EXCHANGING AFFECT: THE MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS MARKET IN TURKEY

by

AYSE AKALIN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2009

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Patricia Clough

Date

Chair of Examining Committee

Prof. Philip Kasinitz

Date

Executive Officer

Prof. Patricia Clough

Prof. Philip Kasinitz

Prof. Barbara Katz Rothman

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

EXCHANGING AFFECT: THE MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS MARKET IN TURKEY

by

Ayşe Akalın

Adviser: Professor Patricia Clough

Since the second half of 1990's, Turkey has received a migration flow of women from the postsocialist countries of Eastern Europe, the Caucuses and Central Asia, into the domestic work sector. The demand for the migrant domestics is mainly for their *live-in* services, which also distinguishes them from the indigenous domestics since the latter prefer working strictly as live-outs. The migrants' willingness to work as live-in's has consequently caused them to be employed in three subfields of domestic work; care giving for the elderly, care giving for children and housekeeping in suburban houses. This research explores the emergence and expansion of "the migrant domestic workers market" as an ethnic niche in Turkey in the postsocialist period when migration and employment relations have formed a mutually fostering alliance. It argues that the migrant domestics of postsocialist origin are not demanded for an inherent ability. Rather the demand for their labor is a consequence of a capacity that they acquire by turning into transnational migrants. In this process, their subjectivity that was earlier shaped by an upbringing in a formerly socialist system also gets molded by a state of "migrancy". The latter then causes them to serve their employers in a distinct way that is characterized by a specific type of labor, which in this research is called "availability".

to my father who taught me to wonder,
my mother who taught me to work,
and my sister who has put up with me along the way.

Acknowledgements

It was a series of uncalculated events that eventually took me to the sociology program at CUNY, Graduate Center. In my first semester there, I took a class titled “Sociology of the Body” after hearing about a similar class that a friend took elsewhere from some professor by the name of Michael Hardt. I did not realize the value of that pointer at the time, although I should have known that this is a small world after all. In any case, this lead took me into the world of my advisor, Patricia Clough, to whom I am grateful for so much. She brought “matter” into my search for an academic stance. Her empathy and encouragement was the backbone of my perseverance throughout the long years of graduate school. The expression of ideas that I had previously understood intuitively was made possible by knowing her and writing this work under her mentorship. For all that, I thank her with all my heart.

Phil Kasinitz has been truly my one and only mentor in migration studies. I did my first independent reading on the topic with him and have been posing all my related questions to him ever since. I thank him for being part of this project in all its stages. Barbara Katz Rothman got on board almost at the last minute. Yet her interventions at some crucial moments made her an intrinsic part of this project. It was under her mentoring that I first got the courage to present and publish parts of this research, for which I will always be grateful.

There is, however, truly one person that this research owes all its existence, all its questions and many of its answers to and that is Anya A., my

grandmother's caregiver of ten years. It was with getting to know Anya that I first became aware of the phenomenon of the migrants domestics in Turkey. Since she was my primary informant in the research, I could not reduce her story to some anecdotes sprinkled around the text. I therefore included her life story in the appendix, as well as my relationship with her, in order to shed more light on the methodology of this project. While taking me through her life in Istanbul and Moldova over the last few years, Anya has sometimes made me wonder if she had in fact studied anthropology and was concealing it all along. In her name I thank all the migrant women I have gotten to know over the course of this research who for obvious reasons are to remain anonymous and I salute all the women migrants around the world who for whatever reasons might have found their dreams lying elsewhere from their hearts.

This research was funded partially by American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) fellowship for Turkish doctoral students and by Istanbul Research Institute (IAE) fellowship for doctoral research. I thank the administrators of both institutes for taking interest in my study. I would also like to thank Lami Bertan Tokuzlu, Hasan Kemal Elban, Jean-François Pérouse and Ekrem Azaklı for sharing with me their expertise on the topic.

There is always a prelude to a story. In my case, that was the time I spent at Boğaziçi University as an undergraduate when I got the opportunity to wonder, learn and discuss about so much. From that period, if there was one person who inspired me to pursue critical qualitative work, she would be Nükhet Sirman. And if doing ethnography is a craftsmanship, then my master is Ayse Öncü. Ferhunde

Özbay has not only fostered my intellectual growth as my undergraduate professor but further pursed her role as a mentor and stepped in as my advisor-on-site during the last stage of my research in Istanbul, always greeting me with friendship and encouragement. I thank them all very much.

I am both grateful to and mad at my friends in Istanbul whose endless gentle support would always turn my rantings into obsolete whinings. Of them, I am especially grateful to İdil Disperati, Aslı Demirel and Aslıhan Akatli, aka “my manager”, for their invaluable assistance in obtaining and retaining contacts for this project; to Evrem Tilki, Zeynep Altok and Şehnaz Layikel for accessing library resources in my name; and to Didem Danış for turning from an old friend to a very supportive colleague.

Everyone else aside, it is my friends in New York that come to my mind first when I think of the long and winding road that has led to this seemingly first though chronologically final page of my work. Of them, I would especially like to thank Rich for the beers and rejuvenation, Andrew for the stories, Tom for the surprise, Işıl for her good mornings, Özlem for the phone calls, Evren for her nurturings, Başak for being here, there and everywhere, everyone else in the “Turkish gang” for that inimitable mix of activism and partying, Ceren and Arman for too many to list and Michael for the many inspirations.

Finally, my biggest gratitude is for my family. My parents, by providing me those two rooms of my own during the writing of this research, but more importantly by their lifelong stories of untainted integrity and steady belief in human dignity, have been the true source of commitment behind this study. If my

work is of any value, it is due to the “capacities” that were invested in me by them.

Table of Contents

List of Tables & Figures

Table

Figures

Introduction

This is a study on the way domestic work has been structured in Turkey since the second half of 1990s, when women from different countries of the formerly socialist bloc began migrating there. It aims to explicate the mechanisms that have led to the emergence and expansion of what I call "the migrant domestic workers market" in its initial phase of roughly ten years[1]. Treating the market as a realm that is constantly in formation, the research aims to trace the impact of the exchange of the labor of migrant women on the reorganization of domestic work in Turkey.

The main event that is in the background of the migration flow in question is the demise of the socialist system of the Eastern Bloc, which happened when the Soviet Union (SU), established in 1922, came to an end unexpectedly (Yurchak, 2005). Although signs of an approaching end may retrospectively be traced to preceding incidents like the strikes of Solidarity in Poland in the early 1980s, the ultimate end came after Gorbachov's famous reforms of Glasnost & Perestroika, followed by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The demise was then formalized when the presidents of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus signed the Belavezha Accords which declared the Soviet Union dissolved and established the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in its place in 1991.

Since then, the series of changes that occurred in the former states of the SU and the countries of the Eastern Bloc have together been referred to as the

[1] My reasoning in bracketing the research timewise stems from the dynamic nature of the market. Because it is open to various impacts from without, such as the fluctuations in the world economy or changes in the EU legislation regarding migration policy and so on, the results of the research, despite their applicability for today, may require us to revisit and reconsider them in due course.

post-socialist/post-Soviet "transition". The changes implied by the term include major transformations such as the restructuring of the economies into market-oriented programs, and the establishment of parliamentary democratic systems as well as all other subsequent changes. For some scholars, however, the term "transition" has denoted a prescription for change in a single direction rather than an analysis of what has happened. In its place, another term, "transformation"[2], has been proposed with the anticipation that an alternative terminology could produce tools for considering alternative views of history or that an alternative term would at least leave room for pointing out other strategies that people on the ground might have coined while coping with the rapid changes they experienced.

Although I agree with the criticisms of the transformationists that a transitionist understanding predominantly treated the series of changes that took place as if they were moving only towards a normatively-defined Western democracy and/or market society and/or civil society, I nonetheless use the term "transition" throughout the research, though always in quotation marks. In doing so, my aim is to underline the impact of a teleology which suffused the postsocialist period and which I think is important in contextualizing the transformation in labor. Since this research aims to illuminate a series of remoldings that happened to labor as embodied by postsocialist domestic workers, it seems more meaningful to keep a "transition-ological" framework in the background as the point of reference.

2 For some critical approaches on "transitology", see Bunce 1995, Burawoy and Verdery 1999.

Today, twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is legitimately asked whether we are still in the immediate "post" moment of "the transition"[3]. Within the scope of this research, my answer is that, since the consequences of "the transition" are still discernible in the lives of the migrant domestics in Turkey, the time passed since 1989 has not necessarily lessened the impact of the "transition" to the point of irrelevance. At the same time I am well aware that once migration gets under way under any socio-political circumstances, it quickly turns into a lingering mode of living that transcends all the causes that initially triggered it. Therefore, it is very hard to tell what it means for the people who have been going through "the transition" to normalize again, especially when they have turned migration into a new mode of living. Consequently, it seems more apt to argue that, as long as the migrant domestics in Turkey continue making and living their lives across borders, their migration will continue carrying some ramifications of the abruptness of "the transition". At least this is true in the currently irregular and transnational form in which they do not settle down but constantly shuttle back and forth.

Even though "the transition" constitutes the background of the subject of inquiry here, it is important to note that the migration of postsocialist women into the domestic work sector in Turkey is not a uniquely postsocialist phenomenon. In fact it is one of the many examples to the "feminization of migration" (Castles et.al., 1998). This phrase describes a recent trend in international migration flows in which the women taking part have changed positions from being merely

3 That was, for example, the main topic of discussion at the annual SOYUZ (The Research Network for Postsocialist Cultural Studies) meeting in 2008, *Contemporary Critical Inquiry through the Lens of Post-Socialism*, at UC Berkeley.

secondary actors in family re-unification to being its actual, and possibly sole, initiators. Once these women migrants arrive in a host country, they are employed predominantly in fields ubiquitously considered to be gendered, such as entertainment jobs and sex and domestic work[4].

In part, the reason behind this flip in the traditional roles of men and women migrants from the developing world of the South/East stems from the restructuring of economies in the host societies in the West/North. Women's roles as the secondary actors of migration belonged mainly with an era between the Second World War and the oil crisis of 1973, when there was a demand in the West/North for the labor power of men from the developing world to drive industrialization. The postindustrial age brought an end to this structure. The post-1973 world is marked instead by other practices, such as the outsourcing of jobs to places where labor costs less or investment into other kinds of labor powers (Clough and Halley, 2007), for which the economic and social costs are expected to be as low as possible.

Whether to see the feminization of migration as a direct consequence of such structural transformations or not is a difficult issue to resolve. We should nonetheless see it as an outcome of the continuing will or need of some populations to migrate along some axis of development for economic purposes on one hand and, on the other, of a corresponding will or need in the capitalist centers to appropriate these populations as providers of services for the people

[4] Some scholars also include "mail-order brides" as an example to the "feminization of migration", partly to underline women's economic concerns in making such transnational marriages. Subjects like mail-order brides or trafficking in women however bring up those grey zones regarding choice and power and therefore need to be treated with caution.

living there. Feminization of migration, therefore, has to be read also as the feminization of labor power and/or at least a de-masculinization of it as mediated by migration.

Coming specifically to the topic of domestic work as a case of the feminization of migration, I therefore assert that understanding it should be possible only by treating it as a matter of (re)organization in production. Yet, in the literature (see Constable, 1997; Ehrenreich et.al., 2002; Pratt, 2004; Parrenas, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Lan, 2006; Zimmerman et.al., 2006), the role labor plays in the migration of women for domestic work purposes never receives the scrutiny that it deserves. This is partly because the literature treats domestic work purely as a distinct domain with its own dynamics, conducted only in the private sphere and only by women, that is a distinct realm with distinct actors and distinct practices. This then leads to certain fixed perception of how it can be studied. In other words, the "work" in domestic work is never treated as work per se, but only as domestic work, which is for the most part a series of interactions between the employer and the employee.

Interestingly, a close reading of the literature on domestic work, whether done by migrants or not, strikingly reveals many similarities in terms of the daily organization of the work and the experiences of migrant domestics. In terms of covering such details, this study offers little that another study has not already reported. The following chapters abound with stories about the daily conduct of domestic work that should resonate with cases from other studies. My goal, on the other hand, which I hope is also the strength of this study, is to revisit those daily

details of the organization of domestic work as conducted by migrants in light of a more conceptual analysis of the relationship between migration and labor. As these two realms cut across each other, they also create a power realm with dynamics that are both related to but also distinct from the two axes that brought them about. Studying migrant workers, then, requires studying them as simultaneously subjected to both of these processes. Their experiences can only be interpreted as those of migrants AND of workers.

This is therefore not a research of migration studies, per se. Throughout the study I stayed away from engaging some of the better-known questions or themes of migration including ethnicity, social capital, integration, or discrimination. My interest rather lies in understanding how migration and labor mutually foster each other. I approached the migrant domestics in Turkey not as a group of people who had to cope with the conditions of a new country but rather as a *population of laboring bodies* whose value changed as they moved from one location to another.

This research may therefore be said to be less about migrant women per se than about how a status of "migrancy" seems to have put a specific population of women into a position in which their labor gets valued in a distinct manner. More specifically, the migration of women into the Turkish domestic work sector may well be read as the way excessive (Baumann, 2004), entropic (Parisi et.al., 2000), or surplus (Scheper-Hughes, 2000) populations (which the new economies of postsocialism could not absorb) were let out. That way, the experiences of these labor communities can be approached as more than some people's unemployment

which forced them to find ways of earning their living wherever an opportunity emerged. I suggest that the transnational mobility of these women be treated also an alteration in the *value* of their labor when its means of production, their bodies, also had to transition from socialism to postsocialism in the age of neoliberalism. Their mobility may in fact be viewed also as a search that they took up while trying to relocate their value, which was deprived of its exchange-ability in the "transition".

In this modelling, migrancy works like a bracket that, as the migrant domestics pass through, also deprives them of the rights bestowed upon them as citizens of a nation-state and relocates them in a floating status of transnationalism. This new position then gives them the capacity to work flexibly, which is eventually revalued in doing professional domestic work, which creates the demand for migrant domestic workers in Turkey. The idea of capacity is critical for this study in order to illustrate that the demand for migrant labor is not about something inherent in the women of postsocialist origin. Rather, the demand for them is a consequence of their being positioned in migrancy, where they continue to live as actors "settled within mobility" (Morokvasic, 2004).

It is this status of being unsettled that is then translated into a capacity of laboring with distinct characteristics that I call "availability". This concept captures the flexible conduct of domestic labor as provided by migrants and consumed as their employers choose. Finally, what makes the extraction of availability out of migrant domestics possible is "deportability" (De Genova, 2004, p. 161). This alludes to a status caused by the created tension between the

state and migration, as labor migrants in Turkey continue living and working there undocumented. Despite the seeming efforts of the Turkish state to grant these women legal status through a series of legislation since 2003, the actual outcome of that official process has been an illegalization created directly by the state. When migrant domestics are denied a legal status that officially they were granted the right to acquire, migrancy then gets marked with the political rejection of a chance to belong to the social system in which the migrant domestics work. The outcome of this is that she has to live in Turkey for the length of her stay with the fear of possible deportation at any time. If deportation occurs, it means that she will lose all that she has invested in migrancy.

To recap, my aim throughout this project has been to explicate what happens when migration and labor crisscross each other at a certain historical period (of postsocialism), in a certain geography (Turkey as a peripheral location to capitalist Europe), and through a certain force (the bodies of the migrant domestics). To engage these questions the following chapters start off first by establishing the relationship between "availability" and "deportability". I first go over the gendered consequences of "the transition", especially as they were reflected in the realm of labor. Then, I exhibit what mechanisms emerged in Turkey that then created the demand for migrant labor specifically in the domestic work sector. Following that, I probe why and how availability is produced specifically by migrant bodies.

The next three chapters delineate the different versions of availability as it is practiced in three subfields of domestic work: Childcare, elder care, and

housekeeping in multi-story houses. My reason for displaying the different types of available labour in such a manner is to illustrate how availability is, indeed, a capacity that can provide the employers with a range of services with very different internal dynamics. Therefore in Chapter 2, I look at the organization of childcare in the presence of a live-in caregiver and try to establish the role of time in rendering availability. With elder care in Chapter 3, however, there are no traces of time. Here availability becomes all about a transfer of vitality from one body to another. Chapter 4 then looks at what role the recent suburbanization in Istanbul has played in the demand for migrant domestics.

Finally in Chapter 5, I display how deportability is sustained not through a discrepancy between the ways laws are scripted and then practiced, but precisely through the way they are written and then enacted. It aims to show the role that the Turkish state plays in perpetuating deportability.

The Methodological Structure of the Research

As suggested above, because my aim was to look at a historical "transition" as it has been reflected on the bodies of a certain population, I chose to trace this transformation by focusing on the value of the labor of migrant domestics. Value, as defined by Marx, does not have a substance of its own. It is rather an abstraction or an expression. What brings out the value of a thing is in fact exchange, through which the equivalence of one thing can be expressed in the form of another thing (Marx, ed Tucker, 1978, p.139). Gayatri Spivak (1996), however, criticizes this formulation of value for examining that which happens

between the two sides of the equation only in the moment of exchange. Spivak's argument is that value neither stays inherent as a thing moves from one end of the formula to the other nor happens exclusively during the moment of exchange. Her formulation is rather a contemplation of value and exchange not as bracketed moments but as processes that are diffused into all aspects of social life, happening in every realm and all the time. In this formulation a crucial key is her emphasis on the relationship between exchange and discursivity. As things are exchanged for one another, so are the meanings attached to them, which cannot in the meantime stay unchanged either. Creation of value through exchange, therefore, works rather like a chain whereby, as things are exchanged, the meanings surrounding them are simultaneously redefined, reproduced, and hence deferred. Spivak formulates this conceptualization of value as "value-coding" (Spivak 1999: p.103).

In those cases where the object of exchange is labor, its value-coding also becomes an expression of how the worker who embodies it is positioned in the global power structure. Following Spivak's formulation, in the research I envisioned the migrant domestic workers market not as a fixed structure but as a realm that was constantly in formation as the labor of the migrant domestics was being exchanged. This is not to suggest that the market was simply composed of a series of hiring or firing of domestic workers. As suggested in the formulation of value-coding, the exchange of labor was treated simultaneously as a subject formation. Therefore the methodological requirement here was also to disentangle the discursive constructions of these subjectivities in order to see what the

workers would *become* as they participated in the domestic worker market. In doing so, I looked at the actions of four main actors who together made up the migrant domestic workers market.

1) Migrant Domestic Workers of Postsocialist Origins: Because my goal was to track the process of revalorization of labor, I included women migrants of all the nationalities of postsocialist origin who are employed in Turkey in the sample population. This was an informed choice in order to study the relationship between migrancy and domestic work without seeing the former as only a derivative of a particular ethnic or national origin[5].

In collecting data on migrant domestics, I did not rely merely on interviews, since the migrant domestics of postsocialist origins in Turkey are mainly undocumented workers. As a result, I did formal in depth interviews with only 40 migrant domestics, of whom 22 were Gagauzi from Moldova, eight were from Armenia, six were from Bulgaria, four were Tatars from Ukraine, two were from Georgia, and one was from the Philippines. My data on the migrant domestic workers, however, have also been obtained from a ten-month period of participant observation in Istanbul between 2006 and 2007, when I made regular visits to the parking lots in Aksaray and Laleli, where migrant domestics gather in order to send off gifts and remittances to their families at home. I also sporadically attended Sunday masses at a Greek Orthodox Church in my

[5] I assert that a comparative research on the experiences of the different ethnic and national groups in the market will be more beneficial only when pursued as a follow up to the findings of this research, since the impact of national differences only follows up on the way a certain form of labor is commonly desired from all of them.

neighborhood where some Moldovans attend and at a Protestant Armenian Church in the Kumkapi area. I also attended birthday and tea parties and joined in small chats of migrant domestics as they gathered at play grounds, on buses, on ferries or on shopping tours.

The period of participant observation also included a trip to south Gagauzia in Moldova. The summer of 2005 I stayed in a labor-sending village for two weeks when I got to visit some of the Moldovan domestics that I knew from Turkey and their families and also to meet others and their families. The trip gave me a chance to observe life in a village that now for the most part relies on remittances sent from Turkey and to acquire a better sense of the psychology of all those family members left behind: the children, the men and the elderly.

2) Turkish Employers: In applying value-coding to the study of the employment of migrant domestic workers, I took the role the employers played in it to be of crucial importance, as they are the ones taking the most active part in the exchange of labor. Their demands, likes, and dislikes in terms of the domestic work that migrant domestics are put in charge of, are acts of decoding (Hall, 1980) of the performance of their employees. This, following Spivak, functions also as a means of relocating the subjectivities of the workers within the daily relations of domestic life. Unlike migrant domestics, I collected data on employers only through formal in-depth interviews. I interviewed 27 mothers who employed postsocialist caregivers, two mothers who employed Filipina caregivers, 13 residents of villas or large apartments, eight employers of

caregivers for elderly men, and 11 employers of caregivers for elderly women. In the case of mothers as employers, I made most of my contacts through four different email groups on mothering. I also followed all the correspondence on these lists between the years of 2000 to 2008 in order to deconstruct the rhetoric built around caregivers.

3) Turkish Agencies: Agencies also play a part in the value-coding of migrants. Their intermediation between workers and employers is also a work of framing the performance of the workers. I interviewed thirteen agencies that I contacted randomly through their ads on the daily newspapers. I also interviewed one nonprofit association for Crimean Turks in Istanbul about their intermediation between the migrant domestics and potential employers.

4) The Turkish state: The structuring of the migrant domestic workers market is based on the constant movement of the domestics among employers as well as between their home societies and Turkey. In this rapid movement, the role the Turkish state plays becomes crucial in determining the conditions upon which deportability is based. I therefore studied all the laws passed since the second half of 1990s that have affected the status of postsocialist migrants who were in Turkey for work purposes.

Chapter I: The "Availability" of Domestic Labor.

`¨[j]ust as real labor cannot be thought of outside the problematic of abstract labor, subaltern history cannot be thought of outside the global narrative of capital-including the narrative of *transition to capitalism*" (Charrabarty, 2007: 95).

"[p]art of what the creative history of capitalism has been about is discovering new ways (and *potentialities*) in which *the human body* can be put to use as the bearer of the *capacity to labor*" (Harvey 2000: 104).

"Follow the *bodies*!" (Scheper-Hughes 2000: 219)

When we trace the life stories of the migrant domestics back to their first days in Turkey, we find out that the sector first started in the second half of 1990s with two labor groups, the Gagauzi of Moldova and the Turkish speaking Bulgarians. Interestingly, despite the scope of the attention that the former group drew to itself from academia, the latter has for the most part been overlooked[6].

Understanding the establishment of the migrant domestic workers market in Turkey however first requires us to look at the context that it fused into. In fact, when women from postsocialist countries started migrating to Turkey in the second half of 1990s to take up domestic work, the idea of it all sounded very puzzling. At the time there was already a long established market comprised of indigenous women that seemed to be serving all the need for domestic services (Kalaycıoğlu et.al. 2001; Bora, 2005). The Turkish domestic workers came mainly from urban poor classes who had originally moved to the cities as part of a

[6] There are about ten studies that include masters' theses, doctoral dissertations and postdoc research, conducted in the last 8 years or so by Turkish scholars almost exclusively on Moldovan domestics. It seems to me that the Gagauzi of Moldova attracted so much attention because they fall outside the boundaries of "Turkishness" as defined in the official rhetoric. Turkish speaking Bulgarians, on the other hand, are treated as a sort of Turkish diaspora who just happened to find themselves outside the national borders of Turkey and thus who don't fall into the category of "foreigners". For more on these categories, see Chapter 5 and for a similar argument, see Parla 2007.

major rural-to-urban exodus that began in the 1950s when Turkey rapidly transformed from an economy of small peasantry to an increasingly industrializing one. Even though it was mainly the labor of men that was called on to participate in the rapid urbanization and industrialization, the women of same classes were also lured to take up professional domestic work in the (upper) middle class homes. For these women, domestic work rendered the only means for extra income since their previous work experience was typically confined to reproductive work or agricultural work that they had taken up on their family plots. As these first generation migrants constituted the first fully professional community of domestic workers in Turkey, the practice of employing domestic workers in time became widespread among (upper) middle class families.

An important factor to note here is the impact of the patriarchal ideology in the structuring of the Turkish domestic workers sector. Since this ethos can entitle the men to take control over their female relatives' lives outside the home, the male relatives can exert a tangible control over the professional lives of these women, too (Özyeğin, 2000:3). Maintaining a fixed opinion that a woman's true place should be her home, many such men would therefore be reluctant to allow their women relatives to work outside the home, even in conditions of severe economic hardship. One middle ground driven out of this limiting approach was allowing women to work in homes whose residents the male relatives knew, such as doormen letting their wives work for the inhabitants of the flats who lived in the same building.

This bounded availability of domestic workers by an overall patriarchal outlook has consequently led Turkish domestic workers to opt to work strictly as *live-out workers*. They took up mostly *cleaning jobs* in homes where they would regularly visit, like once a week or once every other week. Some women also did carework by visiting the same family more regularly, like a few times a week or possibly all week days. With many of them in cleaning jobs, some in care jobs and almost all of them doing their jobs as live-out's, the domestic work sector acquired and then maintained a specific structure for the second half of the 20th Century, until the arrival of the migrant domestics in the mid-1990s.

If the effect that the arrival of women migrants in Turkey brought on this structure of the sector was to be summarized in one sentence, it would be the (re)introduction[7] of *live-in domestic labor* to Turkish (upper) middle class homes. Ultimately based on turning a stranger into an insider of the family, the new live-in arrangement consequently induced numerous changes in the conduct of domestic work. The most important one of these changes was the introduction of a much more flexible organization of domestic work, which gave the employers more room for an easy customization of domestic work. The value of such a flexibility was tied closely to the rigidly aloof approach of the indigenous workers to work, in terms of their work hours, or what kinds of tasks they would not do (like caring for male adults) and so on. Eventually this difference resulted in the emergence of a new division of labor in the sector whereby Turkish domestics

[7] The reason why I call the employment arrangement of the migrant domestics a "reintroduction" will be explained in the Conclusion.

have continued working as *live-out*s and migrant domestics[8] started being demanded as *live-in* workers.

In laying out the dynamics that enticed the migrant domestics to work particularly as live-in domestics, there is also the need to pay attention to the transnational aspect of their status. Turkey has become an attractive destination for the postsocialist migrants partly for keeping up a more liberal visa regime at a time when Europe became the ultimate "fortress". While perhaps not the top choice for many migrants, the proximity of Turkey to the migration sending countries, which during "the transition" have suffered from a relative deprivation as being surrounded by some of the centers of the world capitalist system, nonetheless turned Turkey into the capitalist country nearby.

However, although entering Turkey is relatively easy for foreigners, living there in a "legal" and/or documented status is not. This then becomes closely related with why postsocialist migrants endeavor working live-in. For one thing, this type of an arrangement allows the migrant women to keep their daily expenses as low as possible, since they don't have to pay for accommodation and food when they live in their employers' homes. Second, the walls of their employers' homes shelter them from the insecurities of working undocumented, i.e. as "deportable". This then helps them to prolong their stays in Turkey much longer than in other occupations. Working live-in therefore fosters "doing

[8] Despite the wide variety in their background, the ethnic diversity of the migrant domestic is mostly insignificant in terms of the kinds of work they are employed for. Regardless of their national and ethnic background, all non-Turkish domestics are demanded first and foremost as live-ins. The relationship between ethnicity and live-in labour will be further elaborated on in Chapter 5.

migration" as the threat of working undocumented is mitigated while the migrant is safeguarded in the home of her employer.

The employer however can guard the migrant domestic only in a practical way since the latter is still undocumented *de jure.* In order to avoid the problems that come with working undocumented, one major strategy the migrant domestics have utilized over the years is leaving Turkey and then reentering it on some regular basis. This helps them to re-legalize their statuses in intermittent periods. Scholars studying these rapid migrant mobilities across borders have proposed different names for them, such as transnational migrant circuit (Rouse, 1991), transnational field (Basch 1993), transnational commuting (Morokvasic, 2004; Morokvasic, 2003), circular migration (Castles 2006), transnational peasants (Kyle 2003), all of which in some ways refer to a system of rapid commuting between places usually located in different nation-states.

No matter which terms are used to describe the migrant domestics' transnational mobility, however, their location vis-à-vis the nation state can only be depicted as a "dislocation" (Parrenas 2001). From a framework of citizenship rights and belonging, the state of migrancy turns the domestic worker into (gendered) "homo sacer" (Agamben, 1998) who lives in "partial citizenship" (Parrenas, 2001). As an actor who is "subject to the law but not subject in the law"[9] (Agamben, cited in Salter 2008: 367) the migrant worker living in partial citizenship can be overworked, exploited, arrested or deported but she will not be provided health care, the right to unite with her family or settle down. Migrancy,

[9] I thank Zeynep Kasli for underlining for me the importance of this Agambenian notion for migration studies.

as it strips the body of the domestic worker of its civil and political rights, moves her closer to the realm of *zoe* than *bios.* In the end, she is propelled to sustain her ties with both ends of her venture because in her home society she can participate only in the political realm but not in the economic one and in the host society, only in the economic realm but not in the political life. This constant deprivation of rights in terms of what she can and cannot access, which is determined solely on the basis of where she is located, thus compels her to shuttle regularly, ultimately settling her "within mobility" (Morokvasic 2004).

The argument above is also the reason why in this study I use the term "migrant" and not "foreign" to depict the status of these women. The latter is problematic for two related issues. First, the concept "foreign" denotes a position merely in terms of some negative relationship vis-à-vis the nation-state and sketches only a status of non-membership that is prolonged during the course of their employment in the host country. This approach, however, overlooks what their regular mobility in and out of the realm of state sovereignty facilitates for them in terms of employment and other subsequent opportunities. Secondly, in the specificity of Turkey, in a labor market that is composed of women from different nationalities that can however be alleged to have some historical ties to "the Turkish nation", who is to be deemed "foreign" and who is not, is not so obvious an issue and rather requires scrutinizing the official rhetoric and practices. As it will be shown later in the text, some of these groups in the domestic work market bear a historical potential to be deemed "less foreign" by the Turkish state vis-à-vis the others. Yet, no matter where they are from, because

all postsocialist women are hired on the basis of "migrancy", the latter concept should be accepted as that which gives them their ultimate identity for as long as they stay in Turkey.

The Availability of Domestic Labor

To reiterate, when a woman from a postsocialist country leaves her home to work as a domestic worker, she first enters the state of migrancy, which functions like a filtration device, stripping her of her citizenship rights and then turning her into a floating body of the transnational realm. In the next stage of her journey, her body enters the realm of the host state in a clandestine status and is "captured", so to speak, by some Turkish middle class family. Once the body of the migrant domestic is located in the (upper) middle class home, her labor then acquires a distinct form that I call **availability.**

The availability of the migrant domestics' labor refers to several factors. First, it alludes to a "hassle free" access to domestic labor. Earlier, hiring a Turkish domestic usually entailed a search through the personal networks of the employers in order to locate a "lady"[10] who was willing to take up domestic work. In the new scheme of things, however, the arrival of migrants in Turkey immediately turns their bodies into the commodity form. Since they cannot afford staying unemployed for long, they are anxious to be hired as soon as they arrive in Turkey. This basic equation of the migrant women's time equaling money and vice versa has then caused the flourishing of many agencies in the last ten years. In many cases, these agencies took up the function of intermediating and

[10] In Turkish the common way of referring to cleaning ladies is "lady"

matching between the new comer migrants and the potential employers, thus eliminating the need for employers to have personal connections that would give them access to the source of domestic help. With the emergence of so many agencies, therefore, the interval between the onset of need for domestic help and its fulfillment has turned very short, no longer than what it takes to make a phone call or drive to the office of an agency where there will be ample "available supplies" of migrant domestics.

The term availability, however, is used throughout this study more in reference to the way employers are now able to consume domestic work once it is filtered through migrancy and then taken in by a middle class home. Availability is to be conceived first as alluding to a form of *temporality* since the migrant domestic's job may be described simply as becoming an inherent part of the house/flat where she works for the whole duration of her contract. The standard contract of a live-in domestic, which is also the system used in European households (Anderson 2000: 42), is one of 6+1 that requires the employee to stay at home and be in charge of the domestic chores for six days and nights. She is then let off for one full day, which is usually though not always a weekend day. Since the off time is bracketed as a whole day, it indirectly functions to mark the rest of her time as when she is to be unexceptionally on duty. Such an arrangement replaces the idea of working hours by full working days and causes the removal of all the markers on a working day that determine when a shift begins and ends[11]. This is not to suggest that she is made to work all the time but that she is to be working *any time* of the day. In practice, it may mean working

[11] For a similar argument, see Tronto 2002.

very late into the night, very early in the morning, on weekends, and sometimes on what was earlier designated to be her off days or a combination of all of these arrangements. Her job involves being virtually on call all the time for any type of domestic task that is either routinely scheduled or may spontaneously arise.

The indefinite temporal boundaries of live-in domestic labor matter not only in understanding the daily dynamics of the work but also in deliberating on how migrant domestics become "cheap" labor. The literature on domestic workers generally asserts these women's foreignness as synonymous for their being tagged as sources of cheap labor, which is then frequently argued as the reason behind the demand for migrant workers (Cheng 2004, Chang, 2000; Sassen, 1989). This argument however overlooks a precedent question that Michael Buroway posed for another context of labor: "cheap (labor) with respect to what?" (1976). This significant intervention, which Nicholas De Genova transposed later as "cheap (labor) for whom with respect to what under what conditions?" (2006: 245), exposes the significant role the contextuality of labor relations play in determining the value of labor[12].

In the wage map of the domestic work market in Turkey, the indigenous workers are paid by the day[13] while migrant domestics are paid by the month. The difference in the payment plan of the two groups is a consequence of the different ways that work is organized for the two labor groups. One of the crucial things to pay attention to in understanding the employment of migrant domestics is that in many cases the net amount paid out of the family budget on domestic work as an

[12] For another study that shows how context matters in labor relations, see Salzinger 2003.
[13] Özyeğin (2000) also mentions of those Turkish domestics who are paid monthly wages. I would still argue that the basic unit of labour in the domestic work market is one day.

item of domestic expenses *increases* if the family was buying live-out labor only a few times a month (for example, two or four times a month, as many families do) prior to employing live-in labor. However, as working live-in is exempted from the temporal boundaries that would restrict it into working hours, it can now stretch throughout the day to include all types of chores. While the working hours become unbounded, more time can now be allocated in one single day for new tasks, which ultimately causes the cost per task to decrease. Therefore, with the switch from buying live-out services to a live-in arrangement, domestic labor rather becomes *cheaper*[14], while at the same time more of what were once deemed to be personal responsibilities for the employers get relabeled as the professional services expected from their live-in's.

Yet, my aim in using availability to describe live-in migrant labor is to go beyond contemplating it as a function of the changing relations of temporality in the domestic sphere. I claim that stripping the work day of its delimiting boundaries means as much of a *qualitative* change as a *quantitative* one that transpire in two distinct though related factors. First, the arrangement of live-in work fully nests the domestic worker's presence in the private life of her employer family and blends the social lives of the two parties in ways that cannot always be separated with ease. Despite some boundaries erected to detach the two sides when need be, such as the frequently observed practice of allocating a separate room and a TV for the domestic to retreat into when her services are not

[14] In January 2007, the minimum rate for migrant domestics was around $400-$450 a month, which had gone up from $250 when they first started working in Turkey in the second half of 1990s. A Turkish caregiver if she worked as a full time live-in would demand at least $700-$800 a month.

needed, the worker's full time presence in her employer's home life nonetheless introduces new dilemmas to grapple with. Such predicaments can range from moral ones like whether she should be invited to dine with her employer family every night, to more financial ones like whether she too should fly with them when going on trips or to more practical ones such as if her friends should be allowed for occasional sleepovers. While every household comes up with their own decision on what the new domestic arrangement should include, the organization of domestic life with a live-in employee nonetheless leads to the intertwining of personal conduct with professional labor relations for all households in unprecedented ways.

A second qualitative change that emerges with the switch to available live-in labor is the new expansive range of domestic chores. The potential that is opened up by the indefinite temporal boundaries of live-in domestic work does not only mean accommodating more domestic activities in number but also tackling a wider range of them within her daily routine. The most noteworthy consequence of this change has been the emergence of *care work* as a distinct realm of professional domestic work. Unlike Turkish live-out domestics whose responsibilities have clustered primarily around a different array of cleaning work, migrant domestics have predominantly taken over the role of careworkers and become an ethnic niche identified with the work.

The recent emergence of carework as a distinct field within domestic work requires further elaboration. Simply put, had it not been for carework, the demand for migrant domestics and/or live-in labor in Turkey would not be as high. Yet the

relationship there needs to be established subtly. Most importantly it did not happen as an already existing demand for live-in caregivers pulling migration towards Turkish middle class homes. Rather it was the unforeseen migration of women in the aftermath of the collapse of the socialist system that made what was until then only a latent need for professional labor power in carework, apparent. The underlying reason for this twist is that carework in Turkey has "traditionally"[15] been left with the realm of the family, which, in light of the well known dynamics of modernization, could no longer accommodate this function. It was with the sudden expansion of the migrant caregivers sector that this rupture became most visible. Unlike in the case of the European welfare state, whose gradual decline has been witnessed throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Turkish state for the most part has stayed away from matters of care, especially elder care, and gotten involved in it no more than it had to. Therefore, the arrival of migrant domestics and their willingness to work as live-ins both provided a flexibility that fit well with the requirements of carework and facilitated the middle classes to outsource selective parts of the work as they chose to, without, however, letting care escape the sway of the family.

To go back to the qualitative changes triggered in the domestic lives of middle classes when live-in labor was introduced, the juxtaposition of its two results, i.e. the complication of the dynamics of domestic life in the presence of a live-in employee and the emergence of paid carework, have consequently blurred

[15] By "tradition", I mean here neither a realm that has existed since time immemorial nor one that is outside power relations. On the contrary, the idea of women being "traditionally" in charge of domestic work is one of the most effective technologies of power that women in Turkey are subjugated to.

the contours of several differentiated realms that social life is structured upon: such as the separation of work and nonwork (Clough and Halley 2007), business and friendship (Mezzadra, 2005), the gift and the exchange, "work and leisure, private and public space, [biological] and political life" (Pratt, 2005). In its new live-in form, the intricate composition (Anderson 2000, Tronto 2002) of domestic work that was already being performed in a "zone of indistinction" (Agamben, cited in Ong 2006 p. 9), becomes all the more ambiguous. In this new live-in form, as work gets indistinguishable from nonwork, gauging the performance of the domestic worker in terms of time becomes impossible and rather requires us to evaluate than measure it (Negri 1999).

In order to "evaluate" domestic work, we need to take an exhaustive look at it with all its facets and intricacies. Whether we start scrutinizing from the side of labor/work or the daily interactions/nonwork, the two sides converge at one specific place, *the body*. In domestic work, the body has a multifunctional role as being its producing machine, and its display site, and its transmission terminal. Its ceaseless involvement in the different stages of domestic work prompts us not to approach it as an entity composed of predetermined compartments that are already known. It is rather more fruitful to evaluate domestic work by examining the body as composed of *capacities* which are revealed only "in the ongoing interactions of the body and its environment" (Gatens, cited in Grosz 1994: 12).

In fact, from a perspective of capacities, paid domestic work can very simply be described as eliciting certain services from the privacy of some bodies and then passing them onto other bodies. It is a process of fetching and extracting

capacities from the body (read nonwork, the gift, private space, biological life), for which they first need to be commodified (read work, the exchange, public space, political life) in order to then be streamed onto other bodies. To elucidate this procedure, we can cite a number of bodily features that will be garnered out of the body into the performance of domestic work, from the hygiene of the workers' bodies to their odor, from their talkativeness to their clemency or from their preferences in dressing to their public manners. Be it their behavior, their disciplining, or simply their flesh, figure or posture, different features of the inside or outside of the body of the domestic worker are always entangled in her professional performance. Evaluating domestic work then means scrutinizing and tracing which personal features are turned into what professional aspects of her performance and then passed on to her employers as services that they hired her for.

Examples of the commodification of bodily capacities can also be amply found in fields other than domestic work. Cases ranging from global trafficking in organs for transplant surgery (Scheper-Hughes 2000)[16] to blood donation in contemporary China (Anagnost 2006) to hair extensions[17] are all examples to the commodification of the bodily capacities. The common denominator in all of them and in paid domestic work is an objective to extract some vitality from

[16] Nancy Scheper-Hughes marks the route from rural Moldova to Turkey as also one for trafficking in kidneys, that is the route for kidneys "purchased" from Moldovan bodies and transplanted in their new owners in Turkey (Scheper-Hughes 2003: 1645 ; Scheper-Hughes 2004: 152). In my reading, this can be treated as more than some mere coincidence but as another example to how transnational affective passages emerge and deepen in the current neoliberal age. The other point to emphasize here is the simultaneity between Moldova's expiring of relative deprivation as a postsocialist country located on the outskirts of Europe on the one hand and its emergence as an importer of different kinds of affective capacities.

[17] Village Voice March 21st 2006 http://www.villagevoice.com/2006-03-21/nyc-life/hair-traffic/

human life for commercial purposes; one, because there is an economic demand for it to be transferred to another body and two, because it cannot be produced in any other way than through the human body.

Such "privatization" (Bauman, 1995) of the body is based on two basic premises; that there is nothing fixed about the "commodity candidacy" (Appadurai 1986: 13, also cited in Scheper-Hughes 2000: 193), and that "the body's own vitality [has become] a new frontier in the logics of capital accumulation" (Anagnost 2006: 525), all of which take us to what the concept "affect" aims to bring forth. My preference for using affect over emotions arises from a wish to contemplate the body without preconceived divisions. For many scholars, the theoretical proximity between affect and emotion may not seem all that much (for example, see Davidson et.al 2004). Massumi however draws the relationship between the two into a formula as emotion being "a recognized affect, an identified intensity as reinjected into stimulus-response paths, into action-reaction circuits of infolding and externalization- in short, into subject-object relations" (2002: 61). Other scholars have formulated affect as engagement and connection (Clough 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2010), cooperation (Toscano 2007), relation (Mezzadra , 2005), contact (Schultz 2006: 79), interaction or intentionality (Markussen, 2006) that occurs among bodies when they come together. Its roots in psychoanalysis present it as the "qualitative expressions of drives" that possess a capacity to create their own circuitry (Hemmings 2005).Regardless of which elaboration is taken, affect refers to an underlying relationality among bodies while they exist as autonomous entities. This

ontological relationality imagines the idea of interaction as working like a continuous transfer among bodies, whereby what exists in or on a body can be blended with another body in the manner of "infolding" (Rose, 1998: 37) as Gilles Deleuze might put it.

Such an idea of transfer among bodies also fits well with Elizabeth Grosz's formulation of the body, which she manifests as like a "Möbius strip", i.e. with the inflection of mind into body and body into mind, the body creates an inside as it creates an outside (1994: xii). Grosz's aim is to show that whether it is the Cartesian approach or the separation of psychology/biology, the natural/the cultural, the different conceptualizations of the body have insistently approached it as existing in supposedly separate domains and have overlooked the slippings in and out of corporeality. For Grosz, however subjectivity is always embodied (1994:22) and the body is always historical which makes such superimposed splits not possible.

This different reading of the body by affect, as the outside also composing its inside and vice versa, also helps us to do a critical reading of the other analytical tools used in the domestic work literature, such as "regime of labor intimacy" (Chang et.al. 2000, also see Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2007) or "emotional labor" (Hochschild, 2003; for an example to its use in domestic work, see Degiuli 2007). All these concepts may be said to be aiming to explain the commodification of the human body from new angles. Yet, I concur with another scholar of labor, Carol Wolkowitz (2006: 79) who points out the problem of the invisibility of the body in the emotional labor debate. Indeed, in this framework,

the body finds room for analysis only indirectly and only to the extent of being an object that is strictly controlled by the mind[18]. Its Cartesian approach, via a Goffmanian formulation of the self, locates emotional laboring in terms of a clear separation of the public realm from the private. Yet, there were possibly practical reasons behind this conceptualization of the body. Hoschild drew her original formulation from the experiences of flight attendants, whose professional lives are a perfect epitome of the separation between the private and the public. Flight attendants appear before passengers as already fully made up, in uniforms, and only for brief periods. The boundaries between the private and the public are already drawn for them and so they only have to comply by those boundaries. The realm of domestic work, however, is built precisely on the ambiguity between what is to be deemed private or public, which therefore calls for other tools than what the experiences of flight attendants have rendered.

The relevance of affect for a study on domestic work becomes especially more apparent when the focus is on its facet of care work. As in any other concept, there are different definitions of care that put their own emphasis on its diverse aspects. Some scholars, for example, argue that it should be seen as a practice limited to meeting other people's basic needs (Engster 2005). Others, however, suggest that the point of emphasis in care should be placed on the interplay that comes about when the needs of one are met by another (Bubeck 1995, Schwarzenbach 1987). One of the scholars of the latter approach, Bubeck defines care as "the meeting of needs of one person by another person where *face to face interactions* between carer and cared for is a crucial element of the overall

[18] For a similar criticism, see Theodosius 2006

activity and where the need is of such a nature that it cannot possibly be met by the person in need herself" (1995: 129). Her emphasis on the role of direct interaction, which she explains as the carer's giving of "her time and energy, attention and skill" (1995: 139) to meet the basic needs of the cared for, in fact appears much like the way affect comes about.

This line of thought in the care literature that emphasizes the role of relationality as part of care work can still be argued as occurring in a Cartesian mode. That is to say the interaction in question can possibly be recapped as the body serving what the mind directs it. Still though there seems to be a lot that the affect literature has to offer to the research on care. In the vocabulary of affect, care may well be defined as a biopolitical (re)production via the transfer of some energy of human vitality or life from the carer to the carereceiver. It can be seen as a process where the care receiving person absorbs the carer's vitality in the aim of continuing with the functioning of his/her body. Care, in other words, always involves a relationality that is intermitted by the body.

The Care Chain as an Affective Transfer

My proposition now is to retract this idea of "transfer" of vitality among bodies as seen in carework from a well known concept in the domestic work literature; i.e. "the global care chain" (Hochschild 2000: 131) in order to display how such a transfer may also said to be working as when seen under the light shed by affect. In its original version, the term expounds how the migration of a woman from the global South/East to the North/West for purposes of professional

carework causes a domino-like shuffling effect in the reallocation of domestic roles in all the families involved in this chain. That is, for example, the demand for a caregiver in a home in LA is simultaneously going to cause a grandmother take over the role of mothering for her grandchildren in Tijuana. To do so however the grandmother may need to transfer her domestic responsibilities to another daughter who may have to leave her job in order to get them done and so on[19].

I however want to take up the *chain* metaphor that Hochschild brings forth to illustrate the larger effects of the "feminization of migration" in another way and suggest that it is also a very useful concept to delineate how the families at one end of it are *materially* bound to those at the other end. The "matter" (Cheah 1996) that does the work of binding up these lives, which under different circumstances would not possibly crisscross each other, is the *body* of the migrant domestic. The chain metaphor helps us see how all that is transferred from one end to the other is as mat(t)erial as it can be because it is transmitted by the body. The body of the migrant domestic, when relocated in the home that it will be employed in, "becomes" an assemblage, conveying all that it possesses as well as lacks, ready to now meet the demands of her employers. Infolded with her body is her subjectivity that gets decoded by her employers throughout her employment, with which her labor and thus her own self get revalorized.

Once we reread the demand for the migrant domestics of postsocialist origins in Turkey as a decoding of their subjectivity as transmitted on/in/by their bodies, we see it happening in two major streams, one a "synchronical", and the

[19] For a good display of how the global care chain works, see the movie Babel.

other a “diachronical” transfer. With the first synchronical transfer, I have in mind a transfer of her *subjectivity as a homemaker*. The other diachronical one, on the other hand, refers to the transfer of all *her (professional) skills* which she has accumulated over time as having grown up and having worked in the formerly socialist and/or postsocialist system. The different institutions that she went through prior to her migration to Turkey, such as professional work and school, being organized under the socialist system subjected her to a different “disciplining” than of those living in capitalist systems. All of these she now retracts from those earlier times and renders her employers as part of her services.

To further elaborate on the conduct of first the synchronic transfer, what’s suggested here is a process by which the migrant domestic’s own personal life of being the caregiver to her own family gets decoded by her new employer family. The work of the migrant domestic is usually described -by the employers, agencies, even at times by themselves- as something that is not much different than what she would be doing at her own home. In between the lines here is an expectation that she can and should produce care altruistically, irrespective of whom its object or where its context may be. The migrant domestic is expected to perform affects as authentically with her employer family as she would with her own family. Such an anticipation that she should keep her role of being a mother, a daughter, or a grandmother but now perform it for another family that she is in a professional relationship with, ignores the relationality component of private ties. This disregard becomes all the more ironic, as well as strategic for accumulation of affects when we remember that this formula is procured by the arrangement of

the migrant's employment as a "live-in". Unlike the position of the Turkish domestic who works "live-out" because she lives with her own family in her home, the demand for the migrant domestic is contingent on the absence of personal entanglements during the course of her contract with her employer. The true objects of her affections should be left out of the picture in order for her to be employed as affect producers as it is demanded by the employers. What matters now is her *history* of affect making, i.e. whether she is married or not, how many children she has at home, how many siblings or relatives she has had to care for over the years, so that her employers will know whether their employee is someone capable of effecting similar personal relations for them, as well.

The employment of the migrant domestic then is based on a structural paradox (and hypocrisy) as one of the main components of her labor stems from her having a family (and being in good relations with them), yet having them in her life as little as possible for the period of time that she works in Turkey. What I want to underline here is that this is no longer a political tension between the nation-state and the state of migracy but an economic formula of extracting affective surplus from migrant women. The intricate formula aimed at is on the one hand ensuring that she is capable of showing maximum affection and caring for her employer household while on the other hand guaranteeing that none of her personal relations intervene or impede with her work in any way. She is to project her capacity of embodying the roles in her personal relations as authentically as possible, while however living with her employer family.

So going back to my interpretation of the “care chain”, the term in its original formulation treats the changes happening at the care-vending end, that is the real family of the migrant domestic, as a side effect or an unintended consequence of the demand for caregivers in the West/North. I argue however that this is not a side effect but *precisely* how the care chain is built to function. It is a stream that expropriates affects and then relocates them at the other end where they are demanded and then revalorized. It works only with a lacuna, a loss, *a lack* built in the way life is organized at the care-vending end of the chain, which is then translated into a gain for the employer family at the other end upon the transfer of the migrant’s body. The live-in domestic’s status of being sans all (private) family affiliations becomes an intrinsic part of her (professional) availability, even though it happens in an indiscernible way, much like the way surplus comes about in the creation of value. On the synchronic level then what the employer family aims to get may be said to be a work of caring that is much like mothering, which can only happen by a simultaneous loss of it by another family. The caring of a child or an elderly or a house or a dog, as by a migrant domestic, is only possible through a simultaneous deprivation of the circulation of similar kinds of affections in the caregivers’s own family.

The synchronic transfer as facilitated by the body of the migrant domestic is then further complemented by a second stream that then occurs in a diachronical mode. This is a revolarizaition of the migrant domestic’s capitals from the past. In this mode, transfer occurs across time as her past disciplining

and socialization of being a worker in the socialist system now fuse into other capacities that are valuable for her as a domestic employee.

A parenthesis is now requisite to probe what her past capitals involved. In terms of gender relations[20], the main characteristic of the communist system was an official commitment to have women fully incorporated in the public sphere. The implementation of this policy was elicited by two practices, the first of which was universal education. Free universal primary education was introduced in 1930s in the SU that was then turned into universal eight year education in 1950s and then secondary education in 1970s (Ishkanian 2003:481). Consequently over the course of the socialist system, and across the different countries that comprised it, the number of women who completed higher education either equaled to that of men's (Dudwick 1997), or even exceeded it in some places towards the end of the socialist period, like in Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia and Bulgaria (Fodor 2002). Once they completed their education, women were then obliged to participate in either manufacturing or agricultural work (Kandiyoti 2007) that perpetuated their participation in the public sphere. Just as in education, the employment figures of women across the socialist states were significantly high, such as 84.7% women in Bulgaria (Ghodsee 2004: 28), 80% in Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia (Fodor 2002: 371). In agricultural work too, where the state and collective farms of the SU employed over twenty-five million

[20] The disclaimer to state is that, even though women in the socialist system were a "special object of state policy" (Gal & Kligman 2000, 5) perhaps more so than elsewhere, I am not suggesting that there were no variations across time and space in terms of how this policy was implemented. As a research that aims probing the changes that women from a number of postsocialist countries went through as they were employed in the same labor market, however, I try to present a general picture of where they came from, as it comes through from a framework of labor and its valorization.

people (Bridger and Kay 1996), an important percentage of the workers were women.

There were however other facets to the high numbers of the educated and employed women of the socialist system. Throughout their employment, women would be placed mainly in auxiliary positions (Kandiyoti 2007, Dudwick 1997, Gal and Kligman 2000), or in jobs that were more reproductive labor-intensive, like those in the fields of education, health care and tourism (Bridger and Kay 1996, Gheaus 2008). In Azerbaijan for example, women comprised 77% of all employees in health and social work and 68% in education (Najafizadeth 2003:295). Therefore, the official policy on women's participation in public life did not in any way translate into one that would aim to redefine gender relations. Even a clearer example to this issue was the women's notorious "double burden" (Ferber & Kuiper), which described women's simultaneous positioning in the public and private realms, as well as a discursive construction of them "as both workers and mothers" (Ghodsee 2005: 27).

Following "the transition", women's position under the "double burden" of the socialist period was replaced by a "feminization of poverty" (Gal and Kligman 2000, Rhein 1998). As the economies of all the formerly socialist states went through a restructuring, women comprised the first and most of the widespread layoffs (Fodor 2002, Ashwin 2000). While there were many men who also lost their jobs, "the transition" for women significantly meant "the destruction of the 'working mother' contract (Zdravomyslova and Temkina cited in Zhurzhenko 2001 p.36). In the new course of the economy, women had to now

face a variety of problems, from unemployment to other unprecedented obstacles like age discrimination for those over thirty five (Bridger and Kay 1996: 23). At the end, the new system paved the way for a lot of women to retreat to being housewives, not only because they were now unemployed and had no other job prospects but also because the new economies terminated the reproductive support system, with many kindergartens, hospitals and schools now closed down (Ghodsee 2004, Gal& Kligman 2000).

In terms of its impact on women's labor, therefore, "the transition" created a new population of women who would be deemed obsolete in the new economies that it belonged with, who although would also be "overqualified" or "overeducated"[21] in comparison with many other poor women elsewhere in the world. It was this intricate synthesis that rendered the postsocialist migrants in Turkey the reputation that they now have. They are generally appreciated for their competence in dealing with all the different aspects of daily conduct. Even when that requires their full participation in the public life, with examples like contacting the care receiver's doctor, doing grocery shopping in the super market or serving her employers' guests, the migrant domestic's performance is unanimously praised. This high regard enhances more when it is observed in *difference* to the performances of the indigenous women in similar occasions.

[21]In understanding the meaning of the high numbers of educated women in the socialist system, one also needs to understand the difference between the functions of education in the socialist system and in a capitalist paradigm. For the latter, more and better education is one of the golden keys for upward mobility, which therefore impacts achievement on a personal level. In the socialist system, on the other hand, education was not a step towards developing a career -many would in fact be assigned to jobs following graduation (Bridger and Kay 1996: 28)-and so what a person actually studied would tell less about their formation than it would in a market system (Dmitrieva 1996).

Yet, rewind a little and we are reminded of the different reasons that led them to take up domestic work. The Turkish workers got professionally involved in domestic work in the absence of any social investments made for them that would have facilitated their participation in public life. They were therefore almost pushed into professional domestic work under a general assumption that for domestic work all it takes is being a woman and so even the poor or uneducated women can do it. Postsocialist migrants, on the other hand, as explained above, assumed professional domestic work following a past of having worked as full time, professional workers on top of being the sole homemakers of their families. The collapse of the socialist system also meant the end of a system that had once valorized them, which then left the women with very few options. Their educational formation, which under socialism would be succeeded immediately by a job, no longer rendered them a similar option. Yet, it sustained a certain value that could either be converted into other possibilities or could at least be used to fortify them.

The comparison here between the two groups of domestic labor power may said to be one in terms of the "human capital"[22] of the two groups. Human capital refers to all the formal education or on-the job trainings that a worker

[22] Ghodsee (2005) also makes a similar argument in explaining how those who worked in the tourism sector in Bulgaria did not fall into poverty in the way those outside it did. Her argument, based on another argument by Eyal et.al., is that "the transition" was about the nullification of certain past capitals of socialism (such as political affiliations with the communist parties in power) and revalorization of others, which in her case, as well as in mine, emphasizes the importance that the socialist education system played in the "transition" period. My problem with her work, however, is her interchangeable use of the concepts of "human capital" and "cultural capital" when referring to education. As I read my Bourdieu, the obtainment of "cultural capital" is much about what one is taught first in the family and then in school, which as a process distinguishes his/her class position. "Human capital" on the other hand is a term used to explain how the worker is trained/educated/moulded by the politico-economic system that s/he is in. In terms of making sense of how subjectivities come about, it seems to me that the two concepts are trying to capture different things.

receives for the specific aim of increasing productivity (Becker 1975). Ann Anagnost states that the crucial question on human capital is what new frontiers it enables capital to establish, while she also underlines its critical role in passing from industrial to postindustrial labor (2007). What I want to suggest here is that the postsocialist migrants' transformation from workers to domestic workers should not be seen simply as their "deskilling" as it is suggested for other similar cases in the domestic work literature[23]. My proposition is rather to read the shift in the position of migrant domestics as triggered by an overlapping impact of postsocialism and neoliberalism on their labor. While it was the collapse of the socialist system that replaced the women out of their jobs, neoliberalism seems to have subsequently opened a new window of "opportunity" for them. The end of the socialist system also meant that the human capital that they once acquired now possessed null value since there was no longer an opportunity for them to convert it to material labor[24]. And yet the skills acquired as part of that process could still be added onto their immaterial labor (Lazzarato 1996)[25]. While the conversion of human capital into immaterial labor does not by itself actualize available labor, its role in terms of valorizing availability however is crucial. Her sense of knowing how to manage herself as a laboring body then enables the migrant domestic to operate in ways that require very little intervention for the employers.

---

[23] For ex. Parrenas 2001, Chpter 6.

[24] For a similar observation in another context about how Moldovans came to see how their past skills no longer possessed any value, see Colombo 2007.

[25] By the move to immaterial labor, the suggestion here is not that the labor is now somewhat less material. Lazaratto's concept is rather a call to theorize labor, which is still as corporeal as in material labor, when its products are immaterial. While Lazarrato's primary focus is understanding the production of data as immaterial products in the post-Fordist economy, his theory nonetheless has applicability for domestic work as well. For a critique of immaterial labor, see Caffentzis 2007.

So perhaps what prompted the postsocialists' to go to Turkey was not merely a push epitomized in the postsocialist "feminization of poverty" (Gal and Kligman 2000, Rhein 1998, Fodor 2002). Perhaps it was also the convertibility of a past (socialist) human capital into affectively laboring bodies as well as a correspondence between their migrancy and the care deficit in Turkey that turned into factors inducing their mobility. Also that their journeys did not occur only as their physical relocations to Turkey but also as endeavors to change the course of their life histories -from being outdated workers of material labor of the industrial socialist system into novel producers of immaterial labor in the age of (postfordist) neoliberalism- when their bodies functioned as the converters of past accumulations into new values.

**

The demand for migrant domestics is therefore for their being an assemblage of different capacities, some conveyed synchronically from their own families, others diachronically from a past when they were disciplined into being full public actors. The end result is a subjectivity that is composed of a distinct combination of certain accumulations as well as lacks, which is then 'put to value' (Virno, cited in Mezzadra 2005 2005) as the women workers now work as domestic workers in Turkey. In the course of their employment, the employer takes on the role of stripping off any or all of those layers that constitute the subjectivity of their employee, depending on whatever services they demand from

her. It is this process of what the employers find in and take from their employees that the following chapters take on explaining.

Chapter 2: The Care of the Child

"'The King takes all *my* time', she says, a time that belongs to her therefore. But how can a time belong? What is it *to have time*?" (Derrida 1994, p.3)

How to Configure the Value of the Caregiver?

In an email sent on Oct 17th 2006 to the most popular email list on mothering in Turkey[26], a mother who is about to hire a Turkish woman as a caregiver writes that having read so many emails of other mothers that contain "horror stories" about caregivers[27], she is already very concerned about the possible experiences that await her. A few days later, another mother responds to this mail streaming anxiety that when evaluating such stories, the role of the employers should also be considered since they might be partially to blame. She suggests that employers often assign too many domestic chores to their care givers, with childcare being only one of them. Left to their own devices, the caregivers struggle to prioritize the tasks at hand based on their pressing importance as they see it, which may result in miscalculations, and eventually cause some of the problems employers experience with the performance of their employees. Thus, the mother advises fellow list members, to rather contemplate their needs and expectations in advance if they wish to avoid such problems: "Do you know what the crucial thing is here? Deciding for yourself what you want

[26] As of March 26th, 2009, the list had 4385 members. The same email list is also affiliated with a website that contains various types of information and essays on mothering. The website requests mothers to have their own accounts on it. As of March 26th, 2009 the total number of accounts on the website was 244,755.

[27] Such emails included stories about migrant domestics who frequently demanded their wages to be raised or others who had been discovered to be mistreating the care receiving children in the absence of the mothers.

your caregiver to be doing. This is the most important part. Do you *just* want her to *care for your child* or do you want her to be *in charge of domestic tasks as well* as childcare?"[28]

The advice here, although stated as a response to a specific question, is more of a general reaction to two perennial discussions on caregivers among the mothers on the list:

1) What services to expect from a caregiver? 2) How much to pay for them in return?

These questions present a conundrum for the mothers employing childcare for a particular reason. As Igor Kopytoff's reminder points out, any commoditization requires an equalization of the two sides to be exchanged (2004: 274), which therefore necessitates setting a "value" for one side of the transaction in order for the other side to then amount to it. This however becomes a complex issue when the exchange in question is paying for child care due to the peculiarity of the object of labour. How to gauge the value of the child is a complicated matter in many senses, which perhaps as a result is simply enunciated in public discourse as: "En *değer*-li varlık" ➔ "The most *valu(e)*-able being".

For a country with 19.5% of its total population being employed between the ages of 6 and 18, with about one third of them working in the agricultural sector[29], it may be best to cite this saying with some caution. Children have long been used as a source of labour power, especially for peasantry in Turkey, and many families continue this practice even today (Özbay 1991, Erkin & Rende

[28] Emphasis is mine.
[29] Turkish Statistical Institute www.turkstat.gov.tr

2005). Yet the hegemonic public perception of the child nonetheless declares it to be the most precious being for its family, which should strike resonance with Vivian Zelizer's work on the topic (1994) that delineates the genealogy of the child's gradual transformation into "the priceless being" in the early 20th Century. Her argument sets out a negative correlation between the material and immaterial values ascribed to the child. She suggests that as the former gradually went down, this resulted in the ascension of the latter. The material value mentioned here alludes to the child once being a source of labor in the United States, which has ceased when the child became accepted as a being of immaterial value. This, however, is not to suggest that there remains no relationship between the child and the market anymore but rather one which involves a delicate tension (Cook 2004:9). The more the child lost its role as the laborer, the more it became an actor of consumption (Cook 2004:12), since maintaining that newly acquired value inevitably necessitated making material investments into its life. Starting with the toys that help its cognitive development to the private schools that add onto its cultural capital, with much more in between, the priceless being in the modern world has become an object of economic investment in every sense in order to, as ironic as it may be, remain priceless.

If the 20th Century has become the "century of the child" (Ehrenreich & English 1978) through its "sacralization" as the "children's consumer culture" (Cook, 2004:10) expanded to include all kinds of objects and services necessary to retain its preciousness, "the caregiver" too needs to be seen as an "item" within

that consumption world[30]. Hiring a caregiver is also about finding a person with who the immaterial value of the child can be entrusted[31]. This means the caregiver by definition has to be someone who is able to maintain the physical, emotional, and cognitive well-being of the child (Rose 1999) to match with its preciousness. The job of the caregiver then is defined as rearing the child through a composite of knowledges, affections, and security to equal to that which would be provided by the mother, though without replacing or even threatening her central position of the role in the life of the child.

In this regard the problem mothers seem to be grappling with is the difficulty in figuring out how to remunerate this type of an immaterial form of labour with money, i.e. the material form of value. As the value theory of labour states, the latter is measured on the basis of time, which enables quantifying the corporeal. Labour, once measured in the units of time, is then converted into monetary terms, also a quantified form of measurement, and compensated back to the laborer as cash, also known as the wage paid to him/her. Time in this conversion process of value, plays the role of a crucial intermediary as it quantifies the body in the form of labour into a measurable entity.

For a job like care giving, however, time becomes an insufficient form of measurement for its affectively-intense content, which resists being assessed in mere quantitative terms. The affective aspects of care giving or of reproduction

[30] For a non-economic approach to the consumption of the caregiver by the child, see: Baquedano-Lopez, 2002.

[31] The immateriality here is in reference to the produce of labour, i.e. knowledges, affections, and security mentioned above and not the corporeality of the labour itself.

are abundantly recorded in the literature[32]. Yet, illustrating the affective aspects of care giving does not necessarily mean that time is no longer a relevant factor in valorizing the labour in question, as some scholars have suggested for affective labour (Negri & Hardt 2000). As this chapter aims to illustrate, in the cases of migrant domestic workers who are in charge of child care, the body of the migrant domestic becomes a tool that oscillates between the economic realm of the outside and affective realm of the home, converting the time system of the former into that of the latter.

Childcare in Turkey: A Brief Introduction

In Turkey, the 1980s prevision of feminist scholars like Sara Ruddick that women's role of mothering would in time change as fathers got more involved in the process, has not come into being (1980). The work of reproduction, be it the act or its management in the name of the family, has been and continues to be seen as a woman's job across all classes, ideologies and ethnicities. While the second wave of feminism that arrived in 1980's has had a transforming impact on some of the other realms in women's lives, the functioning of the family continues more or less as before, since the institution is socially and politically conserved as the hardest to penetrate into.

Turkey's relationship with women's rights is a difficult one, though an intriguing matter to decipher. Despite the patriarchal forms of oppression pervading the social life, Turkey went through a series of reforms with pro-

[32] Staples (2007) for one reminds us that the affective form of reproductive work has long been the specter of industrial capitalism.

feminist implications in the early period of the Republic, with examples such as the secularization of the family code in 1926 and the enfranchisement of women in 1934 -a relatively early date for women's political rights worldwide. Such political acts that at first glance appear to promote progressive gender relations, however, have been interpreted by feminist scholars more as "symbolic acts" (Tekeli, 1990) or "simulated images" (Kadıoğlu, 1994) rather than policy aimed at truly redeeming them. The Republican elites who enacted the laws were more interested in curtailing the preceding reign of Islam in order to move in the direction of Western modernity (Kadıoğlu, 1987).

Thus the statistical figures on women's employment in Turkey, which depict a similarly confusing picture at first, need to be read along similar lines. The women's overall labour force participation (LFP) rate for Turkey (24.4%) in October, 2007[33] is much lower than what the same figure is for the EU or even for the neighboring countries of the Middle East and North Africa (62% and 32% respectively in 2004) (ILO 2007: 16).The figures for Turkey get even smaller (18%) when only the women living in the four biggest cities (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Adana) are considered. On the other hand, the figure for the women who are employed AND are college graduates goes up to 66% in these four cities (Özar 1998).

The very significant difference between women's employment figures when education is inserted as another independent variable is caused by political factors which again date back to the first decades of the Republic. The political regime of the period chose to recruit the much needed professional elites of the

[33] Turkish Statistical Institute www.turkstat.gov.tr

new system in fields such as medicine, law, even engineering from among the women of the (upper) middle classes, rather than the men of the lower classes (Öncü 1979). When this class bias was compounded with the other gender-related reforms mentioned before, they resulted in the emergence of a dual track for women in Turkey, i.e. those who were given the means to benefit from the modernization of the Republic and those who were left de facto out of the same project.

This polarization between a small sized but powerful cluster of "emancipated" professional upper class women, on the one hand and all the "Other" women, on the other, has carried on for decades. Since women's liberation was defined merely by their access to the public sphere, the "double shift" (Hochschild 2003) of the "liberated" working middle class women never became an issue, until the feminists' challenge of it in the last twenty years. Having to manage all the aspects of their family affairs is therefore not a novel development for the middle class women of the 1990's. What has changed however is the emergence of new coping mechanisms within the constraints of their double bindings, especially at home.

Before proceeding with what migrant domestics have brought about to the lives of professional woman, it is perhaps best to locate them within the context of the transformation of professional domestic work in Turkey.

The Earlier Options for Caregiving: From Family Members to Filipina Nannies

Before the arrival of migrants, working (upper) middle class mothers' options in terms of childcare were confined strictly to getting assistance from two sources. The first and more common one of these was that of family members. Relatives' involvement in childcare should not however be seen necessarily as mutually exclusive with employing professional care. Especially in the case of working mothers, grandparents often take over a new responsibility of monitoring the work of the caregivers in the absence of the mothers, the significance of which will be explained later. It is also worth mentioning that family members' sole involvement in childcare can be a double ended sword. While on the one hand saving the family from the downfalls of the trust relationships they need to form with caregivers as strangers, it may on the other hand require them to manage their personal relationships in more subtle ways than they would have to in the case of professional employment[34].

The second option before the working mothers was buying the services of live-out Turkish domestics. In that case, the domestic worker would be paid by the week or by the month when she would work regularly for a single family. However, in the domestic work sector, the most lucrative type of work is "heavy cleaning" (to be clarified below) for different families since it is paid by the day and not by the month. When the unit of payment is the day, the worker makes more money by the end of the month. Consequently most women, who are willing

[34] I argued elsewhere that the reason present day middle class mothers are reluctant to accept help from family members is in order to avoid "bargaining with patriarchy" as it had been suggested by Deniz Kandiyoti (Akalin 2007b).

to go into domestic work, prefer working as cleaners rather than as caregivers (Kalaycıoğlu & Tılıc 2000, Özyeğin 2000). Those who have worked as live-out caregivers for children have profiles as housewives of lower income families, with grown up children, who want to earn some extra cash without having to deal with either the physical difficulties of cleaning homes or the stigma that comes along with the job. Even in such cases, the child care sector, when made up of indigenous workers, stagnated as a sector limited in scope as it had not truly found its niche of population.

Chronologically tracing the groups that have been employed specifically in the childcare sector, we see the arrival of Filipinas predating that of the post-socialist migrants, as the first migrant community working in this sector (Weyland 1997, Kumral 2007). They are distinguished from the other groups because they are hired strictly for child care, which has also facilitated them in maintaining their income at a higher economic value. Presently, Filipinas make around $800-$1200 per month because in the eyes of some families, their global renown lends them a brand-type reputation that is enhanced by their acclaimed knowledge of English. This makes them a symbolic asset preferred as part of an investment into the cultural capital of the children of those families who target integration into global power networks. Consequently, their employment has stagnated since it is largely demanded only by those families who are interested in investing in the future of their children in a specific manner. While the reputation of Filipinas' built around the above qualities has given them the highest financial value in the wage scale among migrants, it has simultaneously turned the demand for their

services into a type of investment that appeals only to a limited range of families. Similarly, for other families who are not allured by the specific composition of their reputation, their extra-expensive services do not offer much of a pay-off.

The Filipina case is relevant for comparison as in many respects it works in opposite dynamics with the postsocialist caregivers. As they are already hired for the attached symbolic tags of their knowledge of English and their world-wide demand in this occupation, Filipinas stand apart as the only community among the migrants of the sector that are employed strictly as “nannies”. The post-socialist migrant domestics, on the other hand, work as “caregivers”, the difference deriving from the work definitions ascribed to these identifications. While “nannying” makes the child the worker’s only professional responsibility, or at least makes it harder to have her take over other domestic responsibilities; in the case of “care giving”, the child is usually only the catalyst for hiring extra help, which soon leads to assigning other duties.

The suggestion here is not that nannying is exclusively a Filipina occupation but that their position in the sector is secured in a way that enables them to avoid taking over housework in an accruing manner. Filipina’s global reputation for childcare encompasses the bodies of the ones in Turkey, bestowing upon them a status as objects of upper scale consumption. Most postsocialist workers, on the other hand, lack similar packagings and therefore take over multiple tasks in the capacity of a caregiver.

The Postsocialist Migrant *Nanny* as the Exception

The postsocialist migrant's only option to indirectly counter the advantageous reputation of the Filipinas is perhaps the tale of "the nurse", who despite her expertise in the field of care back home, is now said to be looking for a job in Turkey. As this narrative circulates the market, perhaps more often than the actual number of nurses who have migrated to Turkey[35], it consolidates building up the image of the postsocialist women as those who "used to live in good conditions, were educated, but have lost their old opportunities and so have taken up this opportunity to earn money and have accepted this situation", as one employer mother once described them to me.

To illustrate how postsocialist women are pigeon-holed into the status of the care giver, I would like to take an opposite track and tell the stories of one of the only two women I got to know who managed to avoid getting confined to that status. I present her not as a case of anomaly but as a representative of a subgroup within the postsocialist migrant community, who have self-promoted themselves to a higher status within the sector through their own strategic steps in order to increase the financial value of their services.

Among the Moldovan caregivers I interviewed, Luda[36] was the only woman who firmly and repeatedly used "nannying" to describe her position. 30 years old and single at the time we met, she had been working in Turkey since

[35] Even though under socialism more women were employed in fields related with reproduction than not, this is not to suggest that all the postsocialist migrant women in Turkey made their past careers in nursing.
Listening to the stories of their lives, however, one may be tricked into thinking so. This is because migrant domestics are aware that claiming to have been trained as a nurse increases their human capital, hence their value, as caregivers. .

[36] The names of all the employers and domestic workers mentioned throughout the study have been changed.

1998. With a degree in pedagogy (her words), or kindergarten teacher education (my guess)[37], she chose to come to Turkey as she was making about $50 dollars a month working simultaneously at two schools and was not even paid regularly. Having started off with a wage of $250 when she first started working in Turkey, she initially switched between caring for the elderly and children but then chose to only do childcare. She explained her motivation in making her decision by her will to avoid doing monotonous work as opposed to doing cleaning every day. Yet this switch also meant a significant increase in her income. At the time of our interview (early 2005), she was making $800 a month (I was told by her friends that this was later raised to $1000, although I have not had this verified by her). When I pointed out the significant increase in her income over the years, she responded with an impish grin and said "Well, I was not *quite* a nanny back then".

During our talk, Luda showed that she was adamantly opposed to the employers' tendency to have their employees do housework in addition to carework:

> This is utterly wrong. Some people are trying to economize out of our work but if you are hiring someone for one position, also make her work in one position. Someone working in an office would not be responsible for the cleanliness of that office too, for example. They would just need to focus on their thing. But this does not apply to working at homes, unfortunately. If you make the mistake of showing them what you are capable of, they easily abuse that. This is so disheartening; they use your good will against you.

When I inquired whether this had happened to her as well, she responded:

They wanted to, at the beginning, but I did not let them. When we were discussing the terms of the job, I clearly stated I would not do anything else. But of course,

[37] I actually found out from a friend of hers months after I finished this chapter that the education she was referring to was the vocational high school that she attended.

when they were pressed for time, I helped them a little. But then, when she said 'well, you are good at this, I would like you to do (the cleaning) from now on, and I will let go of the other (cleaner) lady', I said to her 'excuse me, but tending a child entails a lot of responsibility. If you would like your child to be reared well, you need to let me use all my spare time with her'. If I wanted to do cleaning or cooking, I would get myself a job as a cleaner or a cook. They did not like what they heard of course, but the grandmothers supported me. The families I worked for were all wealthy. They had their own gardens and pools and everything, which required me to run after the child non-stop. I needed to be overcautious. So we talked, trying to understand each other. I always tried to handle the matter in a constructive way.

Once again, I shared Luda's story not because it was a typical example in my sample but because it was not. What distinguished Luda from the other migrant caregivers I got to know was that she envisioned herself the least within the transnational flows of migrancy[38]. Enunciating how much she missed being in Istanbul when she was home in Moldova (usually for brief periods only), she announced that in the future she wanted to settle in Turkey. Most migrant domestics, on the other hand, often live in the transnational realm of regular shuttling between home and Turkey. As commonly seen in most migration experiences, including Filipinas, settling in Turkey happens only de facto, while the discourse always suggests an eventual return home- an event that is however constantly deferred. Nonetheless most migrants do come to their employer's home with a possible date of return, depending on their nationality and visa status or their specific family circumstances. If the two sides can indeed form amicable ties and wish to continue their professional relationship, her next time(s) in Turkey can be "reserved" by the employing family before she even leaves. Even in the cases where there is a smooth relationship between the two sides, there is an

[38] For further elaboration on the term "transnationalism" see Chapter 4.

expiry date to the migrant domestic's services that are acknowledged by everyone; families often arrange to replace her with an acquaintance of hers. The migrant domestic thus carries her temporary-transnational identity on herself the whole time she remains in Turkey.

A second factor that distinguished Luda was her critical reading of the mechanisms of the market which she then applied to her life. One strategy she utilized for example was accepting to stay unemployed while between jobs in order to specifically find childcare work for wealthy families. Most postsocialist migrants, however, make their decision of whether to accept a job opportunity or not, based on the wages to be paid immediately and whether that amount will be worth doing the type of work being asked of them[39]. Since childcare already holds a slightly distinct place in the scheme of potential jobs for the migrant women (to be explained at the end of the chapter), Luda's strategy stands out: she chose to share an inexpensive apartment ($200/month) with a friend to have a place of her own, in order to endure the possible waiting periods in between jobs. For the migrant domestics, the passing of every single day without a job is the equivalent of being in deficit that needs to be kept to a minimum in order not to go bankrupt (i.e. finishing all their money) or go out of business (i.e. going back home empty handed). In some cases, migrants even lie about their return dates to their new employers when they are first hired, telling them that they will not be going home for a while even if their return is scheduled a few months later; since the latter is a length of time too short for the employer to employ a new person but too long for

[39] The criteria utilized to quantify domestic work include inquiring about the size of the apartment/house, and the number of children to be in charge of.

the domestic to spend unemployed in Turkey. Consequently this general inclination of the migrant women to perseveringly get employed leads her to be known as ready to be hired for *any* kind of domestic job, much different than Luda's strategy of presenting herself as experienced and trained, specifically for child care. In contrast to Luda's self-marketing as an expert in her field, the general profile of the postsocialist domestics is being simply a woman who can do what "any woman" can do.

To restate, the job of a "nanny" is defined (by herself, her agency or her employer, depending on the situation) as giving intensive care to the child's mind and body, which latently delineates the work as constantly and intensely accommodating its "priceless" state. Consequently her work costs a higher price to the employers. A "caregiver", however, who is also called by some employers a "domestic assistant" (*yardimci*) or an (older) "sister" (*abla*), is not by definition consigned with protecting the sacredness of the child. While the family reserves the job of retaining the child's sacredness, the caregiver job is rather to *accompany* it in the absence of the parents, although many times under the surveillance of the grandparents. While the how's of its cognitive development is already preplanned and produced by the toys and games they provided, the caregiver's job is to enact the role cast out for her while in the meantime the child develops its motor skills. The caregiver is to act out more or less what the mother would be *performing* had she been home, which then braches out to include the daily tasks as well. As the caregiver's job is critically detached from the child's

sacredness but defined to include the mundane tasks of the daily domestic life, the material value of her labour performance indisputably drops to a lower level.

The Postsocialist Migrant *Caregiver* as the Rule

In the practical terms of domestic life, the caregiver is the person upon whom the accruing "daily tasks" can be imposed while the nanny is exempt from this, although both are technically employed to be in charge of the child. "Daily tasks" are a crucial part of the caregiver's responsibilities, which are commonly interpreted as all those tasks that need to be performed regularly to retain the domestic order of the home. While what counts as a daily task may change from home to home (though a suggestive list would include ironing, doing the laundry, making the beds, cleaning the bathrooms, tidying up the common areas and dusting), they would best be summarized as those activities that are NOT performed as part of the "heavy cleaning". Unlike the daily tasks, the latter is defined as an intended disruption to the material order of the home for a temporary period (usually a full day, each week or every other week), when the furniture is moved around, the vacuum cleaner is turned on for an indefinite period, the curtains are let down, the carpets are cleaned, just so that the home can go back to its state of order and cleanliness again until the next scheduled time of this regular disruption.

Unlike heavy cleaning, the daily tasks can be performed without disrupting the normal order of the home. This is perhaps one of the main reasons why daily chores are never perceived as work -read Production- as the home

never has to give up its status as the private sphere of reproduction while the chores are performed. Heavy cleaning, on the other hand, may be viewed as a phase when this private status of the home is given up and temporarily turned into a workplace; order is disrupted and an outsider, i.e. the live-out cleaner, is involved. Even many of the families who employ migrant domestic workers for child care, continue employing Turkish domestics for the work of heavy cleaning as "live-out" workers. Since heavy cleaning is a bracketed activity, the live-out form of the labour works well with this part of domestic work. The regular rental of the worker's labour for this specifically defined segment of domestic work marks the live-out Turkish domestic as a worker, since the boundaries around her labour can be defined more clearly, distinguishing her work from that involved in the home-making activities.

To illustrate the division of labour briefly, below is an excerpt from an interview with an employer. When I interviewed Defne, she was in her late 20's and had a one year old boy. Doing jewellery designs in her own studio for her husband's silver firm and doing free lance consulting on marketing that was her original field of expertise, she mostly had a fairly flexible schedule.

> When I am not home, Zena looks after my son and helps with the small chores at home. For example, she is in charge of ironing too, but we also have a (Turkish) cleaning lady who comes once a week. The cleaning lady does all the thorough cleaning, getting into all the nooks and crannies so what is left for Zena is to keep track of our daily lives. This means cleaning the bathroom every day, for example, and keeping the kitchen clean and preparing the salad for dinner. I usually do the cooking, but she prepares the ingredients in the day, and I also showed her a few small dishes, like lentil soup so she can prepare simple things too. Other than that, she keeps track of the washing cycle, and if the apartment needs to be dusted, she does that. But she never has to do things like putting out the carpets and shaking them out.

Imbedded in the tone of Defne's voice, as well as in her detailed description of the current division of domestic labour in her home, was an assurance that her migrant domestic's extra responsibilities could be labeled only as daily life and not work. Executed in a scattered manner throughout the day, the chores were not so intensive as to exhaust the migrant domestic. They could be done while the migrant domestic was not attending to the baby whom she was primarily in charge of.

Assigning responsibilities to the migrant domestic in a sporadic manner is in fact the indirect consequence of a simple yet crucial factor. Unlike the Filipinas or the Turkish domestic workers, they are willing to work as "live-in" help. Trying to save money in what they imagine to be a limited period of time, working as live-in domestics helps them both to cut down their daily expenditures and also hide under the secure roof of the middle class home as they work undocumented.

Availability as the Initial State of Working Live-in

Except for some cases[40], the uninterrupted presence of the migrant domestic inside the home as the live-in worker is a novel experience for the middle class family. While this new addition to the household holds the potential to become a problem for causing a rupture to the private realm of the home and its "sanctity", the presence of the migrant domestic also provides an unprecedented

[40]What I have in mind here is the case of "adopted daughters" (evlatlık kizlar) which will be explained in the Conclusion.

possibility that can be transformed into an advantage for the employers, on the other. This "advantage" comes with the form of migrant domestic's labour, which I have called its being "available". While there are both quantitative and qualitative aspects to the migrant domestic's availability, this chapter is going to examine availability in terms of the its quantitative aspects.

In the measurable terms, availability of domestic labour is a function of time as in being available round-the-clock during the course of her contract. When a new employee is hired, the terms of the oral contract[41], which are already set by the market and consented by the two sides, states that the worker will work live-in for the family six days a week. In return, employers have to allow their workers to take off either a day time or a full day (day and night) a week, depending on their mutual arrangement. When granting permission for how long the worker may be gone every week, the determining factors are contingent on how sympathetic the employer is towards her worker having a life of her own[42]. More specifically, this means considering factors like whether the worker has relatives or friends whom she can stay over at or whether her employers find those friends or relatives reliable or not.

Since in this arrangement her workplace is also where she lives, the migrant domestic's work programme can include any time of the day. In the case of caring for babies, for example, she can possibly be on duty not only during the

[41] Since migrant domestics work undocumented and are therefore "illegal" (see Chapter 4), the only binding thing between the two sides is their word.

[42] One of the biggest challenges for the employers in working with a postsocialist migrant is their potential "promiscuity". Because migrant domestics work as live-in's they spend most of their time in their employers' homes. However, their off days has an "entropic" function for the employers since that is the only time the workers can get together with others than their employer families, which means their "boyfriends" who are usually some married men.

day but at odd times as well, like very early in the morning, or all night. While the daily routines can change from family to family, the unchanging rule is that the migrant domestic's time is to be organized in a way that will be in sync with the schedule of her employer family and most importantly that of the mother's. What distinguishes childcare work from the other work options for live-in labour is the central role *the employer mother* plays in its management. While on the one hand the caregiver's job is to make up for the absence of the working mother during the day, the working mother is never absolutely gone, on the other, since she comes back at nights or is there by other means, like the phone or through her parents' gaze, to monitor the caregiver's work or its lack thereof. In other words, the caregiver is compensating for the absence of the mother, while still under her ceaseless supervision.

The working mother is usually remembered by the multiple roles she has to tote (Hochschild 2003). Yet there is a deeper level beyond those multiple roles that she juggles that needs to be considered separately. What lies beneath the predicament of the working mother is not just her multiple roles but the different *temporal logics* that those roles are embedded in. Unlike the clock time of the outside where time is structured in measurable equal units that precede and transcend any activity, domestic life runs around "process time" (Davies 1994: 278), "domestic temporality"(Everingham 2002, p. 342) or "body time" (Twigg 2000:100), which is paced according to the needs-fulfillment of the family members. These needs can often be enmeshed with the processing of multiple other activities, which makes it hard to completely separate and order them so that

they can be measured and substantiated. Since clock time is the ubiquitous time system which the working mother has to abide by, along with everyone else as she pursues her professional life, the exceptional needs-centered logic of home will require her to carve out her schedule to "make [that] time" first (Everingham, 2002: 338), before spending it.

Suffering from the difficulty of carving a different temporal logic out of her schedule, the working mother hires the migrant domestic as a live-in almost as a physical tool, i.e. "matter" (Cheah 1996), to substitute for all her (potential) absences. Since the domestic's only possibility to be connected with the world outside is contingent on her employer's permission[43], unlike her employers her availability-round-the-clock is not constrained by the temporality of the outside. She can therefore function ceaselessly as within domestic time.

The migrant domestic's clear location in domestic time places her at a much more advantageous position to her employer as well as her indigenous colleagues. The Turkish live-out worker's life is too torn between the two temporal realms similar to the problem of the employer. With constraints like the school schedules of her own children, or the working hours of her husband, the whole time that she is working to fulfill the domestic demands of her employer, she too is bound by the temporality of the outside. As the domestic life in the employers' home clashes with the fluctuations of the competing loyalties in the

[43] Besides their "promiscuity", cell phones are the other entropic features of the labour of migrant domestics. While working live-in means that employers have almost full control over who their employees is likely to get together with (except on their off days), the cell phone is the tool for the migrant domestics to connect with whomever they wish to. While this may be read as a simple and given point, my argument here is to read the significance of circumventing certain relations of employment through a device like the cell phone as a way that the migrant domestics have developed in order to cope with the employment relations that they are subjugated to.

employee's life coming from the outside, they eventually decide to switch to a live-in (read migrant) domestic in order to reclaim their full dominance over the special and temporal composition of their home.

Below is an excerpt from my interview with Nalan, a twenty-nine year old working mother with a two year old girl, whose narrative about how she eventually switched from a Turkish live-out to a migrant live-in thoroughly captures the main dynamics behind the demand for migrants in the realm of child care sector.

> [After the birth] I first tried a Turkish lady and saw she couldn't take the responsibility of even the house, let alone a child. Being at home full time for the next 3 months after the birth, I saw that she was really someone who had in mind going home as early as possible after she did some work, just to save face. Seeing someone who kept saying "I have to go", even when I was really in need of her help, it did not look very promising for us. She would come at 9 a.m. and start getting prepared for going around 1 o'clock and wanted to leave at 2 p.m. In a house with a baby, it is obligatory to stay at least till 7.00-7.30, not to mention the evenings when I have, say a meeting or a social activity on a week day. That is, our expectation was that she would stay till 11 p.m. sometimes. She said "I have kids waiting for me" etcetera and we realized that the right formula for this was a live-in person. I mean somebody who did not have this *problem*[44] of going home in her mind. A person who knew and accepted the fact that she would live in our house six days of the week and would know that the seventh day would be her day off and would happily take her leave on that day. We had no objection on that point, because it is her natural right, not even sufficient, that is only one day a week. Of course, it is very difficult to make this live-in formula work with Turkish people.

"The Housewife" as Flexible Availability *par excellence*

For the employer mothers, availability provides them with what they were primarily in need of: a specific temporality embodied by the migrant domestic on their behalf, which allows working mothers to switch between the two worlds of

[44] Emphasis is mine.

the outside and the inside without taking a risk of any kind in either of them. Yet availability lacks a form and thus requires a molding process, which changes depending on the type and context of the domestic labour. In the case of child care[45], the different temporal logics of the home, especially in the presence of a baby whose needs must precede all other activities, requires someone to not just be "available" but to be "flexibly available" to move amidst domestics tasks *as* they emerge.

As domestic time ontologically works in a potentially ambiguous manner, the managing of the labor that is to function in domestic time can be done in one of two ways. Either the employer can give instructions to her domestic every single time something comes up, or the domestic worker can be expected to respond appropriately to the needs of the home or the child without intervention. The first strategy however still requires the mother to carve out domestic time from her own schedule whereas the second strategy allows the mother to gradually hand over all the doing and planning of the physical work of the home to her employee. Consequently the mothers *try* to anchor their domestics to a position that they themselves held previously, one in which all of domestic work is expected to be done out of love and not of obligation.

The reason behind the common preference of the mothers to hire a worker, who is herself a mother, as many have underlined that they did in the interviews, perhaps stems from an unvoiced hope that earlier experience of mothering may have taught all women to manage the domestic life in a more or less standard way. The employer mothers express the belief that when their employees are

[45] See Chapters 2&3 for the other types of live-in domestic work.

mothers, they *naturally* know how to cope with unplanned incidents. Hiring a mother may even have a second function that reinforces the first. An experienced mother may be more apt to sympathize with her employers whom she sees as juggling her manifold roles, to the extent of embracing the home where she works *as her own*. This strategy seems to be one of the implicit functions of the infamous statement "one of the family" that has been long condemned by scholars of the topic (Romero 1992, Bakan & Stasiulis 1997). If the migrant domestic's being "*of the home*" that has been attained by her availability, can in fact be turned into her being "*for the home*", then the flexibility of her available labour power can be managed without the employer mother having to instruct her on every single issue.

In the practical terms of home life, this means that the employee is encouraged to claim the tasks that come her way as her responsibility without needing to be reminded, and try to solve them not out of obligation, but simply as an altruistic response towards her employer family. Drawing the migrant closer into the relations of the family conflates the boundaries of work and personal obligation and gradually eases the workload from the employer mother' shoulders.

> I told you that a Turkmen woman had worked for us. She used to do the cleaning and everything *on her own initiative*. After all, she would say, '*Don't I live here, as well*? I, too, want this place to be clean.' For example, she would empty the shoe cabinet and clean the whole thing, after I came home from work. That other one, however, I mean the one who worked here for seven months, she would go to her room and lie down, after I came home" (mother of 2-year-old boy, early 30s, banker).

As seen in the words of an employer above, mothers' expectations from the domestic worker appear to sketch someone more like a "housewife" than a professional worker who although is paid, is nonetheless expected to do her work for non-monetary motives. In return for sharing the private realm with her employer family, she is expected to claim the tasks within the domestic sphere as her own responsibility and to problem-solve herself without viewing it as work.

The "housewife" referred to here is both a real person doing the tasks at home, as well as an idealization, "a concept metaphor" a la Spivak (Anagnost 2004: 196), which is imagined to possess a capacity to anticipate all tasks and leave nothing unfinished. In the contemporary world "the housewife" as a social role may have lost the allure that it once held as the main form of identification for women--at least among the upper/middle classes. Yet the hegemonic perception in Turkey regarding her indispensable role as hearth of the family still persists across economic classes. Therefore, even for the so called "liberated" women of Turkey, the repudiation of this concept metaphor that haunts them seems to be possible only by outsourcing the role to someone else. The idealization of a woman who makes it all ready and possible for everyone at home, which has long anchored the working mother to embody it, is now to hound the migrant domestic in her place. The working mother tries to project this idealization onto her employee, not just through her demands but through the appreciation or criticism of her performance. How to *become* the housewife is "reiterated" (Butler, 1993) throughout the daily life or as Grosz suggests, like a "possible future, a temporality in excess of the present and never contained within

its horizon" (Grosz, 2003: 144). It is then disseminated as employers recommend migrant domestics to one another or exchange them, turning the housewife into a norm by which the domestic worker is evaluated.

The irony in all this, although Judith Butler once reminded us that "bodies never quite comply with the norms by which their materialization is impelled" (1993, p. 2), is that from the perspective of the migrant domestics, the complete package of child care work is the least liked job among their possible options. Migrant domestics are well aware both that the acclaimed "preciousness" of the child makes it an entity that is very hard to handle and also that this affectively intense work will certainly include housework, as well. As the surveiling gaze[46] of the mother (read the Reiteration of the norm) ceaselessly aims to tag them with her expectations, the migrant domestics try to avoid these employment relations as much as possible, by choosing to tend the elderly, an area in which employment relations follow a very different course (see Chapter 3). In spite of their employers' efforts to turn them into their personal housewives, migrant domestics hardly ever forget that this is professional work. While they enjoy being treated as "one of the family", this in no way sways them from their ultimate priorities of earning as much as they can for their own families back at home. Hence employers often are dazed and confused by incidents in which they are disappointed and misled by their employees, in spite of the personal relations that they have claimed to form with them, as the following excerpt from the interview with an employer illustrates:

[46] This is suggested literally as well as metaphorically. A highly popular mechanism of checking on the acts of caregivers is using tape recorders and hidden cameras that are installed at homes and at day care centers, as I found out in my interviews with mother employers.

I tell all of them at the beginning "We go to the summer house in the summer so we won't be in Istanbul for a month or two. Do you accept this?" "Ok, no problem" they say at first. And so this summer we got our tickets for the Bandırma[47] ferry. "Look, we are going, tell your husband about this, you are coming, right? "Ok, I am coming, no problem". And so I got her outfits, swimming suits, flip flops, everything. "Do you swim?" "Yeah, I swim". Her outfits are all bought and ready, then she took her day off and never came back. And we were left with the swimming suits and the Bandırma tickets. It was impossible for me to manage by myself there with two children. So we changed all our plans and did not go to the summer house this year at all.

All in all, it seems that the normative iteration of the migrant domestic as an altruistic housewife vs. the materialist reaction it provokes from the workers "conflate the distinction between gift and commodity exchange" (Tober 2001, 140)[48]. Gift relations in the Maussian sense allude to the formation of social connections that emerge through social interactions, which are inaugurated with an initial giving and maintained with the expectation of an eventual receiving. Yet, the question here is, whether the relationship between the employer and her domestic worker can truly have a nature of gift relations? How can the employers' desire for the other side to fill in a social role, which they were once compelled to overtake and yet now wish to abandon, be exchanged in the form of gift relations? When the employers describe what they get from their employees as "the ultimate indulgence of the working woman", do the things they give back, i.e. some old clothes or just treating their employees nicely (an act by the employers which they repeatedly underline almost as something extraordinary) actually reciprocate what

[47] A ferry that shuttles between Istanbul and the south coast of Marmara Sea, which is preferred by the holidaymakers for cutting down the distance to drive while going southwest coasts of Turkey.
[48] For another study by the same author with a similar theoretical approach, see Tober 2007. Another kind of circulation that problematizes the blurry distinction between the commodity exchange and the gift is international adoption. As an example for that, see Leifsen 2004. Finally in the carework literature, a similar argument is made by Wang, 2002 who writes about caregivers for the elderly in the Taiwanese context. I came across Wang's work after I finished writing this chapter.

they are seeking to acquire? When it comes to employment of childcare, can there be true reciprocity?

Perhaps what employer mothers desire is gift relations not in the Maussian but rather in the Derridean sense: a giving without reciprocity, a giving that is not perceived as gift (1994: 16) a giving that is based on a "desired forgetting, not as a negative experience therefore, like an amnesia and a loss of memory, but as the affirmative condition of the gift" (Derrida 1994: p. 35). The (upper) middle class employer desires the migrant domestic to embody "the housewife". However at the same time she wants her receiving of this gift to be forgotten, in the same way that she once was expected to forget about her giving of her reproductive labor, until the arrival of the migrant domestics. Reproductive labour, as time and affect and its role in production, as time and affect, has always been "forgotten, invisible, hidden, secret, ghostly, infinite, double, obverse" (Staples 2007: 144), making its doers appear to be "naturally" in charge of it. Its present outsourcing, while changing the actors in an unprecedented way, with the inclusion of new racial/ethnic and class elements, nonetheless retains the main dynamics of the roles cast out.

The employment of the migrant domestic as a caregiver for the child thus becomes an oscillation between the clock time of the outside and the domestic time of the inside. She lets the employer to constantly move back and forth between the temporal orders of the two worlds without allowing the organizations of the two worlds to clash. The migrant domestic makes the employer *have* all the different kinds of time as she needs it, which however is going to matter only in

the case of the child and not in that of the elderly, as the next chapter will illustrate.

Chapter 3: Living with Granny

[T]he very idea of organ scarcity …is an artificially created need, invented by transplant technicians and dangled before the eyes of an ever-expanding sick, ageing and dying population. And it's a scarcity that can never under any circumstances be satisfied, for underlying the need is the quintessentially *human denial and refusal of death*. (Scheper-Hughes 1998:14)

On Dec 26, 2007, the Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan went to see the blockbuster film "White Angel" with his wife and daughter. Directed by the famous singer Mahsun Kırmızıgül in his debut, the film was about a group of senior citizens living in a nursing home. Leaving the theater emotionally overwhelmed, the prime minister made a quick statement, urging people not to "abandon" their elderly relatives in nursing homes[49]. Firm in his stance, a few days later he instructed Nimet Çubukcu, the state minister for women and family affairs, to draft legislation that would allow the government to pay monthly wages to families caring for their elderly relatives in order to avoid their having to send those relatives off to nursing homes[50].

At the time this text was completed, the government had not gone ahead with the legislation. As a matter of fact, it is highly unlikely that they ever will, since Erdoğan's personal outburst on the issue contradicted the policies of his political party, which was nothing unprecedented. Since it came to power in 2001, AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-Justice and Development Party) has had to walk a tightrope line many times before on similar matters in order to keep its economically neoliberal and socially conservative agendas in synch (Buğra 2007).

[49] Hurriyet, 27 Aralik 2007.
[50] Aksam 03 Ocak 2007.

There are several ironic elements in Erdoğan's outburst that stem from the contradictions between the two foundational bases of his political stance. First, despite what his reaction might suggest, nursing homes are only an exception to the general practice in elder care in Turkey. The more commonly accepted moral conduct decrees rather that the family to be in charge of it. If Erdoğan had in fact taken a quick look at the figures on nursing homes, this is what he would have come across[51]:

Nursing Homes (as owned by)	**No. of nursing homes**	**Capacity**
Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHCEK)	72	7,569
Nonprofit foundations and associations	34	2,486
Minority associations[52]	7	991
Various ministries (for their retired civil servants)[53]	6	2,442
Municipalities	19	1,990
Private	109	4,503
Total	**247**	**19,981**

Table 1

This table makes clear the low number of nursing homes for a total population of over seventy million people. This fact becomes even more striking when we keep in mind that the population in Turkey, as elsewhere, is aging. While the percent of those age 65 and over to the total population was 5.5 in

[51] Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHCEK) - shcek.gov.tr
[52] Nursing homes owned and run by associations of the minorities in Turkey, which refers to the Jewish, Armenian or Greek communities, as they are the only officially acclaimed minority groups in Turkey. .
[53] This is a result of the corporatist tradition in Turkey, by which civil servants have always been treated as the most privileged group among workers.

2000, it became 5.9 in 2005 and is expected to be 10.6 in 2030[54]. In real numbers, this means an elderly population of over 400,000 people for today. Comparing that number with the approximately 20,000 people presently in nursing homes makes it apparent that, despite Erdoğan's concerns, "sending off" elderly relatives to nursing homes could not be an escalating trend. Even if there was a will for it, there are not enough places to accommodate more than a small fraction of the elderly. Furthermore, the establishment of private nursing homes, where about 20% of the total number of people who are cared for in institutions stay, was only legalized in 1997. Until then Turkey maintained what might be called a "Darülacaze" approach, which refers to the first modern public institution of community care in Turkey. Darülacaze was established in 1896 in Istanbul (in what was then the Ottoman Empire) in order to provide care and accommodation for the abandoned and homeless poor (Özbek 2004). Despite being a singular example, however, its founding ideology has been maintained as the epitome of the official perspective on elder care. Even today a main criterion for admittance to all the nonprofit nursing homes, such as those owned by SHÇEK, municipalities, or different foundations, is "social and economic deprivation"[55] which requires certification prior to admission that family care is not an option for an elderly person.

Therefore, neither the film "While Angel" nor Erdoğan's subsequent compassionate statement is actually based on attentive observations about a changing perspective on the role of nursing homes in elder care. Both are rather

[54] www.oecd.org Country Statistical Profiles-Turkey
[55] www.shcek.gov.tr

reflections of a notorious stigma in the Turkish cosmology of these institutions as being locations of abandonment and desolation. What's more, keeping this stigma alive has facilitated the state's getting involved in elder care only minimally, since the sustained ideology on the issue simply deemed the family to be "authentically" responsible for all kinds of care. With the aging of the population, however, elder care became a more apparent issue that necessitated the involvement of new institutions. However, since this need emerged at a time when the hegemonic perception all around the world was for the state to disengage from its welfare responsibilities as much as possible, rather than taking on a position on elder-care related issues, the Turkish state chose to channel the work to different actors who were willing to take it. For those who could afford it, there were now different private firms to go to for elder care. Besides the newly legalized private nursing homes, a second alternative was facilitated by a law passed in 2005 that legalized the establishment of firms which would provide medical homecare for the elderly[56]. On the other hand, for those who lack both the financial and the social means to receive care, different local municipalities (mainly those governed by AKP or its predecessors) have been providing home-based community care assistance since the 1990s. In Istanbul, for example, the Metropolitan Municipality, which has been governed by AKP or cadres of its precursor political parties since 1994, has provided health care to needy senior citizens free of charge since July 2002. Their official records state that between 2002 and March 2008, this service has benefited 3406 people.

[56] www.evdebakim.org.tr

All in all, the main irony in Erdoğan's outburst seems to be its coincidence with the emergence of a novel "aging enterprise" (Estes 1979) in Turkey, partly thanks to the policies of his government, which has made it virtually impossible to "return to the family" in the sense that he conceived it. Moreover, his reaction missed an important component of this new enterprise of which the other actors in the aging enterprise were well aware. When a nursing home was opened only two blocks from my home in Istanbul in late 2007, their logo at the main entrance read as "Do not let the *foreigners* tend our elderly!"[57] Likewise, when the Home Care Association, established in 2005 by firms in the private homecare sector, held its second national convention in Istanbul in April 2008, the main topic was how to prompt the Ministry of Health to make the necessary regulations so that the government would subsidize private homecare through the national social security system. The speakers, who included administrators of homecare firms, insurance companies, and nursing associations, argued that, without compensation from the government, homecare was bound to remain an expensive service that only well-off families could afford, which would then steer many families to choose the "cheap" labor of *the foreigners*.

How effective these appeals of the private institutions to reorient the recent developments in professional elder care are yet to be seen. In the meantime, buying the services of "foreigners", i.e., the migrant domestic workers of postsocialist origin, for elder care has been increasingly normalized in the collective perception of the urban (upper) middle-class families. To illustrate this with an intriguing example, *Masalların Gülü Dedem*- Grandpa, the Rose of Fairy

[57] http://www.nezihhuzurevi.com/katolog.html

Tales- (Edis 2002) is a children's book about a young boy whose family hires a Moldovan caregiver when his grandfather gets ill with Alzheimer's disease. The Moldovan lady is put in charge of caring for the young protagonist and his grandfather while the boy's parents are at work. Through the eyes of the young boy, the caregiver is described as someone who talks Turkish with a funny accent and occasionally has problems understanding some words but is otherwise a kind-hearted and understanding person. Though not a bestseller in children's literature, as a cultural artifact the story nevertheless marks the current position carved out for the postsocialist woman in the Turkish society: the default caregiver for the (upper) middle-class elderly people.

The Experience of Caring for the Elderly

"How do you get the motivation to come back and work for the same employer if those people have not shown you any affection?" Tanya asked me as I was taking a sip from my coffee after the lunch that she had prepared using the remains of dinner from the night before. We were sitting on a balcony that overlooked a stunning view of the Bosphorus. Stepping into such a gorgeous apartment for a visit that my interviewee had arranged on her own initiative made me wonder whether listening to Tanya would indeed add to my research or actually contaminate it with an anomalous case, since she looked so comfortable living and working there. I was aware that other Moldovan domestics who knew Tanya too also had mixed feelings about her job, though in their case jealousy

was a major factor. For them, she was among the few lucky Moldovan caregivers who worked in a home that paid relatively well even though the work was not excessively demanding.

After dropping her question on me, Tanya went on to talk about her employer's plans for the summer. She and her employer were first going south to her employer's summer house in Bodrum[58] for a few weeks and then they would spend the rest of the summer at her other summer house in Büyükada[59]. Altogether their plans certainly sounded lavish for anyone living in Turkey. While thinking to myself that I would have to tag Tanya's story more of an extraordinary one when transcribing my notes later on, she began talking about the hardship of working as a live-in even under the most indulgent of conditions:

> It is not that I don't like going to Bodrum with her. We go swimming; we eat our lunches together. She treats me very well. It is not anything concrete. But spending time there is not easy, because then you can't take a break because you have nowhere to go by yourself and that means you can't ever be yourself. I mean she is all nice and everything but she is, after all, my boss and I have to act a certain way around her which becomes exhausting, too.

Tanya's job was somewhat different from what the job of elder care is usually thought to entail since her employer was not ill or physically incapacitated. Her employer was a seventy-year-old lady who lived in that stunning two-hundred-square-meter apartment, decorated all around with paintings ranging from still lifes to one of the Green Mosque in Bursa[60]. She was

---

[58] A popular summer resort on the Turkish Aegean Coast.

[59] The largest of the Princes Island in the Sea of Marmara, a close by summer resort to Istanbul that is somewhat reminiscent of what Hamptons is for New York.

[60] A mosque in Bursa built between 1419–1421 that is known for its beautiful architecture and embellishment. For more, see Necipoglu 1990.

the niece of the husband of an old and very prominent Turkish classical music performer. It was not hard to tell that she came from a long-established family. Prior to her employment there, Tanya's employer had been employing a Turkish couple as live-in workers. The latter, however, quit their jobs when they had a baby. In other words, Tanya was not her employer's first live-in domestic.

As Tanya and I jumped from topic to topic, I was feeling ready to overlook my obligation to stay completely alert for that day and enjoy the warm sun and the coffee instead. Then when Tanya went on to tell me about the dental implants and other orthodontic procedures that she had that year and how there was still more work to be done, it suddenly hit me what was really sucking me into that state of ease. Tanya, 31 years old at the time, a mother of a 12-year-old boy, was not just a beautiful woman but also a very a well-groomed one. Her haircut and outfit were in vogue without being showy and became her as a pretty woman with radiant green eyes. Tanya was more than her just a "presentable" domestic assistant, something which I had heard some employers state as an important factor that they look for in potential hires. She looked almost like a statuette amidst the many art pieces displayed in the living room. Having already become disoriented in my own assessments for that day, I found myself trying to imagine some of the other migrant domestics that I had met throughout my research working in that flat with their full figures, short boyish haircuts reminiscent of a bygone era, auburn-colored hair that they dyed at home, and gold crowns in their mouths that immediately denoted their identities[61]. I had met or

[61] Golden crowns are probably *the* corporeal signifiers of a postsocialist past in Turkey. Throughout my interviews with the Turkish employers on how the Turkish police were able to

seen many migrant domestic workers from Moldova, Crimea-Ukraine, Armenia, or Turkmenistan who had some or all of these bodily features while they were employed as available workers. Yet, because of all the unaesthetic corporeal "obstacles" just mentioned, very few of them would blend with the texture of the apartment the way Tanya seemed to do so successfully.

Except for the periods that she took to go back to and stay in Moldova, Tanya had been working for the same employer for five years. There had been no plausible reason for her to change her employer as she was working in a nice environment, paid decently within the market range, and was doing work that she herself described as not hard. What's more, "she was liked there", as she stated herself, an important motivation in going back to the same employer, which was different from some of the other places where she had worked before and where she was "merely an employee". That's why her responsibility towards her current employer also involved reciprocating the affection that she received. Her job was perhaps more that of a domestic employee who could also fill in the shoes of the "daughter of the home". Besides serving her employer and her employer's guests, she was also supposed *not* to create an effect of anomaly and alienation in her employer's lifestyle the way many professional domestic employees possibly could, as they come from different life worlds, traces of which are always marked on their bodies in some way. It was perhaps this smooth blend of Tanya with her

---

apprehend undocumented migrant women when they were just sitting in parks or walking in the street, one of the answers I was consistently given was that these women could easily be recognized by their golden teeth. Furthermore, my colleague, Mine Eder, told me that in her research on Moldovan migrant women in Turkey she found out that some domestic work agencies made the women change their golden crowns to white crowns to avoid both the police and possible negative reaction from potential employers. I thank Eder for sharing this information with me.

employer's presentation of herself through her home that reverberated in me that day, through which I ended up feeling more like a guest of the "daughter of the family" than of its employee.

Fast forward a month now to when I spent a full afternoon with a migrant domestic from Armenia who was in charge of caring for an elderly Armenian-Turkish lady. Prior to the interview, I speculated that the Armenian caregiver had agreed to talk to me only to appear not impolite to the gentleman who had arranged for my visit, an eminent personality of the local Turkish-Armenian community. The interview, however, took about five hours during when the batteries in my tape recorder died, so I had to switch abruptly to taking notes. The length of the interview was due to her willingness to talk ceaselessly, which made it impossible for me to find a time to thank her and ask permission to leave. Every time a topic died away she eagerly tried to come up with a new one in order to then tell me all about it. She seemed willing to chat for as long as possible to alter the routine of a work day that normally seemed to pass gloomily and dully.

Ani Hanim was a 56-year-old woman. She had worked for 20 years in a factory as a technician designing machine parts. After the collapse of the socialist system, she received unemployment pay for nine months, which was very little. Then for a year she worked as a cleaning lady at a day care center in return for her son's attendance there. Seeing that her future prospects were rather limited, she decided to go to Turkey. Initially she took jobs at a sweatshop where they manufactured shoes. While doing volunteer work at a local Armenian Church, she found her present position where she worked as a caregiver for an eighty-

something woman who lived alone. Ani's employer had osteoporosis and therefore she was not able to move around by herself. She would spend the whole day lying on the sofa in the living room looking around. She also had dementia which made her scared of being left alone. This then made life quite difficult for Ani, since every time she left the room, the elderly lady would start screeching her name nonstop until Ani came back to reassure that she was not gone. Her mobility was restricted immensely even when she was home.

What marked Ani's employment as different from the average experience of migrant domestics in Turkey was having her son living with her. At the time of the interview, her son was fourteen years old and worked as an apprentice at the shop of a Turkish-Armenian goldsmith in the Grand Bazaar. When he was seven, his mother tried to enroll him at the local Armenian school. However, since the Turkish laws do not permit undocumented migrants to enroll in schools[62], it was only the principal's initiative that allowed him to sit in class for the first two grades. The principal, however, later changed his mind and chose not to extend his decree as he feared that such an act could result in the closure of the school[63]. After that, Ani was left with no other choice than to get a job for her son, which she did with the help of some local Armenian-Turkish acquaintances.

Even though the children of live-in workers are often perceived as the fetters of the employee's availability, Ani's employers, i.e. the children of the

[62] While I talk about the details of working undocumented in Turkey in Chapter 4, it is important to state here as well that this is an example of one of its many repercussions.
[63] Though I know of only one case, it seems that there were many similar examples of this. In 2006 the Turkish-Armenian community appealed to the government to allow the children of the undocumented Armenian citizens to be enrolled and educated at the Armenian schools in Turkey, but they were turned down.

elderly lady, had no such a concern. Ani's care receiver would lie on the sofa all day, and no one else lived in the apartment who would be bothered by the caregiver's son. The elderly lady's daughter lived in another district, and her son, who would come to Istanbul only once a year, lived in the United States. The different physical proximity of the siblings to their mother's home played itself out in how they shared the responsibility for their mother's care. The daughter was in charge of the more practical aspects, such as sitting with her mother when Ani took the day off every Wednesday, while the son paid the caregiver's wages. For both of them, however, Ani's availability more than made up for the potential liability of his presence. They did not, therefore, object to his presence, which gave Ani's experience a very different dimension from the average experience of live-in elder care.

Converting Availability into Elder Care

Although having her son live with her might have made Ani's case special, everything else about her work environment was quite usual. In many cases, an important reason for the demand for live-in migrants in elder care is the care receivers' spatial dissociation from their close relatives. The popular rhetoric suggests that "the typical Turkish family" is predominantly the extended type. Yet, social historians date the emergence of the nuclear family back to 19th Century (Behar and Duben 2002). Since then, the marriage of children has in many cases not resulted in an enlargement of the family but rather marked its fission into separate entities. Nonetheless, many newly married couples live close

enough to retain some regular contact, which seems to have evolved into a statistically visible third form of family that interweaves the internal dynamics of both the simple and the extended family (Özbay 2005). In other words, many urban families seem to have developed the practice of living in separate residential units while at the same time keeping a contact amongst themselves on a regular basis. Thus, when some extraordinary incident occurs, such as the death of a spouse of an elderly person or some illness or injury to him/her, the new circumstances do not (necessarily) lead to a reunification of the family. Many people prefer their elderly relatives to continue residing in their own apartments for a number of reasons. Doing so leaves the elderly person with the power to oversee his/her daily life routine, a sense of security, and a means to retain marks of his/her identity in daily life (Miligan 2003; Twigg 1997).

Living with their employers as part of their jobs, both Ani and Tanya were therefore responsible for providing some combination of services. Their daily routines resembled one another in many ways. Simply put, they were both available workers in charge of making life easier for the ladies with whom they lived. Yet, not everything was the same for the two caregivers. The biggest difference between their daily routines was the involvement of a third party that I call the "care managers". These are the close relatives of the elderly person who are in charge of overseeing how carework is performed for their relatives without, however, being involved in the actual physical work[64]. Care managers may be responsible for a number of things that include occasional visits to their elderly

[64] For a similar definition see Resonthal et.al. 2007: 761.

relative's home, monitoring their health, finding them caregivers, and either paying their wages or overseeing the payments. While in many cases it is the children of the elderly person who find themselves placed in this position, different circumstances may require a spouse or other close relatives like nieces, nephews or siblings to take the responsibility as well.

In the cases of Ani and Tanya, the presence of care managers in the picture gives the comparison between the professional experiences of the two women a different appearance. In Ani's case, she only had to meet with the people who employed her from time to time, which saved her from giving them account on a daily basis. In Tanya's case, however, her care receiver and care manager were the same person, i.e., the elderly lady she lived with. This then turned her circumstance into that more reminiscent of those in childcare, since she was subjected to a more direct monitoring by her employer than most migrant domestics in elder care are. What made her job arduous was being subjected to the much vivacious lifestyle of her employer, who, when she was not traveling herself, would host her own dinner parties, all of which first and foremost meant work for Tanya. In these circumstances then, Tanya's job was not just confined to an affective servicing of her availability, but also an emotional performance in the Hoshildian sense as well, since her well-groomed presentability also needed to be continuously maintained. Tanya's job was more reminiscent of the performance of flight attendants, but in her case her performance needed to span a much longer time. Her performance of emotional labor was a part of her affective availability that, however , unlike in other cases of live-in carework, intensified more on the

surface of her body, thus turning her job into being as much about appearance work as availability. This would then impede her "being herself" for the course of her employment, as she herself noted.

Ani, on the other, did not have to intensify her performance on the outside of her body but rather had to "live" with her employer as if she were in her own home. Staying with her care receiver but away from her care managers allowed her to have some private life, something usually denied to migrant domestics. In a way, she was able to pursue her life as fully as migrancy would allow any migrant domestic, since her son accounted for most of it anyway. Not having her care managers involved in the daily routine of her work meant that she did not have to fine tune her daily behavior intensively in order to appear as a profusely congenial employee. While extremely discomforted by having to live with the same old woman for so many years, she was, however, also aware that her chances of getting employed in another place where she would be allowed to have a similar kind of "private" life were very slim. Therefore, she had no choice other than to look after her current charge for as long as possible, no matter how depressing it felt living there.

While there is no such thing as a typical case of elder care by migrant domestics, it is still worth stating that my observations and interviews have revealed a picture that is more reminiscent of Ani's case than of Tanya's. Many times the situation is one of a caregiver and a care receiver, who share the same apartment and spend their time as contingent on the state of the health of the elderly person. Because caregivers are demanded more often than not at a stage in

the elderly person's life when his/her health is deteriorated, she/he is more likely to be spending all or most of his or her time lying in bed. Timewise then doing "work" in elder care may include a lot of sitting around, which gives it a notorious reputation for being a kind of job where the worker is paid a lot without however having to do much.

The Work of Elder Care

In this unstructured form of elder care, the role that care managers acquire is determining what should constitute their employees' daily routines. Although on a rhetorical level this is communicated as keeping the elderly person's life in an "orderly" state, in practice it translates to two-fold work. The first of these involves the maintenance of the apartment that the elderly person and her caregiver live in. Interestingly, if the care-receiving elderly person is not competent to decide for himself/herself what this maintenance is to precisely include, the content of the work is likely to be defined only in some vague terms. Unlike in family life where the maintenance of the apartment is laid out as a meticulous task involving the famous separation between the daily chores and the heavy cleaning (Chapter 1), in the case of elder care a similar kind of work is discursively positioned only as some vague opposite of "not orderly", without dwelling upon what that is supposed to involve. Although once again the live-in caregiver is assigned the role of a domestic manager, much like a housewife, in elder care there is no reference to time or to anything else that would lend it some form for that matter. Following Mary Douglas's suggestion that "dirt is the by-

product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter" (1984: 35), the detailed organization of life around forms of cleaning and hygiene for childcare and its lack thereof with elder care, is strikingly revealing for understanding the function rendered to ordering vis-à-vis the different stages of life. In the case of elder care, the targeted ordering is really no more than avoiding disorder. Compare this with the meticulous organization of childcare and the loose definition of elder care becomes all the more apparent.

Once the apartment is put in an "orderly" state, then the caregiver's second set of responsibilities include providing for the elderly person's basic needs. These include tasks like keeping track of the person's medication times; doing the grocery shopping; following their diet and doing its requiring cooking; and feeding, dressing, and bathing the person as well as assisting him/her move around, if need be. Depending on the state the elderly person's health, elder care is likely to turn into some kind of "dirty work" as well, which requires the caregiver to deal with the effluents of human body: shit, vomit, sputum (Twigg 2004). The interesting thing about "dirty work", however, is that while it stigmatizes elder care in the common perception, it does not have the same kind of effect on its actual doers. This happens because the more dirty work elder care involves the less care managers tend to get involved in the life of the elderly on a regular basis, which then means more manageable affective work with less emotional intensity for the caregiver. When this happens, the end result is, as a Turkmen caregiver once summed up the work for me, "You put the diaper on his bottom and the food in front of him, and you are done!"

The main question in elder care, however, stems exactly from this point: What's work in elder care really? The chores listed above which the caregiver is expected to perform are all physical tasks that pertain either to the medical state of the elderly person or to the physical state of his/her apartment. In the care literature, too, elder care is conceived of as entailing a separation between physical and emotional care (Yeates 2004; Graham, cited in Milligan 2003) with things like dirty work, or the medical needs of the aging person comprising the physical parts of it. On the other hand, in childcare, for example, even though there is a similar separation between the physical and the emotional, the job of the caregiver is considered as a multidimensional process involving the development of a child's physical, cognitive, and emotional skills[65]. Elder care, however, is essentially approached as "a will to health" (Rose 2001: p.6) that is nonetheless taken up at a stage of "advanced bodily decline" (Mattiasson and Hemberg 1998: 530). This then makes it a kind of work that is more physically (read medical) intensive than childcare, but also one that is unlikely to "produce" anything in the sense that we understand it in the conventional terminology of work. In childcare, however care also means helping the child to advance in his/her life course, which is why it is treated as a more multidimensional process. In elder care, on the other hand, care is reduced to only physical aspects since the "self" now has no more mileage left to go forward. So while elder care treats the elderly body only as a physical entity, the main role cast for it is helping it to avoid derioration. What's considered to be the nonphysical/emotional facet of the work is then only as addition to this physical tending.

[65] See Chapter 1 on the preciousness of the child.

Elder Care beyond Physical Care

Yet, when one listens to the stories on elder care carefully enough, one does realize that elder care is too a multidimensional work. To illustrate this with an example, I'll bring forth a part of a conversation I had with Nilay and Leyla Hanim, a ninety-year-old mother and her sixty-year-old daughter respectively, on why the mother had changed caregivers so often since she fell at home and broke a rib a few years ago. For her daughter it was clear where the problem lay;

> What my mom really wants is to sit down and chat with these women. She wants to talk so that they will listen or to listen while they talk. She wants to *share life* with them. So the caregiver's job is to do the cleaning and she is supposed to be neat and tidy and reasonable and all of that. But on top of everything else, she needs to be ready to share life with Mom.

Nilay Hanim was confused because she felt that most of what she demanded from her employees could not be deemed work. Both mother and daughter thought that the physical part of the housework could be done by anyone. However, there were other things that Nilay also demanded from her assistants such as watching TV together in the living room after the domestic chores were done, even though the room allocated for the live-in caregiver had its own TV set. Apparently many of the domestics had preferred watching it there by themselves. Feeling the need to clarify what it was like to work for her, Nilay Hanım interrupted our conversation to set the record on her demands straight:

> I want someone who can handle me. I'll tell her about what crosses my mind and then we will talk about different things. Then, she won't get bored either. They [migrant domestics] enjoy chatting, too. I mean, if I were an unsociable person, this work would become unbearable [for them], I think.

For Nilay Hanim, what really mattered was whether her employee would be someone who was also equipped to spend quality time with her employer, which her daughter referred to as “sharing life”. For that, migrant domestics were in fact ideal, as they abounded with problems that ranged from being poor to living away from their families. The tricky thing about an employee’s sharing her problems with her employer, however, was not to turn this moment into an opportunity for whining, or asking for a raise, or dodging work. This, of course, did not always go as anticipated by Nilay Hanim, because many of her former employees had been unable to grasp this intricacy. As a result, they had ended up importuning her more than engrossing her, even though they were rather “supposed” to share their problems only to the point that these incidents intrigued her; a subtle balance to reach and keep. Of her past caregivers Nilay Hanim had therefore been pleased with the performance of only two people, one of whom she said had worked as a doctor in Moldova.

While I don’t specifically know how the demands of Nilay Hanim were received by her former employees, another domestic worker gave “having to watch TV” as a reason for walking out on an employer. When talking to her about her past employers, Zina mentioned an elderly lady for whom she could not continue working as she could not take her ceaseless interference:

> I would get up to vacuum, for instance, and she would stop me and ask me to watch TV by her side instead and say ‘let the other one [the live-out cleaning lady] do it’, which I hated, because sitting still and not doing work would only make me think of my family.

Fed up with her employer's other similar interventions, Zina abruptly quit that job and went back to her previous employer for whom she had worked as a housekeeper in a three-story suburban house. When I pointed out that most migrant domestics prefer doing elder care over other possibilities and that taking up villawork (Chapter 3) instead sounded unusual, she responded:

> Doing housework is the best of all as far as I am concerned. The pleasing you have to do there is not anything like what you do when you care for someone. Other [migrant] women prefer elder care because they consider it easier work. But that is not necessarily so if the person turns out to be a tough one.

To me, watching TV with an employer while also chatting with her as part of one's job appears as the epitome of the tension in elder care between how much of the job is really (physical) work and how much is (nonphysical) nonwork. This is, however, a debate that occurs not only among the migrant domestics or the employers. On my first night in Moldova, when we sat down for dinner in Anna's home with her four-year-old grandson, her husband, and her son-in-law (her daughter was working in Istanbul at the time). The two grown men eagerly sat at the other side of the table to be able to see for themselves finally what a "gal" from that infamous Turkey looked like. Deferring all their other questions for the time being, they had one specifically pressing query that they wanted to pose immediately: "Why are these Turks paying all this money to the Moldovan women for such frivolous things?"

For them, this was both a rhetorical as well as a real question. Opening up this discussion allowed them to show me throughout the next two weeks that I spent there the differences between the hardship of living in Moldova, which they

knew, and life in Turkey, about which they heard. In Moldova, they would point out, all the families had their own groves and fields that they needed to till. Their lives depended upon this (materially) labor-intensive work, since the economy in the region is mainly subsistence-based farming. Their lives were contingent upon their continuous physical labor that would then render them material produce. "Turks", on the other hand, they believed, enjoyed life in their centrally-heated apartments, did all of their grocery shopping from supermarkets, and used electric appliances for domestic chores. There was not, therefore, much that would require extra labor. Anything else was just too "immaterial" to deserve being called work, or let alone being paid for. To be paid in order to live in the apartment of a grown up, where everything that one would need was already supplied, did not make any sense, other than to suggest that "Turks" were so rich that they either did not have to bother about what they paid for or that they were able to pay for something as "immaterial" as sitting at home with an elderly person and watching television all day long. In the meantime the machines would be doing the actual work. "Bana da bir Babu[66] bulsana" (Can you find me a granny [to care for]?) was the joke I heard them reiterate many times that night, as they laughed hysterically after uttering it. I got posed the same question, as well as more dramatic versions of it[67], many times by different people, including young boys and very old women,

[66] Short version of the word "babushka" that means grandmother in Russian. The Gagauzi is hybrid language consisting of elements borrowed from Russian and Turkish. Therefore, words from both languages are commonly used in the same sentence.

[67] Another version of the same joke was "Can you get me a dog to tend?" in reference to some fellow townsmen who were employed to do so in order to trivialize and ridicule the demands the 'Turks' made on them".

throughout my stay there, partly with a tone of irony but also with an anticipation of turning it into reality.

In Moldova or perhaps any of the other postsocialist places that sends labor migrants to Turkey, therefore, it is very hard to make sense of what is deemed to be "work" in professional elder care. Given this confusion, caregivers for the elderly are considered as fortunate women who are well paid for doing something that is not too demanding or challenging. Elder care is, indeed, the type of employment that is overwhelmingly preferred by the migrant domestics over their other options. Nonetheless, the reasons behind this need to be probed carefully. In Zina's case, for example, the choice she made also involved refusing a suffocating interference from her employer and trying to set up some kind of boundaries, as much as available labor would allow. When care managers are not involved in the daily routine of live-in domestics, which is only possible in elder care, this at least gives the employee a larger radius of action within the home where they work. Working without being subjected to continuous surveillance also means having full access to the facilities of the home space. That then translates into things such as undisturbed consumption of food or use of the phone. When one's home turns into the fulltime workplace of another, how much of that space is granted for the use of the employees becomes a critical aspect in determining the work conditions there. Therefore, from the perspective of migrant domestics, elder care denotes more than anything the less likelihood of getting assessed regularly. As Milligan notes, "carework both trespasses on and reorders the divisions between the spatial ordering of privacy within the home and the treatment of the body" (2003: 461).

In live-in care, the ordering of privacy in question is not just about the care-receiving body but it is at the same time about how an available labor body who is likely to spend months or years in that same place tries to carve a space for herself.

Elder Care as Transfer of Life

What seems to be misconceived by everyone but the migrant domestics themselves is that caregivers are not some workers who are overpaid for simply staying with the elderly so that they won't fall down and break a bone, or starve themselves to death, or take the wrong pill. The availability of the care giver's labouring body may not perhaps be producing material products. Or it may not have the function of converting time that is inside and outside the home into one another in order to then help employers function more conveniently in surplus time (Chapter 1). This however does not mean that what they do is just a lot of sitting around and then sweeping the floor once in a while. Whether the work she is in charge of is physically more or less intensive, that is whether the issue is Tanya's embellishing presentability, or Ani's nailed down status, or Nilay Hanim's need for some companionship, it is ultimately being a source of "life for life"(Cohen 1999: 143) for the elderly. Especially as it is practiced in the ways described here, that is with two people living in a confined space, kind of "a zone of abondoment" (Biehl 2005) perhaps, elder care is really more than a combination of mostly physical tasks, with some emotionality sprinkled on top. It

is rather, a transfer of biopower as energy, whereby life is "suck(ed)" [68] out of the caregiver (her talkativeness, her forbearance, her endurance with sleep deprivation, or her tolerance to disgust with the abjects of the (care receiving) body, in order to be then "transplant(ed)" (Cohen 2005) into the care-receiving elderly, by which s/he is then "made live" (Biehl 2001: 138) or that the life in his/her body is "maintain(ed)" (Kaufman 2006: 39) in his/her name. The care giver's job is then indeed to "live" with her employer, while she may or may not be doing any more than what she would be doing for herself, like cleaning the apartment, cooking for both of them, and watching TV together, not even with the anticipation that the elderly person will "recover". Yet still there is also a responsibility of extending (Cohen 1998 :13, Scheper-Hughes 2000:198) or stretching (ref) life to the extent that it is possible, to the point that she can make it happen, for which her accessible availability is utilized as a biopolitical tool. What is outsourced to her is waiting "with death" (Beihl, 2005 p.131), which in the irony of globalization, she is willing to do for as long as possible[69].

"Do you call this a *life*?" I have been asked many times in the research by live-in caregivers for the elderly, even though they had all taken up the work willingly. The question at first resonates like some regular grumbling over the capriciousness of a care receiver, or the monotony of the work, or having to live away from their families. To me, however, it sounded more like a recap of the

[68] As Ann Anagnost reminds, Marx uses the image of blood sucking in his discussion of the extraction of surplus value (2006).

[69] Because the migrant woman gets paid for as long as the elderly person lives, care managers feel they can trust their employees with the care of their elderly relatives, even when they don't know their employees that well based on the assumption that the worker is going the make the care receiver live to continue having a job. Similarly while elder care is preferred over the other types of live-in domestic work, the other side of the matter is that the elderly person may pass away before the migrant domestics is ready to go back home , which then alters her plans significantly.

difficulty with elder care as the life in these women was sucked out so much that there felt there was nothing left in them. “Who is going to take care of us when we are old?” was another question I would consistently get asked. Perhaps on one level this is, indeed, an ordinary whining by which the migrant domestics express their concerns about the future. After all, as the caregives come from economies of semi-subsistence, there will not be a real retirement for them, even if they can manage to quit migrancy one day and resettle at home. Then they will have to go back to a material mode of existence just when their health will be an irreplaceable asset for their survival.

Yet again there seems to be more in this skepticism than just a private protest. It also resonates as a rhetorical mapping of the worth of life on a global scale. The negative answer to the question already embedded in its posing is simultaneously a comparison between the worth of their care receivers’ and the caregivers’ own lives. Despite all the effort that they put into making other aging bodies live, what caregivers will end up with is just aging in the crudest way. Their protests therefore sounded to me more like their understanding that “some bodies or bodily capacities are derogated making their affectivity superexploitable or exhaustible unto death, while other bodies or body capacities collect the value produced through this derogation and exploitation” (Clough 2007 p. 25) or that “some bodies may be understood as having more ‘value’ than others, or that some bodies have value for others, but only when they are assembled into their several parts and grafted onto their bodies” (Anagnost 2006: 523). The migrant domestics seemed to be aware in their own ways that their lives was worthy not so much for

living their only lives, but for living to make others who could afford to be made live, live, even when the latter was those who were at the end of their lifecourses, as in the case of elderly care in Turkey.

Chapter 4: The Villa

"The stranger will thus not be considered here in the usual sense of the term, as the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow but rather as the man who comes today and stays tomorrow… He is *fixed within a certain spatial circle*…but his position within it is fundamentally affected by the fact that he does not belong in initially" (Simmel 1971: 143).

In the vocabulary of migrant domestics, "villa", which in Turkish means a multi-story private estate with a garden, refers to the third type of work that they are employed in. In Istanbul's current urban structure, villas are located either as single houses in upscale neighborhoods or as part of gated communities in suburban areas. In this chapter, I will dwell on the migrant women's employment in villas as a single category regardless of where they are located since domestic life in these residential estates has many similar aspects that impact domestic work.

This is not however to diminish the need to distinctly position gated communities in certain other respects. To start merely with their quantitative role, even though gated communities in Turkey are a recent phenomenon that emerged in the 1990s, they have expanded very rapidly, consequently playing a huge role in pulling more postsocialist migrants into the domestic work market. In August 2005, there were more than 650 gated communities in Istanbul, which contained close to 40,000 residential estates (Perouse & Danıs 2005)[70]. While there is no other quantitative research on the topic, the extending scope of the matter is apparent even to the bare eye.

[70] These do not only pertain to the villa-type gated communities but include high-rise condominiums for middle classes as well.

In distinguishing the more upper class gated communities from the others, a major fact to note is the profile of their residents. As part of their steady diffusion into the urban fabric, gated communities have transformed the villa lifestyle from being an exclusivity for the crème de la crème to attract a larger segment of the upper middle class. The new subscribers of this upscale lifestyle are the new middle class of Turkey whose emergence and empowerment is the result of Turkey's engagements in the global financescapes (Geniş 2004: 145, Emrence 2008) since the mid80s. The class in question here is made of mostly young executives (Perouse & Danış 2005), aged thirty to fifty (Gönlügür 2008), whose consumption patterns are closely matched with their global counterparts and exhibit clear influences of Western motifs. Those who are attracted to the suburban lifestyle are usually married with young children and wish to build lives for their families that selectively exclude all that do not fit with their lifestyles.

Scholars who have studied the dynamics behind this unprecedented suburban flight mostly assert variations of a class-based set of affective reasoning as its catalyst. These reasons can roughly be recapitulated as a collective will to buy a state of security, a wish to keep away from the urban commotion while also being part of a homogenously assembled lifestyle, as well as a desire to be segregated from all the "others" (Kurtuluş 2005, Geniş 2007, Bartu 2001, Bali 2007, Öncü 1997). Upon closer scrutiny, however, this collective will for a class-based homogeneity appears rather ironic because it is an ontological impossibility. Since gated communities are built on the idea of producing the lifestyle described above, their ideology requires the constant presence of a

working class within the walls whose job is to *make* that lifestyle happen and serve it to them. The fortified walls of these estates therefore always accommodate a service community that includes workers ranging from security guards, domestic workers, gardeners, drivers and others whose job it is to provide the residents with their demands that pertain to that specifically defined lifestyle which attracted them to live there in the first place. For this reason, even in its most exclusive versions, regardless of how high the walls may be, gated communities can only be described as built on a *selective* kind of homogeneity whereby some of the "others" from whom their founding ideology aims to separate their residents, have to be let in on a regular basis so that the residents can assume their desired lifestyles.

Thus enters the indispensable place of migrant domestics in villawork. Once again, the demand for their services is a direct result of their availability and/or their willingness to work live-in since that form of domestic labour fits perfectly with the material needs of villa life. This is not to understate the role "status" plays in compelling people to hire domestic labor. To note an observation pertaining to the juxtaposition of status and class here, villa residents were the only group among my interviewees who stated that they had employed live-in labor even when they resided in apartments[71]. Therefore they had more familiarity with how to manage live-in labor based on earlier experience. My aim here however is to take all aspects of the employers' involvement in relations of status

[71] Because that means the time before the postsocialist migrants arrived, the labor pool the villa residents were originally accustomed to was Turkish workers. Residents of villas are some of the people in the best position to compare the two labor groups and see them in "difference" with one another.

for granted and to simply verify that status is going to exist as long and as much as class does. I am, on the other hand, interested, as in the previous chapters, in mapping out the relationalities among the mat(t)erialities that make up villawork[72]. Such a perspective involves looking at all kinds of transfers that occur between the *body* of the migrant domestic, on the one hand and the different physical aspects of villas, on the other.

A major kind of materiality that impacts the execution of domestic work in villas is the *size* of these estates. Since the 1950's the default residential estate in Istanbul was the apartment building which usually includes three bedroom apartments, with an average interior size of about 100-130 m2. Villas on the other hand are not only multistoried estates but also are built on larger property, which then increases their interior sizes from 400m2 to 1000m2 (approximately 4,306 squared feet to 10,764 squared feet), as I found out in the fieldwork. Similarly, they can include multiple bathrooms, living rooms, studies and recreational rooms, which can consequently turn even a simple task of maintenance to much more tedious and diffuse work than that required in regular apartments. Consequently villas necessitate a person's continuous involvement in their upkeep, much more than the apartment life would.

Another materiality of villas, particularly those in gated communities, is their suburban locations. Building these residential estates outside the city has also served as a practical strategy to keep them homogenous on a class basis since

[72] See the argument in Chapter 1 on affect.

in some cases long distances from the centers of the city[73] are utilized as the only gates erected between their residents and the other Istanbulites. These transparent walls function by permitting entry *de facto* only to those possessing their own private vehicles. Many of the suburban gated communities are built in locations that can be accessed conveniently only via highways. Lacking the means of transportation that their employers can afford, the employees of gated communities are therefore bound either to using public transportation for commuting or in some cases to the scheduled shuttle buses run by the management of these private estates. In a city like Istanbul that suffers from heavy traffic problems and lacks convenient means for bypassing it for anyone of any class, however, regular transportation between the suburbs and different neighborhoods in the city can offer all kinds of inconveniences. Examples of these can include the domestic worker's delayed start on her workday, which is likely to cause a successive delay in the employers' day, or suffering from fatigue on a regular basis. Employing a live-in domestic, on the other hand, helps employers to avoid such types of problems since her availability becomes contingent only on the internal dynamics of the life of her employer family and brings immunity from outside inconveniences.

Villawork as Affective Labour

In listening to the employers spell out problems like those above, one observation worth noting was the kind of language that they used. Villa residents

[73] It is hard to describe Istanbul's urban structure as having one downtown or center. It can rather be described as composed of a number of different concentric circles.

prefer a strikingly managerial vocabulary in describing the dynamics of villawork. The common use of terms like “high/low efficiency” or of the word “the staff” to refer to domestics rather than their names, portrays the villa life more like a business venture than a home. The use of the latter term is especially striking when we remember the preference for a very different term in carework; “one of the family” (Romero 1992, Bakan & Stasiulis 1997). Earlier in delineating availability I suggested that migrant domestics become “of the home” in order to describe availability’s composition of ceaseless temporality and entangled lives. In villawork, this description acquires a double meaning as the responsibilities of villa domestics almost literally bind them to the house, at least much more so than in carework. This became most apparent for me when I went to interview Maria, a 23 year old Moldovan mother of a six year old boy, who was working as a live-in domestic in a gated community. The appointment was scheduled on a summer day and I was going to meet with her in the house where she worked. Her employer family was in their summer house in Bodrum, a popular summer resort on the Aegean/Mediterranean coast of Turkey. Since the husband would join his wife for extended weekends, he squeezed all his work into a few long weekdays which meant that he would only come home to have late dinners and then would retreat to his room to sleep. Besides serving him his dinner when he arrived, the rest of Maria’s responsibilities were simply looking after their two Golden Retrievers whom the employers chose not to take with them to the summer house. Her job for that summer seemed more like keeping the home running like an engine even if there was no one there to enjoy it.

What perhaps makes villawork different than the more care oriented jobs for migrant domestics is the curtailment of the direct transfer of vitality from the bodies of the migrant domestics to the employers. Of the three professional realms in which migrant domestics are hired, villawork involves the least intimacy between the employers and employees. The live-in domestic's job is perceived mainly as keeping the house in order, which makes her services towards her employers more indirect than in the case of carework. Housekeeping however is still an affective transfer if we recall that Hardt and Negri define it as the "labour that produces or manipulates affects such as feeling of ease, wellbeing, [and] satisfaction" (2004: 108). It is however an indirect affective transfer since the worker's labour is filtered through the work done on behalf of the house before being received directly by the employers as services. Consequently both the affective composition of villawork, as well as the role of its affective source, the body of the migrant domestic, becomes imperceptible in the eyes of the villa residents. They are therefore more disposed to perceive and express it as a kind of production than are the employers in carework. Hence the use of a vocabulary of material labour in villawork. As one resident of an upscale villa described domestic work:

> What we call home is nothing other than a *factory*. I mean it is harder *managing* it than managing a factory. There are endless things to learn. For a housewife to be perfect, she has to be equipped with so many occupations. You have to know about electronics, you have to be educated, you have to be a psychologist, you have to be a nurse, you have to be a cleaner, you have to be a cook. I can count more, 20-30 more things necessary for a housewife to be a good housewife.

The Daily Life of the Villa Worker

In a nutshell, migrant domestics' job in villas may be described as work akin to the position of a servant or a housekeeper. Since their work is built less on direct carework and more on house chores, a work day of a villa worker can be quite reminiscent of that of a regular live-out cleaner, but a much longer one. While some families employ both kinds of domestic help in their staff, according to the size of the villa, or their own subjective assessment of what kind of maintenance the house requires, others employ only one live-in worker whose availability may have to accommodate capacities that get translated to multiple roles. In the case of the latter, the live-in is likely to be in charge of all the daily chores, heavy cleaning as well as some kind of carework, if need be. It is important to state here that in the universe of domestic work, putting the same person in charge of different forms of cleaning work does not really blot out the famous distinction between heavy cleaning and the daily chores, that was explained in Chapter 1. Yet, these so called different types of cleaning work, when done by the same person, can be truly distinguished only in a practical way. That is done by allocating specific days of the week for heavy cleaning, which then helps to segregate it and allot everything else as daily chores.

From the standpoint of migrant domestics, villawork has both its specific advantages and disadvantages. Its biggest advantage, unlike working in apartments in the city, is the possibility for them to work as couples. This opportunity does not only mean that the women get to break their solitude, but it also enables a single migrant family to increase their household income. Since the

residents of villas are likely to be some of the richest people, finding a job in a villa is likely to mean hitting the bull's eye for the migrant couple. In such cases the division of labour usually works as follows: while the wife is put in charge of all of the housework, including daily chores and heavy cleaning and cooking, the husband tends the garden, is put in charge of the pool, the dogs, the pressure tank for the water supply, the heating system, and in some cases doing the house repairs or driving the car. If the responsibilities of the wife were to be described as "house-keeping", the husband's job could be summarized as "outsidethehouse-keeping"[74].

Throughout the research, Nina and Sacha were the only migrant workers that I got to know fairly well as a couple. They worked in a villa located in an old and prominent neighborhood on the Asian side of Istanbul. When I first met them in 2005, they had been working in Turkey for six years. Except for one short trip at the end of their second year, they had not been home for the last four years. Their almost uninterrupted stay in Turkey was in spite of their two children back at home, aged 7, and 12 who were being raised by their grandmother. Their employer was the owner of a pharmaceuticals firm who was married to an American woman and had a twelve year old girl. Besides Nina and Sacha, the staff in the house also included a live-in Turkish nanny whose exclusive responsibility was to attend the young girl's needs, including monitoring her school work and a live-out cleaner whose work days had been reduced from five to three days a week since the employer was having some financial difficulties. In

[74] In a number of interviews, I was told that the men were also put in charge of serving the food, and in helping with the heavy cleaning, which strikes as a "butler-like" position, especially since it is very rare to see men doing domestic work.

this division of labour, Sacha was left with tending the garden and the two bulldogs, while Nina was in charge of everything concerning the house and cooking, "up to the point of swallowing the food" as she put it.

Part of the reason why they had not visited their home for such a long time was their high wages. The two of them together were paid $1000 at the time when the average migrant domestic wage was about $350-$400. In the cosmology of migrant workers, time and money are easily convertible entities, either of which can be used to gauge the length of their planned stays in Turkey. Before assuming jobs, the soon-to-be-migrant families usually have a rough idea of how much they would like to make in their migration journeys, since the initial decision making is usually instigated by a specific situation like a large amount of debt, an approaching wedding in the family, or some plans to buy or renovate a house. This amount is then converted to time in order to figure out how long it should take them to save the desired amount. In this scheme of things where time equals money, sending two people to work abroad from one family can technically mean either less time to be spent or more money to be earned in Turkey[75]. In the case of Nina and Sacha, it was the unanticipated powerful desire to consume that disturbed the balance of time-money in the direction of money. Despite earning much more than other migrants, their high wages did not help them reduce the time they spent apart from their home and family. Instead, they prolonged their stay for an indefinite length of time once they saw how much they would be able to make if they worked together for the same (and rich) employer.

[75] Not all of those families who have more than one member abroad have them in the same country. There are also many cases of men working in Russia or Ukraine mainly doing construction work while the women do domestic work in Turkey.

I met Nina and Sacha about a month after first meeting the other members of their family in Moldova. Stepping into Nina's mother's house for a lunch appointment with the mother, Nina's two children, and her sister, I was greeted with a video camera right in my face that Nina's sister kept on for the duration of my visit. Since the tape made its way to Nina and Sacha's small chamber in their employers' house in Istanbul before I was able to visit them there, they already knew everything I had to say about myself and my visit in Moldova before I got to know them.

They did not use the video camera, an investment they had made with their savings, merely to reconnect with their loved ones in Moldova, as this example might suggest at first. Still caught up in the prestige economy of the village life at home, once the debts were paid off and the minimum needs of the family were attained, there was only one way of showing off their accumulations of migrancy: building a house as grandiose as possible. The function of the video camera was in fact to enable them to oversee the construction of the house without having to travel there to inspect the construction site. They would give their instructions for their relatives to follow and then they would tape the construction work as it proceeded, facilitating Nina and Sacha to always be on top of how things were going.

When I was in Moldova I had a chance to visit the rough construction of the house. Ironically it was located on a hillside, overlooking a small lake, or rather positioned exactly like their employer's house in Istanbul, which overlooks the Marmara Sea i.e. the south shores of Istanbul. Unlike most village houses in

that area, theirs was a two story building and therefore more reminiscent of a villa than a village house that included a living room with a fire space, bedrooms distinctly designed for every member of the family as opposed to the more common practice of keeping multipurpose sofas in every room to be used as couches in the day and beds at night. In Nina and Sacha's case what was being remitted was not only the financial means to rebuild their lives but also a new (and more bourgeois) sense of domestic life, thanks to having worked as servants in (upper) middle class homes for years.[76] To continue with the ironies, the house had a bathroom on the basement floor, even though none of the houses in the villages had built-in toilets or sinks, since there was no infrastructural pipe system either to bring water from the wells to the inside or to drain out the refuse liquids. Bathing would have to be done not with running water as it normally is, but perhaps with buckets. Yet the bathroom was simply eye-catching, looking very much like a display model placed in the window of an interior- decoration firm in Istanbul.

At the end of 2005, Nina and Sacha went back to Moldova for the first time since their previous trip four years ago in order to finish off the last bits of the construction. They stayed at home for one year while Nina's sister and her husband replaced their position in Istanbul. When all was finished, Nina and Sacha had a big house warming party. The big feast given in the garden was later

[76] The other houses I had a chance to visit did not have this type of role designation but included a lot of sofa beds. But the returnee migrant women, as they invested the money they had saved in Turkey into their houses, were gradually transforming their houses into models similar to what they observed in places where they worked in Turkey.

followed by a grand tour of the house, all of which was also videotaped to be later circulated among relatives.

I shared Nina and Sacha's story in order to illustrate what would be deemed by migrants a "successful" migrancy experience. Their opportunity to work as a couple was a major factor in prolonging their stay in Turkey which was then translated into high earnings for the household without pressing only the wife to work by herself in the absence of her family. Not every migrant is as well-positioned as Nina and Sacha. Many migrant women have to work singly as villaworkers, as they do in carework. Then the hardship of villawork can in fact multiply since even the simplest tasks are likely to mean multiple trips up and down the stairs everyday. To display what that experience is like, I will recount another story.

Olga was a Bulgarian woman[77], 31 years old at the time of the interview. Prior to becoming a migrant domestic, she worked as a public servant in Bulgaria. Five years ago, after separating from her husband, she left her then two year old daughter with her mother and came to Turkey to work. When I met her, she was working as a live-in worker, in charge of all kinds of housework capacities in a three-story villa located in a well-known, upper class gated community, close to the Black Sea shores, i.e. the north of Istanbul. Her employers were a mid-career executive couple with two daughters, aged eight and four. In her words, this was how a typical work day passed for her:

[77] Olga was not a Bulgarian but not of Turkish descent and came to Turkey with the help of a relative who also had worked in Turkey.

I get up at six thirty. I get up earlier when [the older girl] goes to school because she leaves at around ten past seven, and the school bus comes at seven thirty, so she barely has time for breakfast. On those days I get up at about a quarter past six. These days, I get up at six thirty, because [the wife] leaves early too. I prepare their breakfast and they come down, have breakfast, and leave. Then [the husband] comes down, he has breakfast too and goes. Then [the older girl], she is last. We (domestic staff) see everyone off and then eat ourselves. It is ten o'clock then. Then the kitchen is cleared up. We go up; we always start from upstairs to straighten up the rooms, to clean them, to sweep them, to put things in their places. You come all the way down in this pattern. Doing all these, it is already noon. Lunch for the kids, then the table is cleared up. There isn't a single day I don't iron. When it's the washing day, I sometimes do four machine loads, sometimes six machine loads of washing. On Mondays, for example, it's six machine loads, because we change all the sheets. Plus the kids' clothes. They never wear the same thing twice without getting it washed. So my ironing board is never put away. I have three more shirts to do today. Then I go downstairs and straighten it up. Nobody (domestic staff) has a chance to sit down, all day long. We sometimes say let's sit down and have a good time. We only get to have like a tea break around 3.30-4 p.m. If the kids are around, I give them a snack. Then the last round begins; make the salad, dinner. The kids eat at seven, then come the grown ups. Lately they have been having dinner together. Then I go up, wash the kids, get them to pee. The table is cleared, I make some tea, slice some fruit. Then it is 11-12 o'clock, I go downstairs to my room, do some ironing if there is left to do and if not, I go to bed.
AA: Continue ironing that late?
Olga: Always ironing. We, for example, went skiing last week. When we came back, I ironed until two o'clock in the morning.

A regular workday of Olga's clearly demonstrates the live-in domestic's continuous oscillations between her qualitative and quantitative availability. Even though her employers were in fact employing a whole staff for domestic work that also included a live-out domestic who would come three days a week and a Turkish live-in nanny for the younger girl and who was also in charge of the cooking, one work day of Olga's was a really long one, requiring her to rapidly move amidst many domestic capacities. To some extent, this was probably the result of the amicable relations among the staff as they seemed to prefer helping each other out than setting up strict boundaries according to their job definitions.

Olga's assignment of a wide range of domestic tasks, however, also had to do with working in a villa for a family with young children. Since availability is fully convertible to flexible labour, it possesses the capacity to adjust rapidly to the needs of the employers which change quickly as the children grow. In Olga's case, while the younger girl who had just started nursery school was still tabbed as the primary responsibility of the Turkish nanny, the older girl who was then going to second grade was classified as no longer needing fulltime care. This led to a reorganization of the chores and a reprioritizing in favour of the general order of the home, giving Olga more domestic responsibilities. In a possible scenario for the future, following upon my observations in other families, the nanny would probably be let go in a couple of years, the live-out domestic would be asked to come fewer times a week, and the remaining tasks would be recodified as part of the live-in worker's daily routine.

Spacing out Availability

In speaking about the distinguishing factors of villawork, a significant aspect worth mentioning is the private rooms given to the live-in domestics. With ample space at hand, employers residing in villas, are able to designate completely separate chambers to their workers, offering some privacy for the domestics. Some chambers are furnished with TV's and while such amenities also exist in some flats in the city, certain features of villas distinguish them from their counterparts in apartments.

To illustrate briefly, the villas that I had a chance to visit throughout the research were either two or three story buildings. In two-story villas, the chambers allocated for domestic staff are single rooms located on the entrance floor, usually at the back of the house but in close proximity to the kitchen as well as to the spare rooms of the building like the boiler room or the garage. Some three-story villas were built with similar designs as two-story villas with the maids' rooms located on the entrance floors. Other three-storys, however, had a separate basement that included a few rooms available for a number of alternative scenarios like as a hobby room, a guest floor or in fact a separate chamber with its own built in kitchen for the domestic staff.

Designating a separate chamber to the live-in domestic that can be as large as a separate floor is initially likely to be considered as an advantage of villawork or perhaps a right that is denied to some migrant domestics when they work in apartments and have to sleep on couches in living rooms or share a bedroom with their care receivers. Denying the worker the means for at least some kind of privacy is no doubt an exploitation of their tenuous positions arising from the state of migrancy. However, keeping in mind Olga's description of how she often has to spend her "free" time after retreating to her room should caution one in rejoicing these private spaces before considering their latent functions.

. Earlier I suggested that allowing a professional worker in the private life of the employer family is inevitably going to blur the social boundaries between the two parties (Chapter 1). For many families, especially in the cases of childcare, this is the biggest disadvantage of having an available/live-in worker at

home. When an employer demands that the caregiver see her work in personal terms and treat the child and them in a corresponding manner, the question arises as to what the relations between the two parties are then to become when the child is put to sleep and/or the domestic's work is done for the day?

The rooms allocated for the domestics come in handy at such moments when they are expected to retreat and their private capacities no longer have an exchange value for the rest of that day. While many families living in apartments also try to facilitate similar arrangements for their employees, the limited space in flats often makes the intended separation of the private lives of the two parties less ideal than hoped for. In their narratives, employers living in flats often tell how hard life turns out to be for the husbands, for example, who eschew using the bathroom or the kitchen or going into the children's bedrooms at night in fear of encountering the migrant domestic as improperly dressed, for example.

Unlike flats that are designed for the nuclear family[78], villas are designed both anticipating the employment of some professional live-in help and with many structural facilities that can be utilized to avoid any inconvenience between the parties concerned. A common aspect of the domestics' villa chambers that distinguishes them from the similar facilities of apartments is their remoteness from the parts of the house that employers are likely to spend most of their time in. The association between the domestic workers' chambers and the employers' rooms in villas seems reminiscent of a sand-glass, with the employers on the top floors and the migrant domestics in the basement or at the back of the house. In fact sand glass was once proposed as an image to depict Saskia Sassen's

[78] A typical apartment includes three bedrooms.

formulation of stratification as it occurs in the global city (Marcuse, 1989) and interestingly the villa appears like a condensed model of that same stratification. The middle part of the sandglass which narrows is where the top and bottom parts connect to one another as well as detach from each other. In villas the function of that middle part is taken over by some hallway or stairs that simultaneously connect and detach the employees' chambers with the employers' rooms. The villa's internal compartmentalization as such, which is also enforced by some material elements sprinkled around like lesser quality furniture, characterless wall paint or cheap lighting as one moves from the employers' side of the house to the employees', embeds invisible walls between the two worlds. While these walls in essence are there to highlight the existing differences in terms of class, with the employment of migrant domestics they get to be translated into ethnic and national differences, as well, which though can get less perceptible during the day when the domestic is allowed entrance into all part of the house as part of her job. The walls become more visible later in the day however when the house now accommodates two families from very different backgrounds.

The architecture of the villa, having anticipated relations of employment as well as containment, prior to their actual occurrence, acts here as an add-on button to switch off the migrant domestic's availability since her machinic assemblage includes everything but that function. Once her domestic services are no longer needed and the employers want her out of their sight, wishing to switch back to the nucleus family mode, availability becomes excessive and entropic and so devolarizes all its advantages. In the regular management mechanisms of

available migrant domestics, there is no need for external intervention, since her own cultural/human capital functions as a mechanism to monitor over her behavior. Normally this is a system that functions pretty smoothly. Yet it is still based on the migrant domestic's subjective assessment of her own performance and therefore has an entropic side to it. Better still is when her availability is double-checked by an external mechanism, the control of which however now has to be in the hands of the employers. The function of the architecture of the villa enters the scene by containing the worker behind the embedded invisible walls until the next time her availability will be needed. As one employer narrates her side of the story:

> All these types of houses have a staff room and bathroom…like a separate chamber…all the houses have that. For example to enter [my staff]'s room you can use the kitchen or the garage, I mean they don't need to use *my* door. So when they are back from their leave, they open the door of the garage and enter home that way. Their room fits a twin size bed. They have their own bathroom in their room and they have a TV there. And I have a bench in the kitchen which could be used as well. There is a TV in the kitchen too which they used because in their room they would have to sit on the bed which the husband would mostly do. Because you could not see him around once his work was done. The wife would usually be in the kitchen. That is why all these houses have these rooms, even bigger ones than ours. A room, a separate bathroom for them, or a corner in the kitchen for them to sit around. Or something in the garden for them. Which was good for me so I would not have to see them. They would either be sitting in their room or in the kitchen which did not bother me. But then I would not be using the kitchen for that reason. I did not eat in my kitchen, could not sit in my kitchen because they were there. But now that they are gone, we eat in the kitchen.

The anxiety exuding from the words of the employer, to the extent of having been alienated from her own kitchen, is helpful in pointing out the strange location of the migrant domestic in villawork. It is somewhat reminiscent of the place carved out for "The Stranger" who Simmel reminds us is identified as a

threatening "other" precisely for being in too close a proximity (1971). Yet I think an even better comparison would be with the position that Bertha Mason took in Jane Eyre's life. For as long as the two women lived under the same roof, her sense of security in being white was constantly under the threat of the indeterminate hybridity of human/animal-ness (Spivak 1999: 121) of the former (read the postcolonial subjectivity, the gendered other of modernity), who therefore needed to be tightly reined in. Hence the relevance of the role of her remote chamber in the attic where she was locked up. Bertha Mason's occasional escapes from the monitoring gaze upon her were always potential threats to Eyre (read her whiteness, Europeaness, class, innocence and her becoming a female subject). A similar threat was also observed when Mason went into Eyre's room to rip off her veil right before Eyre and Rocherster's wedding. Whether the Turkish employers would be expecting such dramatic acts from their employees in real life is hard to say[79]. Yet, their words and their lives certainly locate their migrant employees in their houses on a similar horizon to the semi-animalness of Bertha Mason, who becomes a source of distress for coming too close to the employers, for an "other" to be allowed for.

A final note needs to be made on the elective affinity between two seemingly separate phenomena of globalization as they have occurred in Turkey. Turkey started receiving migration and transit migration in the same time period when villas started spreading into the urban texture of Istanbul through gated

[79] As a matter of fact, Turkish daily papers frequently print stories of robberies and even murders of migrant domestics who especially work in villas, even though they never bring up other matters like different kinds of abuses they are subjected to or the hardship of living as undocumented people.

communities. While there is no direct relationship between the emergences of these two social phenomena, it is safe to argue that it did not take long for the two to intersect and contribute to the growth of one another. In a social structure where recruiting live-in domestic labour is known to be a hard task to accomplish for many different reasons, constructing new residences with built-in chambers for domestic staff can only be explained by a foundational assumption on the part of the contracting firms and architects that the necessary labour power for these residences would be attained one way or another which becomes only easier with migration. Therefore the add-on function the private chambers took in monitoring live-in domestic labour in villas should not be read as a kind of serendipity but as two separate waves of globalization reinforcing the conduct of one another.

Chapter 5: The State

"There is no State, only state control" (Deleuze 1988: 75).

"[The function of borders] is not only one of control but also of inclusive selection" (Balibar, interviewed by Bojadzijev & Saint-Saens 2006:10)

Migrancy as a State of Irregular Mobility and Undocumentedness

The preceding chapters tried to delineate the different kinds of domestic work that migrant domestics perform in the state of "availability". Going back to the premises laid out in the introduction, my argument was that availability is contingent on a state of "migrancy", which, as I treated it, enfolds all the postsocialist domestic workers and places them on a platform of docility that then yields out of them a capacity for available labor. In this chapter I will dwell on this state of "migrancy" in order to demonstrate how the transformation of the material labor of migrants into immaterial labor cannot in fact be considered separately from the political processes to which they are subjugated. In doing so, I will probe whether we should talk of a singular state of migrancy for the women in the domestic work market in Turkey or whether migrancy may actually be said to exist more in shades, causing some groups to turn "more foreign" than others.

In the present state of international migrations, the convenient accessibility of the means for travelling and communication can now entice even the very poor to become rapidly mobile actors in a manner unlike anything in the past. When these current ethnoscapes (Appadurai 1996) occur as various forms of shuttlings between the "home" and "host" societies, they are denominated in a number of ways, such as "transnational", "irregular" or "circular" migration. Although each

of these terms aims to convey a different kind of rapid international mobility, there are, nonetheless, cross-overs between them, making it therefore hard to distinguish clearly the cases that they were originally designated to delineate. Each term may then be considered not as equipped to sketch a certain migration as disparate from the other kinds but rather to *emphasize* its certain aspects and then weave a case around those highlighted emphases.

Starting with the first of the terms above, the literature on transnationalism mainly aims to emphasize the various kinds of ties that (im)migrants develop or sustain with their original societies, even when they are settled comfortably in another country where they may have even become fully participating members (Schiller 1999, Vertovec 2001, Faist 2000, Waldinger & Fitzgerald 2004). In the transnationalism debate the argument revolves more around the theme of what it means to keep up with the social or political activities going on in the original community, while the proposition is also to see these ties as not mutually exclusive with some form of integration in the host society. With "circular migration", on the other hand, while at its basis again stands a rapid mobility of the migrants by which ties with the home society are sustained, the suggestion is that, unlike in transnationalism, these ties were developed not necessarily by the migrants' volition but possibly out of obligation as well, especially if settling in the host society was a limited option (Vertovec 2007). The slim possibility of settling in the host society then moves us on to "irregular migration", which may happen in the form of circular migration as well as in other ones such as "transit migration". While irregular migration, like the other two terms, occurs as some

kind of rapid mobility, the emphasis here is more on migrants moving rapidly despite lacking the officially designated documents that should complement that mobility. In between the lines here is the suggestion that those migrants' movements are "not regular", because they lack a "legal" status that would grant a "regularity" to them (Ghosh 1998).

For this research I argue that the concepts briefly reviewed above all have some explanatory power in making sense of the experiences of the migrant domestic workers in Turkey. What I find more important than giving a specific name to their type of mobility, however, is distinguishing between the causes that trigger these different rapid mobilities. In the transnationalism literature rapid mobility is propelled more by an opportunity that provides migrants with social or political engagements in two places simultaneously. Yet rapid mobility is also likely to be utilized by migrants as a strategy of circumventing the political mechanisms that surround them. Even if these two different motivations are embedded in the same act, which is likely to be the case most of the time, it seems important to distinguish between when migrants *choose* to get involved in the affairs of their home societies, such as in transnational mothering (Parrenas 2001b, Keough 2006), and when they are impelled to shuttle irregularly between the home and host societies in pursuit of legalizing their different statuses.

The latter is important for this research in order to underline the efforts that migrant domestics put up to resist against the "illegal" statuses that states put them into while migrants are striving to make their living abroad. The role that states play in the making of irregular migrant mobilities is a topic that does not

receive the close scrutiny that it deserves. Given the Westphalian political structure of the *inter-national* system, the "illegalization" of the irregular migrant is a topic that is mostly taken for granted. The underlying assumption here is that the sovereign decision making of the nation-state will simply deem a migrant "illegal" whenever the latter diverges out of the paths cast for her in the current system. Such approaches, however, failing to probe how the state can utilize *legality* merely in its own interests undermine the role of the state in *turning* migrants "illegal". My suggestion here is that legality may in fact function as "technology", in the Foucaultian sense, of "pacifying" (Das 2004:9) those populations that find themselves located in the "margins of the state" (Das 2004: 3). While the margins of the state are surely peripheral locations, Das and Poole warn us that the former are not to be thought of as spaces that are suffused with less or no power. In the case of migrant domestics of Turkey, the margins of the state emerge as "a space between bodies, law and discipline" (Das 2004: 10) which the migrant domestics endeavour staying on the inside for as long as possible, while the state rather pushes them out. In doing so, it utilizes *legality*, not as a platform where the collective good and bad are distinguished from one another, but rather as a strategic tool for redefining populations in order to deem some of them as acceptable, while others as not.

The preceding argument aims to be a paraphrased articulation of Nicholas De Genova's concept of "the legal production of illegality" (2002, 2004), with which De Genova brings forth the issue of how states can maneuver in granting migrants legal statuses (or not), depending possibly on to what those states'

interests, lying elsewhere, may direct them. De Genova notes that even though "illegal" is strictly and only "a juridical status" (2002, p. 422), its reckless use, even in academia, without looking into the relations that turn and keep migrants in "illegal" statuses, serves not only to stigmatize migrants in the public perception as those who offend against the law but also to acquit the involvement of the other political actors and their interests in the "illegalization" of the migrants.

In suggesting "migrancy" to be the fitting term to describe the position of the migrant domestics, my goal, therefore, is to consider their experiences when their *rapid mobility* is prolonged *also* by their *political statuses*. In trying to illustrate the rapid mobility of migrants and their efforts to stay as "legal" actors as interconnected features that get embedded within the status of migrancy, my efforts do not veer from what another concept like "partial citizenship" aims to bring forth. This term was coined by Rachel Parennas (2001) to illustrate how the ceaseless diasporic status of Filipina domestic workers causes for them to lead lives deprived of the rights that are everyone's as citizens. Working abroad in massive numbers and in some cases for extensive periods of time, Filipina domestics end up leading their lives without benefiting from some of the basic rights, such as those granted by labor laws to the indigenous workers in the countries where they work, as well as other reproductive rights such as marriage with the locals (as in Singapore) or the right to bring along spouses and children (as in Taiwan).

When "Ethnic Kin" Arrive as Migrants for Laboring Purposes

Before proceeding to talk about the association between migrant domestics' irregular mobility and their political status, however, in this equation there is another factor that also needs to be accounted for. One of the distinct features of the Turkish case that sets it apart from most examples in the literature on domestic workers is how *ethnicity* gets involved in the composition of the market. Some of the migrant domestics in Turkey come from societies that by the official point of view are treated as the "diasporic" communities of the Turkish nation, or its "ethnic kin" (Parla 2007) as the more preferred term for them. Consequently this factor puts the migrant domestics from such societies into the ambiguous position of being noncitizens on the one hand but complying with the official definition of "apt for immigration" on the other. In practice, therefore, their ethnic background may have the potential of entitling them to certain rights that those migrants who lack similar ties may in fact be denied. The possibility that ethnicity may be playing a significant role in determining the political statuses of some migrant domestics and not of others, therefore, compels us to pay close attention to it while trying to decipher the associations between their statuses and the mobilities that they pursue.

Understanding the role ethnicity has played in the Turkish migrations requires us first to briefly look at the historical course of the subject. The literature has featured Turkey only as a country of emigration until the 1990s (Kirişçi 2007a, Erder 2000, İçduygu 2006). The best known cases until then included a major labour outflow to Germany that began in the 1960s followed by

similar kinds of economically motivated migrations to other European countries and Australia as well as several cases of asylum seekers following the military coups d'état and the recent ethnic conflicts (İçduygu et.al. 2001).Yet looking closer into the matter, we also unravel cases of *immigration* that began after the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic and which have in fact continued on and off since. Some background information on this transition follows. The Turkish Republic was established in 1923, following first the demise of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War and then a war of independence fought mainly against the Greek army. The latter fought by both groups in an effort to seize control over Asia Minor/Anatolia, was won by the Turkish militias. This led to the establishment of the new Turkish Republic. Subsequent to the transition, there were roughly two groups who were willing to immigrate to Turkey: 1) those who used to be Ottoman subjects and were now claiming allegiance to the new Republic despite being left outside its borders after the new partitioning of territories and 2) those who fled Asia Minor during the course of the wars and were now willing to return and resettle (Çağaptay 2003).

Yet, as MB Salter's remarks, "the border is crucial both in terms of *constituting the population* through the decision to *admit or exclude* and in terms of measuring and manipulating the quantities and qualities of the population through citizenship, immigration and refugee claim adjudication"[80] (2008: 365). Replace "the border" in Salter's statement with "migration", and we get the description of the role cast for the latter in the early periods of the Republic. For the officials of the period, immigration policies became a basis for selectivity

[80] Emphasis is mine

while they were creating the new nation. The potential migrant groups were distinguished on the basis of whether they had a social profile that was thought to fit the blueprint for the Turkish nation or not. Looking into the practices of the "inclusive selection" (Balibar, interviewed by Bojadzijev & Saint-Saens 2006: 10) of the Turkish state, we in fact see a very specific identity having been privileged over others that in a nutshell can be defined as being of "Turkish descent and culture" (Kirişçi 2000: 4). The formula for this identity can be defined as a putatively common historical heritage, which is then sustained by "Turkishness" as an ethnicity and amalgamated by the gluing effect of (Sunni) Islam. The preceding definition in fact resonates closely with the general official formulation of "being a Turk" as well and could roughly entitle many communities living outside the borders to immigration rights. Yet, looking at who actually was allowed to settle in the new Republic, we observe geography also having played a part as a major third factor. Despite the wide range of communities which were willing to become Turkish citizens, therefore, those who were officially allowed to resettle in Turkey were only from communities of *the Balkans* who were identified as being of "*Turkish culture*" and *Muslim background*. While there is yet very little scholarship to explain thoroughly the preference in seeding the Turkish nation with communities of the Balkans specifically, the hypothesis claims that the founding elites wanted to bring in both some kind of Europeanness as well as a bourgeois class to the new society via the Balkanites (Parla & Danış 2009, Kirişçi 2007, Kirişçi 2000, Çağaptay, 2003).

In practice the juxtaposition of these three specific traits turned the history of immigrations to Turkey over the course of the Republic into the resettlement story of communities such as the Albanians, Bosnians, Circassians, (Bulgarian) Pomaks and Tatars (Kirişçi 2000:7).The estimates for the number of people immigrated only during the 1920s and 1930s range from 700,000 to 1.6 million people (Çağaptay 2007, Erder 2000): a significant number given that the total population of the Republic was 13,542,795 (Çağaptay 2007: 93) at the time. Despite the high numbers, however, the story became fixed in the nation's collective mind not as one of immigration, but rather as some diasporic Turkish communities, i.e. "ethnic kin", arriving in the "homeland".

Coming back to the 1990s, it would therefore be more appropriate to suggest that in this period Turkey did not turn from being a country of only emigration into one of immigration as well but rather into one that now has to grapple with a *variety* of migrations. Unlike those she received in the past, these population movements were triggered by a number of reasons, the possible associations of which with Turkish nationalist causes would be only one among many. More specifically, the new human flows of the post-*90s* period have included transit migrations from countries such as Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and, more recently, countries of sub-Saharan Africa by people in pursuit of entering Europe ; asylum seekers from Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan especially after the various wars in that region from 1995 to the present time; labor migrations, predominantly from the formerly socialist countries; as well as cases of trafficking in women (İçduygu 2000, İçduygu 2003, İçduygu & Toktas 2002,

İçduygu & Keyman 2000, Erder 2000, Kirişçi 2004, Danış et.al. 2009, Duvell 2006, Erder & Kaşka 2003). Altogether these movements have rendered Turkey's new position within the map of international migrations a multidimensional configuration.

If we now come back to the question posed at the beginning of this section--the intriguing yet unprecedented puzzle that the migrant domestics market has posed within these migration flows of the post-90*s* from the beginning: 1) What happens when those communities with a profile that would be deemed "apt for immigration" from the official standpoint, start migrating for novel reasons that Turkish nationalism has no connections with or interest in? 2) Do their cultural origins prevail over those other causes that triggered their migration? and 3) Do they then benefit from this identification by acquiring certain rights or privileges over those who lack it? Put another way, when it is "ethnic kin" who start immigrating for labor purposes, are they treated as "less foreign" than other groups?

Charting Ethnicities in the Migrant Domestic Workers Market

Chronologically speaking, the interviews I did with the migrant women and agencies have revealed that the emergence and expansion of the market has occurred in roughly two waves. The first one happened in the second half of 1990s with the arrival of the Gagauzi women of Moldova and Ukraine and the Turkish-speaking Bulgarians. The increasing demand for the labor of these migrant groups or, as I stated in the preceding chapters, the demand for the

available capacities of live-in migrant domestics in time triggered a pull for more migration into the domestic work sector, which was then supplied by a new migration wave from the countries to the east of Turkey such as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

As suggested above, from a nationalist perspective the contours of the desirability of a community for immigration into Turkey stand on two main and a third supplementary axes; whether they may be described as being of Turkish ethnicity or not, whether they come from a (Sunni) Muslim background or not, and whether they were originally located in the Balkans or not. If these three aspects were to be framed around the ethnic/national composition of the migrant domestic workers market in Turkey, the end result would look as follows:

Contours of Turkish Nationalism as Reflected in the Migrant Domestic Workers Market				
	ETHNICITY			
RELIGION		**Communities of Turkish Background**		**Non-Turkish**
	Communities of Muslim Background	**from Balkans**	**not from Balkans**	
		* Turkish-speaking Bulgarians * Tatars of Ukraine A	* Azerbaijanis * Turkmens * Uzbekistanis B	C
	Non-Muslim	*The Gagauzi (of Moldova and Ukraine) D	E	*Georgians *Armenians F

Table 2

Hypothetically speaking, if the treatment that a migrant group received during the time they were in Turkey were based only on the criterion of how they were positioned vis-à-vis Turkish nationalism, then the Turkish-speaking

Bulgarians and the Ukrainian Tatars, i.e. the only two ethnic groups that seemed to comply with all three criteria on immigration to Turkey, would be in the best position (Box A). On the other hand, Georgians and Armenians would, at best, be treated as foreigners (Box F), while all the other groups would benefit to some extent from their presumed ties with "the Turkish society", depending on how close or far "ethnic kin" they appear to be. By treatment I have in mind how migrant domestics are received by two main actors: the employers and the Turkish state. Since the preceding chapters showed that the employers are primarily interested in extracting availability out of their migrant domestics where ethnicity hardly ever appears as a contributing factor[81], the question then remains as to how the policies of the Turkish state treat the migrant domestics as the latter strive to make their living in Turkey. The sections below, as they explore the relationship between migrants' political statuses and their rapid mobility, will therefore also keep the migrants' ethnic background as a variable in the equation in order to see if what exists on an ideological level for certain is also reflected in the policies that affect the immediate experiences of migrant domestics.

[81] If there is one aspect where ethnicity might be said to be playing some role in the migrant domestic workers market in Turkey, it is the impact it has on the issue of language. While the reasons for all the groups to be able to speak Turkish are "historical", they are not however always "ethnic". More specifically for the Bulgarian Turks, Turkish may be said to be their mother tongue, while the Gagauzi of Moldova and Ukraine, the Turkmens, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis, and Tatars of Ukraine all speak languages that are described as within the Turkic languages family, by which the migrants from these countries can learn modern Turkish relatively fast. The Armenians, on the other hand, are not ethnically Turkish/Turkic like the other groups. However, because many of them have ancestors who used to be Ottoman subjects living in Eastern Anatolia, they too come to Turkey with some acquaintance with the language. In other words, among the different national and ethnic groups constituting the domestic work market, it is only those from Georgia who struggle the hardest while learning and speaking Turkish

Pulling Migration to Turkey: The Political Aspects

On the topic of recent migrations to Turkey, some scholars stress that among the contributing factors of all these different flows, there are reasons that have only to do with Turkey. The first one of these is Turkey's *proximity* (Icduygu 2003) to those places that have been producing novel migration waves due to recent political and economic events such as the post-socialist "transition" or the wars in Iraq or Afghanistan. Proximity, however, also relates to Turkey's location vis-à-vis the main destination of all these migrations, Europe. While the role of Europe in turning Turkey into a country of transit migration and of asylum seekers[82] (Kirişçi 1996) is perhaps more apparent, its significance for labor migrations nonetheless needs to be acknowledged. For migrants from anywhere, places like Europe or the US epitomize an ultimate desire for better and more. Yet with the turning of Europe into a "fortress", "penetrating" where has become almost impossible, the desire built around "more" was not eliminated but it was alternatively projected onto the other (capitalist) countries nearby.

In this context Turkey's *liberal visa regime* (Erder & Kaska 2003) acquires even more significance. This is a mixed visa regime that is for the most part constituted either of visa waivers or of a special type of easily attainable visa. Visa waivers allow people from certain nations to enter Turkey without a visa for

[82] Although Turkey is party to the 1951 Refugee Convention, it maintains the geographical limitation only to people originating from Europe and therefore provides non-European refugees only "temporary" asylum, which however can continue many years, pending UNHCR's search for durable solutions elsewhere.

a particular length of time that is no longer than three months. Past that period, the person acquires an illegal status. The other kind of visa is called “the sticker visa”. It was introduced in 1990 as part of a general policy of developing trade and “cultural” ties, especially with the formerly socialist countries neighboring the Black Sea, in the Caucuses, and in Central Asia. In order to stimulate trade with these places as well as to increase the tourism revenues to be obtained from them and other countries, the Turkish state devised this practice that consequently allowed many foreign nationals to enter Turkey in return for a small charge paid at the border gates (Kirişçi 2005). A substantive outcome of this policy was the period of shuttle trading or *chelnoki* that marked a good part of the 1990s. These were small scale trading trips taken mostly by women between Turkey and the former Soviet Union right after the end of the latter to purchase goods like apparel and shoes that were then taken back home in suitcases for resale. At its height around mid-90s, suitcase exports were estimated at $9-10 billion annually, which Yükseker comments is a significant sum, given that Turkey’s official exports ranged from between $13 billion and $27 billion per annum in that period (2002). With the Russian economic crisis at the end of the 1990s, however, the scope of the shuttle trade dropped immensely and has not since recovered or caught up with the earlier peak revenues. The rapid trips of trading, however, gradually transformed into the current migration routes for labor purposes, as Turkey has not revised its liberal visa regime, thus continuing to allow entry into the country without the scrutinizing the motives behind it.

The visa waivers and the sticker visa together comprise not only Turkey's current liberal visa regime but also the way it wants to make use of its borders. The nationalities that are subject to either of these visa types may roughly be described as countries that are deemed to be the "ethnic kin" of the Turkish nation (for example, the countries of Turkic republics of Central Asia are all on Turkey's visa exemption list), neighboring countries with which the country seeks more trade (for example, Turkey and Georgia signed a mutual protocol put in effect starting in 2006 that exempts citizens of both countries from needing visas for trips that last less than three months), or wealthy countries from which tourist inflow is regular (for example, citizens of Germany, Switzerland, or Japan have visa exemptions while those of the US or England need sticker visas).

A polar opposite to the European system, Turkey's liberal visa regime has been a point of contention with the EU during their membership negotiations. Consequently, although Turkey was supposed to abolish visa-free travel for those countries that are on the Schengen "negative list"[83] in 2004 and cease issuing sticker visas as of the end of 2005, she did not go ahead with these changes when the time came. While some recent developments that will be explained below may be said to be a harbinger of an upcoming change in the official stance, for the moment the Turkish system continues to appear as a much more liberal system than that of its transnational organization it wants to join.

In terms of their impact on the daily lives of migrant domestics, on the other hand, there is almost no difference between visa waivers or sticker visas.

[83] The Schengen "negative list" includes all the countries whose citizens must apply for visas if they want to travel to any of the states that signed the Schengen agreement.

Until very recently the system facilitated extending the validity of either kind of visa very easily. With sticker visas it was a matter of leaving Turkey before they expired and then re-entering after paying for a new visa, which costs only about $15-20. With visa waivers a person does not need to pay anything and, as long as she leaves Turkey before the waiver expires, she is then entitled to do a re-entry immediately.

The Regime of Sticker Visas and Visa Waivers (aka "the 'Illegal' Documentedness")

In the current situation, the visa statuses of the nationalities that comprise the migrant domestic workers market in Turkey are as follows[84].

Bulgaria	Visa waiver valid for 3 months
Georgia	Visa waiver valid for 3 months
Azerbaijan	Visa waiver valid for 1 month
Turkmenistan	Visa waiver valid for 1 month
Ukraine	Sticker visa valid for 3 months
Armenia[85]	Sticker visa valid for 1 month
Moldova	Sticker visa valid for 1 month

Table 3

The period of time for which the sticker visas and visa waivers are valid also indicates how long the holders of these visas can stay in Turkey "legally". Past these periods, they are considered to be overstaying their visas, which means

[84] General Visa Provisions enforced by The Security General Directorate of the Interior Ministery of the Republic of Turkey, 26.01.09.

[85] Armenians have been allowed to enter Turkey only since 2003 (Kirisci 2005). While the border between the two countries is still closed, Armenian nationals are nonetheless allowed to enter Turkey either through direct flights from Yerevan or through entry from other neighbouring countries such as Georgia. Recently they have been mentioned so many times in the speeches of different top ranking Turkish officials that it is safe to suggest that their employment is conceived as another trump card to be played against the allegations of the Armenian Genocide.

that they have now fallen into an undocumented status and are therefore deported if identified by the authorities. The visa status of a migrant is an intricate matter since it is the only criterion used to determine if the person is staying in Turkey "legally" or not. In other words, all foreign citizens have to have both *work and residence permits* in order to be *living* legally in Turkey as *employed.* However, because it is virtually impossible to prove that they live in Turkey to do domestic work in a professional capacity, undocumented workers are apprehended only on the basis of *overstaying* their visas. Therefore, extending the period of time that a visa or visa waiver is valid has from the beginning been the most viable and widely-used strategy for migrant domestics to stay in Turkey "documented", even though that does not lead to the equivalent of "legal" status.

In practice, this has led to a "skewed matching" between the categories of "legal/illegal" and "documented/undocumented" to develop since the first emergence of the migrant domestic workers market in Turkey. Different migrant groups, depending on a number of factors that include their visa statuses as well as other things, have utilized different strategies of mobility in order to turn their statuses "legal" and/or "documented", which have not however been the same in every case. Consequently, the political statuses of the migrant domestics have developed along a continuum, which segmented into different statuses of documentedness and undocumentedness turning some migrants more "illegal" than others:

Legal Status	**"Illegal" Status**		
	"Semi-legality"/ "Documented Illegality"	Regular Shuttlings between Documentedness and Undocumentedness	Ceaseless Undocumentedness
*Turkish Domestics	*Bulgarian *Ukrainian nationals	*Moldovans	*Turkmen *Uzbek *Armenian nationals

Table 4

The "Illegal" Statuses of Migrant Domestics

A)"Semi-legality"

For a long time the case of the Bulgarian Turks was the best example to "semi-illegality". What gave them this status was their symbolic location between European politics and the Turkish policy on the "ethnic kin". In the 1990s, Bulgarian nationals, including those of Turkish origin, were subject to strict visa requirements[86]. Turkey, however, removed that visa requirement in 2001 after a conflict over the Schengen negative list. While Bulgaria and Turkey were both included in the list when it first came into effect in 1995, Bulgaria was however removed from it in 2001 after having met the European standards, while Turkey was not. In reciprocation, the Turkish government replaced the visa requirement for Bulgarian nationals with *renewable* visa waivers valid for three months. From 2001 to May 2007, therefore, migrants from Bulgaria have stayed in Turkey on these visa waivers that facilitated their travel to Bulgaria every three months right before they expired, by which travel they managed to stay within the bounds of

[86] This is despite an exodus of about 300,000 people to Turkey that occurred after the Bulgarian government launched an assimilation campaign against its minorities in 1989 (Parla 2005).

"legality" without a break. While one factor that also facilitated this intermediary position was the *length* of their visa, the other was the *proximity* between Bulgaria and Turkey (driving from Istanbul to the Bulgarian border takes about eight to ten hours). These two factors made the practice of shuttling regularly between the two places a viable strategy for staying within the confines of "semi-legality". Many of the Turkish-Bulgarian migrant domestics have used this opportunity to reunite with their families on a regular basis by "saving" their weekly off-days and spending them all at once at home[87].

The case of the Ukrainian nationals is another example to "semi-legality" with some differences. Ukrainian nationals did not have a visa exemption privilege but they benefited from a combination of proximity and a longer sticker visa validity, which until 2009 was for two months. Before their visas expired, they would go to Ukraine and then subsequently re-enter Turkey, either by boat or by plane—depending upon whether their employers were willing to give the time off for a roundtrip by boat which would take a few days or whether the employers were willing to pay for the more expensive airfare. For those migrants for whom neither option was a possibility, an alternative strategy was to go to Moscow on a charter flight in for an export firm which would pay for their trips in return for putting migrants in charge of a cargo shipment[88]. For those who managed to

[87] Anyone who has followed the scholarship on gender and transnationalism knows the considerable literature on transnational families that for the most part discuses the emotional hardship that comes with being a member of them. The opportunity for a transnational migrant to come home every few months even for a few days should therefore be read as a break that many migrant women living in similar circumstances cannot enjoy.

[88] Since I have not taken these trips myself, I only know them through the migrant domestics' narratives. Based on the stories I have collected from different women and employers, I have concluded that these short trips are the latest version of shuttle trading between Turkey and Russia.

secure themselves such a position, this was an ideal way to stay "semi-legal", as it would both take very little time and cost no money.

Recently, however, some developments have caused drastic changes to this efficient system of mobility. An agreement signed between the Bulgarian and Turkish governments in May 2007 permits Bulgarian citizens to stay in Turkey for a maximum of only 90 days every six months (Kasli and Parla, MS). A similar change seems to have been made to the visas of Ukrainians who are likewise not allowed to stay in Turkey for more than 90 days out of every six months[89]. Both changes eliminate the category of "semi-legality", as they end the "renewability" effect of rapid mobility. Therefore, the Bulgarian Turks and the Ukrainian Gagauzi or Tatars who continue working in Turkey now face making a choice between giving up on doing irregular migration, or staying in Turkey undocumented like many of their colleagues from elsewhere.

B) Shuttling Regularly between Documentedness and Undocumentedness

For a long time, the Moldovan irregular mobility could be marked as an endeavour of turning undocumentedness into documentedness by shuttling between Moldova and Turkey on a regular basis. Those who are known as "the Moldovans" in Turkey are actually a Turkic minority group called the Gagauzi, numbering about 200,000 people. About 150,000 of them live in Moldova and the rest in Ukraine and Romania. While in terms of all their other customs and

[89] I found out about this change at the time the text was about to be completed and therefore have not had a chance to look into what it is based on. However, given the fact that the changes to the visa statuses of Bulgarians and Ukrainians have happened recently, they may be signalling a larger change in the Turkish visa regime as required by the Schengen harmonizations.

lifestyles they are a clearly Slavicized community, they speak a language that could be described as plain or "authentic" Turkish. Since they first started coming to Turkey to work as domestic workers, they have been on one-month-long sticker visas, which, however, are not long enough to make trips across the border to avoid turning undocumented. Therefore, they accepted falling into an undocumented status for some of the time they spent employed in Turkey, which they would then end by travelling home and then re-entering Turkey on a regular basis.

The "regular" shaping of their "legalization" endeavors was in fact partly the doing of the Turkish state. Its strategy for curtailing irregular migration from the beginning has been *fining* migrants for the length of time that they overstayed their designated visas or visa waivers. When an undocumented migrant wanted to leave Turkey, she had to pay a fee for having stayed there undocumented, which would be a fixed amount for the first six months when she lived there "illegally". That fee would then increase for the time between the first six months and a year, then a higher amount for the time between her first and second undocumented years, and so on[90]. It was therefore economically more sensible to leave Turkey as the end of a term approached before the fines increased to a higher level[91]. This unintentionally gave the shuttlings between Moldova and Turkey a rather regular form. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, most Moldovan domestic workers

[90] The fees increase until the fifth year after when they are stabilized.

[91] My field notes from 2004 show that at that time migrants were fined 1,000 New Turkish Lira, worth about $800, for overstaying their visas for up to 6 months and 1,500 New Turkish Lira, worth about $1200, for overstaying their visas from six months to a year. Since then the system has been modified into a new one. In the new system, the migrants are fined once for overstaying their visas in the amount of 180 TL, which is about $120 and then 95 TL , which is about $65, for every month that they have stayed in Turkey without a valid visa.

therefore stayed and worked in Turkey for periods of approximately seven months (one month plus six months) or 13 months (one month plus one year).

Besides fining migrants for staying in Turkey undocumented, a second strategy that the state utilized was barring irregular migrants who had overstayed their visas from re-entering Turkey for the same length of time that they had been in the "illegal" status. In the initial periods of the irregular labor migration, when the inspection was not as strict, many migrants managed to circumvent this rule by the assistance of the "migration industry"[92]. More specifically, they would either "buy" themselves a new passport with a different identity, which in 2005 cost about $300 in Moldova, or pursue more inventive strategies such as getting divorced from their husbands to be able to use their maiden names or marrying some friend's husband and getting passports with their new last names to then re-enter Turkey that way.

While many migrants made their plans according to this scheme of costs and expenses, some would take even a riskier track to cut down on their "travel" expenses. This was the strategy of getting themselves deported when they planned to leave Turkey. For this they would purposefully go to places where they were likely to get apprehended, as opposed to staying away from the police as they normally do. Yet getting willingly deported was a chancy act because, while it saved them from paying those high fees when leaving Turkey, it also meant getting banned from re-entering Turkey for the next five years. Since this was too long a time to stay at home and wait, many would again avail themselves of the

[92] For further discussion on their involvement for the postsocialist case, see King 2005.

alternative strategies provided by the migration industry to shorten the waiting period.

Similar to what has happened with semi-illegality, the Turkish officials' strong enforcement in the last few years has had its effect on the Moldovan strategy of regular shuttling as well. To keep out those who have been in Turkey undocumented before, the government developed a database that includes the passport numbers of not only those who were once deported but of the overstayers, as well. While my hypothesis has yet to be verified, this database seems to be put together through an artful method. In the initial periods of the migrant domestic workers market, the migrants were obliged to pay their fees at the border just before they left Turkey. At the time I was conducting the fieldwork, however, they were also granted the option of paying it a few days prior to their trips home at the Aliens' Office, located at the main headquarters of the Istanbul Police Department. This would then allow the length of time that they would be denied entry to Turkey to be reduced by half. This initiative created high motivation among the "undocumented" migrants to go willingly to the Aliens Office, where the officials seem to have taken records of the passport numbers of those who had made multiple entries to Turkey over the years. After the initiation of the database, when the Moldovans tried entering Turkey before their ban was lifted, even if they used a name different from the one they used before, they were stopped and sent back[93].This dealt a major blow to the Moldovan strategy of traveling home on a regular basis in order to relegalize their

[93] See Appendix for a similar incident that happened to Anya.

status, compelling Moldovan women to choose between staying in their country for the length of their entry ban or working in Turkey undocumented.

C) Ceaseless Undocumentedness

If the strategy of "semi-illegality" placed all its subjects in a position of undocumentedness, that is, as close to "legality" as possible though not quite in it, at the other end of the scale stood those who were both "illegal" and undocumented. They would be the migrant domestics from countries that are far from Turkey and have visa validities too short to facilitate a strategy of regular shuttling. The migrants in such circumstances, such as those from Turkmenistan[94], Uzbekistan, and Armenia, thus knew when they started working in Turkey in early 2000s that they would have to work in undocumented for extended periods. While initially their rough plan was to stay in Turkey for one to two years, then go back home, and then return Turkey again (that is pursue the Moldovan strategy only over longer cycles), the period when they started working there coincided with the efforts of the Turkish state to curtail the irregular migration. Consequently the migrants from these countries have mostly ended up living in Turkey as undocumented migrants *for the course of their stays in Turkey*. This has helped agencies tag and market them as "advantageously docile" workers, much more than Moldovans or Bulgarians who got notorious over the

[94] Turkmenistan is an interesting case because for the women from there, leaving the country can get as hard as living in Turkey. The Turkmen state in its efforts to curtail trafficking is extra cautious with especially young women or those who were deported form another country when they intend to leave Turkmenistan once again, treating both groups as cases of professional sex work and/or trafficking. When those women that would fit with the description of either group wish to migrate to Turkey, they may need to pay intermediaries up to $3000 to get their passports changed and then enter Turkey via Iran or Azerbaijan.

years for leaving their employers without giving advance notice when they wanted to work elsewhere for higher wages or to go home. The knowledge that women from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Armenia are "stuck" doing domestic work in Turkey has been circulating in the market as a well-known fact, which employers are always encouraged to take the advantage of.

Thus, while in its initial stages the migrant domestic workers market placed different women onto different routes of irregularity in pursuit of "legalization", which was determined mostly by their national visa statuses and to some extent by their ethnic background, the last few years have rather witnessed a fading of these classifications to the detriment of the postsocialist migrants. This then resulted in the relocation of all migrant domestics, whether "ethnic kin" or not, at the most disadvantageous position of "ceaseless undocumentedness". In the current circumstances, therefore, the "legality-illegality" continuum appears more as below:

Legal Status	**"Illegal" Status (aka Ceaseless Undocumentedness)**
*Turkish Domestics	*Bulgarian *Ukrainian *Georgian *Moldovans *Turkmen *Uzbek *Armenian nationals

Table 5

Attempting Documentedness through Legalization

Given the recent determination of the Turkish state to impede the rapid mobility of women from the postsocialist countries in their efforts to stay documented in the same ways that they have been doing for years, the migrant

domestics have rather been compelled to pursue legalization through other means. While the 2000s are marked by the efforts of the Turkish state to curtail the rapid mobility of the migrants, they also witnessed a number of legal regulations that would concern the status of not only the labour migrants but of others as well, including transit migrants, asylum seekers, and trafficked women.

It is important to state here that behind these regularizations there were two very important supranational actors: the EU, to which the Turkish government was obliged to redeem its promise, and the US Department of State. The EU Accession Partnership that Turkey adopted on Mar 8, 2001 also included a roadmap for migration and asylum policy (Tokuzlu 2007). In practice this meant new legislative initiatives, some, but not all of which, have been made subsequently. The other supranational actor, the US Department of State, became an indirect determinant of Turkish migration policy through the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act that it initiated in 2000. Originally the Act placed Turkey in its Tier 3 category, which included the countries whose governments did not make significant efforts to comply with the standards of the Act. In 2004 Turkey was then upgraded first to Tier 2, then the next year out of the Watch List altogether, a reward for countries that were making significant efforts without, however, fully complying with the standards of the Act. To upgrade its position Turkey signed international agreements, such as the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in December 2000, which became effective as of Mar 18, 2003, and also passed a number of laws. Of this legislation, two laws had direct effects on migrant domestics:

1) Marrying a Stranger (or Not)

The first regulation was the amendment (# 4866) made in 2003 to the Turkish Citizenship Law (# 403) in order to bar "pseudo marriages" made between Turkish citizens and noncitizens with the aim of obtaining citizenship. The International Organization of Migration (IOM) report on trafficking in Turkey states that of the 24,300 naturalizations through marriage that were registered between 1995 and 2001, 45 % of them involved Azeris, Georgians, Romanians, and Russians (Erder & Kaşka 2003 p. 34). In the old version, the law permitted the immediate and automatic naturalization of foreigners following the marriage contract. The new amendment, however, introduced a three-year waiting period before the non-Turkish party was allowed to acquire citizenship. In that period, the married couple was also required to live together in the same home. Although the primary target of the law was curtailing trafficking in women in conformity with the international acts which Turkey signed, it nonetheless had a significant effect on the migrant domestic workers as well, because it halted the only semi-legal procedure of acquiring Turkish citizenship for the latter, as well.

As the official records show, this amendment was indeed effective in curtailing marriages between Turkish citizens and foreigners. In 1995, there were 1,148 such marriages, whereas in 2002 the same figure had increased to a high 8,416[95]. After the legislation, the number of naturalizations via marriage dropped to a low of 532 in 2004. In 2005 it was 1,283 and 2,775 in 2006[96]. Marking the

[95] Zaman 12 Ekim 2005
[96] Source: The Ministry of Interior.

decrease from the figures of 2002 to the post-2003 period, it is safe to state that the amendment has been effective in curtailing the "pseudo" marriages, which was the impression I got from the fieldwork, as well.

2) Obtaining a Work Permit

For migrant domestics, once the path of acquiring citizenship through fake marriages was forestalled so was the possibility of acquiring any kind of social rights. Around the same period, however, the Parliament acted to allow work permits to foreigners living in Turkey. Prior to this there was no single law that regulated employment of foreigners. Instead, various laws which regulated different spheres of business included provisions that pertained to the employment of foreigners. With the passing of the Law on Work Permits for Aliens (# 4817), however, all the foreigners, including domestic workers, acquired the right to obtain a formal status.

Nonetheless, scrutinizing the number of migrants who were granted work permits gives a rather confusing picture. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security records give the figures on the migrant domestics who have obtained work permits as of December 2005 as follows (Kaşka 2006, p.33) (Table 6):

Country of Origin	**# of Work Permits Issued**
Moldova	20
Turkmenistan	4
The Philippines	6
Romania	5
France	3
Uzbekistan	3
Other	7
Total	**48**

Juxtaposed with the estimated tens of thousands of workers from these countries who work in the domestic work market, the figures clearly display a discrepancy. To unravel the reasons for this, I will lay out below all the stages that a migrant domestic has to go through in order to obtain a work permit and point out where I believe the impediments to legal status actually lie. My aim in doing so is to offer other ways of thinking about "legality", perhaps not only as a means of keeping the social order intact, but as a way of excluding while appearing to include.

The Procedure for Obtaining a Work Permit:

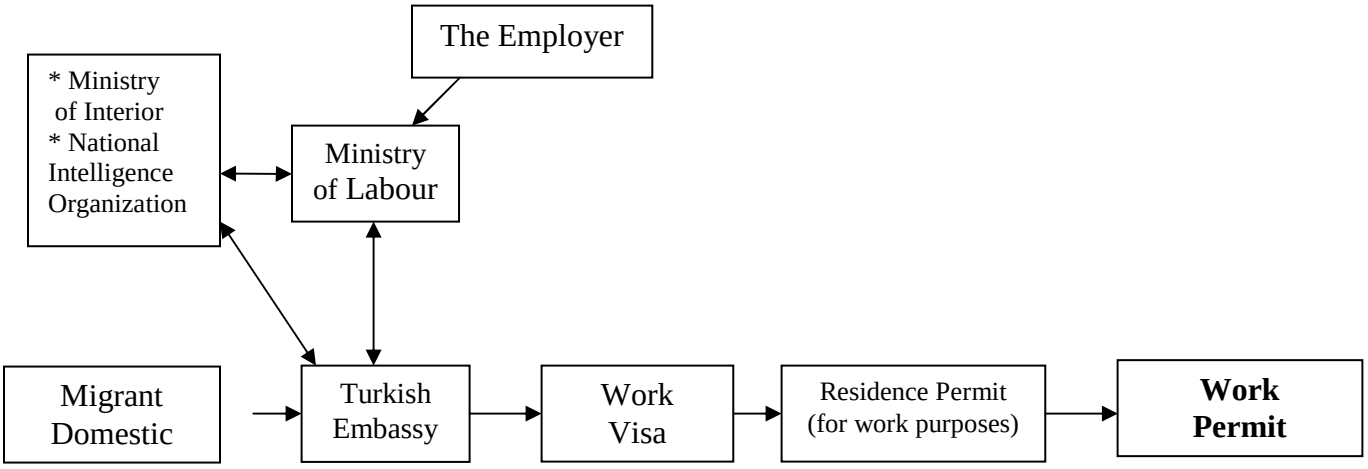

Figure 1

The crucial aspect of the procedure for obtaining a work permit is the need to start *before* the migrant person enters Turkey. First, she has to apply to a Turkish consulate or embassy in her country to get a work visa. In the application, she has to present an appeal for work permit, four copies of the application form filled out, a copy of her passport translated into Turkish and notarized, her

resume, and any documents that prove that she has "expertise" in the field in which she will be employed such as a diploma or a certificate translated into Turkish and notarized.

Once the person makes her application with these documents, her file is then reviewed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which, in doing so, also consults with the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Ministry of Interior, and the National Intelligence Organization (or MIT in Turkish). The main actor in this vetting period is the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, which has the authority to issue work visas. The jobs of the Ministry of Interior and MIT in this procedure are to see whether an applicant might be a security risk. The Ministry of Labor and Social Security is in charge of assessing the impact of granting this work permit on the national labor market in Turkey.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Security is also in charge of assessing the application of the potential employer, which has to be made no longer than three days after the worker makes her application to the Turkish Embassy. This application has to include the documents of the Certificate of Capacity obtained from the public prosecutor's office, a copy of the employer's identity card[97], a proof of residence, documents showing the employment and income status of the employers, copies of the documents submitted by the potential employee to the Turkish Embassy, and a document showing the state of the health of the person to be cared for[98].

[97] In Turkey, everyone is issued an identity card when their birth records are made.
[98] This is a crucial discrepancy about how caregivers are expected to have specialized in medical fields and how it works in reality. For more on this, see Chapter 3 on elder care.

If all the ministries consulted throughout the procedure give their permission, the embassy where the initial application was made issues a work visa, with which the person then enters Turkey. Once the migrant enters Turkey on this visa, she is then obliged to get first her work permit and then her residence permit, which together legalize her to be employed in Turkey. Assuming that the migrant domestic has managed to pass through all these stages, the work permit is initially issued for one year as a "limited permit". Before it expires, however, its holder has the right to renew it twice, first for an additional two years and then for another three years. At each renewal, the person's file is reviewed by the Ministry of Labor[99], which is not held to the renewal dates, since it can render the permit void at any time.

In the hypothetical (and almost impossible) case that all of these conditions are met and that a migrant worker has been granted a work permit kept valid for six consecutive years, she is then entitled to switch to an "unlimited permit" that allows her to work in Turkey indefinitely. The possibility for a foreigner to obtain the right to work in Turkey indefinitely, while it appears to be a highly progressive and civil system, actually presents a very slim chance for a foreigner to become legal, as this is ultimately an outcome that the Turkish state does not want. For the state, the unlimited permit has a number of potential drawbacks. They range from posing a threat to the indigenous labor market, to endangering "the Turkish family" through promiscuity, to "contaminating" the nation with not-quite-"of-Turkish-culture" ways, all of which the Turkish state

[99] That's only if the person has not moved between employers since her file needs to be fully scrutinized by all the ministries listed earlier every time she changes her address.

prefers to avoid. While the long bureaucratic process or the complexity of the procedure by itself appears sufficient to indicate the near impossibility for migrant domestic workers to obtain work permits, there are in fact two specific traps embedded in the procedure which make work permits simply unattainable.

The first one is the "arbitrariness-as-power" that is scattered throughout the procedure. As the main authority for determining whether foreign labor is needed for the national economy, the Ministry of Labor is entitled to halt the application procedure or to withdraw a work permit that it issued merely by citing the unemployment rates in Turkey, which are always high, since Turkey has a large peasant population and is not fully industrialized. In other words, the ultimate rationale that can be used at any point to halt the employment of foreigners is in fact a situation that preceded the Work Permit Law and will continue despite it. Yet the use of the unemployment rate is officially (read legally) treated as a possibility which can emerge sporadically and which would then compel the officials to withdraw the rights granted to foreigners.

There is, however, a second trap implanted in the procedure. As the chart and rules spelled out above illustrate, the Law on Work Permits for Aliens requires a migrant to start the procedure *before* she enters the country, thus ruling out the possibility of turning visa waivers or sticker visas into work permits, even when the person makes her application before her visa expires or when there is an employer willing to sponsor her stay in Turkey or to vouch for her. Remembering that sticker visas and visa waivers are *the only* way for migrants to enter Turkey and work, imposing a rule of starting the (long and complicated) procedure for

legalization before the person enters the country and/or gets a job there only shows that the interest of the state lies more in making the procedure so complicated as to hinder employment rather than to facilitate workers' legalization.

Given the fact that the migrant domestics' earlier practices of semi-legalization through rapid mobility or through fake marriages are no longer strategies that yield them some kind of documentedness, the work permit now stands as the only possible road to legalization. Its design, however, clearly illustrates that it is a way to legalization in appearance only. In reality it is configured to make sure that foreigners are excluded whenever they are not welcome by the state. On the topic exclusion through legality, the Agambenian concept of "the state of exception" has been hailed as an apt concept for theorizing about how various groups are placed at "the margins" of the Westphalian system and/or of the neoliberal order of things. The Agambenian formulation alludes to a political position of being neither on the inside nor on the outside, as these actors of "the margins" find themselves subject to the law but not of the law (Agamben, cited in Salter 2008: 367). However, Aihwa Ong makes an interesting note in arguing that in the way that is it commonly used, the exception is thought of only as the sovereign capacity to *exclude.* Yet, she suggests the exception "can also be a positive decision to *include selected populations* and spaces as targets of 'calculative choices and value' orientation associated with neoliberal reform" (Ong year: 5) Following Ong, the idea of exception can also be read as a form of governance that is akin to the Foucaultian idea of power being

productive. If we were to apply this approach to the law on work permits, we see it to be a realm that aims not only to exclude some populations, but also to include others.

More specifically, a circular of the General Directorate of Security (no: 155, dated Oct 2, 2003) lays out in its opening paragraphs the basic principles of how the Work Permit Law is to be enforced as follows:

> People of foreign nationalities will make their work permit applications from *outside Turkey*.
>
> However, except for the residence permits issued for educational purposes, those who have obtained residence permits which are valid for at least six months and have not yet expired, or their employers, can make their applications directly to Labour Ministry from *inside Turkey*[100].
>
> Yet, those people of foreign nationality, who have entered Turkey on ***tourist visas*** or other visas that do not entail work purposes or within the scope of such international agreements as those Turkey takes part in, which envisage ***visa exemption*** programs and other visa benefits and who do not possess a residence permit, *cannot apply for a work permit* from inside Turkey.
>
> On the other hand, the people who will be directly employed in *special* ***foreign investments*** *as* ***key personnel*** *and their employers* may apply directly to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, if the said person of foreign nationality is ***in Turkey legally***.

The circular first defines who is to be excluded from eligibility to apply for a work permit in Turkey (all the foreigners in Turkey on tourist visas or visa exemptions) but later adds who can, however, be excluded from what itself excludes in order to now be included (those with high human capital and/or affiliated with multinational capital even if they are in Turkey on tourist visas or

[100] At first this paragraph seems to suggest that for undocumented migrants, there is a second possibility of obtaining work permits which they can have if they have resident permits. Obtaining the latter however is almost impossible for migrants like domestic worker who enter the country on visa waivers or sticker visas.

visa exemptions). This seems like a hinge "between neoliberalism as exception and exception to neoliberalism" that Ong talks about (2006 p.5) which first ranks all the groups that are subject to it and then determines who is to be excluded all the time and who is then to be exclusively excluded to sometimes be included, as the relations between the state and neoliberalism alter over time.

Migrancy as a State of Unceasing Undocumentedness

The end result of all this is for the migrant domestics to have to live with "a technology of citizenship" (Walters 2002: 267) that is not, however, as Cruikshank suggests, based on deportation per se but, as De Genova shows, on "a palpable sense of *deportability" (*De Genova 2004, p. 161). This affects even those migrants who work under the most agreeable conditions possible, such as in the case of Moldovan Nina. Caring for the new born daughter of a sensitive couple in their mid-30s who limited Nina's responsibilities to childcare only, Nina's work conditions were some of the most acceptable ones I came across. Also employing a Turkish domestic one day a week for the heavy cleaning and doing all the remaining daily tasks themselves, the employers tried to make sure there would indeed be no extra work left for her[101]. As they both worked full time, Nina would spend all day with their little girl. While many families request that their caregivers take their children to the playground, Nina's employers did not. The mother explained her reasoning behind this as follows:

That was the only restriction we had on her. We did not want Nina to go out with Melis, because Nina panicked really badly when she was out by herself [for fear

[101] Nina's employers were the only case I came across where the father was mentioned to be actively involved in housework and childcare.

of being deported]. We were not home during the day and she would be here with Melis. And if she went out with Melis, she would panic. And she did not want to do so herself either. But then, staying home all day really distressed her. She would say to us "It's depressing being all alone the whole day, and when you come home, you have your own things to take care of". But even then we could not tell her to go out and look around, because she would be so scared on her way back. She would be scared (even) taking the *dolmuş*[102], so she would wrap herself up really tightly, cover her hair, and all that. She had these kinds of worries because she has a fair complexion. But that is not necessarily the problem. Even if you are dark complected, you know the situation in Turkey. She is rather a handsome woman, well built, the kind you would know was a foreigner when you looked at her. And then she was harassed a couple of times, too. She was robbed, her purse was stolen. In fact her necklace with a cross and her monthly salary that she was going to send home were stolen, and she was very depressed…Would I still restrict her going out if she didn't panic so easily? I'm not sure what I would do. Even if you have confidence in her, you can't be sure about other people. You imagine all sorts of scenarios.

Nina's story is interesting for revealing the hardship of working as a migrant domestic even when the employers treat their workers kindly and do not themselves try to make her labor "available" by passing more tasks on to her in a systematic manner. Considering that Nina was not expected to take up any more tasks than childcare, her work conditions could be tagged as similar to those of a live-out domestic worker. Yet, even in the case of a relatively positive work environment, her status of being limited *to the home* prevailed, since her chance of being active outside the home was still restricted, mostly by what I will call the spectral presence of her undocumentedness. For migrant domestics, going out on off days or at other times, if they have that chance, to some extent always means facing their deportability. While there are some strategies to minimize that risk,

[102] Private taxies which shuttle regularly on the same routes and which carry passengers who share the total fare. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dolmus#Dolmu.C5.9F_.28Turkey.29

such as avoiding to go certain places in Istanbul[103] that the police are known to raid, not hanging out in large groups that can attract attention, or putting on headscarves to look like Turkish women (as Nina is said to have done), deportability is nonetheless likely to haunt all migrant domestics to some extent as long as they are in the state of undocumentedness.

Therefore, the significance of the arguments laid out in this chapter on how the undocumented status of migrant domestics is sustained by the policies of the Turkish state does not stem only as political issues. What I rather aim to demonstrate is how the political contributes to the making of the economic. In other words, *availability* can only be understood through its association with *deportability*, since the latter leads also to a *self-imposed* restriction of the workers *to the home*. In such circumstances, deportability may said to be circulating as a kind of intensity then "infolding" with the body of the migrant domestic and contributing to the employing family's maintenance of her availability inside the home, as that very home turns out to be the only place to shield the "illegality" of her working undocumented. The intimidation exists simultaneously within and without the migrant's body. As the outside is fraught with risks of deportability, the intimidation that such risk cause first "stick"s (Ahmed 2004, p.79) on the migrant domestics' bodies, then "containing [them] within [the walls] through the way it shrinks the body or constitutes the bodily

[103] Aksaray and Laleli which, depending on the period, have been the centers for shuttle trading, migrant smuggling, sex trade and so on continue functioning as the "Russian Town" of Istanbul. Many of the shipping and export firms that do business with the formerly socialist states are still located in these neighborhoods. Because of that they have also turned into a second address for the entire postsocialist migrant in Istanbul to meet with one another. For more on these neighborhoods, see Yükseker 2002.

surface through an expectant withdrawal from a world that [presents] itself as dangerous" (Ahmed 2004, p.70). Later it moves to the inside the body "without at any point leaving [the] surface" (Grosz 1994, p.117). Intimidation stays both *inside the bodies* in the form of "emotion"[104], as fear or anxiety (Salter 2008, p. 373), but also *on the bodies* as that which keeps them from joining the crowds outside, as they would have had the intimidation of illegality not been present.

Conclusion:

In grappling with a similar question of "old groups, new migrations" through a comparative research on the migrations of the Turkish-speaking Bulgarian citizens and Iraqi Turkmens, Parla and Danış argue that what marks the post-1990s as a new period in migrations to Turkey is the diminishing role cast for it in terms of cultivating "the nation". In the past, when the "Turkish"/Muslim communities of the Balkans that had this role, they were consequently placed at the top tier of the (im)migration policy and practice. In the post-90s period, this specifically defined identity loses its importance. In practice this has meant that those Turkish/Muslim communities of the Balkans got demoted from their position as the most favorable "ethnic kin" of the Turkish nation to being merely "undocumented migrants". Danış and Parla argue that, in the new scheme of things, the novel role cast for these "diasporic" groups is rather to have some impact on the local politics of the countries where they are settled. In terms of the Turkish migration policy, this change of attitude towards even the most

[104]See Masummi 2002 for the difference between affect and emotion.

favourable “ethnic kin” translates as the emergence of a new approach that deems migrants of all backgrounds as unwelcome.

Ethnicity for the Turkish policy on migration then seems to have lost the importance that it once had. As it appears from the margins where the laws locate them vis-à-vis the state, migrants in Turkey are welcome only as consumers or importers. As workers, however, they are deemed redundant by the state, unless however they are affiliated with the multinational capital, which then their employment may be allowed to be “exceptionally included”.

Conclusion

"There is a marking of populations-some as valuable life, and others as without value" (Clough, 2007 p.25).

"Whose lives count as lives?" (Butler 2003: 10)

Even at their worst moment, it would be going too far to suggest that the lives of migrant domestics of postsocialism do not count as lives. It would at least mean undermining many other stories, especially of those narrated by anthropologists, on what it is like to be living in the margins of the age that we are in[105]. Yet, Butler's question is still relevant for understanding the experiences of migrant domestics in Turkey, especially when we transpose it along with Clough's statement above, as "what makes some/their lives to (still) count as lives?" Restated as so, the question then leads us to inquire about the factors of political-economy and interpersonal relations that "mark" some populations to acquire (or retain) certain capacities by which they then become valuable.

More specifically in the case of postsocialism, the "transition", besides all the other "transformations" that it might also have been[106], was at the same time a recategorization of the populations of the formerly socialist system on the basis of where they were to stand in the new market society now. In the new order of things, while some of them were able to relocate themselves onto new social and economic positions, others were merely turned into surplus populations (Scheper-Hughes 2000), since the "transition" as a conveyor belt was did not have room on it for everyone.

[105] See for example Biehl 2005.
[106] See Introduction for a discussion on "the transition" vs. the transformation.

In this research, my aim was to display that while the changes that the societies of postsocialism went though might have turned some people into "abandoned, rejected, excluded" (2004 p:131) groups, as Bauman describes the surplus populations of the "liquid modernity" (2004: 97), the migrant domestic workers in Turkey have not nevertheless become "redundant" (2004:12), i.e. another term that he uses to describe surplus populations, since the migrant domestics were able to revalorize themselves through *affect*. In Hardt and Negri's words, migrants "may often travel empty-handed in conditions of extreme poverty, but even then they are full of knowledges, languages, skills and creative capacities: each migrant brings with him or her *an entire world*" (2005:133). In the case of migrant domestics in Turkey, I argue that this "entire world" that Hardt and Negri talk about should be thought as the *embodied subjectivities* (Grosz 1994) of the migrant domestics with all its material and immaterial aspects. Once they arrive in Turkey, these embodied subjectivities then get revolarised, in some cases as mere corporealities since the job may only demand from them the simple physical task of being in the home of the employer when nobody else is. Then in other cases they may be need to transfer the vitality in them onto other bodies, whether through physical or nonphysical tasks. Just like in the example of the housewife who whistles while she labours, which Deleuze and Guatati note "is the whistling and comfort effect that is home, not the house necessarily" (Wise 2000: 300), the migrant domestics are hired *also* for the whistling, or whatever else they might be bringing where they work with their embodied subjectivities, which even when it may appear as nonwork, is

nonetheless crucial in terms of (re)valorizing the labor of postsocialist migrants and keeping them from turning into redundant bodies.

Perhaps the next question to pose is how unprecedented or unique it is for the migrant domestics to be possessing such capacities of affect in order to then transfer them onto other bodies. After all, whether done in a professional capacity or not, isn't domestic work always about affect to some extent? Some clues to the answer for this question seem to lie in the narratives of the Turkish employers. Interestingly, in responding to what the advantages and disadvantages of employing postsocialist women as live-in workers have been for them, many answers steered towards old stories of "adopted daughters" (*evlatlik*), i.e. an old institution of taking in small girls from poor families, usually of the rural side, who would then be raised in the ambiguous position of being between a child to the family and their live-in servants (Özbay 1999). Initially derived out of the more extensive slavery system of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century, the institution persisted in the early periods of the Republic as well as later on, even though it was officially abolished in 1964 for being a system that denied the adoptees the right to inherit property. Its real dwindling however came after the mass rural-to-urban exodus in the 1950's when a new class of women from the new urban poor who were willing to turn their everyday practices at home into professional domestic help, emerged. The live-out domestics then played an important role in curtailing the demand for the adopted girls. After that, the adopted daughters faded into oblivion until the 2000's, when the arrival of migrant domestics caused the employers to revisit the narratives about them.

Since there is very little research done on the adopted daughters, it is very hard to track the affective transfer between them and their employers in order to then compare it with the experiences of the migrant domestics[107]. Yet, the resurfacing of the stories about it when there was no lead for it in the initial question, seems to verify a resemblance between the two groups. What I want to underline is that this resonance between the two groups stems from their both being *positioned* at a point that is in the same social proximity vis-à-vis the employer family. It is this similar positioning of both groups, as being neither insiders nor outsiders to the family that they work for, that has then given the circulation of affects through the bodies of the two labour groups a similar form. As Spivak was reminding us (See Introduction), gauging the worth of labor is only possible by also looking at how the laborer who embodies it is "categorized" in a global mapping of its kinds and where that category then stands in relation, or *difference*, to the other similar categories (1996, 1999). What migrant domestics seem to be reminding the Turkish employers of, is how convenient it is to have an (available) source of labour *inside* the home, who is ready to meet all of their needs that are related to their domestic life.

In understanding the (upper) middle class Turkish employers' demand for a labour power that is located in specifically such an ambiguous position, it is also important to underline the crucial absence of the Turkish state in almost all affairs that are related with domestic life and carework. Even in other (and possibly more

[107] I am grateful to Ferhunde Özbay for sharing with me all her ideas as well as unpublished work on the adopted daughters. Her research is the only one that I know of on adopted daughters.

critical) matters of gender, such as domestic violence and honor killings[108], the Turkish state has "traditionally"[109] chosen to leave the ultimate authority in dealing with these matters into the hands of a patriarchal ideology, which has casted an all-domestic role for women, and another one of overseeing that domestic role to men. When the state keeps its distance from the family in order to avoid what it deems to be "intervening" with domestic matters, this then leaves the family by itself in all kinds of matters, including its care-related needs. Under such circumstances, outsourcing the domestic work to professional workers becomes the most convenient option. This way, the actual doing of the work is separated from its management, which the latter still stays with the employers. Migrant domestics remind the employers of the adopted daughters, because both groups are socially located at the same place vis a vis the employers, from where they can render a flexibility without challenging the general organization of care and domestic work in Turkey.

The similarities noted between the two labor groups should not however be taken to suggest that migrant domestics can simply be tagged as the adopted daughters of the 21st Century. As a matter of fact, the switch from the indigenous workers, be it the live-out cleaners or the adopted daughters, to migrant domestics was after all a kind of the globalization of what's been (gendered) local until now (Eng 2006). The change that came about with this kind of a globalization seems to especially be epitomized in the status of "migrancy". When the only source of labor for professional domestic work was the indigenous women, that is either the

[108] For some very good discussions on the topic, see Koğacıoğlu 2004, Parla 2001.
[109] See Footnote #15 for how I approach tradition, especially when it comes to the role of the state in gender relations.

adopted girls or the live-out domestics, (upper) middle class families would have to do a search through their personal connections in order to find a worker willing to do the job. In some cases, the potential employers could even need to do some work of "persuasion" in order to wrest the daily practices of the poor women into professional services. One of the main differences that came about with the employment of migrant women in the domestic work sector was the elimination of this stage of persuasion work. Instead, upon the women's entrance into it, migracy immediately turns their bodies into the commodity form in the way that it is demanded in the domestic work market and so prepares them to be hired by whoever is in need of full time domestic services. The organization of domestic work in this new form now precedes and succeeds the actual employments of the migrant women. Rather it "infolds" (Rose, 1998: 37) their embodied subjectivities with a state of "availability" that is then easily intermediated by the emergent market for it.

Besides the role that it plays in the commodification of the embodied subjectivities of the "foreign" domestics, migrancy plays a second role that is important especially in underlining the transnational facet of the new market. In Chapter 5 I expounded on the fear of "deportability", which is based on the migrant domestics' concern of getting disrobed of the means for making a living for her family. Yet, the idea of a "home" that awaits them at home which will accommodate them in a possible worst case scenario is still an empowering tool for the migrant domestics especially when they find themselves negotiating with their circumstances. For many of the adopted daughters on the other hand, "going

back home" could not have been a possibility, since it would mean taking a move backwards. The institution of adopted daughters was structured precisely on the impossibility of the girls' returning home, not for reasons to do with the use of physical force and so on, but because it would be hindered by the ideological supremacy of the urban over the rural or that of being wealthy over being poor. Going back home, if there was still such a place waiting for them, would -at least- mean retracting an augmentation in value that the young girls had acquired by the "modernizing" power of their upward mobility. Even though migration has a similar effect of upward mobility, its embeddedness at multiple locations eases off the impact of the upward mobility effect involved there. Migration rather makes it seem as if the clock could be put forward or back whenever the person moves between places, which is an effect that would never be possible for the adopted daughters who only find themselves stuck within time but never between places.

That is why it is very important not to confuse "availability" with other concepts such as "the new slavery" (Bales 1999). The possibility of irregular mobility, as undocumented, costly or illegal as it may be, nonetheless gives migrant domestics more room for negotiation about all kinds of problems they come across, which is in fact precisely why the nostalgia for adopted daughters is surfacing now. The more employers enjoy what availability renders them, the more they want to overconsume it. While the migrant domestics might be providing the employers with available labor, the latter want it to be available AND tamed, something hindered by the unruly form of irregular migrancy that provides the employers with available labor.

Appendix

In February 1999, my maternal grandmother who was born in 1909 contracted severe dyspnea caused by a simple flu. Until then, she had been in almost perfect health, except for a heart attack that she had had about a decade ago, which however was kept under control with medication. Two months before her illness I remember having helped her do her taxes when she displayed her existing ability to do math off the top of her head. The dyspnea however left her so weak that she was no longer able to even stand up long enough to cook for herself or go to the bathroom. As the doctor told us, this physical illness made a traumatic effect on her both bodily and mentally which was to have permanent consequences, as it usually happens with old patients. Following her illness, my mother took charge of my grandmother's care for a while. A working mother of two, she was however already entrapped in her own double shift, which with the addition of my grandmother's domestic affairs would now be tripled. Unable to juggle all these responsibilities for long, my mother told me one day that the only solution to the problem appeared to be hiring "a Moldovan lady", as she had heard a friend of hers was doing.

A masters student in sociology at the time, I was neither sure where, or even what, Moldova was, nor able to fully grasp what that seemingly new group of "Moldovan women" were doing in Istanbul. A few weeks later, around the same time when I was moving out of my parents home and in with some friends for the first time in my life, my mother asked me to join them; my parents, my younger sister, my grandmother and her new Moldovan caregiver, in my

grandmother's home for a sort of good-bye-to-Ayse-and-welcome-to-Anya-themed dinner party.

I remember very clearly the first time I saw Anya[110]. She was standing in the kitchen across from the main door of the apartment. A stout woman with a boyish hair cut, she had a look on her face that was either reserved or intimidated. When my mother came in to introduce me to her, I remember thinking that as the granddaughter of her care receiver, my responsibility to Anya would have to be making her feel comfortable living there. As a member of a family of all self-proclaimed leftists whose employment of a full time live-in worker had ontological problems, I thought the only way for me to bypass the intricacies of this matter would be by showing as much affection to Anya as I could. She, on the other, kept her reserved**,** somewhat cold but also extremely respectful attitude, which was to pass only in time. I however probably never got over feeling guilty for being the "padruganın vunuchkası"[111] and so came out this research.

The toughest game that Anya had to win was, of course, not her relationship with me or anyone else in the family but with my grandmother. Being used to living alone and doing all her work herself since my grandfather's death in 1970, my grandmother at first treated Anya like a coup that my mother pulled on her. The first year when they lived together, she kept onto her rigid attitude towards Anya and would decline the latter's help as much as possible. When she would eat the food that Anya cooked for her, for example, she would make it

[110] Because she was very much a part of the research, I had no choice but use Anya's real name when writing her life story. With her close relatives, however, I only used the first letter of the names, to keep their anonymity to the extent that it is possible.
[111] Half Russian, half Turkish and therefore very Gagauzian, the expression means "the granddaughter of the boss".

seem like she was deigning. Funny enough, this in a way was true because the main reason for Anya's employment was letting the others in the family go on with their lives in its usual course, which would not be possible, however, without my grandmother's cooperation.

Anya eventually won over my grandmother's heart by getting her addicted to endless daily indulgences. These would include letting her drink super sweet fruit juice every time she was thirsty or letting eat boxes of chocolate whenever she wanted a snack or scratching her back for hours, or feeding her herself. In time, my grandmother figured out that she no longer had to make any effort for anything that she wanted or needed. The only thing she now had to do was to call out Anya's name, which she had modified to her own version of "Ağna", who in return would call her back "Ağne" (a modified a la Gagauzi version of "Anne", which in Turkish means "mother"). When Anya went home to Moldova and left fellow villagers in her place over the years, my grandmother never bothered with learning the other women's names. To her, they were all "Ağna", someone who would get for her anything and everything as she liked it.

It has been more than ten years since Anya first moved in with my grandmother. Over the years, my grandmother's condition only grew worse, both physically and mentally, including the progression of dementia, something inevitable for her age. Once a career woman with a university degree which was a rare thing for a woman in her times, she has for the last many years been spending all her time lying on the couch in her living room in a state of semiconsciousness and getting up only to eat or to go to the bathroom. As her dementia progressed,

she was no longer able to remember the names of any of us, except for “Ağna”s. A few months prior to the writing of this section, we celebrated her 100th birthday, a date we don’t know for sure since she was born at a time so long ago that birth dates were not recorded then.

Except for the breaks that she took to go to her home in Moldova, Anya has been the sole caregiver of my grandmother. In a labor market where both employers and employees tend to change one another in short periods of time, working for the same employer for ten years is a very long time. When I submitted my proposal for this research to my department with this fact underlined in order to explicate what qualified Anya to be my primary informant, I was posed with a question of whether I was insinuating my family to be more moral than other employer families by pointing out this fact. While that is certainly not a conscious intent of mine, I would certainly like to hope that my family has been able to treat their employee with utmost respect that anyone deserves. As for what has kept Anya working for grandmother for so long, it’s important to recognize the role that other factors have played in this process besides respect. Thanks to my grandmother’s savings, from the beginning Anya has been paid around or above the market average, while all of her travel expenses and her visa fees (see Chapter 5) have also been covered for her. Another factor, which Anya underlined for me herself that has been effective in keeping her from considering other employment options, was the privacy she was able to keep, thanks to having no one else than my grandmother, especially any men, living there. Finally my overall assessment is that Anya is less of a risk taker

for short term gains than some of her fellow villagers who would leave the family that they worked for**,** for simply being promised a bit of a raise elsewhere. Anya however, thought that in the long run she was better off staying where she was, where she knew she would not have to grapple with any unexpected twists or surprises.

Anya was born in 1961 in a Gagauzi village, south of Moldova. Tricked by her future husband into eloping with him at the age of eighteen, a practice which from my observations seems to be rather common in that area, she had two children; a daughter born in 1980 and a son in 1982. Her daughter, L., got married in 2000 and gave birth to two children herself. Her son V. was born the same year, while her daughter, T. (named also after my grandmother whose name is Talia) was born in 2008. Besides Anya, the only other person who had a regular job in the family was her son, G. who has worked as a construction worker in Ukraine since 2002. Although L too spent some years in Turkey doing carework, she did not however turn the work into a primary responsibility she held towards her family like Anya did.

In the Soviet times, Anya worked as a dressmaker in the workshop of her village where she started in 1978. A woman with clear management skills, she was then promoted to being the director there in 1985. Besides this official position, she would also take part in the secondary economy by doing things like buying fish from Ukraine, fuming it at home and then selling it in towns in Romania, doing plastering in constructions, selling fresh produce like walnuts, onion, garlic, green beans all grown in her own garden in local markets in

Romania and Ukraine, or making wine and fruit raki and again selling them in those local markets. In 1997, after the Moldovan independence and after decollectivization had already started, the dressmaking workshop was robbed six times, in the last of which all of the fifteen sewing machines there were taken. Retired de facto, Anya for a while did more plastering professionally until she heard about the opportunity of working in Turkish homes from a friend of hers.

Anya first came to Turkey in 1997 with a one way ticket and a cash of $150 in her pocket that she had borrowed from the same friend. After arriving in Istanbul, she went to an agency that her friend had put her in touch with, where her future employer was already waiting for her. She was originally hired as a caregiver to an old lady. However in time she found out that her care receiver did not live alone but with one son who was divorced and had a 10 year old son, a daughter also divorced who also had a 12 year old son and a third son who would mostly be traveling for work reasons but would come by and stay with them when in the city. As the “available” worker of the whole family, Anya was put in charge of pretty much anything that anyone in the apartment asked from her. She worked for the same family for two rounds of six month periods. When the family refused to pay her her last month’s salary before she went to Moldova at the end of the second round to guarantee her employment with them for a third time, she began contemplating alternative options. Having heard about another opportunity from her sister, who at the time was in Turkey working as a caregiver to an old lady, she came to work for that family, who happened to be my grandmother, in 1999.

In the summer of 2005, I went to Moldova with Anya to stay there for two weeks and get a sense of the life there. Although under normal circumstances, she would go home by air to Izmail, Ukraine from where she would take a bus home, we instead flew to Chisinau, the capital of Moldova, so that I would not need to also apply for a Ukrainian visa. In Chisinau, we were greeted by a fellow villager of Anya's, who I too knew from his business of running a shuttle minibus between the Gagauzi villages in Ukraine and Moldova and Istanbul for delivering goods and remittances. After a three hour drive on that same minibus, we arrived in Anya's home village.

I met Anya's husband and son-in-law for the first time that night (the details of our encounter have been recounted in Chapter 3). Her husband, T, born in 1953, was a man who like many other men in the region was once a heavy drinker who later quit. Before the demise of the SU, he worked at the local kolhoz (collective farm) as a tractor operator between 1978 and 1997. Anya's son-in-law, B, was too employed at the kolhoz as a truck driver. He stayed as an employee of the kolhoz where production would continue on a sporadic basis in the absence of government funds for it. In 2005, he was let go with the use right to the truck. For the two weeks that I stayed in their home, B. would get up at 4 am every morning as he used to do and go to the kolhoz to see if there were any owners of the now decollectivized plots who wanted to rent the truck for the day. Most days he would come back an hour later. Finding work only on a sporadic basis, he made about $25-30 a month in the summer of 2005. Recently I found out that the local

administrators took the truck that was still a collective property back from him and gave it to a petty entrepreneur who “asked” it from them.

As someone who was conducting research on the migrant domestic workers market in Turkey, one of the most intriguing details for me during my stay in Moldova was to see substantial traces of their lives in Turkey back in the villages. A most fascinating one was to see many women carry plastic bags of fancy stores, like Çarşı or Vakko, in Turkey when going on visits to one another or shopping at the local market. Serving the function of a backpack and/or a shopping net to carry all the extra things that their purses would not hold in, the bags were a clear indicator of how many of these women had been to Turkey at least once, as well as a rather postmodern signifier of the impact of the Turkish economy on this region.

Over the years, I have had many conversations with Anya about what it is like being a Gagauzi woman, and about being once a worker under socialism and now a domestic worker in the postsocialist “transition”. She would always tell me that for the women in her village, going to Turkey was never the only option to keep their lives going. There were other women whose husbands “loved their wives enough to take the burden” and would themselves go to places like Ukraine or Moscow where there were jobs for men mainly in the construction business. Such women could then stay at home and look after the children and the home, rather than taking all the responsibility, socially, emotionally and financially for the whole family. In Anya’s case, she believed, she had the luck, or the lack thereof, of having those two men in her life, her husband and her son-in-law, who

on the one hand would rant the whole time about being left at home and having to spend their lives apart from their wives and who on the other would do nothing to change the circumstances. If it was left to T, there never was a reason for Anya to go to Turkey since they could always live off their small family plots. His one time of trying migration as a full time job was in 1997 when he went to Moscow to work at constructions. Three months later when he was coming home after earning $100 there, he got robbed in Ukraine when he was trying to change the money. That was the end of his experience of professional migration which from then on he always saw as a cause for more trouble. This approach however did not keep him from going into arguments with Anya over the phone regarding how much cash she was supposed to send him.

Over the years when she worked in Turkey, the money Anya earned has first and foremost been spent on the daily needs of the family members at home. What was left of that, she spent on mainly two things. One was a series of extraordinary occasions that included both some happy ones, such as L's wedding, but also other unfortunate ones like important health problems such as an operation V had to have when he was a baby or a series of other ones that L had after a traffic accident she had last year. Being no longer workers entitled to full health coverage, they had to pay for all these operations solely themselves.

The rest of Anya's earnings put aside after having paid for these major expenses have been invested in one major project; the renovation or perhaps more appropriately the rebuilding, of their house. Once a small house with a few rooms, a small kitchen, and no built-in toilet, the house is now at least twice as big, with

many new rooms, a full kitchen, a full bathroom, other halls and storage areas added. A crucial reminder here is that Anya's village, as well as others in the area, has no central sewerage or drainage infrastructure that should be a must for any bathroom or kitchen built in the structure of the urban form. When I was there in 2005, the function of a toilet was fulfilled by a hole dug in the far end of the garden that was covered with a wooden booth. For bathing, they would use a washbasin outside the house in the backyard, summer or winter. When I visited them in 2005, all the houses were in competition with one another in terms of who was going to build the fanciest bathroom or kitchen, even though there were no scheduled plans for the construction of a drainage or sewage system in the village.

In the ideal scenario of the renovation of a house, a migrant domestic would save as much of the income she made over the year as she could, thanks mainly to working live-in, and would spend all those savings on the renovations of the house in the summer. When the summer ended, the money would all be finished as well, which would mean for her time to go back to Turkey to earn a new round so that she would be able to continue with the renovations again next year. When, and if, a family was indeed able to finish the renovation process, they would then start contemplating what to do with their remaining income if there was any money left. Usually this is not the case however and the women have to continue working for years because of the long term loans and commitments they have made. In Anya's case, the renovations she was making to her house (she was literally doing most of the work herself), were also an investment in her son's dowry as he was supposed to live with his parents in that house with his bride

when the time came. The plan was that when everything was finished, G would move back home from Ukraine, get married and settle with his parents. At the time of the writing of this section, and more than ten years after they first started the renovations, the house had not yet been finished.

The first few years that Anya was working for my grandmother, she would go home once a year in the summer for a few months, when she would leave someone she trusted in her place. As the fines for overstaying visas paid by my family increased, she chose to go home every two years. In 2008 however when Anya's daughter L who was six months pregnant with T had a car accident, Anya left for Moldova abruptly. L had several broken bones in one arm and also severe scars on her face. She first stayed in the hospital that is in the biggest town nearby for a few weeks and then was taken to another hospital in Chineau where she stayed for two months. To oversee L's treatment, Anya stayed in Moldova for six months. When L was in good health again after several operations on her arm and her face and after T was born healthy and uninjured, Anya tried entering back to Turkey in her regular way of flying to Istanbul from Izmail. She was however turned down at the passport control because the period of time that she was banned from reentering Turkey was not yet over (For more on this, please see Chapter 5). Therefore she was forced to fly back to Moldova on the same plane. Seeing her only option now was to wait until that ban period would be up, which meant waiting in Moldova for a couple of years before she would be allowed to enter Turkey again on a tourist visa (See Chapter 5 on why she was unable to get a work permit even in the case of a sponsoring employer), she contacted

smugglers who, a few weeks later flew her to a summer resort in Turkey from where she came to Istanbul by bus. Next time she goes back to Moldova again, she will have to contact the same smugglers who will arrange for their insider men who will let her out of the country. Because the operations of L cost the family thousands of dollars and put them in a lot of debt, it's unlikely that Anya will be able to go home any time soon. It has been ten years and we continue counting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ahmed, Sara. 2004. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Akalin, Ayse. 2007a. "Hired as a Caregiver, Demanded as a Housewife: Becoming a Migrant Domestic Worker in Turkey." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 14: 209-225.

Akalin Ayse. 2007b. "Turning Labour into Love: The Employment of Migrant Domestic Workers in Turkey, Migration and Mobility in Enlarged Europe." Pp 91-108 in *Migration and Mobility in Enlarged Europe: A Gender Perspective* edited by A. S. Münst, S Metz-Göckel, M. Morokvasic-Müller. Leverkusen Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers.

Andall, Jacqueline. 2000. *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service: The Politics of Black Women in Italy.* Aldergate: Ashgate.

Anderson, Bridget. 2000. *Doing the Dirty Work.* London: Zed Books.

Anagnost, Ann. 2004. "The Corporeal Politics of Quality (Suzhi)." *Public Culture* 16: 189-208.

------. 2006. "Strange Circulations: the Blood Economy in Rural China." *Economy and Society* 35: 509-529.

Anderson, Elizabeth. 1990. "Is Women's Labor a Commodity." *Philosophy and Public* A*ffairs* 19: 71-92.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. *Social Life of Things.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

------. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arat-Koc, Sedef. 1990. "Importing Housewives: Non-Citizen Domestic Workers and the Crisis of the Domestic Sphere in Canada." Pp. 81-103 in *Through the Kitchen Window: The Politics of Home and Family,* edited by M. Luxton, H.Rosenberg and S. A. Koc Toronto: Garamond Press.

Ashwin, Sarah. 2000. "Introduction." *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Postsoviet Russia.* London: Routledge.

Baquedano-Lopez, Patricia. 2002. “A Stop at the End of the Bus Line: Nannies, Children, and the Language of Care.” Unpublished Paper, No. 51. Center for Working Families. University of California, Berkeley.

Bakan, Abigail and Daiva Stasiulis. 1997. “Introduction.” Pp3-29 in *Not One of the Family,* edited by A. Bakan and D. Stasilus. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bales, Kevin. 2000. *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bali, Rifat. 2007. *Tarz-ı Hayat’tan Life Style’a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Bartu, Ayfer. 2001. “Kentsel Ayrı(şı)m: İstanbul’daki Yeni Yerleşimler ve Kemer Country Örneği.” Pp 145-149 in *21Yüzyıl Karşısında Kent ve İnsan.* edited by F. Gümüşoğlu. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.

Basch, Linda G., Nina Glick Schiller & Cristina Szanton Blanc. 1993. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. London: Routledge

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2004. *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

------. 1995. *Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality*. Oxford UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Becker, Gary S. 1975. *Human Capital.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Biehl, Joao. 2001. “Vita: Life in a Zone of Social Abandonment.” *Social Text* 19:131-149.

------. 2005. *Vita: Life in a Zone of Social Abandonment*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bojadzijev, Manuela and Isabelle Saint-Saens. 2006. “Borders, Citizenship, War, Class: A Discussion with Etienne Balibar and Sandro Mezzadra” *New Formations.* 58: 10-30.

Bridger, Sur and Rebecca Kay. 1996. “Gender and Generation in the new Russian Labor Market.” Pp.21-39 in *Gender, Generation and Indetity in Contemporary Russia* edited by H. Pilkington . London: Routledge.

Bubeck, Diemut. 1995. *Care, Gender, and Justice.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Buchan, James and Julie Sochalski. 2004. "The Migration of Nurses: Trends and Policies." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*. 82: 587-594.

Buğra, Ayşe. 2007. "AKP Döneminde Sosyal Politika ve Vatandaşlık." *Toplum ve Bilim* 108.

Bunce, Valerie. 1995. "Should Transitologist be Grounded?" *Slavic Review*. 54: 11-127.

Buroway, Michael. 1976. "The Functions and Reproduction of Migrant Labor, Comparative Material from Southern Africa and the Unite States." *American Journal of Sociology* 82: 1050-87.

Buroway, Michael and Katherine Verdery.1999. "Introduction." *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the postsocialist World* edited by M. Buroway & Katherine Verdery. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*. New York: Routledge.

------ . 2003. "Violence, Mourning, Politics." *Gender and Sexuality* 4: 9-37.

Caffentzis, George. 2007. "Crystals and Analytic Engines: Historical and Conceptual Preliminaries to a New Theory of Machines." *Ephemera* 7: 24-45.

Castles, Stephen. 2006. "Guestworkers in Europe: A resurrection?" *International Migration Review* 40: 741-766.

Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller. 1998. *The Age of Migration.* New York: The Guilford Press.

Castro, Mary Garcia. 1989. "What is Bought and Sold in Domestic Service? The Case of Bogota: A Critical Review" Pp.105-126 in *Muchachas No More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean* edited by Elsa M. Chaney & Mary Garcia Castro. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2007. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chang, Grace *Disposable Domestics* South End Press, Cambridge 2000.

Chang, Kimberly A. and L.H.M: Ling. 2000. "Globalization and its Intimate Other: Filipina Domestic workers in Hong Kong" Pp.27-43 in *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances.* edited by M. Marchand and A. S. Runyan. New York: Routledge.

Chell, Victoria. 1997. “Gender-Selective Migration: Somalian and Filipina Women in Rome.” Pp 75-92 in *Southern Europe and the New Immigrants*, edited by R. King & R. Black. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

Cheah, Pheng. 1996. “Mattering” *Diacritics* 26: 108-139.

Cheng, Shu-Ju Ada. 2004. “When the Personal Meets the Global at Home”. *Frontiers*. 25:31-52.

Cohen, Lawrence. 1998. *No Aging in India: Alzheimer’s, the Bad Family, and Other Modern Things*. Berkeley: University of California.

------. 1999. “Where It Hurts: Indian Material for an Ethics of Organ Transplantation.” *Daedalus*, 128: 135-165.

------.2005.“Operability, Bioavailability, and Exception”. Pp. 79-91 in *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*. Edited by A. Ong and S. J. Collier. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Colombo, Asher D. 2007. “They Call me a Housekeeper, But I do Everything: Who are Domestic Workers Today in Italy and What Do They Do?” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 12: 207-237.

Cook, Daniel Thomas. 2004. *The Commodification of Childhood.* 2004. Durham: Duke University Press.

Constable, Nicole.1997. *Maid to Order in Hon Kong.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Çağaptay, Soner. 2002. “Reconfiguring the Turkish Nation in the 1930s.” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 8: 67-82.

------. 2003. “Citizenship Policies in Interwar Turkey.” *Nations and Nationalism* 9:601-619.

------. 2004. “Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 40: 86-101.

------.2007. “Türklüğe Geçiş: Modern Türkiye'de Göç ve Din.” Pp 86-112 in *Vatandaşlık ve Etnik Çatışma: Ulus-Devletin sorgulanması* edited by Haldun Gülalp. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Clough, Patricia. 2000. *Autoaffection: Unconscious Thought in the Age of Teletechnology.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

------. 2007. “Biotechnology and Digital Information.” *Theory, Culture and Society 24:* 312- 314.

------. 2008. “(De)Coding The Subject-in-Affect.” *Subjectivities.* 23: 140–155.

------. 2008. “The Affective Turn: Political Economy, Biomedia and Bodies.” *Theory Culture and Society* 25*:* 1-22.

Clough, Patricia and Jean Halley. 2007. *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

Clough, Patricia and Greg Goldberg, Rachel Schiff, Aaron Weeks and Craig Willse. 2007. “Notes Toward a Theory of Affect-Itself.” *Ephemera* 7: 60-77.

Danış, Didem and Jean-François Pérouse. 2005. “Zenginliğin Mekânda Yeni Yansımaları: İstanbul’da Güvenlikli Siteler.” *Toplum ve Bilim* 104: 92-123.

Danış, Didem and Cherie Taraghi and Jean-François Perouse. 2009. “Integration in Limbo: Iraqi, Afghan and Maghrebi Migrants in Istanbul.” Pp 443-636 in *Land of Diverse Migrations: Challenges of Emigration and Immigrations in Turkey*. edited by Ahmet İçduygu and Kemal Kirişçi. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Danış, Didem and Ayşe Parla. 2009. “Nafile Soydaşlık: Irak ve Bulgaristan Türkleri Örneğinde.” *Toplum ve Bilim.* 114:131-159.

Das,Veena & Deborah Poole. 2004. “State and Its Margins: Comparative Ethnographies.” Pp. 3-35 *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, edited by V. Das & D. Poole. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Davidson, Joyce and Liz Bondi. 2004. “Spatialising Affect, Affecting Space: An Introduction.” *Gender Place and Culture* 11: 373-374.

Davies, Karen. 1994. “The Tensions between Process Time and Clock Time in Care-Work.” *Time and Society* 3: 277-303.

De Genova, Nicholas. 2002. “Migrant ‘Illegality’ and Deportability in Everyday Life.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31: 419-447.

------. 2004. “The Legal Production of Mexican/Migrant ‘Illegality’.” *Latino Studies* 2*:* 160-185.

------. 2006.“The Everyday Civil War: Migrant Working Men, within and against Capital.” *Ethnography* 7: 243-267.

Deleuze, Gilles. 1988. *Foucault.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1994. *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*. Translated by Peggy Kamuf, Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Douglas, Mary. 1984. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Ark Paperbacks.

Duben, Alan and Cem Behar. 2002. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duvell, F. 2006. "Crossing the Fringes of Europe: Transit Migration in the EU's Neighbourhood." COMPAS Working Paper No. 33, University of Oxford, Oxford.

Edis, Derya 2002. *Masalların Gülü Dedem* İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları.

Ehrenreich, Barbara and Deirdre English. 1978. *For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts Advice to Women.* Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Ehrenreich, Barbara and Arlie Russell Hochschild. 2002. "Introduction," Pp 1-15 in *Global Woman,* edited by B. Ehrenreich and A. R. Hochschild. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Eng, David. 2006. "Political Economics of Passion: Transnational Adoption and *Global Woman. Studies in Gender and Sexuality* 7:49–59.

Engster, Daniel. 2005. "Rethinking Care Theory: The Practice of Caring and the Obligation to Care." *Hypatia* 20: 50-74.

Erder, Sema. 2000. "Uluslararası Göçte Yeni Eğilimler: Turkiye 'Göç Alan' Ulke mi?" Pp 235-261 in *Mubeccel Kiray icin Yazilar*. Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.

------ 2008. "Irreguläre Migration, Angst vor Einwanderern und widerspprüchliche Reaktionen." *Facetten internationaler Migration in die Türkei: Gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen und persönliche Lebenswelten*, Pp. 25- 37 edited by B. Pusch and T. Wilkoszewski. Würzburg: Ergon.

Erder, Sema & Selmin Kaska. 2003. *Irregular Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of Turkey*. Geneva:International Organization for Migration (IOM). http://www.iom.int/documents/publication/en/irregular%5Fmig%5Fin%5Fturkey.pdf

Erkin, Cenk and Sevinç Rende. 2005. "Çocuk Emeği: Bizde Ucuz, İstediğiniz Kadar Kullanın." *Birikim* 192: 40-45.

Ermence, Cem. 2008. "After Neo-liberal Globalization: The Great Transformation of Turkey." *Comparative Sociology* 7: 51-67.

Estes, Carol.1979. *The Aging Enterprise: A Critical Examination of Social Policies and Services for the Aged*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Everingham, Christine. 2002. "Engendering Time: Gender Equity and Discourses of Workplace Flexibility." *Time & Society* 11: 335-351.

Faist, Thomas.2000. "Transnationalism in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23:189-222.

Fan, C. Cindy. 2004 "The State, Migration, and Maiden Workers in China." *Political Geography* 23: 283-305.

Ferber, Marianne & Edith Kuiper. 2004. "Explorations Feminist and Economic Inquiry in Central and Eastern Europe." *Feminist Economics* 10: 81-118.

Gal, Susan & Gail Kligman. 2000. *The Politics of Gender after Socialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Geniş, Şerife. 2004. "Re-imagining Istanbul: Globalization and Urban Change." PhD Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana- Champaign, IL.

------. 2007. "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in İstanbul." *Urban Studies* 44: 771-798.

Ghodsee, Kristen. 2005. *The Red Riviera: Gender Tourism and Postsocialism on the Black Sea.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Ghosh. Bimal.1998. *Huddled Masses and Uncertain Shores: Insights into Irregular Migration*.The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Glick Schiller, Nina. 1999. "Transmigrants and Nation-States: Something Old and Something New in the U.S. Immigrant Experience" Pp 94-120 in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Grosz, Elizabeth. 1994. *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

------. 2003. "The Time of Violence. Deconstruction and Value." Pp. 134-151 in *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender, and the State*. edited by A.J. Aldama. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gönlügür, Emre. 2008. "Kentsel Ayrışmanın Yeni Alamet-i Farikası Kapalı Cemaatler." *Birikim* 232-233: 73-86.

Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Encarnación. 2007. "The 'Hidden Side' of the New Economy: On Transnational Migration, Domestic Work, and Unprecedented Intimacy." *Frontiers* 28: 60-83.

Gülalp, Haldun. 2006. *Citizenship and Ethic Conflict: Challenging the Nation-State.* New York: Routledge.

Hall, Stuart. 1980. "Encoding/decoding" Pp. 128-38 in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* London: Hutchinson.

Harvey, David. 2000. *Spaces of Hope.* Berkeley: University of California.

Hemmings, Clare. 2005. "Invoking Affect: Cultural Theory and the Ontological Turn" Cultural Studies 19: 548-567.

Hochschild, Arlie Russel. 2000. "Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value." Pp. 130-131 in *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*. edited by W.Hutton and A. Giddens, London: Random House.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 2003. *Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hochschild Arlie Russell. [1989] 2003. *The Second Shift* .New York: Penguin.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 2001. *Domestica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

International Labour Organization. 2007. "Equality at Work: Tackling the Challenges". International Labour Office, Geneva. http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/--webdev/documents/publication/wcms_082607.pdf

İçduygu Ahmet. 2000. "The politics of international migratory regimes: transit migration flows in Turkey." *International Social Science Journal,* 165 :357-367.

------. 2003. "Irregular Migration in Turkey." IOM Research Paper Series 12, Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

------. 2004. "Demographic Mobility and Turkey: Migration Experiences and Government Responses." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 15: 88-99.

------. 2006. "The Labour Dimensions of Irregular Migration in Turkey." Euro-Medditerranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration Research Report. Florence: European University Institute.

------. 2007. "The Politics of Irregular Migratory Flows in the Mediterranean Basin: Economy, Mobility and Illegality." *Mediterranean Politics* 12: 141-161.

İçduygu, Ahmet , Fuat Keyman. 2000. “Globalization, Security and Migration: The Case of Turkey.” *Global Governance.* 6:383-399.

İçduygu, Ahmet,Ibrahim Sirkeci & Gülnur Muradoğlu. 2001. “Socio-economic Development and International Migration: A Turkish Study.” *International Migration* 39:39-61.

İçduygu, Ahmet & Sule Toktas. 2002. “How do Smuggling and Trafficking Operate via Irregular Border Crossings in the Middle East.” *International Migration* 40: 25-54.

İçduygu, Ahmet. 2008. “Den Nationalstaat errichten und bewahren, auch in der globalisierten Welt: Der politische Hintergrund internationaler Migration in die Türkei” Pp. 3-23 in *Facetten internationaler Migration in die Türkei: Gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen und persönliche Lebenswelten*, edited by B. Pusch and T. Wilkoszewski. Würzburg: Ergon.

Isaksen, Lise Widding. 2005 “Gender and Care: The Role of Cultural Ideas of Dirt and Disgust.” Pp.115-127 *Gender, Bodies and Work*. edited by D. Morgan, B. Brandth and E. Kvande. Surrey: Ashgate.

Kadıoğlu, Ayşe. 1994. “Women's subordination in Turkey: Is Islam Really the Villain?” *Middle East Journal* 48:645-661.

Kalaycıoğlu, S. & H. R. Tılıç. 2000. *Evlerimizdeki Gündelikçi Kadınlar*. Ankara: Su Yayinlari.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1987. “Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case.” *Feminist Studies*. 13: 317–38.

Kasli, Zeynep &Ayse Parla. Unpublished manuscript. “Broken lines of Il/Legality and the Reproduction of State Sovereignty: The Impact of Visa Policies on Turkish Immigrants from Bulgaria”.

Kaşka, Selmin. 2006. “The New International Migration and Migrant Women in Turkey: The Case of Moldovan Domestic Workers.” Mirekoc Research Projects. http://www.mirekoc.com/mirekoc_documents/mirekoc_projects/2005_2006_25.pdf

Kaufman, Sharon R. 2006. “Dementia- Near Death and ‘Life Itself.’” Pp. 23-43 in *Thinking About Dementia: Culture, Loss, And the Anthropology of Senility*, edited by A.Leibing and L. Cohen, Picataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Keough, Leyla. 2006. “Globalizing ‘Postsocialism:’ Mobile Mothers and Neoliberalism on the Margins of Europe.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 21:431-461.

King, Charles. 2005 “Migration and Ethnic Politics in Eastern Europe and Eurasia.” Pp 166-191 in *Ethnic Politics after Communism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kirişçi, Kemal. 1996. “Is Turkey Lifting the Geographical Limitation? The November 1994 Regulation on Asylum in Turkey”, *International Journal of Refugee Law* 8: 293 – 318.

------. 2002. “Disaggregating Turkish Citizenship and Immigration Practices.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 36: 1-22.

------. 2002. “Immigration and Asylum Issues in EU-Turkish Relations: Assessing EU’s Impact on Turkish Policy and Practice.” Pp.125-142 in *Migration and the Externalities of EU*. edited by Sandra Lavenex and Emek Uçarer. Lanham: Lexington Books.

------. 2003. “The Question of Asylum and Illegal Migration in European Union- Turkish Relations.” *Turkish Studies* 4: 79-106.

------. 2004. “Reconciling Refugee Protection With Combating Irregular Migration: Turkey and the EU.” *Perceptions* 9 : 5-20.

------. 2005. “A Friendlier Schengen Visa System as a Tool of ‘Soft Power’: The Experience of Turkey.” *European Journal of Migration and Law* 7: 343-367.

------. 2007a. “Turkey: A Country of Transition from Emigration to Immigration,” *Mediterranean Politics* 12: 91-97.

------. 2007b. “Border Management and EU-Turkish Relations: Convergence or Deadlock.”Euro-Medditerranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration Research Report. Florence: European Institute.

Koğacıoğlu, Dicle. 2004. “The Tradition Effect: Framing Honor Crimes in Turkey” *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 15: 118-151.

Kopytoff, Igor. 2004. “Commoditizing Kinship in America,” Pp. 271-279 in *Consuming Motherhood*. edited by J. S. Taylor, L. L. Layne & D. F. Wozniak. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Kumral, Esin. 2007. “Filipinliyim, Göçmenim, Çalışkanım.” *Istanbul*: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları 59.

Kurtuluş, Hatice. 2005. “İstanbul’da Kapalı Yerleşmeler: Beykoz Konakları Örneği,” Pp. 161-187 in *İstanbul’da Kentsel Ayrışma* edited by Hatice Kurtuluş. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.

Kyle, David. 2003. *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Li, F.L.N., A.M. Findlay and H. Jones.1998. "A Cultural Economy Perspective on Service Sector Migration in the Global City: the Case of Hong Kong." *International Migration* 36: 131-157.

Markussen, Turid. 2006. "Moving Worlds: The Performativity of Affective Engagement." *Feminist Theory* 3: 291-308.

Lan, Pei-Chia. 2006. *Global Cindrellas: Migrant Domestics and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Lazzarato, Maurizio. 1996. "Immaterial Labour" Pp 133-147 in *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics.* edited by M. Hardt and Paolo Virno. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Leifsen, Esben. 2004. "Person, Relation and Value: The Economy of Circulating Ecuadorian Children in International Adoption" Pp. 182-196 in *Cross-Cultural Approaches to Adoption,* edited by Fiona Bowie. London: Routledge.

Marcuse, Peter. 1989. "Dual City: A Muddy Metaphor for a Quartered City" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 13: 697-708.

Marx, Karl. 1978. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. edited by Robert Tucker. *Capital.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Massey, Douglas S. 1999. "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis." Pp 34-52 in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publications.

Massumi, Brian. 2002. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Mattiasson, Anne-Cathrine and Maja Hemberg. 1998. "Intimacy- Meeting Needs and Respecting Privacy in the Care of Elderly People: What is a Good Moral Attitude on the Part of the Nurse/Carer?" *Nursing Ethics* 5: 527-534.

Mezzadra, Sandro. 2005. "Taking Care: Migration and the Political Economy of Affective Labor" Center for the Study of Invention and Social Process (CSISP). London: University of London: Goldsmiths. http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/csisp/papers/mezzadra_taking_care.pdf.

Mies, Maria. 1998. *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale.* London: Zed Books.

Milligan, Christine. 2003. “Location or Dis-location? Towards a Conceptualization of People and Place in the Care –Giving Experience.” *Social and Cultural Geography,* 4:455- 470.

Morokvasic, Mirjana. 1984. “Birds of Passage are also Women...” *International Migration Review* 18: 886-907.

------. 1991. “Fortress Europe and Migrant Women,” *Feminist Review* 39: 69 - 84.

------.1993. “‘In and Out’ of the Labour Market: Immigrant and Minority Women in Europe.” *Feminist Review* 19: 459-483.

------.2003 “Transnational Mobility and Gender: A View from post-wall Europe.” *Crossing Borders and Shifting Boundaries, Vol. 1: Gender on the Move.* Leverkusen: VS Verlag.

------. 2004. “Settled in Mobility’: Engendering Post-wall Migration in Europe.” *Feminist Review* 77: 7-25.

Najafizadeth, Mehrangız. 2003. “Women’s Empowering Carework in Post-Soviet Azerbeijan” *Gender and Society* 17: 293-304.

Necipoglu, Gülru. 1990. “From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles” Pp 136-171 in *Muqarnas VII: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*. edited by O. Grabar. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Negri, Antonio.1999. “Value and Affect” *boundary 2* 26: 77-88.

Negri, Antonio and Michael Hardt. 2000. *Empire* Boston: Harvard University Press.

------. 2005. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire.* New York: Penguin Press.

Oakley, Ann. 1974. *Woman’s work: The Housewife Past and Present.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Ong, Aihwa. 2006. Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty. Durham: Duke University Press.

Öncü, Ayşe. 1979. “Uzman Mesleklerde Turk Kadını.” Pp 253-267in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın* edited by N. Abadan-Unat. İstanbul: Araştırma. Eğitim. Ekin Yayınları ve Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği.

------. 1997. “The Myth of the 'Ideal Home' Travels Across Cultural Borders to Istanbul” *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities.* edited by A. Öncü and P. Weyland. London: Zed Books.

Özar, Şemsa 1998. “Türkiye’de Büyük Kentlerde Kadınlar ve İşsizlik,” Pp. 303-313 in *Suna Kili’ye Armağam: Cumhuriyet’e Adanan Bir Yaşam.* İstanbul:Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Özbay, Ferhunde. 1991. “Türkiye’de Kadın ve Çocuk Emeği.” *Toplum ve Bilim* 53: 41-54.

------. 2005. “Women, Gender and Household Forms and Composition: Turkey,” *Encyclopedia of Women in Islamic Cultures.* edited by E.J. Brill Leiden.

Özbek, Nadiz. 2004. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet 1876-1914.* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Özyeğin, Gül. 2000. *Untidy Gender: Domestic Service in Turkey*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Parisi, Luciana and Tiziana Terranova. 2000. “Heat-Deat: Emergence and Control in Genetic Engineering and Artfical Life” *CTheory*. http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=127.

Parla, Ayşe. 2001. “The 'Honor’ of the State: Virginity Examinations in Turkey” *Feminist Studies* 27: 65-89.

Parrenas, Rachel Salazar. 2001a. *Servants of Globalization: Women Migration and Domestic Work.* Stanford California: Stanford University Press.

Parrenas, Rachel Salazar. 2001b. “Mothering from a Distance: Emotions, Gender, and Inter-Generation Relations in Filipino Transnational Families.” *Feminist Studies* 27: 361-391.

Parla, Ayse. 2005. “Terms of Belonging: Turkish Immigrants from Bulgaria in the Symbolic Homeland”, PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, New York University, New York. NY.

------. 2007. “Irregular Workers or Ethnic Kin? Post-1990’s Labour Migration from Bulgaria to Turkey” *International Migration* 45:157-181 .

Pratt, Geraldine. 2004. *Working Feminism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

------. 2005. “Abandoned Women and Spaces of the Exception,” *Antipode* 37**:**1052 - 1078**.**

Rhein, Wendy. 1998. “The Feminization of Poverty: Unemployment in Russia” *Journal of International Affairs* 52: 351-367.

Romero, Mary.1992. *Maid in the USA*. New York: Routledge.

Resonthal, Carolyn J., Anne Martin-Matthews and Janice M. Keefe. 2007. "Care Management and Care Provision for Older Relatives Amongst Employed Informal Care-givers." *Aging and Society* 27: 755-778.

Rose, Nicholas. 1998. *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood.* Cambridge*:* Cambridge University Press.

------. 1999. *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. London: Free Association Books.

------. 2001. "The Politics of Life Itself." *Theory Culture and Society*.16:1-30.

Rouse, Roger. 1991. "Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism." *Diaspora* 1: 8-23.

Ruddick, Sara. 1980. "Maternal Thinking." *Feminist Studies* 6: 342-367.

Salter, Mark B. 2008. "When the Exception Becomes the Rule: Borders, Sovereignty and Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 12: 365-380.

Salzinger, Leslie. 2003. *Genders in Production: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 1998. *Globalization and its Discontents.* New York*:* The New Press.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1998. "Introduction." Pp. 1-35. in *Small Wars: The Cultural Politics of Childhood* edited by N. Scheper-Hughes & C. Sargent. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1998. "The New Cannibalism: A Report on the International Traffic in Human Organs." *New Internationalist* 300.

------. 2000. "The Global Traffic in Human Organs." *Current Anthropology* 41: 191-224.

------. 2003. "Keeping an Eye on the Global Traffic in Human Organs." *The Lancet*, 361: 1645 – 1648.

------. 2004. "The Last Commodity: Post-Human Ethics and the Global Traffic in 'Fresh' Organs." Pp. 145-169 in *Global Assemblages* Aihwa Ong & Stephen Collier (eds.), Blackwell Malden, MA.

------. 2007. "The Tyranny of the Gift: Sacrificial Violence in Living Donor Transplants" *American Journal of Transplant* 7: 1-5.

Schwarzenbach, Sibyl. 1987. "Rawls and Ownership: The Forgotten Category of Reproductive Labour" in *Science, Morality and Feminist Theory Supplementary Volume of the Canadian Journal of Philosophy*. edited by Marsha Hanen and Kai Nielsen. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Schultz, Susanne. 2006. "Dissolved Boundaries and Affective Labour: on the Disappearance of Reproductive Labour and Feminist Critique in Empire" *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. 17: 77-82.

Simmel, Georg. 1971. "The Stranger" Pp. 143-150 in *On Individuality and Social Forms* edited by D. N. Levine. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1996. "Scattered Speculations in the Question of Value." Pp. 107-141 in *Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. edited by D. Landry and G. MacLean. New York: Routledge.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1999. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Staples, David. 2007. "Women's Work and the Ambivilant Gift of Entropy." Pp.119-150 in *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Schultz, Susanne. 2006. "Dissolved Boundaries and "Affective Labour": On the Disappearance of Reproductive Labour and Feminist Critique in Empire." *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 17: 77-82

Tekeli, Şirin. 1990. "The Meaning and Limits of Feminist Ideology in Turkey." Pp 139-160 in *Women, Family and Social Change in Turkey*. edited by Ferhunde Özbay. Bangkok: Unesco Supported Series on Women's Studies in Asia and the Pacific.

Theodosius, Catherine. 2006. "Recovering Emotion from Emotion Management." *Sociology*, 40: 893-910.

Tober, Diane. 2001. "Semen as Gift, Semen as Goods: Reproductive Workers and the Market in Altruism." *Body & Society* 7: 137-161.

------. 2007. "Kidneys and Controversies in the Islamic Republic of Iran: The Case of Organ Sale." *Body and Society* 13: 151-170.

Tokuzlu, Lami Bertan. 2007. "Migration Law in Turkey." Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies- EUI, Florence. http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/e-texts/CARIM-AS_2007_01.pdf .

Toscano, Alberto. 2007. "Vital Stategies: Maurizio Lazzarato and the Metaphysics of Contemporary Capitalism." *Theory, Culture and Society* 24: 71-91.

Tronto, Joan. 1998. “An Ethic of Care.” *Generations* 22: 15-21.

------. 2002. “The "Nanny" Question in Feminism.” *Hypatia* 17: 34-51.

Twigg, Julia. 1997. “Deconstructing the ‘Social Bath’: Help with Bathing at Home for Older and Disabled People.” *Journal of Social Policy* 26: 211-232.

------. 2000. *Bathing: The Body and Community Care.* New York: Routledge.

------. 2004. “The Body, Gender, and Age: Feminist Insights in Social Gerontology.” *Journal of Aging Studies* 18: 59-73.

Vertovec, Steven. 2001. “Transnationalism and Identity.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 27: 573-582.

------. 2007. *Circular Migration: the Way Forward in Global Policy?* Paper 4. Oxford. http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp4-circular-migration-policy.pdf

Wang, Frank T.Y. 2002. “Contesting Identity of Taiwanese Home-care Workers: Worker, Daughter, and Do-Gooder? *Journal of Aging Studies* 16: 37-55.

Walters, William. 2002. “Deportation, Expulsion ad the International Police of Aliens.” *Citizenship Studies* 6: 265-292.

Weyland, Petra. 1997. “Gendered Lives in Global Spaces.” Pp 82-98 in *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities.* edited by A. Öncü and P. Weyland. London: Zed Books.

Yeates, Nicola. 2004. “Global Care Chains: Critical Reflections and Lines of Enquiry.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6: 369-391.

Yükseker, Deniz. 2002. “Business Relations into/form Gendered Social Relations: Exchange in the Transnational Suitcase Trademarket of Laleli.” *New Perspectives on Turkey*. 27: 77-106.

------. 2003. Laleli-Moskova Mekiği: Kayıtdışı Ticaret ve Cinsiyet İlişkileri. İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul.

Waldinger, Roger and David Fitzgerald. 2004. “Transnationalism in Question.” *American Journal of Sociology*. 109:1177-95.

Wise, J. Macgregor.2000. “Home: Territory and Identity.” *Cultural Studies* 14: 295-310.

Wolkowitz, Carol. 2006. *Bodies at Work*. London: Sage.

Zelizer, Viviana A. 1994. *Pricing the Priceless Child.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Zimmerman, Mary K. And Jacquelyn S. Litt and Christine E. Bose. 2006. "Introduction." *Global Dimensions of Gender and Carework.* Stanford: Stanford Social Sciences.

Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. 2001. "Free Market Ideology and New Women's Identities in Post-socialist Ukraine." *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 8: 29-49.