well: "There is a woman behind every successful man;" and "it is the female bird that both establishes and demolishes the home". The importance of women in the migration and settlement process cannot, therefore, be overstated. Indeed, there are a number of instances when women in such situations seemed to achieve the impossible. Here is the story of such a woman from the interviews conducted in this study:

> She is a woman who had never been to an urban area when she was in Turkey. She was 44 years old when she migrated from her village to London. She had married when she finished primary school and has seven children. When they settled in London, she and her husband and the older three children worked hard in a textile workshop. Eventually she accumulated enough money and established her own workshop and bought several houses in London and Turkey. Later she opened a workshop in Turkey. Interestingly, despite language and many other barriers, she used urban places and facilities well. For example, she was the first woman in the last population flow to London who got a driver's license. She provides employment for her older children and opened the way for the younger ones to get a university education. She has achieved all these through being high motivated and tough struggling persistently in a new environment.

---

[5] It is interesting here to remember that in the process of sub-community formation there is a paradox in the relation of countrymen that I call it as "the paradox of friendship". On the one hand they develop solidarity through ethnic networks for resource mobilisation, and on the other hand, develop competition, which leads them sometimes into conflict (Erbaş 1997).

In addition to the role of women in this realm of political participation, the rising role of ethnic distinctions in determining the characteristics of various organizations and associations is also notable.

Ethnic organizations may either contribute to the integration or to the further segregation of its members from the receiving society. As Anthias (1992: 9) asserts, "Ethnicity is articulated and fostered through the proliferation of ethnic organisations and practices". One such example of the growth of ethnicity and its importance is the changing face of the Workers Union over time. Before 1984 there was only one community called "Işçi Birliği" (Workers Union), which was established in 1972 in London. Parallel to the changing politics in the world, with the rising of ethnic and national movements, this community organisation revised its aims and identity accordingly. In 1984, The Turkish and Kurdish Community Centre, referred to as the 'Halkevi' (People's House) was established by a group who separated from Workers Union. Hence, the Halkevi became an association where Kurdish identity was important. There were likewise many other community centres for which ethnic or religious identities were important.

5.3. Feelings about Being an Alien and a Citizen

In the contemporary world many thinkers assert that the politics of belonging is more important than the problem of identity in solving the problems of migration and in predicting its outcomes. As it is known, the basic problem for migrated people and for the receiving society is migrant people's lack of a sense of belonging; they do not feel like they are members of society, which affects their behaviour in all aspects of their daily lives. To see the attitudes of the surveyed population with respect to a sense of citizenship and belonging, they were asked the questions shown in Table 4. The percentages of migrants who felt that they were second class citizens because of the behaviours of native English people towards them are 60 per cent for women and 57 per cent for men. The percentage of the migrants who said that the natives were more privileged than themselves in relation to schools and jobs is 85 per cent for women and 72 per cent for men. The feeling that they were being treated differently due to their migrant status in official places is high for both women and men. The sense of difficulty in feeling like a member of society is higher for women than for men. The percentage of people who said they confronted more difficulties than the natives is 72 per cent for women and 75 per cent for men. The feeling of not being liked and wanted by the natives is also high both for women and men. This sense of being unwanted may inhibit them from trying to interact with the natives or people outside their community.

Table 4 Feelings of the Migrants on Being an Alien is about here

Native people behave toward us as if we are second citizens	Yes/right	Doesn't Know	No/wrong	Signf.
Women	60.0	2.5	37.5	.974
Men	57.5	2.5	40.0	
Total	58.8	2.5	38.8	
Natives have more privileges for good schools and jobs than us				
Women	85.0	-	15.0	.172
Men	72.5	-	27.5	
Total	78.8	-	21.3	
We have been treated differently in official places				
Women	57.5	2.5	40.0	.597
Men	57.5	.0	42.5	
Total	57.5	1.3	41.3	
We meet with more difficulties in all places than native people				
Women	72.5	-	27.5	.799
Men	75.0	-	25.0	
Total	73.8	-	26.3	
Natives don't like us and don't want us here				
Women	52.5	2.5	45.0	.974
Men	55.0	2.5	42.5	
Total	53.8	2.5	43.8	

Given the inhibitions and hesitations that may arise from feeling separate from and unwanted by the native population, the percentage of people who want a friend from outside of their community, either British or otherwise, is quite high, 97.5 per cent of men and 77.5 per cent of women expressed such a desire (See Table 5). Another important point here is that people have no discriminatory ideas towards the native people. The fact that they don't have friends outside of their community, according to them, is a result of their own limitations in friendship, limitations of which they seem very aware. For example, they believe if they knew English they could have British friends. This may not be the attitude, for example, of many migrants of the first group as well as for many Turkish migrants in Germany.

Table 5 Willingness to Have Foreign Friends

I want to have British or foreign friends	Yes/right	Doesn't Know	No/wrong	Signf.
Women	77.5	-	22.5	0.007
Men	97.5	-	2.5	
Total	87.5	-	12.5	
I like natives to the extent that I know them				
Women	57.5	7.5	35.0	.307
Men	72.5	2.5	25.0	
Total	65.0	5.0	30.0	
It is difficult to have British friends even if you know English				
Women	32.5	2.5	65.0	.542
Men	22.5	5.0	72.5	
Total	27.5	3.8	68.8	

Despite this willingness to be a member of society, the question of why they have to live as a segregated community remains unanswered. It may be that this result comes mainly from the political approach to migrants of the receiving society. The government's treatment is an important factor in this process. Like in many other countries, in Britain too at present the cultural rights of minority groups are recognised and protected by the law, as long they do not violate national and international human rights law (Bano 1999). This means provisions for ethnic minority groups were made which gave rise to new inequalities in the society and resulted in the creation of clashes between individual and group rights.

6. Conclusions

The structural characteristics of both the sending and receiving countries influence the process of migration. The immigration policies and regulations of the receiving country help to determine the level of population flows and the level of separatism/segregation or marginalization of the migrants. In addition, the background characteristics of the migrants (social, cultural and individual) which are shaped by these structural properties also have an impact. Thus, the process is affected by the social and ethnic diversity of the migrant groups from Turkey and so the diversity becomes even more important.

According to the results of the study, it can be said that women are important and are basic agents in constituting their sub-groups in their immediate environments. Being such basic agents, they can cope with the problems originating from negative conditions of their new environments. In

other words they manage to hold their families and communities together. On the other hand, at the macro-level relation with the new society they are aliens and non-members of the society that they are in. Men also interact mainly in the "Turkish neighbourhood" but women do even more so than men. The men's ability to function and engage on the macro-level as compared with the women is also apparent in such areas as the finding of addresses or places unfamiliar and in their knowledge of the ruling party, the Prime minister and the national election date

The importance of gender in the realm of micro-level political participation changes depending on the migrant's background characteristics. In a general sense, women are excluded from public spaces when considering all the population flows from Turkey. But the level of exclusion changes in accordance with the objective of the community organisations. The inclusion of women as leaders in the community, in the political sense, is higher for the leftist groups that migrate after the two Military coups than is for the others. For them, class-based identity is more important than the other identities. The exclusion of women from public and political spaces on the other hand does not necessarily preclude them from being determinants or effective in the other spaces of their lives, even in the occupational and political spaces. They are often 'invisible' actors in the process of community formation. Observations of the study show that in the process of establishment or management of migrants' ethnic organisations and practices, men are more dominant than women. But in terms of effectiveness and the maintenance of their family and sub-communities women are more dominant than are men. Migrant men are affected more from the negative conditions of being a migrant than are women. Women's capacity to struggle is higher than men's. Thus women have to confront and solve every problem they face. They work more than men and begin to assume authority when necessary. Thus, migrant men experience more intense identity crisis as a result of losing their authority.

As a result it can be said that women are important and they are basic agents in creating their sub-groups in their immediate environments. Their basic aim is to survive and maintain their family and to make money for their 'uncertain' future. To this end, they worked longer and more non-regular hours than men with worse working conditions. The macro-level structural characteristics of capitalism are important in determining working conditions which affect the individual lives of migrants. In this process the responsibilities of women are multiplied. Nonetheless their life conditions restrict them to interacting only in their close environments. Despite all restrictions and a number of other barriers preventing their full participation in public spaces, the women want to overcome all of them.

The attitudes of men and women in relation to the natives of their new environment are fairly similar. Though the women show a somewhat greater tendency to feel removed or excluded, there is no significant difference between men and women in feeling like an alien. It is high for all respondents. A willingness to have British or foreign friends is also high for women and men. But it is again higher for men than women. Both men and women have good perceptions of the natives and most of them think there is a possibility of being friends with natives or foreigners.

Another important characteristic of this case study is the status of the people who are refugees or asylum seekers. The 'ideology of return' or 'the myth of return' is not so valid for refugees and asylum-seekers[6]. They have become permanent sojourners. This makes them willing to settle down, if they can, and to live there without any hostility. They want to come to Turkey only for holidays. Now they have started to build new and comfortable homes in their villages. In the earlier years of their migration, only women and children came to Turkey for holiday. But after getting indefinite visas the whole family started to spend their holiday in their villages or sea side as "turist yazlıkçı". On the other hand, for people who plan to stay for just a certain period in a foreign country, the level of willingness to be a member of that society must be lower.

In this case the fact that most of the refugees come from a secular sect of the Muslim (%75) religion may also be considered as a factor which increases their willingness to be a member of the new society and make the case different from the other groups both in Britain and other countries that Turkish citizens migrate. Despite this willingness, it is difficult to say if they will take the initiative to overcome the barriers. It is also difficult to say, because of its multicultural policies of immigration, whether the state can eliminate these barriers. As a result they are forced to live in their sub-communities similar to their home country communities where they don't feel like aliens. This segregation can best be explained and understood in the context of the policies of migration of the receiving country that need new studies. It may also be in the questioning of these policies that the problem can be solved. The present study is important in the sense that it is one of the first field studies of the case to be followed by new studies in the future to see the changes in the process of being citizen or not.

---

[6] 6.3% of migrants are staying illegally and don't even apply for asylum; 3.8 per cent have been refused; 12.5 per cent are waiting for the Home Office decision; 6.3 per cent are filling the time that was given to them by the Home Office. 3.8 per cent have received British Citizenship; 32.5 per cent have indefinite visas and 32.5 per cent of the migrants are waiting to get indefinite visas.

REFERENCES

ANDREWS, P. A. (1989) *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert Verlag.

ANTHIAS, F. (1992) *Ethnicity, Class and Migration: Greek-Cypriots in Britain*, Hants: Avebury.

ANTHIAS, F. and N. Yuval-Davis (1992) *Racialised Baundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Class and the Anti-Racist Straggle,* London: Routledge.

ARDENER, S. (1993) (ed.) *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps,* Oxford: Berg Publisher Limited.

BANO, S. (1999) "Muslims and South Asian Women: Customary Law and Citizenship in Britain" in *Women, Citizenship and Difference* Eds. By Nira Yuval-Davis and Pnina Werbner, London: Zed Books, 162-178.

BLASCHKE, J. (1989), "Refugees and Turkish Migrants in West Berlin", in J. Daniel and R. Cohen (eds) *Reluctant Hosts: Europea and its Refugees*, Hants: Avebury, 96-104.

BLOCH, A. (1999) "As If Being a Refugee Isn't Hard Enough: the Policy of Exclusion", in *New Ethnicities, Old Racisms*, Ed. By Phil Cohen, London: Zed Books, 111-131.

CALHOUN, C. (1994) "Social Theory and the Politics of Identity", in C. Calhoun (Ed.) *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, Oxford: Balackwell, 9-36.

CASTLES, S. (1984) "Racism and Politics in West Germany", *Race and Class*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, 37-50.

CASTLES, S. (1987) *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities*, London: Pluto Press.

CASTLES, S. and M. J. Miller (1993) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

ERBAŞ, H. (1997) "Class, Ethnicity, and Identity Formation: Immigrants from Turkey in London", Paper presented at *ESA conference on "20th Century Europe: Inclusion/Exclusion*, Colchester, Essex, 27-30 August.

GİTMEZ A. and Czarina W. (1987) "A Micro-Society or Ethnic Community? Social Organization and Ethnicity amongst Turkish Migrants in Berlin", *in Immigrant Association in Europe,* eds by Rex J. And c. Wilpert, Hants_England: Gower, 86-125.

HALL, S. (1990) "The meaning of New Times", in *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics of 1990s*, eds. By Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques, Lawrance&Wishart.

KASTORYANO, R. (1991) "Ethnic Differentiation in France: Turks and Muslims", in *Structural Change in Turkish Society*, ed. By M. Kıray, Indiana University Turkish Studies, 111-122.

KAYA, A. (1998) "Multicultural Clientalism and Alevi Resurgence in the Turkish Diaspora: Berlin Alevis", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No. 18, 23-49.

KÖKSALl, S. (1991) "A Ghetto in Welfare Society: Turkish in Rinkeby_Stockholm" in *Structural Change in Turkish Society* ed. By Mubeccel Kıray, Indiana University Turkish Studies, 96-110.

LENTIN, R. (1999) "Constitutional Excluded: Citizenship and (Some) Irish Women", in *Women, Citizenship and Difference* Nira Yuval-Davis and Pnina Werbner (eds), London: Zed Books, 30-145.

LITHMAN, Y. G. (1997) "Spatial Concentration and Mobility". Paper Presented to *Second International Metropolis Conference*, Copenhag, 25-27 September.

MANDEL, R. (1989). "Ethnicity and Identity Among Migrant Guestworkers in West Berlin", in *Conflict, Migration and Expression of Ethnicity* Eds.By, L. And Carolyn S. MacCommon, London: Westview Press, 60-75.

MILES, R. and Victor S. (1990) "Migration, Racism and 'Postmodern' Capitalism", *Economy and Society*, Vol. 19, No.3, 334-358.

PORTES, A. (1989) "Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on its Determinants And Modes of Incorporation", *International Journal of Migration*, Vol. 23, 606-630.

RICHMOND, A. H. (1993) "Reactive Migration: Sociological Perspectives on Refugee Movements", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 6, No.1, 7-24.

ROBINS, P. (1993) "The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue", *International Affairs*, Vol. 69, No 4, 657-675.

SOYSALl, Y. N. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migration and Postnational Membership in Europe*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

UNAT N. at al. (1976) *Migration and Development: A Study of the Effect of International Labour Migration on Boğazlıyan Disrtict*, Ankara: Ajans Türk Press.

WATSON, J. L. Ed. (1977) *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

WEHRENREICH, P. (1986) "The Operationalisation of Identity Theory in Racial and Ethnic Relations", in *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, eds. By Rex John and D. Mason, New York: Cambridge University Press, 298-344.

YINGER, J. M. (1983) "Ethnicity and social change: the interaction of structural, cultural, and personality factors", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 395-409.

YUVAL-DAVIS, N. (1997) *Gender and Nation,* London: Sage Publications.

YUVAL-DAVIS, N. and P. Werbner (eds.) (1999) *Women, Citizenship and Difference,* London: Zed Books.