



**FEMINIZATION OF LABOR AS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: MIGRANT
DOMESTIC WORKERS**

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ABSTRACT

The changing systems of the world economy and the neoliberal world order, which include export-oriented model and structural adjustment policies, bring about gendered and segregated labor market. Women, especially migrant women workers have been affected negatively by the neoliberal economy of the global world because of being exposed to several types of violence and discrimination. Globalization creates a new sphere of labor migration, mostly from south to north by engendering women to become nannies, nurses, maids, sex workers and domestic workers. Hence, migrant women have precarious conditions mostly accompanied with undocumented and illegal migratory positions, subcontracted works, and short-term contracts. Stereotyping based on gender entails women and men working only in specific sectors in the labor market. Both local and migrant women are perceived as less productive and less skillful while men are considered as more productive due to physical strength. As a result, feminization of labor migration turns into being feminization of work. Women's work is always associated with their reproductive role. Reproductive labor includes household chores and caring for children and elderly, and mostly done by the migrant domestic workers. Domestic workers are mostly chosen from the women of color by the upper class white women in the first world countries. Hence, race, class and gender are intersecting in the issue of domestic labor. Domestic work as a gender segregated labor is considered as violence against women because it entails separate conditions; exploitation, flexible hours, no unionization, no social security, but an increasing feeling of social exclusion. Especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, many women from the former Soviet republics and post-socialist countries migrated to Turkey as well as Europe in order to find employment. This brings about exploitation of migrant women workers in different sectors in the market economy, but especially in the domestic sphere. This article departs from existing analyses of migrant domestic women workers across the world and it aims to draw attention to the situation in Turkey. By using existing literature and analyses and a small-scale qualitative research, this article tries to indicate that migrant domestic workers' experiences in Turkey can also set an example for and be considered as feminization of migration/labor turns into being violence against women globally.

Keywords: Globalization, labor migration, women workers, gender segregated labor.

BİR ŞİDDET BİÇİMİ OLARAK EMEĞİN KADINLAŞMASI: GÖÇMEN EV İÇİ İŞÇİLERİ

ÖZ

Küresellik ve neoliberal ekonomi politikalarıyla şekillenen günümüz dünyasında, ihracata yönelik ve yapısal uyum paketleriyle desteklenmiş ekonomi politikaları karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu yeni düzen de beraberinde toplumsal cinsiyet temelli piyasaların oluşmasına sebebiyet vermiştir. Toplumsal cinsiyet temelli piyasa ekonomileri kadınlara ve özellikle göçmen kadınlara yönelik ayrımcılık ve şiddeti de beraberinde getirmiştir. Küreselleşme yeni işgücü alanları yaratırken güneyden kuzeye doğru yoğun göç dalgaları yaşanmış ve bu durumda kadınların çoğu ev içi hizmeti, bakıcılık, hemşirelik, seks işçiliği gibi toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini yeniden üreten işlerde çalışmaya zorunlu bırakılmışlardır. Göçmen kadın işçiler güvencesiz, sigortasız, esnek ve kısa dönemli işlerde çalışmaya mecbur olmuşlar, bu durum da göçün kadınlaşması

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kavramını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Kadınların işgücüne katılımları onların biyolojik üretkenlikleriyle ilişkilendirilmiş ve kadınlar bazı iş kolları için erkeklere nazaran daha az marifetli ve daha az güçlü görülmüşlerdir. Göçmen kadınlar özellikle ev içi işlerde çalışmalarından dolayı şiddete ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalmışlardır. Özellikle Sovyetler Birliği'nin yıkılmasından sonra Doğu Bloku ülkelerinden Avrupa ve Türkiye'ye göç eden kadınlar çeşitli sektörlerde çalışmışlar ancak özellikle ev içi işçiliğinde daha çok ayrımcılık gördüklerini belirtmişlerdir. Ev içi işçiliği daha az önemli bir iş kolu olarak görüldüğünden göçmen kadınlar sömürünün çeşitli biçimleriyle karşı karşıya kalmışlar ve yasal yaptırımların eksikliğinden dolayı seslerini duyurmakta zorlanmışlardır. Bu çalışmada göçmen ev içi işçileriyle ilgili yapılmış önceki analiz ve çalışmalara yer verilmiş olup, küçük ölçekli niteliksel bir araştırma ile de işin ve göçün kadınlaşmasının hem global ölçekte hem de Türkiye özelinde göçmen kadın işçilere yönelik nasıl bir şiddet biçimine dönüştüğü araştırılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Küreselleşme, emek göçü, kadın işçiler, toplumsal cinsiyet temelli emek

1. Introduction

In the neoliberal world, nation states have changed their agendas of political economy in order to catch up with the fast of the changing world economy. Most of the developing countries have adapted to export-oriented model as a mode of production rather than adapting to import substitution model, which they had been using for years. Nevertheless, multinational corporations, finance sector, and service sector gain profits with the subcontracted chains. Furthermore, structural adjustment policies have resulted in changes in economic policies of the nation states by posing incentives. Hence, in some countries job opportunities have become lesser, and people need to migrate to more developed countries in order to survive. Therefore, this new concept of labor migration has gendered impacts that truly provoke the feminization of migration.

In this article, the effects of globalization and its gendered impacts will be discussed by referring to segregated labor market and domestic work that migrant women engage in and taking into accounts of migrant domestic women workers' experiences. The basic purpose of the paper is to question to what extent globalization has gendered impacts and how migrant women workers are exposed to violence and discrimination. Hence, the core literature on gendered labor migration will be analyzed. In order to strengthen the discussion, there will be many different discussions and reviews in the literature on the issue of women migrant domestic workers. A small-scale qualitative research is conducted for the purpose of this study. Semi-structured in depth interviews are conducted with four live-in domestic workers in a private dormitory in Ankara. Interviews were conducted in migrant women's workplace, which led to making observations as well. One of the interviewees is from Moldova and three of them are from Georgia. One of them works as a secretary of the dormitory who is also responsible for the organization of the household tasks for other women migrant workers. Three of them are working as domestic workers, who cleans the rooms for every week, doing laundry for the residents and are responsible for the overall cleaning of the building. They are all live-in workers, who reside in the same building, and who only have one spare day in a week to come together with their country fellows in the city. It is noteworthy to bring out different literature and combining them with the small-scale qualitative research aim to reveal a perspective for a deeper understanding of the

relationship between the neoliberal world order and exploitation of migrant women workers both on global and local scales.

In this article, there will be discussions on the examination of the effects of globalization on labor migration in relation to feminization of migration and feminization of work. Gender segregation in the labor market will be explored to make a deeper understanding for the issue of women migrant domestic workers. How capitalism makes use of women's unpaid labor in relation to women's reproductive roles are examined. The dichotomy of public and private spheres will also be explored to understand how unequal relations in both spheres affect women's participation in the public sphere and gendered division of labor. Feminization of migration along with feminization of labor are also discussed as they are intersecting and affecting women's lives. Sex work as a feminization of labor migration is tackled with as it indicates well how women are dragged into prostitution and human trafficking, and how feminization of labor migration turns out to be violence against women. In addition to providing the conditions of migrant domestic women workers in the world, the case of migrant domestics in Turkey will also be explained in relation to patriarchal and traditional gender roles embedded in the Turkish society, which entails a demand for the migrant women who works as domestics. The main purpose of the article, which is to indicate how feminization of labor and feminization of migration turns into being violence against migrant women is tried to be analyzed in the the case of migrant domestic workers in Turkey.

2. The Effects of Globalization on Labor Migration

If one would like to make a definition of globalization, such words will be appropriate; hypermobility, international communication and neutralization of distance and place (Sassen 2002: 254). Similarly, Castles and Miller argue, "the movement of the people are globalizing, accelerating, diversifying and feminizing" (Castles and Miller 2003 cited in Kaska 2005: 7). Further, Acker (2004:8) implies that globalization also has political and cultural implications as well as economic ones and they are related to class, ethnicity, and gender relations. In addition to that, the processes of growth and consolidation of transnational corporations, decentralization, relocation and reorganization of production and subcontracting constitute globalization. Free marketization, and reduction of state intervention in economy and commodification defines globalization as well (Acker 2004: 19). According to Sassen, the hypermobility of capital needs circuit of workers. It should be noted there is an important relation between globalization and women's migration, whether voluntary or forced, which is initial for domestic jobs done in the First World countries by women mostly from the Third World (Sassen 2002: 255). Especially in between 1950s and 1990s there was a huge increase in the export of cheap labor from south to north, which is the result of the globalization process (Piper 2003: 725). Hence, globalization create a new sphere for labor migration regarding migration of maids, nannies, nurses, sex workers and contract brides with new conditions and dynamics of its own (Sassen 2002: 254).

Globalization has a big impact on changes in the nature of women's labor mobility. According to Young (2001: 8), not only women are affected from the global

industrial restructuring but also immigrants, in order to fulfill the increasing numbers of sectors, which have mostly low-wages, part-time employment and low rates of unionization. Therefore, most of the time immigrant women whether documented or undocumented, have these positions to serve the global economy of the world. However, “patterns of women’s international and domestic labor mobility demonstrate how economic globalization has both increased women’s role in paid employment and reinforced their social and economic subordination” (Young 2001: 9). Hence, women workers do not only dominate cross-border flows but they do so under increasingly precarious conditions legally and socioeconomically (Piper 2003: 723). Migrant women workers have to accept harsh immigration and visa policies and short-term contracts (Piper 2003: 723). According to Gordon, migration is an act of investment with quite uncertain outcomes (Gordon 1995: 141). Therefore, what makes migration is unintended is basically newly globalized world. Even if “governments make money off the backs of women” (Sassen 2002: 273), women become the ones who suffer from its effects. Capitalism works with the use of women’s reproductive capacities, which are associated with women’s reproductive labor in terms of giving birth, sustaining the class through raising children and keeping the pace of life through reproducing everyday chores in the household. Women’s unpaid labor within the household entails more profit for the employers and also it causes wages to be lower within the market economy. As Sassen (2002: 273) argues migrant women’s labor and their remittances become sources of cash money for many countries along with the increases in employers’ profits. However, women’s labor has been seen as valueless and unskilled. On the other hand, to be hired at low wages and with few benefits is widespread and common especially for women and migrants. For instance, majority of resident workers are women and many of them are women of color, both native and migrant (Sassen 2002: 258). This is the proof of how globalization needs women’s labor in order to keep disseminating its effects throughout the world.

2.1. Gender Segregation in Labor Market

One of the most important effects of globalization is gendered segregated labor market. According to Acker, globalization has a hidden commonality in which gender is invisible and globalization is given as gender-neutral. She asserts that this concept of gender neutrality masks the “implicit masculinization of the macro-structural models” (Freeman cited in Acker 2004: 20). Furthermore, Acker implies that “the implicit masculine standpoint in the ruling relations from which theories of society have been constructed impedes adequate analysis”. Therefore, unpaid caring work, household activities, agricultural labor and informal economic activity that are dominantly done by women have not been analyzed (Acker 2004: 20). Moreover, women begin work in low-paid, temporary, part-time and insecure jobs rather than old full time, secure with benefits kind of employment (Acker 2004: 35). Hence, if jobs are very specialized to gender, migration is one of the ways to survive. Gordon implies that the pattern of migration and moves can appear randomly in order to find a job (Gordon 1995: 140). People’s decision to move and migrate can be influenced from the segregated labor market. The situation is more difficult for women because women encounter much more problems in finding employment in a segregated labor market comparing to men.

However, the gender segregated labor market has caused women work only in specific sectors, such as domestic sphere and sex work.

Segregated labor market has gendered features and it labels women and men regarding their abilities and skills. However, skill and ability are socially constructed notions so that the one cannot generalize skills that women and men have. Women workers are assumed to be less stable and less likely to have skills, which are formally recognized. Also, there is a prejudice about particular types of ability that are natural to men or women (Gordon 1995: 141). Men workers are assumed to have strength, rationality, and technical knowledge. Yet, women workers are excluded from these types of jobs and they are pushed into more restricted jobs where feminine skills such as quasi-domestic work, charms, and manual dexterity are emphasized (Gordon 1995: 141). From the research project data, conducted by Bridget Anderson (2007) in the United Kingdom, shows that there is a “strong preference for women workers” in domestic employment. The respectable number of employer families (64%) in the research, say that they do not prefer male *au pair*, because they would not consider men as appropriate for looking after children. The results of the research indicated that high number of employers would not prefer hosting a male *au pair* due to concerns of sexual abuse, bathing children, having female children. being a single mother and they chose females due to women being more caring and nurturer (Anderson 2007: 251). The research data indicates that people tend to stereotype both women and men, in accordance with their gender. Women are more likely to be seen as compassionate but men are seen as wicked and perverted in the issue of caring. Moreover, women workers earn fewer wages because of this stereotyping about being less productive and less skillful. For instance, according to Gordon, in the British labor market women and ethnic minorities are the most stereotyped groups about being less skilled and able (Gordon 1995: 141). Furthermore, due to the exclusion of women from other sectors, the jobs associated with women happen to have local labor reserves among women who work unpaid laborers in the households (Gordon 1995: 143). These labor reserves is provided by local women who are mostly housewives working for low wages while immigrant women are also employed in temporary domestic sector or service sector. Hence, it can be said that segregated labor market exploits both local and migrant women.

2.2. Public and Private Spheres

Contemporary feminist scholars theorized that the separation of public from the private sphere explains the sexual division of labor. The division of public-male and private-female in the liberal thought of history wish to justify women’s exclusion from citizenship and it also prevents women’s political involvement in the public sphere (Pateman, 1988). Nonetheless, without taking into consideration of gendered division of labor, it is not possible to understand gendered patterns in the public sphere (Lister 1997: 42). On the other hand, the separation of public and private spheres is ‘fluid’, ‘historically determined’, ‘contested’, and ‘culture and gender specific’ (Yuval-Davis and Werbner 1999: 29). Hence, public and private dichotomy significantly affects women’s experiences and power discrepancies among men and women (Kaytan 2014: 27).

The separation between public and private spheres is constructed through everyday discourses of common sense, but it should be remembered that the line between them can change in different societies under different circumstances (Steans 2006: 80). Nevertheless, the invisibility unpaid labor of women is the result of the separation between public and private spheres. The separation between public and private has led to the division of public world of work and “informal economy” of the domestic work, which takes place in private sphere (Steans 2006: 79). The tasks managed in the household by women are perceived as not real work and are not taken into account in terms of market economy (Steans 2006: 79). Domestic work and care work are intertwined in the domain of the division public and private, and they constitute a delicate issue to work on (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç 2015:10). Hence, the studies on domestic work within the relations of production and within the informal sector are very limited (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç 2015:10). Therefore, feminist research and activism try to develop an understanding for the value of domestic work (Steans 2006: 79).

On the other hand, women who participate in the market economy in public sphere, have to deal with the domestic tasks as well due to the gendered division of labor. Therefore, women are exposed to double burden of paid and unpaid work, but they cannot escape from the insults about properness of their work, which is not addressed in the politics and in policies (Steans 2006: 80). It is argued that there is a need for the re-articulation of the public and private spheres, which are covered under three main points by Lister (1997). First of all, sexualized values that have gendered attributions should be deconstructed; secondly, the strict separation between public and private needs to be dissolved as it entails unequal relations between men and women; and lastly, the shifting boundaries of the public and private sphere have to be recognized and understood (Lister 1997: 121).

2.3. Feminization of Labor Migration

In the globalized world, women move from country of origin to a foreign country due to search of employment, and it becomes more and more widespread. According to Piper (2003: 727), traditional patriarchy and patriarchal institutions put women in the lowest rank within the family, the household, and the workforce. As Morokvasic (1983: 888) implies;

Whether migrant women in the Philippines produce Barbie dolls for the Western markets, or whether they produce watches in Singapore; whether they are domestics in Dakar or Mexico City, whether they sew high quality garments for high income and middle class women in the sweat shops of London, Paris or New York, or jeans in Manila; work in the fisheries in Senegal, or clean German, Swedish and British hospitals and public toilets, their role in wage employment is usually not considered as primary role, neither by them nor by their employers.

Women inevitably perceive migration as a better opportunity to find employment because of the social inequality they have been experiencing (Piper 2003: 727), but women’s work has been always subordinated. Globalization seems to provide

employment for those women, but there are invisible negative impacts of labor migration. For instance, migrant women workers have been encountering great prejudice about their sex, class, nationality and ethnicity and women have experienced discrimination, exploitation, and violence in the host country (Piper 2003: 727). Experiences of migrant women workers as a case study will be examined deeply in the next section.

Feminization of labor migration also reflects feminization of work. The words of Piper (2003: 727) clearly identifies that feminization of labor migration is the result of women's reproductive roles as mother, wives and daughters. Therefore, women's work is always associated with their reproductive duties mostly within the household. However, it is problematical because reproductive sphere is the most ignored sphere in waged labor, formal market exchange, and public sphere activities (Kofman 2006: 284). In the new global economy, place of women in reproductive labor is important because of its relation with production. As Kofman (2006: 284) implies that reproduction and production cannot be separated from each other because they have intersections, however, production has always been associated with men, on the other hand reproduction has always been associated with women. Therefore, contributions of migrant women workers cannot be denied in the supply chain for reproduction, production and service despite the fact that they have been ignored for years. Migrant women workers have occurred with the rise of globalization and capitalism and at the same time they are the perpetrators of this system.

Feminization of labor migration is considered as violence against women, because it brings along engagement with sex work for migrant women. Sex work is one of the ways to survive for migrant workers because either legally or illegally women are dragged alone to this kind of work. Without doubt globalization has a great impact on this drag. As Sassen (2002) indicates migration of women from south to north is the result of the search for work as domestics, nannies and sex workers participating configurations either in the global cities or within the survival circuits, which are emanated from the miserableness of global south. These survival circuits comprise of trafficked low-wage workers and prostitutes mostly in indebted third world countries (Sassen 2002: 255). Further, Sassen (2002: 265) explains sex work as a feminization of survival, because migrant women are increasingly engaging in sex work in order to sustain both their families and themselves, hence, sex work as a migrant labor is increasingly becoming a popular way to live. Sassen (2002: 270) asserts that prostitution is one of the important ways to expand entertainment industry and tourism as a development strategy, which in turns becomes an increased government revenue. Therefore, it would not be a surprise to see governments condoning the prostitution and trafficking of migrant women.

Examining reasons for sex work and trafficking of migrant women will be useful to understand which pathways migrant women are dragged into. Most of the time trafficking comprises of deception and coercion, which results in illegal migration and prostitution (Andrijasevic 2003: 256). Therefore, many young women who live in precarious conditions in their home countries become eager to gain independence through trafficking and sex work (Andrijasevic 2003: 257). Moreover, changing political

regimes, and collapses of communist regimes also affect the migration patterns among women. The best example of this situation comes from the former Soviet Union. The falling of the communist system has created a huge poverty and unemployment, which influenced women more than men. Therefore, women have been influenced negatively by social and economic depression and consequently there have been dissolutions in families. Under the Soviet regime women had a relative equality with men, but after the collapse of the union, women have become subordinated and try to migrate other countries in order to find a solution for increasing poverty and subordination (Kalfa 2010: 349).

Furthermore, in Asian countries sex work, as an entertainment sector is increasingly widespread. For instance, many migrant Filipina women work as maids and domestics in Asian countries as a largest group, yet, the second largest group constitutes sex workers and entertainment workers mostly migrating to Japan (Sassen 2002: 271). There is a rapid increase in women in entertainment sector, which is mediated by 'entertainment brokers' who operates the sector under the state umbrella (Sassen 2002: 271). The Japanese sex industry is organized and controlled by brokers and gangs, who are also forcing women into prostitution along with recruiting women for entertainment (Sassen 2002: 272). Nonetheless, sex work becomes one of the negative effects of globalization, which is flowing from the west to the east, carrying only economic interests, rather than valuing human.

Moreover, trafficking, sex work and international marriage as a result of mail-order brides comprise neglected parts of existing literature on labor migration because of conventional definitions of labor and legitimate work (Piper 2003: 724). Piper (2003: 724) argues that those many types of women's cross-border movements needs to be analyzed as interlinked and needs to be recognized as labor migration in order to empower women and guarantee protection for them. In that sense, the concept of 'sexploitation' used by Piper (2003) explains the situation well as migrant women increasingly suffer from feminization of labor migration as violence against women.

3. Migrant Domestic Women Workers

According to ILO, there are 150.3 million migrant workers across the world, and of those 11.5 million are estimated as migrant domestic workers. While 83.7 million of migrant workers are men, 66.6 million are women, which respectively reflect 55.7 per cent and 44.3 per cent of the total migrant workers (ILO 2015). There is a remarkable increase in the number of migrant domestic workers across the world. Especially in some regions such as Europe, the Gulf States and Central Asia domestic work performed by migrant workers are increasing (ILO 2010:6). Domestic work is considered as low status job by the locals in Europe, and hence in Spain domestic workers are from mostly Latin American countries, in Italy they are predominantly from Eastern Europe and in France migrant domestic workers are mostly from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, whereas in Turkey domestic work is performed mostly by women from former Soviet Union states (Yıldırım et al. 2017: 4).

Globalization affects the patterns of domestic work and migrant domestic workers. Currently, more and more women migrate to other countries in order to get hired in domestic work and care work, which are mostly associated with women's

reproductive roles. The concept of division of reproductive labor occurs within the global economy where there is a need for low-wage service workers especially in the postindustrial societies (Parrenas 2000: 561). Reproductive labor, which is mostly done by migrant domestic workers, comprises “household chores, the care of elderly, adults and youth, the socialization of children, and the maintenance of social ties in the family” (Parrenas 2000: 561). Furthermore, mostly white class-privileged women whom free themselves from domestic work purchase low-wage services of women of color in the United States and hence, racial division of labor among women is maintained through women who comes from different class privileges (Parrenas 2000: 561). Nonetheless, black women domestic workers in the United States have been objectified as if they were ‘animals’ by being called as ‘girls’, which made them invisible, and less capable humans (Collins 2000: 71). As bell hooks (1989: 42) stated “as objects, one’s reality is defined by others, one’s identity created by others, one’s history named only in ways that define one’s relationship to those who are subject”. On the other hand, Gutiérrez-Rodríguez (2010: 148 cited in Akalın 2015: 65) asserted that “domestic work involves more than just cleaning or arranging the household, it demands the investment of subjective faculties”, because migrant domestic workers also invest their “affective histories of maternal care” for the sake of their labor exist in the market (Akalın 2015: 65).

Moreover, the racial and class dimensions of the gendered division of labor become more visible because the perception of workplace and home are intertwined for domestic workers (Young 2001: 7). According to Glenn (in Parrenas 2000: 562), women who have class privileges eliminate mental, emotional and physical labor, which is on their shoulders, by hiring women of color who are paid less. Young (2001: 2) additionally asserts that women of color are seen as more suitable persons for the domestic work, because of their socially constructed natural ability, so that race and class intersect with gender in the issue of domestic work. Hence, domestic workers are the saviors of privileged women from the domestic work, but works done by migrant women are mostly seen as unskilled and invaluable. Parrenas quoted from Rothman: “when performed by mothers, we call this mothering... when performed by hired hands, we call it unskilled” (Parrenas 2000: 562).

According to Panayiotopoulos (2005: 99), women are the majority of the domestic workers in the world. Prejudices on women based on biological reductionism such as nimble fingers and quick eyes make women to be employed in assembly lines. Similarly the stereotype about women as natural caregivers makes them work in domestic sphere and care work (Panayiotopoulos 2005: 99). Women are considered as default homemakers and carers in most of the societies, which makes them to be employed in the less secure private spheres.

Domestic work has been an increasing trend, because of the global economic system that provokes inequalities between the ‘South’ and the ‘North’ (Kaska 2005: 11). The immigration patterns of women that include increases in participation in paid labor force create a demand for domestic work sector too, especially in the ‘global north’ (Kaska 2005: 11). Domestic work and household labor, both caring and cleaning, are widespread in in all over the world but also in Europe (Anderson 2001: 676). The

domestic work is both reproductive and productive which cannot be separated from each other. Also, live-in domestic work in private houses is common and predominantly be the most important employment opportunity for both legal and undocumented migrant women (Anderson 2001: 676). In addition to that, according to Panayiotopoulos (2005: 99), the ageing population in Europe with demographic trends requires elderly care. Therefore, there is a growing need for migrant workers as domestic workers and caregivers. Most of the developed countries in Europe but also the United States use the labor of migrant domestic workers in order to close up the need for domestic and care service. In addition to the US and Europe, Turkey has increasing numbers of migrant women workers in domestic sphere. Those women are mostly coming from post-socialist countries, which become predominantly poor after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

There are increasing numbers of women domestic workers in different countries but their situation is similar. For instance, in the United States, there is “slavery like conditions” for domestic workers (Zarembka 2002). As Zarembka (2002) implies that increasing demand for the migration of women in order to engage in domestic work also causes increasing levels of domestic worker abuse. For instance, according to Anderson (2001: 674), Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers in London got complaints firstly from migrant workers in 1984. Their basic complaints were about “no passport, unpaid wages, no belongings, and disturbing reports of brutal conditions” (Anderson 2001: 674). In Britain, there are also migrant domestic workers from all over the world, from Tanzania to Peru, and from Sri Lanka to India, affected by the same negative impacts as Filipinas have experienced (Anderson 2001: 673). Moreover, as Parrenas (2000: 560) implies migrant Filipina women exists as domestic workers in more than 130 countries. Filipina women constitute a substantial proportion of labor migrants especially in Europe, Asia, Canada, and the United States. Also, although Filipina women are seen to be middle class professionals, they constitute two-thirds of labor migrants as domestic workers (Parrenas 2000: 560). This situation indicates an increasing trend among domestic labor migration from developing countries to more developed ones. Nevertheless, domestic work as a gender-segregated work is considered as violence against women because it entails negative conditions for women, including abuse, exploitation, flexible hours, no unionization, no social security, social exclusion, unprotectedness and precarity.

3.1. Experiences of Migrant Domestic Women Workers in Turkey

The separation of public and private spheres has led to women’s subjection to structural inequalities in the public sphere. On the other hand, in the private sphere, women have to deal with the double burden of working outside home and engaging in the household chores and care work for elderly and children. The policies of states do not provide childcare and elderly care for working women, rather, even the most liberal states tend to pile these works on women’s shoulders (Kaytan 2014: 29). In addition to that, women’s participation to the public sphere is limited because of the states’ policies which control women’s sexuality, and it results in many obstacles against women’s participation and representation in the public sphere. Walby (1990) elucidates that it is the public patriarchy that prevent women’s participation in the labor market.

Women's participation to labor force tends to be lower in the developing countries. In 1980s there were important structural changes in Turkey in terms of changes in the population in rural and urban spaces (Kalaycıoğlu et al. 2016: 7). Kalaycıoğlu et al. (2016: 7) mentions that more than 75% of the population lives in the urban space in Turkey, whereas it was vice-versa in the first years of the establishment of the republic. This change in the population has led to vital changes in women's participation to labor force because traditional single-income families where only husbands work outside home, turns out to be double-income households with the participation of women in the labor force (DPT-DB 2009). However, the issue of women in Turkey is much more complicated; despite the fact that men and women are considered as equal before the legislation in the public sphere, there are various problems preventing the equality, including violence against women, women's employment and women's representation in politics (Acar 2010). Women who work in rural areas are unpaid workers, whereas in urban areas women mostly participate work force in the informal sector (Toksöz 2007). In very general sense, one woman out of four women is working in Turkey and one woman out of two workingwomen is working in the informal sector (Kalaycıoğlu et al. 2016: 9).

Domestic work and care work are associated with women's reproductive role in the household, which is unpaid and also helps the welfare system. In Turkey welfare regime is family centered, in which women are mostly responsible for the childcare and elderly care (Erdoğan and Toksöz 2013:1). Institutional care services provided by the state are insufficient and there is also mistrust for these services. These reasons entail people to search for care work from local women who are from rural parts or from the migrant women who work as home-based caregivers (Erdoğan and Toksöz 2013:1). This need for the care work dependent on women is the consequences of the changes in demographic composition of Turkey and the total number of elderly people, which is constantly increasing (Rittersberger-Tılıç and Kalaycıoğlu 2012). Patriarchal structure of the society and family-centered welfare regime in Turkey resulted in low levels of women's participation to employment, which also lead to expectations for women to stay in the household and not working for a wage in the public sphere (Erdoğan and Toksöz 2013:1). On the other hand, women from middle or upper classes who have chance to get education and participate in employment outside home, are also expected to do household chores and care work, which resulted in a need for the labor of other women. While local domestic workers are chosen from those who are in the lower social strata, migrant domestic workers are mostly needed when there is a requirement for staying overnight (Erdoğan and Toksöz 2013:1). Hence, Turkey constitutes a special case for the research on the migrant domestic workers due to its welfare regime, which is closely related to gender-based division of labor and its geographic proximity, which attracts migrant women especially from neighboring former communist states.

As Kaska (2005: 25) implies, although, migrants from these countries have variety of jobs such as shuttle traders, service sector workers and in entertainment sector, women immigrants as domestic workers constitute a high number in the Turkish labor market. Another interesting issue about women domestics in Turkey is, there is

also segregation between Turkish domestics and immigrant domestics (Akalin 2007). Patriarchy that is embedded in the family structure in Turkey, causes Turkish domestics not to work as live-in carers, but as live-out domestic workers (Akalin 2007: 213). On the other hand, immigrant domestic workers accept working as live-in workers in the houses, as they have more flexibility and do not have any chance to complain about it (Akalin 2007: 214). This situation tells how Turkey becomes a country, which import domestic workers and how immigrant women become preferable by the middle-upper class. Akalin's note from an Internet group about mothers in Turkey is essential: "Caregiver needed, ASAP. Preferably live-in, foreigner (Moldovan, Georgian, Bulgarian migrant) should speak Turkish well. Will look after a baby and help with daily tasks. Cleaning is done by another lady" (Akalin 2007: 209). As it is noted, immigrant women are preferable as live-in care workers, and local domestic women complete cleaning tasks. Employers divide the two work; live-in immigrant care workers and local cleaning ladies.

In this part of the article, a deeper understanding of what women experience as migrant workers, how they encounter violence, violation of rights and how their relations are shaped with families remained back are tackled with. Also, observation notes about Georgian and Moldovan migrants who works as domestics in Turkey are discussed, because it is noteworthy that those notes will be helpful to understand what is going on in real about labor migration beyond the theory. As bell hooks (1989) mentioned domestic workers are subordinated by the dominant discourse, and as a result, objectification of domestics as inhuman objects is rather common. Nevertheless, including women's experiences and perceiving women as subjects rather than as objects in the study is significant for the feminist methodology and it is valuable as part of a qualitative research.

There is a correlation between migrant domestic workers' marital status and going abroad to work in the case of women domestic workers. In the interviews, one woman from Georgia mentioned that she lost her husband in their homeland, and as a result they migrated to Turkey to send remittances to their families back home. The other one asserted that she has an husband who also works in another city in Turkey. One of the Georgian migrants stated that she divorced from her husband. On the other hand, one interviewee who is from Moldova, asserted that she married in Turkey with a local man, which was considered as a survival strategy for her to keep working and living in Turkey. All of them live and work in Turkey for long years, and they found employment in Turkey through their social networks, who migrated to Turkey in the previous years or from companies who provided domestic workers for the customers in Turkey. The interview questions are conglomerated under the issues of women's socio-demographic particularities, the reasons for working in the domestic sector, working conditions, and women's relations with their families back home.

One of the most problematical issues about problems of women migrants as domestic workers is an exposure to violence. Both local and migrant women workers are exposed to violence but migrant women keep silent because they generally do not have legal rights due to illegal working in the informal sector. Working conditions predominantly negatively affect migrant women workers; besides they experience physical or psychological violence. As Piper (2003) asserts employment opportunities

are limited to low-skilled jobs in domestic sphere or sex-related jobs for women migrants. In addition to that, violence against women migrants in the job market ranges from rape, abuse and physical violence to very negative inhumane working conditions (Piper 2003: 724).

Therefore, working conditions can be very harsh for migrant women workers whom experience other types of violence too. For instance, based on the interviews and observations about Georgian domestics working in a private apartment, it can be clearly said that they have no settled times to work. They have to work during even the nighttime if anybody in the apartment sends clothes to be washed, or says to clean the house. Those women have no right to reject the job, which comes at inappropriate times during the day. Moreover, as Morokvasic (1983: 887) implies working informally and illegally risks women's health regarding negative conditions in the workplace, hence, women are considered as the most vulnerable and flexible labor supplies. Nevertheless, women migrant workers are exposed to various types of risks due to illegality, which entails to keep them "on the margins of society" (Raijman et al. 2003: 727). In addition to the underrated and valueless skills of migrant women, they also face with the social exclusion from the society most of the time.

Furthermore, migrant women workers suffer from illegal conditions of themselves. Piper (2003: 725) calls the situation as the institutional forms of violence because women migrant workers are being kept within the migration chain and they are constantly exposed to violence, which is imposed by the states. That type of violence consists of oppressive application of migration laws, which does not provide alternative employment opportunities for migrant women, and does not treat women workers as they are worthy of protection (Piper 2003: 725). It is explained as "violence against women becomes part of the employment itself", which can be sanctioned by the states as it is observed in human trafficking and sex work (Piper 2003: 725). Piper summarizes the situation of migrant women workers quite well. As it is indicated above Piper used the concept of "sexploitation" which suits well to explain the conditions of migrant women. Furthermore, governments do not provide protective legislation and services for the needs of migrant women workers. There is a lack of appropriate policies and public awareness for those women both in home countries and in host countries. The situation is described as "a wall of silence" (Chin cited in Piper 2003: 727). Hence, migrant women workers have to face with alienation, marginalization, mistreatment, injustice, and relative poverty (Piper 2003: 727). For instance, Georgian migrant workers in Turkey have been experiencing the alienation because they have no day-offs to socialize with people, and also they do not speak the language of the host country, which makes them more isolated. They mentioned that they only have one spare day in a week, where they spend it with other country fellow women, who are also live-in domestic workers in other neighborhoods of the city. Coming together with other migrant women seem to provide a socialization area, where they talk about working conditions, remittances sent to home country, and their families and children back home. Migrant domestic workers keep their relative distance from the local women for socialization because of the social class differences, which determines women's places as 'bosses' and 'workers'. Nevertheless, migrant women workers

asserted that they also keep distance from local men due to the fear of being perceived as prostitutes or as an 'available' woman.

Acquiring citizenship of the country they live in is a desire of migrant workers in order to have legal rights to work and live. Migrant women workers are more vulnerable without residence and work permits; hence, they seek for a solution to acquire Turkish citizenship. A Moldovan domestic worker asserted that being a Turkish citizen is difficult, even marriage cannot make you a citizen instantly. Marriage with a Turkish man seems to be an exit way for them, but they complain about the control of the marriage by the state whether it is real or fake. In addition to that, the Moldovan domestic highlights that social insurance is not that important because receiving money is much more important for illegal workers. Sometimes they could not get their salaries or they have to wait for months to get their salaries from the employers. Also, domestic service is not seen as a decent work in most of the time. For instance in most of the countries including the Middle East, domestic sphere is not considered as a workplace, hence domestic work is not under protection by law (Piper 2003: 729). The Georgian domestics could work in Turkey for three months and then they have to go to homeland to renew their entry, and after fifteen days they could come back to Turkey. However, it becomes illegal now, so that they need to get work permit and need to be formal workers. One of them mentioned that the employer will provide a work permit and insurance for her due to changes of the laws. It is understood that governments can take actions to provide legal rights to migrant workers, if there is a necessary arrangement for the sake of employers. Nonetheless, if necessary incentives would be taken by the states and by the NGOs, migrant women workers would not be so desperate about getting social insurance and work permit.

As it is well indicated; "feminization of migration can be seen as violation of social rights, such as the right to family" (Piper 2003: 728). The Moldovan domestic mentions that mostly women migrate from Moldova predominantly to Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey, and send remittances to their families. However, when migrant women workers take the responsibility of as a main income provider, there can be some problems and psychological pressures on that women (Piper 2003: 728). One of the Georgian domestics' husband died, and their children live with their grandparents in Georgia while woman works in Turkey. She tells that if her husband would not die, she would never come to Turkey to work. On the other hand, the one with husband tells that her husband works in Turkey as well, but they could not meet often. The Moldovan domestic says, "Family is burned-out" as a result of the migration. They also mention that they send their wages to their families, mostly to their children. As Anderson (2001: 678) asserts, they send the money mostly to mothers, sisters, daughters, but not men, they do not trust men. Probably women do not want men to waste the remittances. One Georgian domestic mentioned that she send her \$500 to her each daughter monthly. Another aspect of the remittances is that they constitute the major source of hand-currency reserves for the migrants' home country (Sassen 2002: 270). For example, in Philippines remittances, which are sent by women migrants, are the third largest source of foreign currency over the last several years (Sassen 2002: 270). The similar case is valid for Moldova and Georgia. Especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, these countries encounter with extreme poverty, and unemployment. Therefore,

remittances from the immigrant workers abroad, are one of the sources of their economy.

Family is the important matter for the migrant women workers. As Romero indicates (Romero cited in Parrenas 2000: 563), “who cares for the domestics’ family?” is a significant question. Global world coerce women to have domestic workers in the household, but who care and do the job in the domestic’s household is a problematical question. The other difficulty for migrant women is motherhood. There is a notion of ‘transnational motherhood’ that means enduring motherhood from a distance (Raijman et al. 2003: 731). They are ‘overseas mothers’ and trying to be the primary breadwinner for their children even if they are distant. An example provided by Pettman (2010: 259) clearly identifies the situation of women in terms of caring their own children and doing care work as a migrant worker:

A professional woman in Los Angeles who earns a salary of \$4000 a month in the formal market hires a migrant woman from Guanajuato, Mexico for \$800 a month to care for her children and elderly father and to perform some housekeeping. The migrant woman hires a woman living in Guanajuato to care for her own children remaining there, paying her \$100 per month. This Mexican woman might then depend upon the unpaid labor of a female relative to care for her elderly parents.

Furthermore, Parrenas asserts that mostly the oldest daughters and the grandparents take the familial duties in the country of origin (Parrenas 2000: 563). The Georgian domestic mentions that she has a little child and her mother takes care of him in Georgia because her husband died. Therefore, unpaid labor of a female relative is very important for women works in other country. The other Georgian woman asserted that her daughter lives and works in Italy, and she decided to marry an Italian guy who does not want to take care of the woman’s children. The Georgian domestic stated that she has to quit the job in Turkey to go and take care of her grandchildren in Georgia. After a month, she left Turkey to go to Georgia, even if she stated that she was not eager to do it but there was no other option. Women are dependent on other women’s care for their children in their hometowns, while they care for others in the host country. Moreover, migrant women in Turkey set a good example for transnational motherhood, both by sending remittances to their families and children, and by taking care of their children and even grandchildren with sacrifices. According to Mattingly (2001), both domestic women and their employers develop strategies for the domestic job, whereas employers hire a paid-worker in the home, and the domestic women are rely on their women relatives. As Mattingly (2001: 373) asserts, domestic workers develop strategies both with their employers and with their families in order cope with the interdependency and interconnectedness. The Moldovan woman highlighted their hardworking character by saying “Our women fights” and “Russian women are the real women”. She adds that women in her country are dominant and men cannot say anything about working outside the country, referring the gender roles in Turkey.

When migrant domestic workers were asked about how they are perceived in Turkey, the Moldovan woman said that sometimes people perceive them as prostitutes. She explains that some women come to Turkey to do sex work, but she implies not all of them are engaging with sex work. Also, she states her disturbance when people ask where she comes from, especially when local people hear her accent in Turkish. She does not want to be discriminated because of her origin, and mentions that “I am from Moldova but I am human too”. However, she asserts that she is happy working in Turkey because she explains that Moldova is not in a good condition due to economic reasons and social factors. She complaint about men drinking too much and using violence against women in her home country. Also, an opportunity to find a waged work is difficult in Moldova compared to Turkey because after the collapse of the Soviet Union economy becomes recessed. Georgian women also mention the same unemployment problems in Georgia. In a way they felt necessity and obligation to migrate to other countries in order to send remittances to their families and to survive within the harsh conditions of the neoliberal world economy. However, they also mentioned that gender roles are not associated with gendered division of labor in their home countries. Hence, migrant women workers stated their disturbances about being perceived as sex workers in Turkey due to the prejudices for women who immigrate from the former Soviet Bloc.

4. Conclusion

Globalization is defined as a microchip revolution, in which scientific and technological developments together with the changing political context, affects and changes basic relations and the modes of production and consumption (Yuval-Davis 2009: 3). As Saskia Sassen implies the concept of ‘epochal changes’, globalization refers to new features of economy, politics, movements, flow of goods and flow of people. Therefore, globalization brings labor migration and even makes it widespread. Nevertheless, globalization has gendered effects on gendered labor migration and women migrants. According to Sassen, globalization increases the feminization of labor migration because labor migration is very much related to globalization of the market economy (Sassen cited in Parrenas 2000: 563). Globalization needs low-waged labor of the third world women especially in export processing zones of developing countries, in service sector and in domestic sphere in advanced capitalist countries (Parrenas 2000: 563). This situation resulted in exploitation of labor of women transnationally.

Europe has been opening borders as a result of globalization in order to provide international and transnational labor force, because national economies have become more dependent on foreign labor (Yuval-Davis 2009: 6). Employing women migrants are cheaper than local labor, so that countries prefer labor of women migrants. While globalization brings political and economic crisis to the world, “women bear the brunt of this crisis both as members of their societies and as participants in the labor markets and also as symbols and embodied targets for the fears and frustrations of the men in their societies” (Yuval-Davis 2009: 16). Although globalization has increased participation of women in the labor market in most of the countries except the former socialist ones, jobs become “feminized” by being insecure, low-paid, and temporary (Acker 2004: 35). Therefore, in countries where globalization cannot affect the market, feminization of migration has occurred. As it is mentioned above, there is a huge labor

migration from the former Soviet Union countries to Europe and Turkey. The cases of migrant domestic workers indicate that harsh conditions, exploitation and violence do not differ for those who are either working in Europe or in Turkey. Violence against women as a form of gendered labor reveal itself in different ways; either as human trafficking and prostitution or as domestic work.

The social reproduction provided by women, which are associated with women's reproductive labor in terms of giving birth, sustaining the class through raising children and keeping the pace of life through reproducing everyday chores in the household is an effective source for capitalism and for welfare systems. Women's reproductive capacities and unpaid labor in the household entails more profit for the employers and also it causes wages to be lower within the market economy. Nation-states also make use of women's domestic and care work in order to get benefit for the welfare systems. Another negative impact of globalization is inequality and poverty among women. Inequality and poverty also contribute to the increasing international trafficking in women for prostitution (Acker 2004: 35). Also, domestic immigrant women encounter with some difficulties in the host country, as they have mostly insecure, low-paid and non-unionized job. Nevertheless, domestic sphere is perceived as private space, so that migrant women's problems remain invisible. Moreover, Piper (2003) implies "macro-level forms of violence against migrant women are structurally embedded within the global and regional political economy". Market economy processes with gender segregation of labor and hence migration and violence against migrant women are intertwined and generated by nationally and globally (Piper 2003: 725). In addition to that, micro-level violence against migrant women sustains itself in the private households, in which domestic workers live and work. It should be understood that feminization of labor migration has been gradually exploiting migrant women workers. Efforts of solidarity networks and incentives by taken by civil society organizations happen to be inadequate, because there should be a macro-level operation of feminist politics, which contribute to migrant women in order to provide their peculiar needs by imposing governments to exercise certain incentives. Consequently, whether these problems of migrant domestic workers will be eliminated with the use of the feminist research and policies needs to be discussed on global and local scales.

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