T.C.
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SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLAR ARASI İLİŞKİLER BİLİM DALI

SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF AFGHAN MIGRANT WOMEN LIVING IN ZEYTINBURNU

MASTER'S THESIS

FARANGIS HABIBULLAH

ISTANBUL, 2021

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Supervisor: Doç. Dr. Gonca OĞUZ GÖK

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ÖZET

ZEYTİNBURNUN'DA YAŞAYAN AFGAN KADIN GÖÇMENLERİN TOPLUMSAL ENTEGRASYONU

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de Afgan kadınlarının toplumsal entegrasyonunu etkileyen faktörlerin neler olduğunu açıklamayı hedeflemektedir. Afgan kadınlarının Afganistan'dan Türkiye'ye göçünü, göç sonrası toplumsal entegrasyonlarına odaklanarak anlatıyor. Amacım, feminist yaklaşımla, özellikle İstanbul'un Zeytinburnu ilçesinde yaşayan Afgan kadınlarının Türkiye'deki toplumsal entegrasyon "deneyimlerini" not ederek, yerleşimlerini değerlendirmektir. Feminist bakış açısı, kadınların evlilik sonrası rollerindeki değişimler, aile karar alma süreci, işbölümleri ve göç sonrası kadınların öncelikli sorunları gibi göç sürecinde toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinde meydana gelen değişiklikleri açıklar. Feminist bakış açısına göre mülakatlar ve saha çalışması göçmen kadınların entegrasyonunu anlamada en etkili yöntemlerdir. Bu amaçla, çalışma Zeytinburnu'nda 37 Afgan kadınlarla yapılan yüz yüze ve telefon görüşmelerin sonuç ve gözlemlerini içermektedir.

Araştırmam sonucunda katılımcıların çoğu benzer ihtiyaçları açıklasa da, bazı deneyimler yine de toplumsal entegrasyonlarındaki mevcut engelleri dile getirdi. Görüşmemden toplanan ve analiz edilen verilere göre görünen odur ki, Afgan kadınlarının yerel düzeyde toplumsal entegrasyonu ile ilgili uygun destek sistemleri yeterli olmadığı için, Afgan kadınları Türkiye'de başarılı bir entegrasyon sağlamak için en fazla sorumluluğu kendileri almak zorundadır. Feminist bakış açısı, savunmasız kadınların güvenli bir toplumsal çevreye ve çalışma ortamlarına ihtiyaç duyduğunu vurgular (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017). Buradaki temel zorluk, kabul eden ülkelerin kalıcı olarak kalmak isteyen göçmen kadınlar için bir refah planı ve politikaları oluşturamamasıdır. Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de yaşayan Afgan kadınların toplumsal ve ekonomik durumlarının dile getirilmesinin önemini vurgulamaktadır. Afgan

kadınlarının toplumsal entegrasyonu konusunda bilincin artırılması için daha çok sayıda kapsamlı araştırmalara ihtiyaç olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın Göçmenler, Toplumsal Entegrasyon, Afgan Göçmenler, Türkiye

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF AFGHAN MIGRANT WOMEN LIVING IN ZEYTINBURNU

This study aims to explain the factors affecting the social integration of Afghan women in Turkey. It describes the Afghan women's migration from Afghanistan to Turkey, focusing on their social integration after migration. The feminist point of view explains the changes in gender relations during the migration process, such as changes in women's roles after marriage, family decision-making process, labor divisions, and women's prior issues after migration. According to the feminist point of view, interviews and fieldwork are the most effective methods for understanding the integration of migrant women. My goal is to assess the settlement of Afghan women noting the social integration experiences in Turkey, particularly those living in the Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul. It contains the results and observations of the face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews conducted with 37 Afghan women in Zeytinburnu. Although most of the participants explained similar needs, some of the experiences still expressed the existing barriers in their social integration. According to the collected and analyzed data from my interview, Afghan women have to take the most responsibility for successful social integration in Turkey. Since there are no appropriate supporting systems relevant to the Afghan women's social integration at the local and state level. The feminist point of view implies that vulnerable women need the most secure social and labor environments. The challenge here is that receiving countries do not establish a well-being plan and policies for migrant women who want to stay permanently (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017). This study emphasizes the importance of uttering the social and economic conditions of Afghan women living in Turkey. There is a need for comprehensive researches regarding Afghan women's social integration to enhance consciousness.

Key Words: Women Migrants, Social Integration, Afghan Migrants

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Migration is when people move from one region or country to another and change their province of residence by using regular or irregular ways. Migration is a demographic event, which can affect one country's social, economic, and cultural development for an extended period. Turkey has been one of the most migrant-receiving countries in the world. Afghan migrants have been a significant part of migrants in Turkey. This chapter gives a general overview of the thesis topic, discusses its importance, and describes the general structure of the thesis. This study aims to explain the factors influencing the social integration of Afghan women in Turkey. It describes Afghan women's migration from Afghanistan to Turkey, focusing on their social integration after migration. My goal is to assess the settlement of Afghan women noting their integration experiences in Turkey, particularly those living in the Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul.

For this, I use some definitions, particularly the International Organization for Migration (IOM)'s definition of integration that explicates integration as a "two-way process of mutual adaptation between migrants and host society in which migrants incorporate into the social, economic and political life of the receiving community" (IOM, Global Impact Thematic Paper, 2017). This definition conceptualizes migration as a source of sustainable development for both migrants and the people of origin. In accordance, governments also have the responsibility to create integration opportunities for immigrants. IOM signifies barriers in the integration process, such as employment, language, and education, which can lead to the risk of marginalization of migrants in the society. States, local governments, together with non-governmental organizations, and social services should work to provide systems and policies to anticipate migrants' typical variations. Furthermore, I mentioned about three main

dimensions of integration; the legal and political dimensions, the socio-economic dimensions, and the cultural-religious dimensions.

The social integration for migrants is highly attached to have a sense of belonging to the host society. It welcomes individuals to voluntarily adopt the cultural experiences and knowledge of the community they participate in. According to Karcı Korfalı and Şenol Sert, there is a similarity in the concept of social integration with respecting the laws and acting in line with the state's culture. (Karcı Korfalı & Şenol Sert, 2019).

As long as the migrants are accepted as equal members of society, integration might be possible. Thus social integration of migrants is a process of accepting norms and perceptions which host society follows. If the culture and norms of both immigrants and host society differ widely, it can cause challenges in migrants' social integration. Employment, family reunification, education, health, naturalization, political participation, anti-discrimination policies are the main policies regarding the social integration of migrants in a host country.

Migration is one of the highly gendered themes in the literature. The decision to move to another country and resettle there relates to gender relations. Many industries want women migrants rather than men for various reasons such as low wage demands, hard-working, being more contented, and because they can do whatever to support their family. Women have been one of the significant parts of migration all over the world. They had been victims of wars, conflicts, economic and social problems happening in their living countries. They move out of their countries to reach a better life for their children and families. Therefore, they need to get support in their political, economic, and social integration. Feminist contributions to the social integration of women migrants have focused on the assortments of the experiences the women described throughout their life after the migration (Mısırlı, 2019).

Aims and Objective

This thesis aims to explain women's migration from Afghanistan to Turkey, with a particular focus on their experiences regarding social integration after migration using feminist theory and methodology towards the social integration of migrant women. My goal is, in fact, twofold. First, this thesis aims to assess the settlement experiences of Afghan women after migration. In other words, it seeks to study and analyze the impacts of migration on their social statuses, such as health, education, work, and different social roles. Secondly, it also attempts to understand better the strengths and limitations of the policies of Turkey concerning Afghan women's integration process.

Migration is one of the most critical topics in today's world politics. Both regular and irregular migration is increasing worldwide, and Afghanistan is one of the most refugees -both men and women- sending countries worldwide, mainly to Turkey. Afghan women are the ones who have always been in the throes of pain and suffering but still live their lives with patience. One of my biggest motivations for writing this paper is the unparalleled power of Afghan women against life's dire challenges. The objectives of this research come from our research questions and problem analysis. We have two main targets: collecting data regarding Afghan women migrants facing social integration problems. The other is to find evidence suggesting practical solutions to provide a high level of benefits for both sides.

My arguments include that some concepts should be measured to understand the context of women migrants' social integration. According to my research, a general overview of the women migrants' characteristics should be undertaken. My study includes an explanation of the life of migrants before migration and their socio-economic backgrounds, which explicitly describe their reasons for migration.

The social networks had been a significant source of data before migration and after migration. Afghan women determined their settlement according to the information they had got from their Afghan compatriots. Social networks for Afghan women are only women counterparts due to their cultural backgrounds. Relations with friends, neighbors, and people can help women; migrants have a more straightforward social integration process.

Research Questions

We aim to describe the relationship between migration, women, and their integration processes; we try to answer the three following sub-questions to answer our main question.

Main research question: How Afghan migrant women can socially, culturally, and economically integrate with the Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul, Turkey?

Sub-question1: Which social problems do Afghan women confront when they come to Turkey?

Sub-question 2: What are the leading causes of non-integration tendencies of Afghan women?

Sub-question 3: What are the strengths and limitations of the policies of the Turkish government concerning Afghan women's social integration process?

Sub-question 4: What improvement measurements are needed to deal with the social integration problems of Afghan women?

This thesis uses qualitative research methods to answer these questions to get practical and rich answers to our research questions. For meaningful and natural responses, we use participant observation. We collect data by listening to their perspectives and experiences through in-depth interviews, sampling groups, handing surveys with open-ended questions and closed-ended questions to Afghan women migrants living in Zeytinburnu.

Contribution to the Literature

There are a growing number of studies regarding Afghan migrants in recent years, such as “A Qualitative Study on the Factors Influencing the Cultural, Economic, and Social Integration of Afghan Women” by Natasha Waseema Beg (2005), “Urban Integration of Irregular Afghan Migrants in Istanbul: the Case of the Yenimahalle Neighborhood” by İlknur Yiğit Yazğan (2019), “Eternally Displaced: Afghanistan’s Refugee Crisis and What it means for Europe” by Angela Stanzel (2016), “Ghosts of Istanbul: Afghans at the Margins of Precarity” by Sibel Karadağ (2021), “Gender and Migration from Afghanistan: An Analysis of Women’s Empowerment and Migration” by Farahnaz Rahmani (2019), and "Uluslararası Göç ve Entegrasyon Teoriler Bağlamında Afghanistan Hazarları’nın Türkiye’ye Göçü” by Yasemin Doğan (2020).

However, to the best of our knowledge, Afghan women’s social integration in Turkey is still understudied. Thus, this study’s contribution to the literature could be described as to understand better the efforts of Afghan women in the social integration process with specific reference to their social integration in the Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul. It consists of detailed information attained through in-depth interviews of 37 Afghan women individually, concerning the factors and challenges in women’s social integration “experiences” considering the feminist points of view. Furthermore, it concludes state policies in providing services to assist Afghan women’s social integration is still need to be developed. This study covers the detailed data regarding the social integration of Afghan women who are irregular, regular, and Turkish citizens, which is seen as the gap in the literature.

Organization of the Chapters

Chapter two includes a literature review that explains the general definition of integration and social integration and concludes the challenges in the social integration of women. Chapter

three is an overview of the discussion of a theoretical framework that leads the study on the social integration of Afghan women. Chapter four describes the methodology for data collection, which includes my interviews and observations conducted with Afghan women in Zeytinburnu. Chapter five comprises a historical analysis of Afghan women as well as the history of migration in Turkey. It also explains the integration policies of Turkey and has a general outline of the social integration of Afghan women in Istanbul. Chapter six introduces the findings and observations from the interviews conducted with Afghan women living in Zeytinburnu. Lastly, chapter seven is the conclusion of the study, which also contains the summary of data analysis, discussion of the findings, and suggestions for further research on the topic.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

This part of the study is a review of relevant literature which is written on the subject of migration and integration of women migrants. This section is a declaratory part of the study which explains basic subjects and issues. This review firstly describes definition of integration and discusses different definitions regarding the concept of integration. Besides, it includes discussions on contributions as well as limitations of models and theories of integration. Secondly, we will look at debates regarding relations between women and migration. And the following part includes challenges and barriers that women can face during the integration process.

1.1.Definition of Integration

Integration is a broad and complex process that finding an exact definition can be very difficult. According to various aspects of views there are different definitions of integration. Integration is known as a process in which, immigrants get involved in a society both individually and at a group level. (Karcı Korfalı & Şenol Sert, 2019).

According to Karcı Korfalı and Şenol Sert (2019), Integration is a high participation of migrants in social, economic, and cultural dimensions of the society. Citizenship can be given as a reward for migrants who have completed integration process. Huddleston (2020) explains integration policy as a need for a successful integration process. He adds that integration policy is directly related to "public and immigrant's attitudes, identities, political participation, and other outcomes" (Huddleston, 2020: 4).

The concept of integration of migrants was first recognized by United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1952. According to the ECOSOC, integration is a complex,

kinetic and quantized process for both migrants and host society. Integration is a contributive and reciprocal process in which both actors are significantly involved (Cited in Kage, 1962 and Waseema Beg, 2005).

Integration of migrants has become a much more significant debate on the global agenda by a call to "leave no one behind" by the advent of the "2030 Sustainable Development Agenda". Accordingly, IOM conceptualizes migration as a source of sustainable development for both migrants and people of origin (Organization for Migration (IOM), Global Impact Thematic Paper, 2017). Due to that; actors in government have the responsibility to create integration opportunities for immigrants. Some barriers such as opportunities to get a job, language problem, and lack of education can lead to the risk of marginalization of migrants in the society.

IOM defines integration as a "two-way process of mutual adaptation between migrants and host society in which migrants incorporate into the social, economic and political life of the receiving community" (Organization for Migration (IOM), Global Impact Thematic Paper, 2017). Integration consists of social inclusion, economic inclusion, civic and political inclusion, and social cohesion. Furthermore, states together with non-governmental organizations, social services and migrants should work to provide best integration policies with anticipating migrants' typical variations. More importantly, integration of men and women changes due to their roles in the society before and after migration (International Organization for Migration (IOM), Global Impact Thematic Paper, 2017).

Moreover, there are some international measures for ensuring access to health, education, work, and a legal identity of migrant. For instance, states who agreed on New York Declaration accepted the responsibility to take measures in integration of migrants to education, healthcare, language, and justice. Another measure is 2023 Agenda on Sustainable

Developments which calls for integration laws and policies without discrimination. One of the challenges that migrants can face is people's prejudice. They believe that migrants are burden rather than contributors (International Organization for Migration (IOM), Global Impact Thematic Paper, 2017). Main approaches to deal with integration issues are: 1. financial inclusion, 2. access to education, 3. health, 4. civic and political participation, 5. family Reunification, 6. anti-discrimination and social cohesion.

Therefore, integration measures a wide range of different aspects such as the inclusion of migrants into the political, economic, social, and cultural parts of society. According to Migration Data Portal information, integration covers different integration areas, countries, and time periods (Migration Data Portal, 2020). According to EU Council, Integration occurs in the public and private realms, across generations, and at the individual, family, community and national levels (Migration Data Portal, 2020).

Recent researches in OECD countries demonstrate that, migrants' access to various life opportunities such as education and jobs is in worse condition when compared with the host community (OECD, 2015). There are still many barriers to an effective integration which depends on some various factors such as the country of origin, the host community context and the skill level of migrants (OECD, 2015; Huddleston et al., 2013; Migration Data Portal, 2020).

When we look at some of the existing studies, various kinds of terminology have been used to conceptualize integration process such as "absorption, assimilation, incorporation, and integration" (Yiğit Yazğan, 2019: 11). Penninx and Martiniello define integration "as the process of becoming an accepted part of society". According to them, migrants have the right to have a job, home, access to education, access to healthcare, and the right to settle down in a

society culturally and physically (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 141; cited in Yiğit Yazğan, 2019, p.11).

According to Garces-Mascarenas and Penninx, integration is a process which migrants secure their place in the receiving societies. It is the process of settlement and interaction with the host society by finding a home, job, and schools for their children, and access to health facilities (Garces-Mascarenas and Penninx, 2016). According to them, integration is not a two-way process (migrants and host society) but it is a three-way process by adding stakeholders (human rights organizations, migrant's organizations, and social actives) as important actors for integration (Garces-Mascarenas and Penninx, 2016).

Integration is considered as the interaction of both migrants and host societies. It should not be overlooked that different stakeholders are involved in the process with different responsibilities. Integration is not the responsibility of a single cluster; all actors in the society are responsible for integration (IOM, 2009).

Integration is also used to describe the process of adaptation of different elements to the system, community, or other units as a whole. The concept of integration is a basic concept in functional theories, and it is defined as a form of relationship that acts to prevent the disruption of the system on the one hand and to prevent the disruption of the other related units on the other hand (Borlat, 2019; Beresnevièiûtë, 2003: 97).

According to Coşkun, regularization in the process of getting a job, education, access to health services, etc. are needed for migrants to live their normal life freely (Coşkun, 2019: 3). As we mentioned above integration is used with many concepts such as harmony, acculturation, assimilation, and multiculturalism that bring out positive and negative feelings together. These concepts are actually expressed as subtitles of the concepts of acculturation

and adaptation when are used unconsciously, can cause misunderstandings and are considered as equivalent of each other by the society (Coşkun, 2019; Berry, 1997; Berry 2001).

There are three main dimensions of the integration which may help migrants to be accepted as part of the society. First, **the legal and political** dimensions ascribe political rights and residence. It shows that to what measure migrants have the right to political changes and to what extent are incorporated into the society. Second, **the socio-economic** dimensions are more about social and economic position of the migrants, which explains the extent of reaching to home, job, education, and health care. Third, **the cultural-religious** dimensions refer to migrants' norms and beliefs. It explains the measurement of differences between migrants and the host society's perceptions (Garces-Mascarenas and Penninx, 2016).

1. The Legal and Political Dimensions	**Political Rights**	**Residence Rights**
2. The Socio-Economic Dimensions	**Social Positions**	**Economic Positions**
3. The Cultural-Religious Dimensions	**Cultural Differences**	**Norms and Beliefs**

Furthermore, according to Roxana Tataru, there are some key measurements concerning the integration such as: promotion of fundamental rights, knowledge, and equal opportunities for everyone. We have to understand that development of the policies that decrease costs of migration can help us to reduce discrimination against migrants. We need to assist migrants in their integration process and help them in protecting their rights (Roxana Tataru, 2018). For Roxana, language problem and the lack of information about the host society's culture and traditions are two main barriers for migrant integration which need to be addressed (Roxana Tataru, 2018).

The immigrant integration process is a complex process that takes place by three main actors: national, local, and supranational levels. At the national level, integration ministries are

responsible for access to education, job, civic, nationality, and political spheres. Local authorities are responsible performer for migrant participation at the local level and international organizations are responsible for affecting states for a successful integration process at the supranational level (Dalğakıran, 2014: 3).

1.2. The Concept and Factors of Social Integration

Movements of people to developed countries and long period residence of them resulted in a need for measuring the possibility of migrants' social integration as a crucial matter of the world. Social integration is described equal to respecting the laws and behaving according to the country's culture. Social integration is a concept closely related to the provision of social justice. Social integration aims to provide a fair life for individuals of different ethnic origin within a society. Social integration welcomes individuals to voluntarily adopt the cultural experiences and knowledge of the society they participate in (Cited in Borlat, 2019, Ferguson, 2008: 6). Karcı Korfalı and Şenol Sert explains the similarity of the concept of social integration with "respecting the laws" and "acting in line with state's culture" (Karcı Korfalı and Şenol Sert, 2019: 102).

Social integration for migrants is also highly related to "developing a sense of belonging to the host society". As long as the migrants are accepted as equal members of the society, integration might be possible. Thus social integration for migrants is a process of accepting norms and perceptions which host society follows. If the culture and norms of both immigrants and host society differs widely, it can cause challenges in migrants' social integration (Laurentsyeva and Venturini, 2017: 285).

According to the recent researches on social integration, there are different dimensions for accomplishing social integration including "residential patterns, self-identification, marriage, values, civil and political participation" (Laurentsyeva and Venturini, 2017: 285). Immigrants

are different from each other according to their ages, education level and other characteristics. They face various barriers when they arrive at the host society such as lack of language skills, ambiguity in their duration of stay, economic problems, and non-access to social activities. The differences in culture, family ties, religion, views on gender issues, and political involvement among immigrants and the host community have a huge impact the way people trust and accept them. Immigrants who have traditional way of life with less civil and political activities in their country of origin are also socially and politically passive in the arrival country (Laurentsyeva and Venturini, 2017: 285).

Laurentsyeva and Venturini divided social integration dimensions into four groups: "culture, social participation, demographics, and civil and political participation" (Laurentsyeva and Venturini, 2017: 286). Culture explains the beliefs and preferences of migrants in the country of origin. Culture of immigrants consists of values such as family ties, gender roles, religion roles, and political views that can measure level of trust, risk attitudes, and social preferences between both actors. Social inclusion or social participation includes significant issues such as language, the duration of stay in the host country, the extent of discrimination in that society, friendship with other ethnicities of the host society, residential choices, and other kinds of socializing. Issues relating marriage: age of marriage, divorce rates, intermarriages, fertility, and family structure of immigrants are subjects of demographics. Migrants are politically and socially active if they are member of a political party, participating in civil activities, working or volunteering in political institutions, voting, and political awareness (Laurentsyeva and Venturini, 2017).

There are two main policies for social integration: "naturalization and settlement". What is naturalization? The naturalization process is possible when a migrant has access to a job, granted a secured residence status, political rights (voting). Citizenship is a tool for legally equal rights and responsibilities with the host community. By citizenship, migrants feel more

welcome thus they can accept them self as a part of the society. When migrants arrive first they would like to settle to a place close to their compatriots which this can lead to “ethnic concentration” and “spatial segregation” of migrants. Relocating policies of settlement may help migrants in a better social integration (Laurentsyeva and Venturini, 2017).

Poros in his article focuses on the importance of social network on the social integration. “A migrants ability to move to a particular place, get a job, housing, business establishment, and access health care can be directly related to the migrant’s social networks” (Poros, 2011: 3). Social networks consist of individuals and organizations which are connected to each other by different types of relationships. These links of relationships are established at schools, work places, religious, political, and social institutions. Migrants have ties to organizations and institutions in the country of origin and country of destination that help them in getting jobs, finding houses, and get used to society (Poros, 2011). According to Poros, for having a good relationship with organizations and institutions including political institutions, housing, education, and social services, obtaining citizenship is a need (Poros, 2011).

Maliepaard and Phalet, in their study analyzed the social integration of Dutch Muslims. According to them there are positive and negative factors in social integration process of Muslims. Negative dimension of social contact consists of discrimination and devaluation of minority identity. Positive dimension of social contact is things which are needed for socializing such as, visiting neighbors and spending time with friends. They accepted two perspectives for describing social integration, one is social capital and the other is social identity perspective. The social capital perspective focuses more on the importance of social groups to shared norms and behaviors of the group individual members, while the social identity perspective signifies the identification of the self with the group for shaping individuals' total norms (Maliepaard and Phalet, 2012: 3-4).

Lizarraga , Mantecón, Huete in their article about “transnationality and social integration of lifestyle migration” defines both concepts of social integration and transnationalism. According to them social integration is “a practice of openness and flexibility that immigrants adopt” (Lizarraga, Mantecón, Huete, 2015: 139). Social integration maintains cultural spheres such as family relationships, religion, culture, the language of immigrants. Language and lack of information about the host community’s cultural patterns can be two main barriers for migrants’ social integration. They need to learn the language and create a relationship with residents of the host country (Lizarraga, Mantecón, Huete, 2015: 139-159).

Government plays a very significant role in carrying out the social integration of the migrant population by creating innovation to state policies in some issues such as poverty, unemployment, health, security, education, and people’s attitudes towards this population (Çarıkçıoğlu, 2008: 4). Çarıkçıoğlu adds **trans-national human rights regime** as an important contributor in practicing social and economic integration. Accordingly, state supremacy should be eroded in protecting human rights (Çarıkçıoğlu, 2008). Immigrants and immigration can be divided due to different kind of categories such as age, gender, education skills, needs, and statuses which must be considered for enhancing quality of their social integration (Çarıkçıoğlu, 2008).

For successful social integration outcomes, a country needs to have an inclusive integration policy. Countries with inclusive integration policies can get better integration results with a high percentage of people’s support for immigrants. If there is a positive dynamic between public opinions and integration policies a strong contact among immigrants and the public is created, strong links can help in creating opportunities for immigrants (Huddleston, 2020:11).

According to Huddleston, there are inter-related dimensions in integration policies such as migrants’ labor market policies, family reunification policies, migrants’ education policies,

permanent residence policies, migrants' political participation policies, migrants' naturalization policies, and anti-discrimination policies. **Labor market policies** can help migrants to invest in their skills with high-quality careers. Family reunion is accepted as both migration and integration. **Family reunification policies** can create a migration channel for family members, give the right to dependent adults and children to move there thus the life of the migrant family can be regulated in the host society. Migrants' positive **education policies** can help youths to get strong feelings of belonging to that society. Integration policies in the academic sphere can have positive impacts on second-generation youths. **Migrant health policies** can be seen as the most effective outcomes in social integration of migrants. These policies save vulnerable migrants from social exclusion. Migrants' health is affected by all the integration policies. Inclusive health policies create mental and physical supports for migrants. **Permanent residence policies** help in the settlement and can create long term security of residence and employment for immigrants. **Political Participation policies** seem to have "positive effects on immigrant's participation in the public life of their destination country" (Huddleston, 2020: 34). Therefore, these policies increase migrant's political engagement and trust also for the next generations**. Naturalization** policies are the most important policies for migrants' integration process. Birthright citizenship has the greatest effect on the second and even third generations. **Anti-discrimination policies** cannot directly affect discrimination between the public and immigrants. We cannot say that policies and laws are able to erode discrimination. What is needed to eliminate discrimination? People's awareness of discrimination is significantly needed in this case. Also strong anti-discrimination policies with high level of enforcement mechanisms can be effective in securing migrants' rights (Huddleston, 2020).

Inter-Related Dimensions in Integration Policies	
Labor market policies	Investment in migrants' skills and careers
Family reunification policies	Permitting dependent adults and their children to live together
Education policies	Feels of belonging in the academic sphere for youth
Migrant health policies	Mental and physical supports
Permanent residence policies	Long term security of residence
Political Participation policies	Participation of migrants in their public life
Naturalization	Citizenship
Anti-discrimination policies	People's awareness of discrimination is needed

Prepared by Author Based on Huddleston's Inter-Related Dimensions in Integration Policies

1.3. Migration and Women

The analysis of gender issues in migration studies has first started in the 1970s-1980s at an individual level. Scholars called this stage the "add women and stir" approach (Nawyn, 2010). Since 1984 gender study became a special issue of International Migration Review (Morokvasic, 1984). As most of the gender scholars argue, gender is more practical rather than only being a biological issue (Nawyn, 2010). Migration is also a highly gendered subject. The decision to move to another country and resettle there, indirectly relates to gender relations. Many industries want more women migrants for different reasons such as low wage demands, hardworking, and they are more contented who can do whatever to support their family. But, still, they face problems with accessing social networks. Their opportunity to get a job in the host country is not only related to the host country but also is related to their educational background before moving to the new country.

Furthermore, changes brought on by the decision to leave one environment and the experiences in a different society shape the notions of masculinity and femininity (Ellis, 1996;

Oso and Catarino, 1997, Mahler, 1999; Richter, 2004). Migrants get a new identity regarding their gender relations different than their old cultural gender relations. Migrants get new structural constraints in the host society, for instance in the labor market and public life (Richter, 2004). Pregnant women and mothers of younger children are the most vulnerable groups in the labor market. When there are fewer job opportunities, migrants rely on NGOs' supports. Recently Syrian women and children are exposed to begging and sex work in Turkey (Üstübici, 2020). The lack of legal protection in term of employment and women's fear of illegality, cause risks of exploitation and abuse in the labor market (Maymoon, 2017). Migrant women are defined to be protected according to some forms of humanitarian protection (Gerard, 2013).

When we look at migrant's family life, children are also affected by gender issues. Girls, take more responsibilities to fulfill their cultural values than boys do. Daughters are less free than sons particularly in Eastern cultures (Espiritu, 2001, 2009- Nawyn, 2010). Women's mass migration increased anxieties about bringing policies concerning the adaptability of women migrants in the urban spaces and ensuring their basic rights of the host country and migration process (Seifi, 2017).

Women migrants' population is increasing every day all over the world. Some migrants are claimed for different types of job needs in developing countries such as; care work, nurses, nannies, etc. Some of the women migrants are moved through women trafficking for marriage or sex labor (Amir and Beeks, 2006). Factors that courage men and women migrants are different from each other, men generally migrate for economic reasons but women migrants move for social and cultural reasons. Women generally escape from high restrictions and discrimination in their families and society. This is called "feminization of migration" which means women's movements independently without men's accompany (Gouws, 2007). Moreover, the feminization of migration is described as a multidimensional phenomenon

(Lucio Maymon, 2017). Women migrate from Global South to the Global North countries which have increasing demands for women workers in different sectors. Hence, women migrants can find independent economic sources through migration (Lucio Maymon, 2017).

The definition of women migrants at international level is not based on issues such as race, religion, ethnicity, political opinion but it is generally based on gender, on persecution, widow, burning, rape, social and family violence, forced marriages, security threats, torture, and expulsion, etc. Women confronting such kind of issues are called "women- at- risk" by the UNHCR (Martin, 2004). The main causes of women's migration can be said poverty and gender discrimination in the labor market in both sending and receiving countries, which can create social exclusion. (Using women as cheap labor forces) (Rahmani, 2019).

Women are paid fewer wage than men and are exploited in their work places, they are forced for unskilled duties with high risks. Shah and Rahmani emphasized that the migrant receiving countries are responsible for giving information regarding work conditions and are responsible for creating a way to listen to their problems to diminish the degree of exploitation in the labor market (Shah 2006 cited in Rahmani 2019).

In the case of returning to a home country, women are usually unwilling to turn back to the conservative society and give up all the freedoms they obtained after migration (Rinus, Berger and Karal, 2006).

There are two different types of migration according to the authors' data collections: one is based on the labor needs which show need in the workforce, and another one is based on "biological and reproductive integration" of migrants by marriage and family reunifications (Rahmani 2019).

Women after migration have a new life with new various risks. After they migrate to a new country, they can face new difficulties for instance imposing to work markets, bringing them

to sex industries, forcing them to drug use, rape, starvation, unprotected sex with a large number of partners. When they get illnesses such as HIV, AIDS and mental breakdowns there is no one to provide medical protection and sometimes even kill them (Martin 2004). Women having asylum status often receive less social facilities and services because their destiny is not clear and they have to wait for a decision. (Martin 2004).

Furthermore, researches show that women are so tending to send money to their households in the sending country more than men do. They are those wives who move to other countries to send money to their households and send their children to better schools. (Silva, 1997).

Since the 1970s, the subject of "trade in women" changed to women's migration. There has been a noteworthy critique of discrimination among non-western women and women in color. Women were differentiated by their class, race, nations, ethnicity, and color.

To explain gender relations which involve both men and women there are some factors and statements: A. the society of origin which includes their culture and identity which work as references for changes and adopting a new identity and new cultures, B. the structural constraints such as the labor market, public life and so on which can help for the process of reconstructing their new identity, C. lastly their goals and courage to understand how they can accept upcoming conditions in the host country (Richter 2004).

Distribution of jobs are also so biased and gendered for migrant men and women. For example in the farming life men were called as boss and leader (manager) on the other hand women were called assistants in Switzerland Galician migrants. Men's work outside the farm was mentioned as "real work" while works at the inside of the farm and house were overshadowed (Richter 2004). Men's work is more highly valued than women's work. When males work outside and far distance from the house which can be looked as very precious but women's work can be obscured even if they put all of their energies on the work. Therefore,

the relationship between husband and wife is hierarchical. (Richter 2004). There is a one-sided dependency on the income of women to men. There is a vast distinction between the income salaries of men and works without salaries of women such as housework (Richter 2004).

According to news posted on the United Nations Population Fund (UNPF) there are five reasons showing the significance of women migrants: first, about half of migrants are women moving alone. Second, women migrants are exposed to major risks such as "sexual exploitation, violence, and trafficking". Third, there is a "double discrimination both as migrant and as women". Fourth, women can get pregnant while moving to another country which causes high physical risks. Fifth, women more likely need health care both "in transit and at destination" (Şanses, 2020).

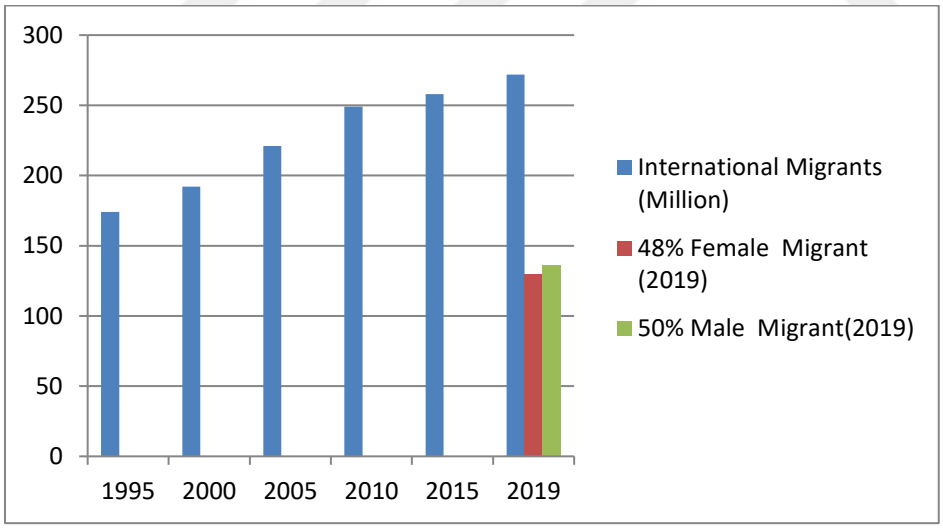


Figure 1: Prepared by the author based on IOM-UN MIGRATION REPORT 2020

1.4. Social Integration of Women Migrants

When the efforts for the integration of women who had gone through more traumatic experiences on their migration routes are lacking, the loneliness and vulnerability of women refugees in the new country continue as in the migration process. In other words, the non-adoption of a gender sensitive approach reinforces women's invisibility and paves the way for the continuation of traumatic experiences (Mısırlı, 2019: 123; Sansonetti, 2016:10). Gender-sensitive integration policies take into account the secondary position of women in the labor market, their responsibilities in the family, and their vulnerability to violence, and take into account that women have different needs than men in terms of adaptation to the new life (Mısırlı, 2019:123).

According to Forbes, migrant women need the strong support of government and international human rights agencies to participate in different spheres of social integration (Cited in Waseema, 2005: 36-37; Forbes 135, 2004). Employment is one of the key factors for women to enable them to learn and share information about health and other social system and services. Forbes suggests skills, language courses, and other projects to help women migrants in solving the difficulties they face during the social participation. Waseema adds that developing women's confidence and retraining them are effective methods in their full and active social participation (Waseema, 2005).

The problems faced by women refugees in the new country can be listed as employment problems, lack of language-knowledge, feeling lonely in their social life, being confined to the family, cultural conflicts and the resulting isolation. It is essential for women to participate in the labor market in order to get rid of the isolation within the family. There are NGOs who try not to leave refugee women alone in this process such as International Organization for

Migration, UNWOMEN, and UNHCR etc. They guide women by creating indirect or direct job opportunities in participation in the labor market.

Policies developed for the socialization of refugee women contribute significantly to the progress of the integration processes. The purpose of these policies is to reduce the concerns of women in the new country and to make them feel safe in solidarity. It is essential for women to participate in social-cultural activities in order to get out of their isolated lives away from the society. Thus, women will make new friendships, develop their language skills, increase their self-esteem, and over time they will feel belonging to the new country (Mısırlı, 2019; Koçak ve Gündüz: 2016). However, women and their families have to do the same in this process. Muslim women are the main preservers of their traditional culture who prefer to live in the closed social environment. They think that when they isolate themselves they can preserve their traditional culture which can hinder their social integration (Mısırlı, 2019:133; EFD, 2018).

Women experience many mental and physical health problems on their migration routes. Sexually transmitted diseases are one of these problems. Health issues before migration such as problems in the reproductive organs from sexual violence in their country, struggling with unwanted pregnancies, their immune systems collapse due to malnutrition. Since they are also responsible for the health of their family members, they cannot give enough attention to themselves. Exposure to unhygienic conditions during their stay in the camps increases the risk of contracting various infectious diseases. The traumas caused by sexual violence increase the insecurity of women refugees and damage the integration processes (Mısırlı, 2019).

A study on migration of skilled Latin American women to Switzerland and their struggle for integration by Yvonne Riano emphasizes the demographic and economic importance of

migrant women and their role as the active actors of migration. According to various researches, migrant women are usually unskilled and not educated who are generally exploited, but this study underlines that there are also skilled, high level educated migrant women who exhibit different ways of social integration (Riano, 2014: 1-2). There are differences in the consumption of the money immigrant men and women gain. Men usually use their money to buy goods such as televisions, cars, and other properties. Women typically gain money to deal with poverty, for food, education, health care needs of their family (International Organization for Migration: UNFPA, 2011; Cited in Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017: 16).

In this study social Integration of women is divided into micro and macro-level structures. At the micro-level human agency explains the role of integration actors such as migrant women's efforts in accessing social resources. The impact of state policies in supporting and hindering the social integration of migrant women is discussed at the macro level of structure (Riano, 2014).

Men and women differ from each other in the case of social integration due to their gender-based obstacles. Women migrants usually face very critical barriers in their integration process. Their experienced traumas on the way of migration such as rape, torture, sexual exploitation with addition to new issues in the destination country such as racial discrimination, lack of language skill, family conflicts, and other economic and social problems can make integration very difficult for them (Cited in Waseema, 2005:36; Forbes 135, 2004). One of the reasons some migrants particularly Afghan migrants can face difficulties in integration is their strong family ties and the "fears about the youth losing the culture and decreasing respect to the elders" (Cited in Waseema, 2005: 38; Lindgren and Lipson, 2004:128). A study by Helene Moussa regarding Ethiopian and Eritrean women explains that experiences before migration can be factors affecting women migrants' ability to

integrate (Moussa, 1993:28). Women migrants are restricted from getting education and finding their preferred job. Hence, women's less participation in the labor markets caused a diminishing degree of social and economic integration.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

2.1. Feminism and Migration

Gender is a very important topic in the migration researches; its focus is on the different push and pulls factors concentrating on women and men roles. There are wide ranges of studies regarding challenges women can face before migration, during migration, and after migration such as sex exploitation, economic abuses, and social difficulties. Despite the fact that women migration is not a new area of the migration studies, the gendered aspect of migration is still an understudied area. Gender was not seen as a significant subject of international migration for a long period, rather, women were seen as accompanies of their husbands who move from their country for solving their economic issues (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017: 11).

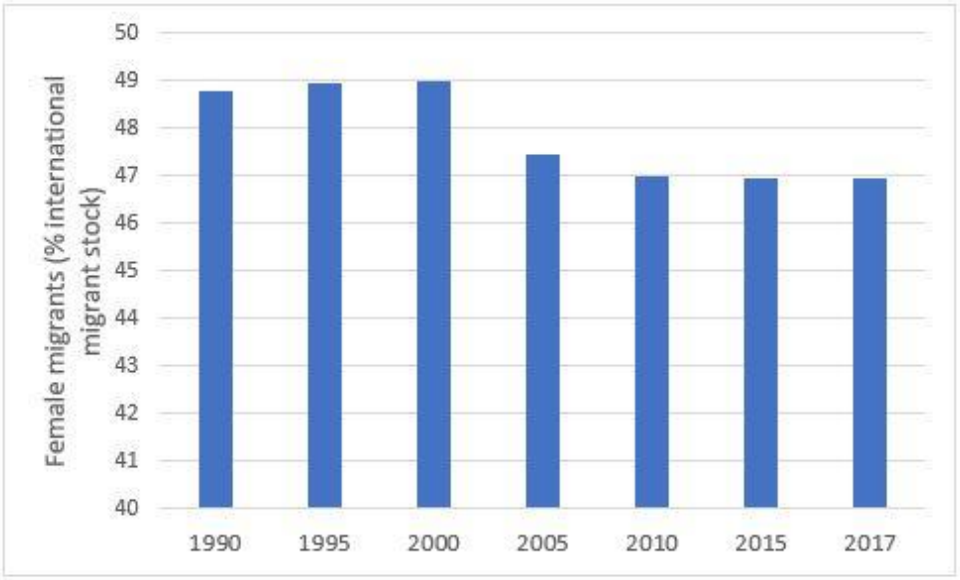
Feminist theories continue to increase the range of their study and are developing over time. However feminist migration researches remain a subfield study. Gender is marginalized from the center of international migration literature (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:7). Feminization of migration was first started its dynamics in the 1980s by the rise of women migration with the impact of globalization and neoliberal policies in the world. Gender approaches did not seem like independent issues rather women were seen as mothers, wives, and daughters of their male counterparts in the migration process (Donato & Gabaccia, 2016; Çakır, 2020: 31). Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo in his article divides research stages of feminism in international migration into three: the first stage is called “remedying the exclusion of women from research”, 1960-1980 years was the time period when the scholars were trying to insert women into migration studies. Their arguments had high focuses on traditional and cultural bond movement that women are the followers of their family in the migration arena. The inclusion of women as active actors of migration started its dynamics in the 1970s and early

1980s by adding women into migration as important actors. The “Add and stir” approach was the most helpful perception in this stage, women were added to other sectors such as education, fertility, and then began the new approaches concerning the employments comparing with men (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000).

Second stage is “from women and migration” to “gender and migration”. This stage includes a change from “women and migration” to “gender and migration” phase studies which started in 1980s to 1990s. The emergence of the intersectionality of race, class, and gender relations and the reconfiguration of gender inequality were discussed in this time period. Power relations and authority in family members and other social network institutions show that these institutions are highly gendered. Not only family and community are gendered but also programs and plans for employment are gendered. Gender-based social networks and family ties between sending and receiving society can facilitate and also constrain migration opportunities for men and women. This stage also explains the changes in the gender relations during the migration process such as changes in women’s roles after marriage, family decision-making process, labor divisions, and women’s prior issues after migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000).

The third stage topic is “gender as a constitutive element of migration” which looks at gender as a constitutive part of the immigration process. Researches now explain the role of gender in identities, institutions, and practices by explaining different related patterns that gender incorporates such as labor, ethnicity, sexuality, citizenship, identity, political, and economic structures. Most of the feminist scholars who conduct gender researches are women, but some young and open-minded men scholars carry out feminism researches. We can clearly express that women is still a marginalized topic in the international migration researches (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000).

There are vulnerable women who need the most securitized social and labor environments. The challenge in here is that receiving countries do not establish a well-being plan and policies for migrant women who would like to stay permanently (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017). Statistics about sex ratios in 1960 show that men remain as the main section of migration studies, so feminization of migration can be related to women being absent in the literature and need to reveal the reality of its importance. From 1990 to 2013 women created about half of all migrants over the world and this caused an increasing proportion of women migration in the earth but there were some exceptions in Asian and African countries (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017:12).



Source: Own elaboration based on United Nations Population Division, Trends in International Migrant Stock.

Figure 2: United Nations Population Division

Although there are countries that support women migrants, there are many countries that create policies for hindering women migration. One of the reasons that there should be policies for women migration is the fear of abuse. Women are the heroines who work hard and use it for health and education or send it to their homes to diminish poverty. In many countries, the migration of women is seen as a way of solving the aging population by giving housework and care services for local people. Migrant women are becoming a significant part

of the care work in developing and developed countries (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017: 34). Irregular migration enforce women live the economic and social difficulties in the host country due to their illegal entrance and irregular status which does not permit them to access all the opportunities that other women migrants can utilize.

Sassen (2000) explains gender approach by two types of analysis: macro-level analysis and micro-level analysis. **The macro-level** analysis emphasizes that gender relations in both sending and receiving countries are very significant in constructing gendered standards in every country. External factors in global, state, community and household levels have important impacts on gendered patterns. The need for so-called "feminized jobs" increased women's migration. Different types of low cost and unqualified jobs were called as feminized jobs. As Nawyn mentioned about the employers seeking workers are usually in domestic care work, light manufacturing, and service industries (Nawyn, 2010). **The micro-level** analysis focused on the understanding motivation of women in migration rather than studying external factors.

According to Çakır, there should be a high focus on the women migration by the nation-states and scholars due to the abuse, violence, exploitations, human rights violations to the women migrants especially those who live with no legal status (Çakır, 2020). There are factors other than families and males that impact women for immigration such as socio-economic problems in the sending societies, social and economic developments of host countries, changing cultural perceptions of migrant women, and high level of divorce in sending countries. From a macro perspective "feminization of survival" (Sassen, 2000), started in the 1980s with the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) which were deliberated for dealing with Global South's debts. This program was for minimization of the role of states. This failed to support some sectors such as education, healthcare for a long time that forced NGOs to fill the gap (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017). In a micro perspective, there are more focuses on

local policy regimes, socio-economic changes in the countries, and social attitudes towards migrants (Hofmann & Buckley, 2013; Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017).

Indra (1996) explains that the experiences of women migrants are complex and multidimensional and adds that they are not a homogenous group. Mehta (2002) describes Afghan women's migration in an optimistic point of view saying that Afghan women change their household roles after migration. Afghan women get to learn new skills through health care facilities, education in the refugee camps which can help them in finding new job opportunities which increases their level of autonomy (Waseema Beg, 2005: 34).

The gender and migration research has produced numerous and complex understandings of how gendered institutions and gender relations are reconstituted and transformed following migration through interactions of micro and macro-level processes (Nawyn, 2010). Nawyn refers to the "critical household lens" which explains the conflict and tensions happening in the migrants' households from "gendered power relations". From decision process to movement and the process of settlement in the host society are directly related to the gendered power relations (Nawyn, 2010:752-753).

According to feminist scholars, women migrations consist of different kind of economic push and pull dynamics. Immigrant women experience difficulties in access to social networks that forms their costs and benefits of migration. The new job opportunities for women in receiving countries increased the feminization of migration. Women also move to other countries to get job and send it to their households. The economic reason is not the only cause that women choose to leave their countries; there are other non-economic reasons which forced them to migrate such as escaping from domestic violence. Women and men both escape from violence and prostitution but women are more vulnerable due to their subordinate position in their households. Women also change their country of residence by getting married. International

marriage market increased women's migration (Nawyn, 2010). Social network is another important way of helping migrants in finding jobs and social adaptation. Women usually would like to have more connection with women counterparts than men. Researches on "after migration process" show that migration can bring changes to the cultural roles of men and women. For example, men try to do cooking and cleaning and women start to get jobs so their autonomy automatically gets increased (George, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Nawyn, 2010). Some women need to leave their children in their home countries for employment which causes other challenges for them. They work and send remittances to their children to meet their needs.

According to Chammartin (2002), the rise of women in the international migration arena after the 1970s has various reasons such as "high women migrant rates, secularism, and years of questioning the legitimacy of traditional gender roles, family relations, and the authority of the state "(Adiller, 2016: 57). Immigrant women and men do not have the same advantages and draw attention to the obvious differences between them. Mobility is of particular importance to women, as it is historically known, women have been associated with inactivity and passivity, either remained invisible for a very long time or perceived as dependent (Adiller, 2016: 59). Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2011) in a literature review divided gender and international migration into five. In the first category, gender and migration studies aim to ensure that gender takes an institutional place in migration studies, and in the later stages, focusing on women's migration, paid domestic work and family care, as well as gender, including gay and individuals with different identities. It summarizes that the research in the fourth category focuses on the sex trade, and the migration of women and some studies focus on women's migration with border countries (Adiller, 2016:60). Women as like as men migrate for job opportunities, to escape from conflicts and wars, to secure themselves from natural disasters, and not to be harmed because of their language, religion, and race identities.

There are many focuses on the roles of family and households as the most important element by the name of “household strategies” besides economic reasons in the gender and women studies (Adiller, 2016). When we look at the researches on women migrants in European countries, women generally migrate for a family reunion to join men (Kofman & Ark, 2000; Adiller, 2016). Women also independently leave their country for education and economic reasons. Some of the workers use irregular ways to find jobs in the destination country.

Gender and migration scholars divide women into two types: skilled and unskilled migrant women. There are many studies regarding the unskilled migrant women which caused the negligence in the study of skilled and educated women. Unskilled women migrants work as maids, caregivers, entertainers, and sex workers. Women marry for getting residence and move from underdeveloped to developed countries; this is what is called “international marriage” or “north-south marriage”.

About half of the number in international migration contains women according to the gender perspective. We can see the high participation of migrant women in the labor markets. Most of them work as domestic workers, some of them are brought to work in the sex industry and some of them move for marriage who called as “mail-order brides”.

Gender was first used by social scholars for defining social and biological differences between men and women. Gender relations are based on the roles of men and women in society according to their sex differences (Bjerén 1997 &bStølen, 1991; Tienda & Booth, 1991; Carling, 2005). We cannot say that women are always the only vulnerable, in some occasions men are exposed to marginalization due to the issues after migration. Men and women both face discrimination in their host society but women experience more discrimination than men due to their gender status for example women often endure sexual harassment in their workplaces. In many cases, men make their decisions for migration

independently and women are the family-dependents in these decisions (Carling, 2005). Women migrants in some cases can see development in both social and family relations. They can start their own work so they can increase their own economic sources and also women illustrate their autonomous role in their households independently (Carling, 2005).

2.2. Feminist Approach to Social Integration of Women Migrants

Women can face a high level of obstacles in social integration more than men do. Women face difficulties in entering the labor market and they are not likely interested in self-employment even if the opportunities such as education, skills, and training are equal with men. There is a lower percentage of women migrant employment than men when we compare the employment of women with children and men with children. One reason for less labor inclusion of women can be said that women are seen as responsible for domestic works. Women usually had low wages than men due to the gender segregation. Education is one core way for helping in labor integration.

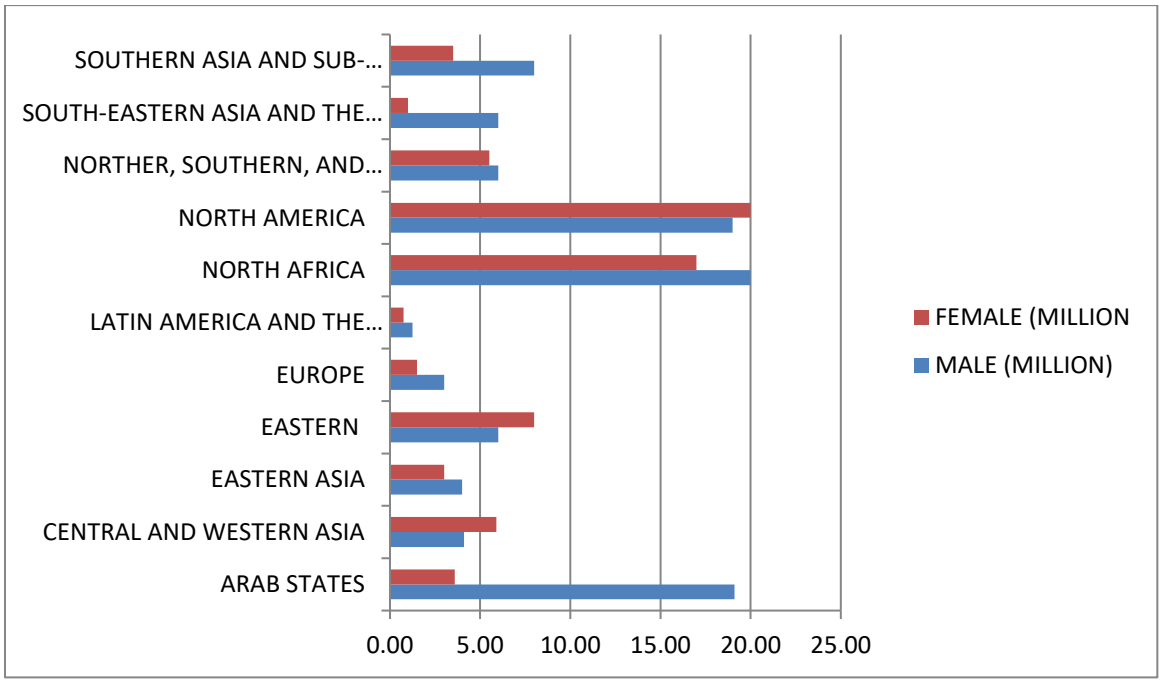


Figure 2 GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT WORKERS BY SEX 2017, IOM 2020 REPORT & ILO 2018

Access to **social networking** is a form of social integration. Women are more active in having contacts to get jobs, access education, and settle disputes.

Education is one of the most important factors of women migrants' social integration. Women who migrate from non-developed countries or countries where education for women is a tough issue, expect a better education life for themselves and their children in the host country. Most of them believe that education is a tool for accessing a better and qualified life in the future (Waseema Beg, 2005).

Learning language is another most necessary factor for women migrant's integration. Language levels of fluency capable women to apply for their favorite vacancies. It is needed for employment and interacting in the working places.

High economic constraints such as limited access to labor, the responsibility of domestic care, and restricted social rights for migrant women cause a low level of economic **contribution** to the host society. Not accessing education and not learning qualified skills lead women to work in unqualified jobs with low wages. This situation creates an unequal society by excluding poor women. Migrant women with low status face social segregation and discrimination which keep them away from the host society which also has impacts on the next generations (Millennium Challenge Corporation, 2020).

The impacts of unequal globalization on social integration of immigrant women in the South countries are discussed by scholars including social and economic conditions of the poor migrants particularly women who are affected by the inequalities. M. Anderson (2000) argues: "on what globalization and healthcare reform mean for the health of the poor. I argue that such a dialogue must be inclusive of subaltern voices, and must focus on gender, racialization, and health, especially on how gender and 'race' intersect to put racialized women at a disadvantage" (M. Anderson, 2000: 221). The emergence of neo-liberalism and

the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) had large influences particularly on the health and education of women and other disadvantaged groups. SAP includes this element: “the reduction of government’s expenditures on social programs such as health and education”. According to the IMF, interest rates have priority over health, education, housing, and other fundamental necessities (M. Anderson, 2000: 222).

After the Second World War, countries started an unequal division of income and life opportunities between different sectors which affected people particularly disadvantaged women and children. Furthermore, neo-liberal adjustment programs reduced health, education, and other social services by the governments due to their international trade issues and economic policies. According to M. Anderson, women are affected by the reduction of employment opportunities directly through low-paid employments or working in unqualified jobs and indirectly by competing with men for jobs. Poor women including migrant women face negative gender-related difficulties such as long working hours, loss of benefits, gender-based wage differentials, and non-practicing gender-specific legislation (for ex. maternity leave). Racism is another core issue that is not apart from society which literally causes problems in migrant women’s social integration.

One another factor of the social integration is migrants’ inclusion of health services in the receiving countries. Health is one of the fundamental necessities for helping migrant women. Migrants usually are affected by socio-economic health inequalities. Socio-economic factors are the most important determinants in a country. If there is problem of not giving fundamental rights such as residence permit, health care, education, housing, and other relating rights, migrants can face many difficulties in their life. Country needs to have social integration policies for migrants that can affect several contexts according to their ages, gender, education level, marital status, and self-rated health (Giannoni, Franzini, Masiero, 2016). The challenges after migration in the work of mothering such as child care and

childbirth, adjustment of cultures in the family for instance dress, food, family relationship seem to be undervalued. Feminist scholars started working on this issue as Gedalof mentioned "feminist theoretical writing on reproduction has tended to focus more on questions of subjectivity rather than on the collective social identity issues raised by migration and Diasporas" (Gedalof, 2009). He also noted the question of how do migrant women access a sense of belonging in the host society. Mothers who migrate to another country stress their children's nutrients, clothes, education, and finding a way for childcare when they are at work. Migrant women are ready to do any types of jobs including those jobs that were inappropriate before migration (Gedalof, 2009).

Chapter 4

Methodology

We use qualitative research methods to get effective and rich answers to our research questions. For meaningful and natural answers, we use participant observation. We collect data by listening to their perspectives and experiences through in-depth interviews, sampling groups, handing surveys with open-ended questions and closed-ended questions to Afghan women migrants living in Zeytinburnu.

Due to the lack of public literature and books written about the chosen topic, we will try to use information released by social media, official speeches, newspapers, articles found in social media, and other information and analytical reports by institutions. For better and deeper research, we use descriptive and socio-historical types of social analysis. To clearly understand the issues, we would like to use some case studies written in some books and reports which have previously descriptions from different experiences.

This will help us to understand the process and to estimate future problems. Through this analysis, we will be able to learn new challenges in gender issues and create new ways and solutions.

3.1. Qualitative Research Approach

Qualitative research method seems to be the best way to define and clarify the integration process of migrant women by finding answers to what, how, when, and where questions. Qualitative research is an umbrella term used to refer to the theoretical perspective designs (Cresswell, 2009; Hanock et al., 2009; Kumar Mohajan, 2018). In this study, the qualitative research method was used by referring to the meanings, definitions, metaphors, concepts, descriptions, and symbols of the topic. Qualitative research approach includes methods such

as “participant observations, interviewing, historical analysis, photographic techniques, documental analysis, ethno-methodological experiments, and ethnographic research” (L. Berg, 2001). This research method allows me to listen and analyze Afghan women’s experiences after migration by using face to face interviews, interview by telephone, and observation.

In this study, we tried to capture a picture of reality through an “interactional process” by the conducted interview questions. To obtain a better result of the research and the most accurate estimate, we combined other methods such as participants’ observations, historical analysis, and some other research methods. This type of methodology which contains a combination of different sights is called **triangulation research methodology**. The qualitative interview aims to “describe and understand the subjects’ experiences, to describe the meaning of central themes in the life world of the subjects, and to interpret the feelings and nuances of the experiences being expressed by the participants” (Kvale, 1996: 32; Waseema Beg, 2005).

Interviewing is the most suggested type of methodology which can produce obvious information about the society. Interviewing helps us in exploring people’s beliefs about their future and their experience in the past (L.Briggs, 1986).

According to Kvale (1983: 74), qualitative research interview “is an interview, whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena”. There are four types of interview today: 1. Face-to- face interviews which is the most common method; 2. Interview by telephone; 3. Interview by messenger; 4. Email interviews (Opdenakker, 2006). I preferred to use face-to-face interviews and interviews by telephone with Afghan women living in Zeytinburnu. I chose face-to-face interviews, because it is characterized by synchronous communication. “Synchronous communication” helps in getting advantage of social cues such as voice,

intonation, body language, etc (Opdenakker, 2006). To access to a high number of interviewee, I also used the advantage of telephone interviewing. I thought that I can get detailed information by asking only one question. Using a tape recorder after getting the permission of the interviewee could assist me in taking more accurate information than only taking notes. I was able to use simple terminology in communicating with Afghan women. They could easily answer me by expressing their stories and experiences during migration, after migration, and their process of integration.

Observation is another type of qualitative research methodology. I preferred to use observation method for receiving unseen metaphors. Observation is a method that involves selecting, watching, listening, and recording people's behaviors. It is used when someone want to learn selected people's beliefs, rituals, symbols, and emotions. This method permits me to directly collect data while I am in contact with Afghan women. Observation is a natural tool for conveying information because it happens by only watching them (non-verbal behavior) even before a communication starts (https://www.iedunote.com/observation-method-of-data-collection).

Feminist methodology is more concerned about the knowledge of women's social realities in the context of any methodology that is dominated by men and "neglected consideration of gendered nature of social life". Feminist scholars have anxiety regarding the exclusion of women's knowledge and experiences (Landman, 2006).

According to Oakley's (1981) experience with women migrants, there is reciprocity in the relationship between the interviewer and the participants in the qualitative research interview. Furthermore, there are two identified epistemologies by Hard (1987): feminist standpoint and feminist empiricism. Feminist standpoint focus is on the exploration of women's experiences.

Feminist empiricism is “concerned with feminist responses to biases and problems in traditional disciplines” (Landman, 2006).

In my research, I aim to conduct feminist empiricism and use feminist standpoint perspective. By using feminist methodology I would like to listen to Afghan migrant women’s experiences and stories in their social integration procedures and through that I want to observe and understand the “unseen” biases, gendered inequalities, and gendered hierarchies. Also after demonstrating the “unseen” I would like to challenge and to change it.

3.2. Selection Process

In the selection process, we tried to discuss ways to enter the chosen research field, explain the possibility of creating contact with relevant participants, taking their consent to cooperate, determining which place suits them to get in contact, making available time for conversation, informing women about the interview’s aims and procedures, simply making questions so that they can easily understand, exploring how to create a trustee environment and signaling that they are not disturbed.

I am an Afghan woman who had experienced migration since she was only 2 years old. I had been to Iran for 5 years during the Taliban were on the head of Afghanistan. I had been to Kabul with my family for 10 years where I could finish my high school. My family was educated part of the society in Afghanistan so I could easily graduate from a qualified high school. I came to Turkey in 2013 to attain my bachelor’s degree and experienced living as an Afghan student in Turkey. Now, it has been about 8 years that I live apart from my family and my country. Even though I have been living as an Afghan woman in Turkey, I have always had residence permits or work permits as well as I can speak the Turkish language fluently. Therefore, I have always felt feelings of belonging and acceptance to Turkish society. Thus,

there was a need for me to particularly enter the Afghan women migrants' field to understand the problems and issues that they can confront in Turkey.

Zeytinburnu district in Istanbul province of Turkey is my selected research field. One of the reasons for selecting this place is that Afghan migrants are living there for more than 40 years; the families living there can help me in getting qualified data relating to Afghan migrant's social integration stages. The other reason is that I am already working as a social worker in a Non-Governmental Organization which is located in the center of Zeytinburnu district. Working in this area resulted in accessing the knowledge of Afghan demographics and led me in creating formal and informal networks with them. So, I could easily conduct interviews with Afghan women.

Since my mother tongue is Dari, I have not experienced language barriers with people who cannot speak Turkish. There are many Afghans who can speak Turkish without having language courses. Some of them mix Turkmen and Turkish or Ozbek and Turkish languages to deal with their daily routine works.

When I moved to Zeytinburnu's streets particularly in "58 Bulvar", there are many Afghan women who are walking there for shopping. Afghan women generally go out with their family and friends who are Afghan. When I walked around the streets, I could easily recognize them through their way of dressing, their voices when they are talking in Dari, Ozbek, Turkmen, and Pashto languages.

Before starting the interview, I tried to get the consent of the Afghan women by asking whether they want to contribute in the interview or not, paying attention to the fact that Afghan women are over the age of 18. When I received the confirmation, I started explaining my aims and the procedure of interviewing. I informed them the voice recording and asked

them if they give me recording permission. Some of them were not so content in recording their voices so I noted their interviews without voice recording.

In my workplace, there is a project for migrant women and children. Afghan women who participated in the project's programs and courses knew me very well. I had a very close relationship with some of them who then helped me in getting their family and friends' phone numbers for telephone interviewing. These Afghan women were convinced in participating in my interview voluntarily.

The Covid-19 outbreak forced me to choose telephone interviewing due to the problems in the face-to-face contacts such as lockdown and quarantine. In the telephone interview, when I called them like the face-to-face interview, first, I asked them for consent and then conveyed them all the aims and procedures of the interview. I also recorded their voices when they confirm it.

Selected Afghan women's time lengths in Turkey were between 6 months to 40 years. Those women who stayed for more than 2 years are more experienced in Turkish culture, economic involvement, and Turkish society. Some of the Afghan women, who stay in Zeytinburnu, have illegal statuses, some of them are under the auspices of the United Nations, others have got resident permits and some owned Turkish citizenship.

Since the sample range was wide and I had got a high number of interviewees, I could get extra information and achieve a high limit of reality.

3.3. Data Collection

In the data collection part, I preferred to use the grounded theory approach. Data are systematically collected and analyzed through the research process. Data are collected in the field by observations and by getting answers from interviews. This approach is one of the data

collection approaches which are based on collected data not on the theory from data. In this method, data are achieved through face-to-face interview, observation, and telephone interviews. (Kumar Mohajan, 2018).

After a broad literature review about integration and women migrants, I decided to design my questionnaire for the interview. I tested questions with my friends who were also migrants living in other parts of Istanbul. Their insights and feedbacks encouraged me in developing the quality of the questions. This test helped me in adding new questions and assisted me in redesigning my interview guide.

The fundamental problem in this study is to find themes about Afghan women's social integration. The interview consists of four sections. There are open-ended and closed-ended questions in the interview. Asking open-ended questions enabled them to simply start the conversation and explain their stories with details. Face-to-face interviews were held for about 20 minutes to approximately one and half hour. The location of face-to-face interviews was chosen by interviewees for example some of them invited me to go to their home, some preferred interviewing on the streets, and some agreed to go to some cafes or restaurants.

Chapter 5

Social Integration of Afghan Women in Istanbul

Introduction

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is located in South-Western Asia. Afghanistan is surrounded by Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan in the North, China in the North-Eastern, Pakistan in the South-Eastern, and Iran in the Western border. The population of Afghanistan is approximately 39,415,253 people in 2021 according to the Worldometer elaboration of the latest UN data. When we look at Afghanistan's topography, this country consists of different ethnic, tribal, and religious groups. There are four major ethnics with high average of population in Afghanistan: Pashtons, Tajiks, Hazaras, and Uzbeks. Afghanistan is multinational country which also consists of other ethnics such as, Turkmen, Aimaq, Baloch, Nuristani, Gujjar, Arab, Brahui, Kizilbaş, Pamiri, Kirgiz etc. There are two official languages which are Dari and Pashto. Afghanistan's major religion is Islam including sects most of them are Sunni Muslims, Shi'a and Ismaili Muslims. There is low percent of Sikhs, Buddhists, and Hindus. Afghanistan consists of 34 provinces. The capital of this country is Kabul. The variety of population is one of the reasons Afghanistan could not succeed in the unification of the country.

There were many efforts for bringing all the nations together for central governance, but it has never happened. This issue caused so many civil wars in different time stages. Recurring domestic conflicts and interferences by both neighboring states (Pakistan and Iran) as well as non-regional powers like Britain, Soviet Union and the USA made Afghanistan an unstable and penetrated country throughout its history. Conflicts throughout history mostly affected women and children who became vulnerable to social and political changes among others.



4.1. A Historical Analysis of Afghan Women

Afghanistan is the only country which in different periods of time, changes in the political systems of the country brought alteration in women's social and cultural lives. Kinship hierarchies and tribal laws and sanctions particularly in the rural areas created gender roles in the society. Tribal laws in the rural areas predominantly focus on the role of women for instance according to their patriarchic rule, marriage and divorce rights are not given to women, women should completely subordinate to their husband, women are not allowed to

educate. Moreover, “The honor of the family, tribe, and ultimately the nation is invested in women” (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003). The migration of Afghans is not started only after wartimes but it was started before wartime for other reasons which caused Afghan people to leave Afghanistan voluntarily (Stigter 2016). Afghanistan due to its geo-strategic location and for seizing a very significant part on the Silk Roadway, people often migrated for trade and other purposes. So migration became an important historical factor for these people.

There are stereotypes that Afghan women have always been under the rule of the fundamentalists. Through history, changing policies allowed Afghan women to play active roles in the economic and social developments of the country and also these changes forcibly restricted them from education, employment, rights to speak, and rights to live.

It was the first era when Amir Habibullah Khan Son of Abdu Rahman Khan took over since the 1919 who reigned for about ten years; he is a very important person in the history of Afghan women because of steps taken for women. During his reign, a person named Mahmud Beg Tarzi who was influenced by modern Islam in which rights and liberties are given to women. He had the ideology that “educated women are the assets to the future”. In that era, Tarzi published a modernist-nationalist newspaper “the Siraj-ul-Akhbari-Afghan (the lamp of the news of Afghanistan) (1911-1918), which consisted of a section for women entitled “Celebrating Women of the World”. Amir Habibullah Khan opened first girls’ schools which caused his assassination by tribal leaders in 1919 (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003:3). Then his son Amanullah Khan became king of the reign. His first success was the liberation of Afghanistan from the British in the third war of Anglo-Afghan war in 1919. Then he aimed to focus on the task of modernizing Afghanistan including the liberation of Afghan women from tribal traditional patterns. Steps against polygamy and forced veil were taken. People were encouraged in educating their girls all over the country. There were other innovations for women such as the establishment of the “Organization for Women’s Protection” by his sister,

women could bring their complaints there. First women magazine named “Guidance for Women” was found by his mother both in the 1920s, the first hospital for women was established, and some women were sent to Turkey for education. Amanullah Khan released the freedom of women to choose their husbands and the removal of bride price in 1924 which faced the opposition of traditionalist fathers. The rule of marriage ages changed for women 18 and for men 21 years. These revolutions provided oppositions which lasted by forcing Amanullah to leave the country (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003:4-5).

After Amanullah Khan there were other political leaders who tried to give rights to women. Many schools were established and girls were encouraged to educate. Women were encouraged to work for economy of the country especially during Nadir Shah’s period (1930s-1940s) who declared the second Constitution Law. “Kabul University”, first University of Afghanistan was established in 1932 when Nadir Shah had been in power. In his era, women became doctors, nurses, teachers etc. Nadir Shah was trying to bring innovations without opposing the Mullahs and tribal leaders (Lederman, 2002; Waseema Beg, 2005).

Zahir Shah (1960s), was another king who gave several rights to women such as education, employment, sending them abroad for education, and other social rights (Lederman, 2002; Waseema Beg, 2005). By the declaration of third constitution in 1964, women obtained right to vote. The year when the Democrat Party of Afghanistan was created in 1965, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women the first group of Afghan women was established. After 1970s, Afghan women’s rights increased. The main aims for women in this era were to abolish bride prices and rising of the marriage ages: minimum age for girls 16 years and for boys 18 years. Many women employed in the universities, private sectors, and as nurses and doctors. These reforms caused the creation of anti-Soviet militia called Mujahedeen during the late 1970s. Mujahedeen were supported by the United States, Iran,

Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. Mujahedeen launched war in the name of Islam. The Mujahedeen created their revolutionary force to oppose all the socialist rules including all the liberties given to Afghan women (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003).

When Mujahedeen came to power, they burnt many libraries, schools, and universities. They raped women, forced women for marriage, killed many people, banned women from work, and the media was totally restricted. Taliban like the Mujahedeen also continued forced marriages and rapes. During the Taliban era started from 1996, women were not allowed to leave their homes except with their Mahram (fathers, brothers, husbands) accompanies. Women had to wear Burqah and were prohibited to go to schools and Universities. They brought new laws in the name of "Shariah Law" with social changes for men and women. Fundamentalist regime of Taliban conducted violence, rapes, and tortures under name of Islamic rules. According to Seran de Leede (2014), women possess an important role in supporting terrorist activities during the Taliban era and also after the Taliban era. Also, added that women are part of the solution for combating terrorism (Leede, 2014). Taliban women with conservative norms played a very important role in providing violence in Afghanistan for instance women who had carried out suicide bombing voluntarily to lower the degree of risk of being caught (Leede, 2014:1).

Taliban had been one part of the Mujahedeen who were called as "Taliban Mujahedeen". Taliban means students of religion. Taliban took over Kabul in 1996, started enforcement of Shariah Law considering the traditional norms of Pashtuns. Women were banned from going to schools, jobs, and could not go out without Chadari (veils covering face and body) and their Mahram (man of their family).

After the failure of Taliban governance, Karzai came to power as a provisional governor in 2001 and then was elected as president of Afghanistan. Women started to use new

opportunities after a long time. International organizations and human rights actors initiated negotiations about the development of Afghan women. 67 numbers of Afghan women are working in Parliament today (https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas/country-view/44/35) however they did not own real decision-making power. Increasing insecurity in the country and the rising power of the Taliban in the critical parts of Afghanistan had impacts on restricting women's gaining roles in society (Leede, 2014).



Figure 4:A B-52 drops a load of bombs in Afghanistan by the USA, CFR Timeline 2020

After the 9/11 attack and the US occupation of Afghanistan, women started going to schools, works, and going out without accompanying a man who is called Mahram. Taliban not only socially restricted women by forcing them wear burqa and not go out without their Mahram men; they basically restricted them from several fundamental services such as accessing to health services, education, and jobs (R. Allen & Felbab-Brown, 2020). "The post-Taliban constitution in 2004 gave Afghan women all kinds of rights, and the post-Taliban political dispensation brought social and economic growth that significantly improved their socio-

economic condition" (R. Allen & Felbab-Brown, 2020). "In 2003, fewer than 10 percent of girls were enrolled in primary schools; by 2017, that number had grown to 33 percent, while female enrollment in secondary education grew from six percent in 2003 to 39 percent in 2017. Thus, 3.5 million Afghan girls were in school with 100,000 studying in universities". "By 2020, 21 percent of Afghan civil servants were women (compared with almost none during the Taliban years), 16 percent of them in senior management levels; and 27 percent of Afghan members of parliament were women" (R. Allen & Felbab-Brown, 2020).

When we consider gender roles in Afghanistan in a general way, traditional patriarchy dominated society. People embedded women as the protectors of family and religion. Women within Afghanistan's society are seen as symbols of honor and dignity for family and community. These traditional patriarchal rules make women dependent on men through kinship ties. Family and kinship ties are assumed very significantly which cannot be destroyed only for improving women's status through education, employment, and access to resources (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003: 10). Tribal norms are very important in shaping women's behavior, dressing, and their roles in Afghanistan's society. Covering the body of women is not only an Islamic obligation; it is seen as protection of family pride in Afghanistan. As we mentioned above, tribal norms, relative ties, and religious rules have been stronger than the central authority (Leede, 2014:3). Through history any ruler who tried to liberate women, give them different rights of education, employment, right to speak, and right to have free choices have been suppressed. For instance Amanullah Khan in 1920s devoted women different rights and initiated liberating them from traditional obligations faced conservative mullah's (religious person) hostility. When Mohammad Davoud Khan the prime minister of 1953-1963, declared the independence of women and then by the impacts of Soviet women left wearing veils led to Taliban era which started high degree of violence and tortures. When

Taliban came to power they ordered women to wear Chadari (A kind of veil covering face and body).

Throughout history, due to economic hardships, political instability, and security issues women played a significant role in protecting themselves and their families. Some educated women decided to stay in the country for serving their people during the hot war. Afghan women also created so many active organizations for protecting their rights particularly after the Taliban reign. Women for Afghan Women (WAW), Afghan Women Network (AWN), Afghan Women's Educational Center (AWEC), Afghan Women's Mission (AWM), Afghan Women Welfare Department (AWWD), Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), and US-Afghan Women's Council are some non-profit organizations who are working for defending and promoting Afghan women's rights (Sweger, 2016).

4.2. History of International Migration in Turkey

Turkey has had a long history of migration. Various population's inflows and outflows created Turkish culture of migration. Throughout its history, Turkey has been both a migrant-receiving and sending country. Modern Turkish migration started after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the declaration of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s. Exchanging population between Europe and Turkey, labor migration from Turkey to Europe, and recently migration from countries in crisis such as Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan to Turkey can be considered as main immigrant flows which created Turkish international migration history.

There is estimate that about "one fifth of Turkey's population displaced in 1920s" (Sirkeci & H. Cohen, 2016: 388). The exchange between non-Muslims from Turkey to Europe and Turkic and Muslim origins from Europe to Turkey was carried out in the 1950s. The agreement between Turkey and Western Europe caused labor migration in the 1960s and 1970s. Aftermath, family reunification created a new immigrant influx to Western Europe.

1960 emigration from Turkey to EU countries were affected by state-led developmentalism, urbanization, and internal migration. Ethnic and religious conflicts within Turkey in 1980-2000 caused the mass movement of population (especially Kurdish and Allevi) to Europe. Turkey is now one of the immigrant-receiving countries for the people coming from Asia, Africa, and some European countries. Different types of classes move to Turkey such as, economic migrants, political migrants, family migrants, generally who are facing challenges in their own country (Sirkeci & H. Cohen, 2016: 388).

For Europe, Turkey was known as a source of migrants. In the 1930s high amount of migrants from Balkan countries and Jewish people moved to Turkey. During the Cold War, thousands of migrants flowed to Turkey from Communist states and were recognized as refugees and stayed till the resettlement to the third country by UNHCR. Other asylum seekers started moving to Turkey from Iran and Iraq and Afghanistan. About half a million Kurdish refugees moved to Turkey from Iraq in the 1980s-1990s. Iranian revolution and the Gulf war both consisted high influx of migration to Turkey. A high number of Iraqi Kurds and Iranians moved to Turkey. There were some non seen irregular Iranians living in Turkey who a number of them were sent back to Iran (Karasapan, 1989). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Turkey became a country of transit for irregular migrants and asylum seekers. Albanians, Bosnian Muslims, Pomaks, and Ahiska Turks who were deported from Central Asia by Joseph Stalin started coming to Turkey. Turkey was still an emigration country for European countries. Turkey became as transit and also a destination country for irregular migrants and asylum seekers from Asian countries such as; Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Iran, and some former Soviet states (Kirişçi, 2004).

From the early 1920s to the Second World War, Turkish ideology regarding emigration and immigration was "**nationalism".** In this period of time, we can see Muslims and people of Turkish origin living in Europe have strong desires to move to Turkey. Similarly, people with

non-Turkish origin living in Turkey would like to move out of Turkey to settle in European countries. A high amount of Muslims and people of Turkic origin flowed from Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, and other parts of Balkans. The migration of Armenians and Rums caused the reduction in number of non-Muslims in Turkey (İçduygu, 2014).

After Second World War and its huge impacts on Turkey economically and politically, Turkey has changed its ideology relating to its emigration and immigration policies from nationalism to **developmentalism**. Turkey initiated labor agreements with developed countries for the reason of economic development, for instance, Turkey signed a labor agreement in 1961 with Germany which as a result more than three million people moved to Germany for jobs, family reunification, and asylum (İçduygu, 2014).

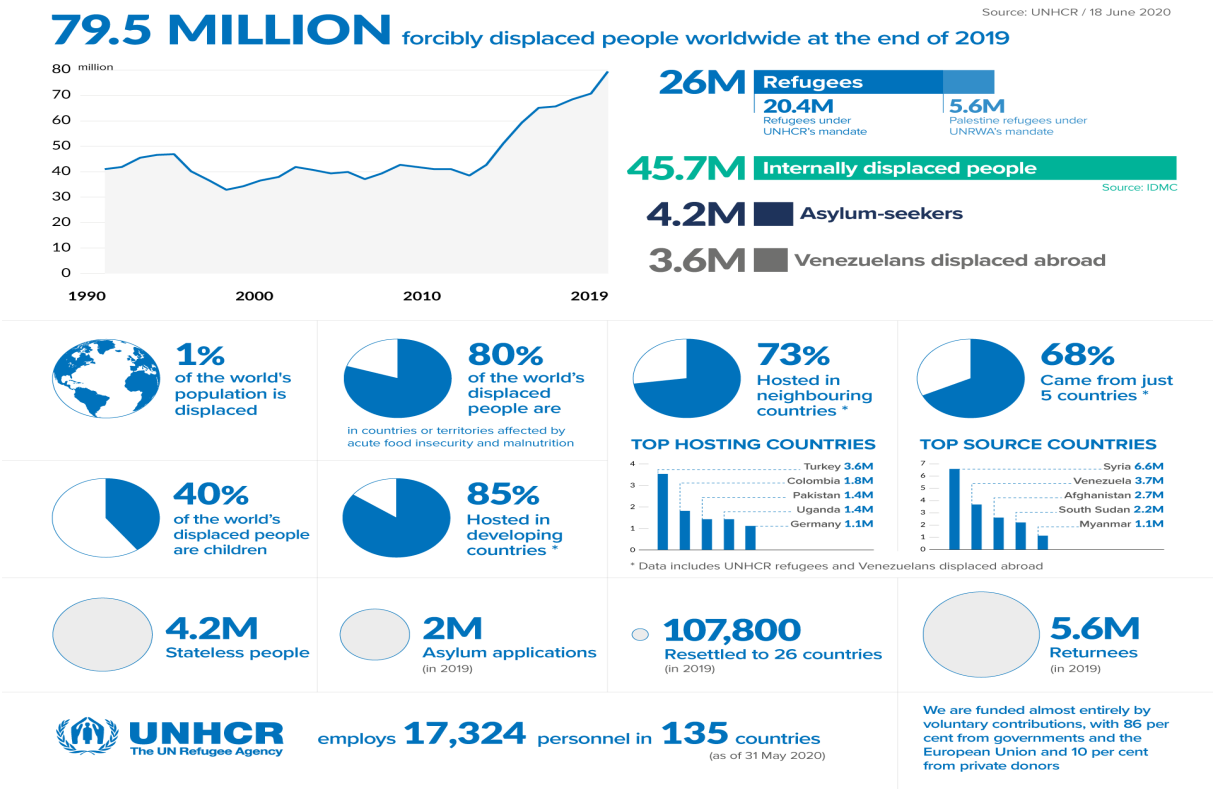
Globalization was the fact of Turkey's new trend of migration after the 1960s. Turkey was modified from an emigration to an immigration country in this period of time. People who come and settle in Turkey are no longer only Muslims of Turkish origin. The political conflicts and economic problems in different countries around Turkey forced people to find a better place for their future life. Countries in political turmoil such as the Gulf War, Iran-Iraq war, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the Syrian crisis pushed people to move to Turkey for seeking asylum or finding jobs (İçduygu, 2014: 5). Mass movements from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, some European countries, and recently Syria constitute Turkey's current influx of migrants. People choose Turkey for their settlement for two reasons: one, Turkey's economic enhancement, and two, to use Turkey as a transit bridge for reaching European countries.

Iranian refugees flow to Turkey started especially since the 1979 revolution. More than one and half million Iranian refugees entered Turkey till the 1980s (Rivetti 2013). Many exiles started during the revolution to the Western countries and Turkey. Huge number of Syrians flowed to Turkey after the 2011 Syrian revolt (Özden, 2013). Syrian Crisis caused the

enforced movements from Syria to Middle East countries, European countries, and particularly Turkey. According to the IOM statistics, today Turkey hosts about 3.9 million Syrians in different parts of the country.

Afghans inflow to Turkey first started in 1982, during the Soviet War in Afghanistan. Turkey brought about 4000 Afghan people of Turkic origin and settled them in six cities: Tokat, Kırşehir, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, and Van. Due to a lack of work opportunities, some of them moved to big cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. According to the 1934 Residence Law, all of them were given Turkish citizenship. When Iran and Pakistan declared the initiation of Afghan migrants' deportation, Afghans changed their routes to Turkey in 2007. These migrants used irregular ways to reach Turkey. Some of them registered for asylum and resident permit but some of them still stay as the irregular population in different parts of Turkey. We cannot estimate the number of Afghans living in Turkey because there is a vague amount of irregular Afghan population living in Istanbul and other cities. UNHCR suspended the registration of Afghan asylum seekers in 2014, so there is no information concerning the exact number of asylum seekers (Mougne, 2010; cited in S.Kaytaz, 2015:31).

According to the information written in the statistical data of the UNHCR released in 2020, about 2.7 Million Afghan populations moved to Turkey at the end of 2019. About 19 percent of total Afghan migrants in Turkey included women in 2016 (https://www.unhcr.org/tr/en/figures-at-a-glance).



4.3. Integration Policy of Turkey

Since the early 1990s, Turkey was affected by the nature of globalization that caused changes in the policies of Turkey concerning migration. Hence, starting from Diaspora policies, visa regulations, citizenship policies, asylum regimes, work permits, and border arrangements, Turkey has made many changes in its administrative and legislative regulations. This does not mean that Turkey's migration policies are modernized and are with high standards. Turkey still owns incomplete and insufficient policies in dealing with migration issues and in providing services for immigrants (İçduygu, 2014). Migrants coming to Turkey face language issues, culture shocks, and education problems; they also have problems in entering to the labor market, accessing to health services and housing (Akar & Erdoğdu, 2018: 928). Accroding to Akar and Erdoğdu (2018), integration is consisted of two parties: one party is immigrants with different characteristics and the other party is the host society with their

specific characteristics. These parties should be linked through one systematic integration policy which should be practiced by different actors.

The 1934 “Law in Settlement”, was Turkey's first law in which embedded two main statuses for migrants: first, facilitating and integration of people of Turkish origin and culture; second, preventing the entrance of migrants who do not meet these criteria (İçduygu, 2014: 4). There is another law released in 1994 “Asylum Regulation” which prepared the conditions people can be asylum seekers in Turkey. According to the geographical limitation that Turkey adopted in “1951 Geneva Convention”, this country gives refugee status only for migrants coming from European countries but still grants “a temporary asylum to people coming from non-European countries until they are resettled to the third country” (İçduygu, 2014). So it means that many migrants living in Turkey cannot hold refugee status because the majority of them arrived from non-European countries.

There are two periods in the migration procedure, one is “reception” when migrants come to Turkey and their applications are accepted. The other one is “integration” when migrants are totally integrated into the society. There is no clear connection between these two periods in Turkey’s legal processing.

There are three main statuses which are given to migrants in Turkey: 1. “International Protection Status” for non-Syrian migrants which can be converted to the “Conditional Refugee Status” if they are under direct threat in the sending country. 2. “Subsidiary Protection Status” for people who come from a place with high level of violence. 3. “Temporary Protection” which is given only for migrants coming from Syria (Beth Rottmann, 2020: 13). Both “the Law on Foreigners and International Protection” and “the Temporary Protection Regulation” came into force in 2014, define migrants’ legal status in Turkey. These laws include provisions about integration patterns such as education, health services, labor,

counseling services (Beth Rottmann, 2020: 18). In the Turkish context, Integration is preferred to be called “uyum” which means “social harmony” that is deemed to be voluntary.

Migrants’ personal circumstances, economic, political, and social developments in the country can create their aspiration to integrate. Today Turkey hosts the largest number of unofficial migrants in the world (Beth Rottmann, 2020). But the problem in Turkey is that it does not have proper integration programs and policies for migrants. The integration policy started in 2016 after the EU-Turkey Statement which stopped the movement of migrants from Turkey to European countries.

Turkey does not own an official, national integration policy, but many organizations actively play role in practicing integration programs towards migrants. **State** is the main integration actor which is supported and funded by international organizations such as UNHCR and IOM. Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) has organized many workshops concerning the migrants’ social harmony (uyum) in different parts of the country such as “Workshops on Security and Social Harmony”, “Harmony Meetings”, “Harmony Neighborhood Meetings” (Beth Rottmann, 2020:23-24).

Local municipalities are other actors of integration. Local municipalities can act according to article 13 of the Municipality Law which allows the equal treatment of all the residents regardless the citizenship status. However, they are not always permitted to provide services for migrants. Services for migrants' integration in provinces can show inconsistency, provided services can change from one district to another district in a province. So there is limited cooperation of districts municipalities concerning providing services for migrants living in those parts (Beth Rottmann, 2020). Some districts such as Zeytinburnu and Şişli Municipalities arrange some programs for migrants through cooperation with some Organizations such as health services, language courses, law, sheltering, and employment.

Some of the municipalities support migrants by providing them legal aid, job placement, social, and economic aids.

International Organizations (IOs) and **Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs)** have a direct relation with migrants by creating several services for them such as language courses, interpreting services, vocational training, healthcare, and education. They provide a significant link between migrants and the Turkish society. They try to convey information about legal, cultural, health services, education, and employment to migrants and impart migrants' needs to the official entities. So we can say that NGOs and IOs are one of the major actors of integration for migrants. There are many NGOs who are working for migrants' integration by providing several programs and activities such as IOM, UNHCR, Kızılay, ASAM, etc. However, there is the problem of coherence and coordination among them. There is no central pool to collect reports about women, men, children, LGBT needs and programs resolving them (Beth Rottmann, 2020). NGOs in Turkey have different integration and cohesion programs for migrants. Organizations run different plan and programs, some of them implement social activities and some of them focus on the educational programming and language preparation courses. Many of them focus on women and children, and some of them on men and LGBT.

Social integration is supposed to be difficult for migrants, according to them **language** barrier is the main reason why integration is difficult. Some migrants can learn Turkish easily because they are Turkmen or Ozbek. Syrians can integrate to Arabic speaking places such as Şanlıurfa because there are many Arabic speaking communities. Social tensions among local community and migrants also can be the reason why integration becomes difficult (Beth Rottmann, 2020:30).

Turkey has a developing economy with various types of industry. There are many productions of “textiles, automobiles, nutrient materials, and electronics”. Turkey has developing tourism sector, mining, steel, construction, paper industries etc. (Beth Rottman, 2020). These sectors need workers with low wages. Due to economic crisis after migration, migrants apply for works without insurance and with very low wages. Turkish law gives foreigners work permits for at least 6 months. A small number of migrants are given work permits for limited jobs. Migrants are employed when Turkish people cannot carry out that work. Yet, the majority of migrants prefer working informally due to the complicated bureaucratic issues. A small number of migrants are given work permits for limited jobs. Furthermore, there is a gender-based division of **labor** in Turkey because most of the migrants holding work permits are men. Sometimes men do not permit their wives to work, or their house duties ban them from working out. Lack of job opportunities creates economic pressures which lead to psychological problems. “For many migrants migration to Turkey caused a significant downgrade in their professional standings”, which led them to move from Turkey to Europe (Beth Rottmann, 2020: 36). Starting business and entrepreneurship in Turkey as a foreigner is easier than in European countries.

According to some migrant-sending countries’ consular’s’ opinion, accessing work permits is very difficult for migrants and only professional businessmen can own work permits. They also added that professional jobs are only occupied by Turkish citizens (Karcı Korfalı & Şenol Sert, 2019: 98). Foreigners who studied their university in Turkey generally worry about their job accessing and also their resident permit problem in Turkey. They fear employment in unqualified jobs due to their migrant status (Karcı Korfalı & Şenol Sert, 2019: 100).

Social Participation is one of the important elements of the integration process which refers to “respecting laws” and “acting according to Turkish culture”. Migrants’ socially

participating in a country covers access to education, health services, and the state of social belonging (Karcı Korfalı & Şenol Sert, 2019).

Education is one of the most important topics of integration for migrants. Since 2016 immigrants living in Turkey with TPS (Temporary Protected Status) are available to attend Turkish schools and universities. There are many immigrant children who cannot attend to schools. One of the reasons that they cannot register to schools is that their families cannot provide the documents needed. Another reason is that some children have to work for helping their family so; they do not find time for school.

Language is also another barrier to migrant children's education. Children of irregular migrants, unfortunately, cannot benefit from education opportunities at all. Migrant children can face challenges after starting school for instance the lack of language knowledge can create problem. They witness the discrimination and bullying by local children which brings psychological violence by their peers (Beth Rottmann, 2020).

Housing and accommodations are other important basic needs of migrants for social integration. According to article 95 of LFIP, status holders and migrants with international protection applications are responsible for their own accommodation. Housing and accommodation have a very high cost and insecurity due to the house owner's abuses.

Migrants with international protection status cannot travel abroad and also cannot move from one city to another without travel permit. If they would like to move, they have to take travel permit from PDMM. Migrants who are staying in camps can benefit from housing and health services, but, when they leave camp they are free to rent houses by using their own opportunities. There is no policy regarding the settlement of migrants in local areas (Akar & Erdoğdu, 2018).

Health service is a very significant vital issue that states should focus on. Migrants' access to health services in Turkey is changing for different nationals. Syrians with TPS can benefit from free health services in the provinces they are registered. Irregular Syrian migrants also can use emergency medical services. However, migrants with international protection status are not allowed to use medical services for free anymore but only for their first year. They have to pay for their treatment after one year. There is an exception if they have a very critical illness they can use health insurance. Foreigners with residence permits cannot use free treatments. They can privately pay for their health problems. Language barrier and cost of hiring interpreter can create problems concerning the health services in Turkey. There are NGOs and IGOs working on solving interpretation issue (Beth Rottmann, 2020: 56). "Health issues can affect migrants' ability to find a job, learn language, interact with public institutions, and perform well in school, and finally practice social integration" (Akar & Erdoğdu, 2018: 931). Mental health problems, pregnancy care, care for children and babies are also problematic issues that should be solved.

Citizenship and feelings of belonging to Turkish society is one of the most discussed subjects by researchers. In Turkey obtaining citizenship is governed by Citizenship Law (CL). Citizenship is possible by kinship, through decision of a competent authority, by adoption, and by right of choice (Beth Rottmann, 2020: 63). Turkey's 2009 Citizenship Law made dual citizenship more difficult and complex to migrants coming from several countries (Karcı Korfalı & Şenol Sert, 2019: 95). According to the law, foreigners with regular status who lived in Turkey for at least 5 years for a reason, have language competence, can support themselves economically, and have no illness which threat Turkish citizens can be available for acquisition of citizenship. Another law that introduced in 2016 is based on giving citizenship to foreigners who entered legally and have contributed to different areas such as economic, social, cultural, and arts in Turkey. This law is called "exceptional citizenship

acquisition" (Beth Rottmann, 2020). According to Turkish law, non-citizens are not allowed to vote or politically organize. There are some Turkish minorities living in other countries (Bulgraia, Iraqi Turkmens, Azeri migrants from Iran, and Russian and German nationals regardless their citizenship status) who are politically active migrant communities (Karcı Korfalı & Şenol Sert, 2019: 105).

The integration process also consists of "**feelings of belonging**" in a migrant to the host society. Belonging can be identified as feeling dependent on a social group. Shared languages and holding the same ethnic identities can help in reaching to feel of social belonging. Social belonging sometimes seems to be impossible due to tensions among migrants and local community. Despite some common cultural, religious, and language, there is a hostility and lack of social acceptance. Women migrants are directly affected by the social tensions. Women do not enter to public places and they are more isolated than men. Migrant women's appearance can affect local's behaviors towards them which can force them to change their dressing style (Beth Rottmann, 2020). There should be a legal status for migrants for accessing adequate resources. A long waiting period for getting legal status can decrease the level of chances of integration into society (Akar & Erdoğdu, 2018: 930).

The differences between languages, cultures, and lifestyles of migrants with the local community can have impacts on the social adaptation of both actors. Migrants bring changes in Turkey's demography by fertility and their growing population. There are increasing tensions between migrants and the local community particularly we witness challenges and discrimination against so-called "overcrowded guests", Syrian refugees. Misunderstandings regarding "Syrians benefit more than the local community" raise tension and hostility among them (Akar & Erdoğdu, 2018: 936).

4.4. Social Integration of Afghans in Istanbul

Istanbul is the most commercial and the largest city of Turkey with approximately 15.52 million populations in a country of almost 83 million populations. This city is a transcontinental city that connects Asia to Europe. Istanbul consists of 39 districts. Istanbul has been a center of internal and external migrants for long years. Internal migrants are from southern and eastern Turkey and the Black Sea Region. International migrants include regular and irregular migrants from Iran, Iraq, Balkans, and other places such as Afghanistan, Sub Saharan African countries. Istanbul is a transit city where migrants wait to earn money or to move to a third country (Bihter, Küppers, Ziebarth 2016).

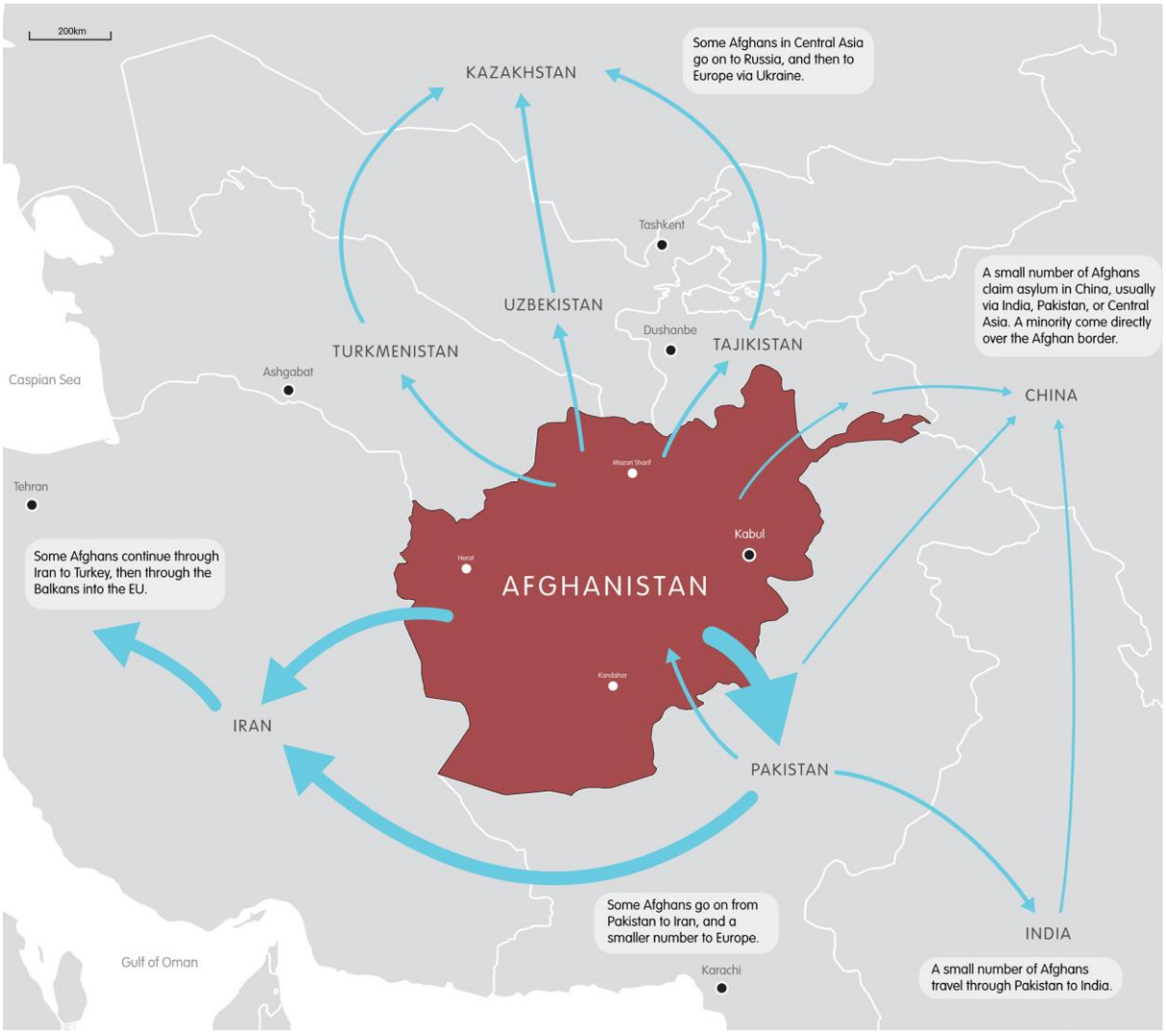
For about 4 decades, Afghan people have been one of the largest asylum seekers in Turkey. Starting in the 1970s conflicts, violence, and wars in Afghanistan forced people to move from their origin land, first to neighboring countries Iran and Pakistan, then by using Turkey as a transit country they aimed to enter and settle down to European countries. Sui generis is a case which Afghan refugees can bring because of their long-lasting migratory flow. Mass arrivals and their long exile can create impacts on host countries. (İçduygu, Karadağ, 2018). There are 4 phases of Afghan migratory flows to Turkey: 1. Started after the Saur revolution in 1978, when the Marxist People's Democratic Party overthrew the government and brought a new secular regime, the Soviet invasion in 1979 caused conflicts between the Soviet army and Mujaheedin. The war between them caused a migration of about 4 million to neighboring countries. 2. In 1996, when the Taliban took control of Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, the war between Taliban and Mujaheedin caused a high number of migratory flows from Afghanistan. 3. After the 9/11 attack, the US-led invasion in 2001 caused migration to other countries including Turkey. 4. In the post-2008 period when US operation failed, mass movements of Afghan people have continued till today (İçduygu, Karadağ, 2018).

During the 1960s and 1970s, the industrialization problem in Afghanistan remained people with totally insufficient work opportunities. The oil crisis and a high increase in the price enforced Afghan migrants moving to neighboring countries to Pakistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and other Middle Eastern countries (Rahmani, 2019). The first wave of Afghan migration was during the Soviet invasion era in 1979. Which about 6 million displaced: 3.5 million fled to Pakistan, 2 million moved to Iran and the rest of them placed to other countries (Dimitriadi 2013). After the withdrawal of the Soviets in 1988, migration increased by 6.2 million from Afghanistan. The repatriation process started in 1992 after the collapse of the Najibullah government. In 1994 refugees in Pakistan fell from 3.2 million to 1.47 million (Grare, Maley 2011).

The second wave of migration from Afghanistan was started after the Soviet withdrawal and the civil war after that. Several groups wanted to run their leadership. The anarchic situation resulted in the Taliban's rise to unify the country and restore security. This wave started with the occupation of the Taliban under the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in 1996. (Dimitriadi 2013, which is cited in Rahmani, 2019). Taliban was an extremely conservative group; they governed the country by different human rights abuses and killings targeting mainly Hazara ethnic minorities (Shias). During this period about, 300000 Afghans fled to Pakistan. UNHCR cut aid for Afghan refugees and Iran increased border controls to stop receiving more Afghan refugees. Iran stopped providing educational and health services to Afghan refugees. Iran deported about 190000 Afghan refugees by justifying that they did not have documents (Shavazi 2005 as cited in Kuschminder, Majidi, Rahmani 2019, Vanore and Buil 2014). The third wave of migration was when the Taliban attacked the United States on 11th September 2001 that we can call a US-Taliban war era in Afghanistan. Afghan people had no other choice but to move to neighboring countries by using illegal ways. After the collapse of the

Taliban in 2002-2005 new repatriation policies started and about 2.7 million refugees turned back to Afghanistan (Vanore and Buil 2014 cited in Rahmani 2019).

Security issues, the weak economy, corruption, weak government and rule of law, drug trafficking, homelessness, unemployment, and poverty cause their exit from the country. A long term way of solution for Afghan migration is to improve security in the country so that Afghan migrants turn back to the country (Stanzel, 2016). Demographic security is a very crucial cause of migration from Afghanistan.



Şekil 3 Stanzel, 2016: 3

The annual demographic increase in Afghanistan with a high percentage of unemployment brings the economy down and causes moves out of the country. Density disequilibrium between cities is one big problem of Afghanistan. The geographic land of Afghanistan is as huge as Germany and Poland so as a result, some parts of the country contain a population more than the population in Bangladesh. Rural parts have worse economic conditions; the farming is not good and productive because of the old farming system and the poor quality of transportation. The expansion of cities and issues in the rural areas caused internal displacements and fight for lands. Kabul which is the capital of Afghanistan contains 20 percent of the population. Kabul has a very irregular system of infrastructure; about 80 percent of it and transportation is a very problematic high percentage of climate pollution. Kabul has huge demographic security issues. (Rodriques, Mansutti, 2017).

In 2015 Afghans was the second largest group of migrants moving from Turkey to Europe. Some Afghan migrants would like to stay in Turkey temporarily or permanently, whereas, some of them choose to continue their journeys from Turkey to other parts of the world, mainly to the Global North (Karadağ, 2021: 10). The journey from Afghanistan to Turkey is a long and risky route with a high threat of death. It takes a long time to reach Turkey. Migrants are transferred from one smuggler to another according to different places. “There are two main routes on the way from Afghanistan to Turkey: first is an unauthorized movement from Afghanistan to Pakistan and then Iran; the second is the visa entry to Iran or visa entry directly from Afghanistan to Turkey”. Afghans gather in Kabul the capital of Afghanistan to move to Nimruz which is the border city of Pakistan and centre of smuggling networks (Karadağ, 2021: 21). Getting Turkish Visa is very difficult in Afghanistan. Hence, people use the unauthorized route of Tehran for crossing the border city of Van in Turkey to reach Istanbul. Smugglers gain about 500-600 Dollars per person in this route. The Iran-Turkey border contains different kinds of physical threats such as the attack of wild animals, fires by

border police, and the possibility of being frozen. They stay in shock houses till they walk to minibus stations to go to Istanbul (Karadağ, 2021).



Figure 5: Turkish border with Iran (Karadağ, 2021)

In 1980s, Turkey decided to arrange transportation and settlement for Afghans who have Turkish origin (Uzbek and Turkmen). Kenan Evren, the head of that time settled about 4163 Afghans in six cities of Turkey (Tokat, Sivas, Kırşehir, Şanlıurfa, Van and Hatay). However, these people moved to big cities such as Istanbul for employment (Karadağ, 2021: 27).

There are 2 problematic factors for Afghan migrants in Turkey. First, Turkey has a geographic limitation, according to the Geneva Convention in 1951; Turkey does not grant refugee status to non-European migrants. Therefore, Afghan migrants can stay in Turkey till resettlement to a third country. Second, UNHCR has stopped accepting applications from Afghans since mid-2013. Reaching fundamental rights such as health care, education and housing are very big issues at the legislative level of Turkey. Since 2008, accessing public healthcare can be possible when you get official status. According to international conventions and constitutional principles, children should have access to education regardless

of their legal status. But in Turkey, they should have legal status so that they can benefit from education (Üstübici, 2020). If migrants are not registered for general health insurance, they have to pay very high fees. They have to pay for their healthcare. NGOs play a very important role in providing basic healthcare and informal education. Civil society activities help vulnerable people such as pregnant women and unaccompanied migrants.

According to the 2013 Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP), migrants who are from non-European countries with a case document (including Afghans) are considered as "conditional refugees" who can stay in Turkey until the resettlement to a third country Migrants who are not available to get conditional and temporary refugee status but cannot be returned to their countries are in the category of "subsidiary protection". Afghan migrants need to apply for international protection in order to gain subsidiary protection or conditional status (Karadağ, 2021: 28).

In September 2018, the responsibility for registration and processing of asylum applications (for non-Syrians) was transferred from the UNHCR to Turkey's Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM). Afghans should apply to the Provincial Directorate of Migration Management (PDMM) for the preparation of international protection and residence permits that help them in accessing education, health care, and humanitarian assistance. If their application to international protection is rejected, they will lose the opportunity to access fundamental services such as the entrance to the workforce, education, health services, and humanitarian services. When they start staying without identity cards, the possibility of their arrest and deportation is very high (Karadağ, 2021:28). Afghans with residence permits create networks between Afghan migrants. They are generally Uzbeks and Turkmens who settled in Turkey in the 1990s. Some of them are the founders of Afghans' Associations which assist newcomers. There are many shops and businesses particularly in the Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul which Afghans with residence permits run them. Numbers of Afghan men about 15-

20, who are single and undocumented, rent small houses for decreasing their housing cost. Two or more families rent one house and live together due to their economic problems (Karadağ, 2021). There are very close links between Afghan migrants which help them in delivering necessary pieces of information.

Istanbul has always been a city of diversity with various types of people from different ethnic backgrounds. This diversification in Istanbul has changed gradually from "religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity, to socio-economic diversity and, more recently, to lifestyle diversity" (Eraydin, Demirdağ, Nazda Güngördü, and Yersen Yenigün, 2017:25).

Family ties (bonding social capital), friendship and neighboring relationship (bridging social capital), and links established by administrative and local communities (linking capital) are types of the essential network which help in reaching services, adapting with the new society, and in creating a better social coherence. For an intense network among the different groups, there are two important notions needed: one is the notion of "trust" among them, the other is "willing to help" or "mutual support" (Eraydin, Demirdağ, Nazda Güngördü, and Yersen Yenigün, 2017:94-95). Family ties and relationships are very significant particularly for immigrants who have no social security system. Afghan migrants in Istanbul prefer to live close to each other in the same neighborhoods which make them feel safe. They would like to spend time together with their family and relatives and engage in some activities such as shopping, picnics, etc. They participate in each other's weddings and funerals which are reasons for bringing them together. There are several places for migrants' social interactions such as local stores, coffee shops, and neighborhoods. Interaction with neighbors is important particularly for women and low income households. Bachelors or single people spend their time with their friends and have less interaction with their neighbors.

There are three main problems that Istanbul faces during the integration process of migrants: first, legal and financial issues, second the fear of raising anti-refugee movements and third, coping with child labor, and maintaining education for children. The Municipalities of Istanbul do not have adequate awareness regarding how to provide integration. They do not have an official obligation and also do not have enough funds to support migrants' integration process. Municipalities need to have a legal change for helping them to provide possible services. Some of the municipalities collaborated with IGOs or NGOs to help migrants in registration, covering basic needs, create activities for children, and provide psychosocial support (Bihter, Küppers, Ziebarth 2016). Still, there is a huge lack of budget to deal with the integration issue.

There are increasing anti-refugee discourses, particularly in Istanbul. Refugees are working in different parts of the labor market for lower wages which increases competition among foreign and local workers. Public resentment increased when the Turkish government declared that Syrian refugees can access citizenship. Insufficient opportunities for education and a high number of children working in the labor market are very problematic challenges in Istanbul.

Despite the deportation risk in Istanbul most of the irregular migrants feel comfortable living in the urban areas. Police is very tolerant particularly for irregular Afghan and African migrant's presence. A high number of irregular Afghan migrants work in the textile and leather industries. Migrants from Western African are associated with street vending and commodities, particularly textiles and trade.

The participation of irregular migrants in social and economic spheres can legitimize their presence in a region. There are a lot of informal jobs for migrants, especially in Istanbul. The labor market in Istanbul is another reason for migrant settlements in urban spaces. The

migrant labor force created an informal economy in Turkey (textile, construction, tourism sectors). Informal housing contracts, accommodation in poor areas of the city, and settlement where their co-ethnics chose to live.

Underpayment causes insufficient wages which are not enough for covering monthly expenses and forces them to find a third country to go to or go back to their home country. Some of them choose begging and prostitution. IOM reports show that the wages of irregular migrants are not much lower than other workers in Turkey. Employers do not pay taxes and social security expenses and ask for long working hours, hiring irregular workers can have very little cost for employers. Asylum seekers can break the regulation which says to stay in their assigned city; they leave them and reside in bigger cities such as Istanbul to use informal economy. Irregular migrants do not have well access to fundamental human rights and legal status. Less immigrant rights caused the silencing of labor market exploitation in Turkey. Migrants cannot find a way for raising their voice regarding their market situation.

Afghan migrants are the largest population in the labor force of Istanbul who work in the hardest circumstances. They can work in various sectors such as construction, manufacturing, repair shop, garbage/paper collection, sheepherding, and car mechanic. Work is everything for an Afghan. They start working at a very early age. Undocumented Afghans try not to be caught by the police because of their fear of deportation so they live in a way with zero social interactions (Karadağ, 2021:31). Zeytinburnu, Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü, Küçüsu, and Yenimahalle are districts of Istanbul where Afghan migrants work and live there. There is a labor market in Küçüksu where Afghans (generally undocumented) waiting there for being hired by Turkish employers. There is a majority of Afghans who are living in Zeytinburnu. They started their own small businesses, shops, and markets. There are lather textile manufactories in Zeytinburnu which provides jobs for undocumented migrants as well. Afghans who are old comers in Istanbul are usually Turkmens and Uzbeks who have owned

residence permits and many of them had got citizenship. Uzbeks and Turkmens have a native language very similar to the Turkish language so they are the most advantageous in finding jobs with higher wages and better conditions than other Afghan ethnicities.

Registration is the main requirement for a migrant who seeks international protection. Migrants who enter Turkey by using illegal ways need to register to "satellite cities" after their entrance to Turkey. Yet, if they do not apply for registration they are nearly exposed to arresting and finally deportation. "There are three removal centers located in Selimpaşa, Binkılıç, and Tuzla. A foreign branch of police is working in Pendik as a detention centre" (Karadağ, 2021:37). According to the statistics of the "Turkey 2020 Report of the European Commission", 5.449 applicants were granted international protection in 2019 (European Commission, 2020). The registration process for international protection has become very complex and difficult in satellite cities. Afghans move from one city to another to be accepted by the particular province. Afghans choose to stay unregistered due to issues regarding finding jobs. They stay in Istanbul with no documents and enter to labor market which leads them to expose to high risks of exploitation. For instance, they are not granted work permits, and they are working for long hours and meager wages. Undocumented Afghans usually work with no insurance. Undocumented life in Istanbul refers to isolation with no access to "medical care, official travel, bank account, phone number, rental contract, and other services which is needed in daily life" (Karadağ, 2021:43). The lack of social aid and international protection expose Afghans to corruption by the Afghan associations who reap money for the promise of preparing residence permits and other services.

Chapter 6

Analysis of Data

This part of the study includes the analysis of the subjects and themes, which I have collected from the interviews. The main topics that I have emerged from the interviews encompass the influencing factors of social integration; employment, language, education, health, and socialization. The upcoming themes will contain the level of participant's social integration through described barriers, women's experiences, their endeavors against the challenges, and changes in their life.

I began the section by explaining the general characteristics of the participant women, influencing factors of social integration, as well as touching on their life before migration. The proceeding topics will be, the reason why they chose Zeytinburnu as a place of settlement, employment, language as a tool for social integration, the impacts of education on social integration, access to health services, socialization of Afghan women, experiences in Turkey, feelings of belonging, the level of respect, role changes, and expectations from the Turkish government.

A considerable attribute of the interviewee women was that they all noticed the high-ranking barriers in their social integration process. Hence, they often tried to offer solutions for the impediments of their integration. As a result, they apparently referred to their prospects from the Turkish people and the government.

5.1. General Characteristics of the Interviewees

As I mentioned before, my research encompassed both face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews. There were 15 participants in face-to-face interviews and 22 participants in telephone interviews who were living in Zeytinburnu at the time of the interview. The

participants' ages were between 18 and 60 since I asked them about their ages during the interview. 29 of the participants were married and had moved to Turkey with their husbands, 2 of them had been separated from their spouses, one woman's husband had been murdered in Afghanistan, and 4 of them were not married before. 31 of the participants had children; some of their children were born and grew up in Turkey, some of them in Iran, and some in Afghanistan. The interview group consisted of women with different educational backgrounds; 7 of them were not able to study due to security, economic, and family-based problems, 7 of them had been graduated from primary and secondary schools, 11 of them had completed high school in Afghanistan or Iran, and the other women had achieved their university diplomas in various departments such as nursing, psychology, teacher, midwife, economy, and law. A number of the participants introduced themselves as housewives, who were responsible to take care of their children and carry out the house chores. Some of them preferred working at home by bringing beads and buttons to sew. However, most of the participants were employed to textiles and auto packages with no insurance and work permits.

Some of the participants had been to Iran and Pakistan as asylum seekers before migrating to Turkey. Their previous country of asylum had not been satisfying to them in different areas such as economy, education, social, and employment. The length of stay in Turkey was between 6 months to 29 years. Fifteen of the participants used regular ways to enter Turkey. While others endured the difficulties of irregular routes through the Iran border until they reached Turkey. Only two of the participants had Turkish citizenship, twelve of them attained temporary residence permits, and the remaining women did not have an official document or certificate to be identified in Turkey. The participant Afghan women had different contexts of language proficiency; the majority of them did not search for a proper language course in Zeytinburnu, so they did not learn Turkish. A small number of them can speak, read, and write Turkish. Some can speak Turkish a little so that they can solve their daily issues

15 FACE- TO-FACE INTERVIEWS AND 22 TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

Age	18-60			
Marital Status	29 Married	4 Not Married	2 Separated	1 Widow
Educational Status	7 Not Studied	7 Graduate of Primary and Secondary Schools	11 Graduated from High Schools	12 Graduated from the University

5.2. Factors of Social integration of Afghan Women

Several interrelated factors influenced the social integration of the interviewees such as the language proficiency, employment, legal documents, and length of residence. These factors had incredibly high impacts on the social integration of the participants. Language is asserted as one of the main factors of social integration. When one migrant learns the language, she/he faces very few problems while contacting the citizens in different places such as hospitals, stores, parks, and neighboring. Those of the participants who did not learn the language expressed their problems in interaction with friends, neighbors, and markets. One of the interviewees said,

> "*With neighbors…I do not have contacts with them because I do not know their language, my children do. But me, I say only Salaam Aleykum (greeting) to them and pass*".

Likewise, another woman commented, "The reason I do not have Turkish friends is that I do not know the language". She mentioned that if she knew Turkish, she would have many friends. When I asked about access to health services, some of them complained that there is no Dari (Persian) interpreter in hospitals. One woman said, "I went to the hospital; there were many problems because we did not speak Turkish, and we needed an interpreter for doing the registration, it cost a lot". A woman who learned Turkish in 3 months explained her positive experiences after she learned the language,

"I have so many Turkish friends, I have close contacts with my neighbors. Alhamdulillah, I have not experienced problems in any places and official processes because I knew the language".

The other relating factor of social integration is employment. Women who did not have job usually stayed at home so, their socializing spaces had been getting narrower. They only could have interaction in places around their houses such as neighbors and markets. As one of the interviewees stated, "I do not work, I am always at home staying with my children" she sounded very unhappy when answering the question. She also added about her economic condition, "my husband is the only person who is already working, and his salary is very low". When I asked the question about socializing and having Turkish friends; a woman who had been left her job due to the Corona pandemic process stated, "It was better before when I was working I could see some friends and relatives, but since Corona started I even do not go out of my home". There were claims that Afghan women who work do not have time to socialize, and they do not have time to go to one another's home, making friends, or hanging out. One woman who did not have any occupation commented, "Afghan women mostly go to work and are busy with their own problems; we do not go to each other's home".

Possessing a legal document for residing in Turkey has extremely high impacts on Afghan women's social integration. When a migrant does not have residence permit or other identifying documents she is in big trouble because she will either be arrested or deported. The reason some of the interviewees and their children could not continue their schools and universities was the lack of the residence permit. When I asked the question concerning their education one of the women said, "I cannot study university here and my children also cannot benefit from the education services because we are illegal and do not have any documents". There still will be problems in education if one owns a residence permit but not citizenship. For instance, one can enter the university exam but he/she cannot choose some departments

such as medicine and engineering. According to one participant statement who was going to start university stated,

> *"I cannot study midwifery, I cannot study pharmacy, and I cannot study nursing because I am not a Turkish citizen. My sister graduated from German Literature but she cannot officially work as a teacher, they say that you are a foreigner you cannot work".*

Economic exploitation is one of the possible issues when one immigrant does not have a legal document. As one of the interviewees said,

> *"When the employers learn that a migrant does not have the residence permit (kimlik), they torture her a lot, they abuse her because they know that she cannot claim for anything".*

She added that when they find a migrant asking for a job, they try to give the toughest job to them without granting them work insurance and work permits. One migrant who does not get a residence permit must pay an exorbitant price for her own treatment. They have no right to benefit from government hospitals. Hence, they have no choice but to go to private hospitals when they get ill. One of the women stated, "We do not have access to health services the reason is we do not have identity cards (Kimlik) and do not understand their language". Another woman mentioned, "If we had residence permits or passport probably they would take a lower price, they take double money from us. In a hospital we paid about 400 TL only for examination". She said that the hospital was private and added that the government hospitals do not register them.

5.3. Life before Migration

When the women were asked questions on their life before migration to Turkey, participant women expressed the reason why they decided to move here, who was the leading person in making this decision, and how did they come to Turkey. The participant Afghan women immigrated to Turkey for four main reasons: the lack of security, economic problems, personal enmity, and the issues of honor. The subject of the decision in the immigration process varied from one participant to another. It is significant to mention that women had played important role in the decision to immigrate. As one of the interviewee elucidated,

> "*It has been about three years that we came here from Afghanistan, two of my sons were martyred by the Taliban in Afghanistan. Our economy was worse so we decided to come here through irregular ways, we found a smuggler and came".*

She explained that the reason they moved out of their homeland was security and economic issues in Afghanistan. Similarly, another woman said, "We did not have money so we entered Turkey illegally through the Iran border". The lack of a good economic condition compelled her to use irregular ways for reaching Turkey. Another woman who stayed in Iran before coming to Turkey commented, "We came to Turkey because when we were in Iran we had a tough life, my father had addiction and we had so many problems (including economic problems)". She added that her father's condition forced them to move out of Iran. She added that Iran did not have probable supports for migrants in that condition. Furthermore, one of the respondents explained the reason she came to Turkey, "We immigrated to Turkey in 2015 because there was no work and no opportunity of education for my children in Afghanistan". According to her assertion, there was no opportunity for her children to continue their education and no job for her husband in her home country.

Some of the participants put forward the reason for their immigration as family violence, personal hostility, and the so-called matter of honor. A woman who was one of the women who had been a victim of family violence in Afghanistan for years. She explained her tragic story shortly

> "*It has been about 11 months that I came to Turkey. The reason was family violence…my life was in danger there. As I got divorced, I always witnessed threats and warnings from my husband and his family, so, my life was in danger therefore I escaped and came here"*

Another woman who had been abandoned by her husband and left alone with her two children since she was in Afghanistan. She was at high risk of sexual and emotional abuse by people around her. So she decided to leave everything back and move to Turkey for creating her own and her children's future. As she stated, "If I was in Afghanistan I would be at risk, we all witnessed these things, if one woman is alone in Afghanistan, men follow her, they even try to enter her house by jumping off the walls"

Another woman who had been to Zeytinburnu for 29 years, mentioned the threats and problems she faced in Afghanistan, "I lived in Kunduz until my 7-8 class, we had a lot of houses there, but thieves came and stole everything. Our enemies kidnapped my elder brother, he was 16 years old. He is still missing God knows where is he? God bless him, we do not know if he is alive or dead? My father did not accept moving out of Afghanistan, he was in love with his homeland. Then we moved to Kabul and had been there for 9 years. Then when my little brother grew up we sent him to Turkey after that we came here"

A woman, who was one of the victims of wars in Afghanistan, explained her story before migration. Her husband and other relatives were martyred due to wars and political issues in Afghanistan. According to her discourses, she had experienced an arduous life journey when

she was in Afghanistan and then when she moved to Iran. Her husband was a guard of Ismail Khan in that era's government. Ismail Khan's foes killed her husband's relatives and wanted to kill him as well. As she said, "my husband was the guard of Ismail Khan, our life was at risk so we escaped to Iran". Therefore, they escaped to Iran and lived there for a while. Their life in Iran was very tough, they had economic problems. She and her husband both had been working hard in different low-level sectors in Iran. She said that her husband was kidnapped by Taliban when he returned back to Afghanistan, "my husband is not here, he has a complex story, when we were in Iran he worked for 3 years in Iran and stayed with us, but when he returned to Afghanistan Taliban kidnapped him. We do not know where he is". When she learned that her husband was kidnapped, she moved back to Afghanistan. When she realized that her life and her children's life were in danger, she decided to immigrate to Turkey through illegal ways through the Iran border.

Like other participants, one another woman also had experienced various problems in Afghanistan which induced her to run away with her husband and children and settle down in Zeytinburnu . She moved to Turkey on a visa and has been here for about 5 years. When I started talking to her she tried to explain everything that happened to them in Afghanistan. This is how she summarized her story, "we came in 2016 because my children could be kidnapped by the family of my husband's sister in law. 3 and 4 times thieves broke into our house because my husband was a businessman and I was working in Afghanistan Bank, our economy was good. They had threatened my children several times. So, I came to Turkey only to ensure the safety of my children"

5.4. Why Living in Zeytinburnu?

In this section, the interviewees were asked why they chose Zeytinburnu as their place of settlement. All of the participants mentioned that "because there are many Afghans". As one participant expressed the reason she settled down in Zeytinburnu,

> *"All the Afghans are here, they were here before as well, that is why we chose Zeytinburnu to live. My uncle helped us before we move here, he was living here that is why he rented a house and made everything ready for us. Zeytinburnu was a rural place before, it was a non-developed place, and there were many slums…It has been two or three years that Zeytinburnu became a central district".*

One of them said that Zeytinburnu is like small Afghanistan and she can do everything easily, "Because, it is a small Afghanistan, there are many Afghan. When we came first people offered here because there are so many Afghans. I am used to this region, when I go to another region I feel like I am in another country (laughing), and then when I come back to Zeytinburnu I feel so happy as if Zeytinbunru is my father's land (laughing)". She added that

> *"Zeytinburnu does not give specific opportunities to Afghan women but still there are Afghans who help you in housing and learning about Turkey's circumstances…when you go to parks you can easily find a friend because there are Afghans who you can talk to and learn the news regarding migrants … there are job opportunities and there are Afghan shops so that you can buy Afghani materials".*

Some of the participants did not have any information about cities and districts to choose, as one of them explained, "We did not know other places. People we knew told us that there are no job opportunities in other cities, we thought there are so many Afghans in Zeytinburnu who can guide us in finding jobs". Likewise, the other respondent explained that "The smuggler brought us directly to Zeytinburnu, we did not know other places. One of my

husband's friends had rented the house for us so we stayed here…there are so many jobs here but above my ability".

In addition, the possession of many Afghans in Zeytinburnu facilitates solving the problems of new migrants. For instance, the textiles in Zeytinburnu create job opportunities for both regular and irregular migrants. As one participant stated that "Zeytinburnu prepare us everything because everyone knows our language and there are a lot of job opportunities for women migrants".

One of the opportunities in Zeytinburnu was that some friends and families were living in Zeytinburnu, assisted the participants in housing, finding jobs, and transferring information as one interviewee explained,

> *"my husband's friend was here who told us that you can find a job here, you can buy a house, and your children can study here that was the reason we came here… there are a lot of our compatriots; if you have one small grocery you can sell because Turks buy from Turks, Afghans buy from Afghans…Zeytinburnu is the reservoir of Afghans like our country".*

Besides, another participant stated that there are so many Afghan markets and restaurants in Zeytinburnu which give them the feeling of belonging, "My husband grew up here, and his workplace was here before I move that is why we chose to stay here. All the families and relatives of my husband are living in Zeytinburnu and there are Afghan restaurants and shops".

One woman asserted that Zeytinburnu is a central area that makes her feel comfortable, "Zeytinburnu is a central region, it is easy to go to other parts of the Istanbul, second, there are numerous Afghan people here…for example when our family send us money from Afghanistan we can easily take it from here" she added that "there are opportunities for

Afghan women, first of all AKDEM is not in other places…If you have resident permits you can apply for municipality and social economic supports".

One of the interviewees mentioned that there are job opportunities for both men and women in Zeytinburnu, "We chose here because there are jobs for our husbands, we can live in other regions too but there are no jobs there…Zeytinburnu is better because there are so many textiles, but the rents are so high". She added that "There are very good opportunities for Afghan women here; women can work here at home or out, sometimes we bring beads home because I have little children". Another woman commented that

> *"Actually my husband works in Bayrampaşa but he knows that Afghans are living here, he says that you will be bored in Bayrampaşa so we stay here. The most important opportunity for Afghan women in Zeytinburnu is that we can work at home but the income is too low".*

5.5. **Employment**

Most of the participants do not work and spend their time at home for various reasons. Instead, their husbands, sons, or brothers work for the whole family members. The lack of recruitment in Turkey created impediments in their economic integration as well as social integration. Some of the interviewees do not work due to their **health issues** for instance, one woman who was 58 years old said, "I do not work because I am ill, I always stay at home. My son works…we faced many problems until my son got the job…when we arrived to Turkey our economy was bad, it was very difficult for us". Health issue was an important major factor that contributed to unemployment for interviewees. Likewise, one of the respondents commented that "I am sick, I have lumbar disc, I cannot work, and my kidneys hurt so my son works". There was a woman who was suffering health issues since she started the work in textiles so she left it. As she explained,

"I do not work; I am always at home because I am ill. I worked once in textile, but when my health worsened I could not continue so I left it. I was working in textile at the auto packet section. I worked for a while but I suffered there, I had foot pains I could not stay standing, and I had high blood pressure so I could not work anymore".

The women constantly asserted the **arduous work** in textiles as one of the substantial barriers to employment. As a woman stated,

"I cannot work, because I do not have the ability to work, it is beyond my ability. There is no other job except textile and auto packets which is beyond the ability of even a man…When we were still new to Turkey I worked in textiles for seven months, that was when I got this ailment (breast cyst)…there is much works but low salary…I have leg abrasion, I could not sit down there, I had to stay standing".

She pointed that when she left the job, her inability to work made her adjustment to life more difficult because she stayed discrete from society.

Economic exploitation was articulated as one of the significant impediments that kept some participants away from work-life. There was a woman who left her job due to issues she faced with her employer. She worked in a place for two weeks, but her employer denied paying her wage. As she said, "I worked here for 15 days in textiles in auto packets, they did not want to pay my wage…after that event, I do not want to work, and my husband does not work either". In addition, there were two sisters who faced economic exploitation in their workplace. They asserted, "We worked for 15 days in textile as the middle workers (ortacı). The work was very hard there, but the wage was very low, that was the reason we left the job. We were not allowed to sit down. We were working from 7:30 am to 8:30 pm". Some of the participants explained that they had the responsibility of their children; hence, they had no other occupation because they do the **house chores and take care** of their children. One of the

participants explained her daily routine “I do not work; I stay at home with my children. I usually stay at home, my husband works but his salary is too low, and we run life very hardly”. One of the participants who had a high desire to have a job, but she cannot work because she has little children who need care. She added that the reason she did not learn Turkish was unemployment. She stated, “No, I do not work here because I have little children I cannot work. However, I want to work, our economy is not very good but I have 3 children so I cannot work. I usually do not go out therefore I did not learn the language”.

The covid-19 pandemic process contributed to some participants' unemployment which had significant impacts on their morale. Unemployment and quarantine notably affected most of the participants’ psychology, self-worth, and social life. As one of them expressed,

> *“I have the diploma but do not work, I stay at home most of the time …I have so many problems both economically and mentally…It was better before when I was going to work at least I could see some friends but since the Corona started I do not go out at all”.*

Likewise, there was another woman who had lost her job due to Corona disease. She commented that “I don’t work now, since it is Corona I stay at home. But, I worked in textiles for 8 months, my salary was 1600 TL, it was not sufficient. The salary was very low, but there is much work. Now my husband is the only worker of our family, we hardly pay the house rent”. Furthermore, another interviewee explained that it was about two months that she lost the job that caused so many problems for her. As she mentioned,

> *“I actually worked in a place; I think it is because of Corona, all the textiles are closed so it is two months that I am at home. We have so many economic problems…when we go to textiles for jobs they say that there is no need for employers. They have their own workers so they don’t want to employ others”.*

About half of the interviewees were employed in textiles or were working at home. One of the interviewees was a midwife in Afghanistan. Since she arrived in Turkey she worked in textiles. She ascribed that there is no document equivalency in Turkey, so she cannot work in her own field. Her husband left her 6 years ago. She runs her life with no other supporting sources. When I asked her about her income she commented, "I work here but the work is breathtaking (hard), it is very difficult; you take work from this and that and then give it to others, you do it from morning to evening…I work in textiles" she mentioned that there are many textiles in each street of Zeytinburnu and continued,

> *"Textiles are located undergrounds, there are machines, the tape is so loud, cloth's dust surrounded everywhere. Since I work in textile I am infected with different diseases; I got acne on my face. We lift heavy things. One time when I was lifting a heavy property, my back was paralyzed"*

She continued complaining "We work hard but we gain less money. Our job has no kind of insurance and because we are illegal we do not have any rights either".

Besides, one woman who works in textiles as middle worker (ortacı) discussed the positive relations between employment and social integration. She stated,

> *"When I first came I did not know the language. When I first started working my employers were not Turkish, they were Uzbeks, and they did not speak Turkish. But now, since I work with Turkish people they speak Turkish so, I can learn the language and solve my problems".*

She expressed that she could achieve her goal of learning Turkish. She added, "Textile is a very tough job, it is very hard when you work as middle worker (ortacı) at my age". There was an interviewee who was extremely sick but still tried to have her own occupation and support her family. She cried so many times and said,

"Yes I work; it is about two weeks that I am working. I had a lot of illness, but due to economic problems I had to turn back to work (crying)…I work in textile, I had worked before as middle worker, but, due to my illness I left the job and stayed at home (crying)…my husband could not cover all the expenses alone so, I started working again".

Several participants worked at their homes by bringing beads and buttons. One of the women worked at home because she had little children to take care of them. She said, "Yes I work at home, because my children are still little, I embroider beads". Likewise, another participant said that "I do not do anything else, I am always at home, and sometimes I bring beads and buttons and embroider them".

Fortuitously, I found an Afghan woman whose job was to distribute beads and buttons to other Afghan women living in Zeytinburnu. She had a workplace where other women take beads and buttons to sew. Although her husband tried to prevent her from working several times, she resisted and worked hard until she opened her own workplace. When I interviewed her, she told me that social interactions assisted her in launching her business. As she stated,

"I work here, I have my own private job. I signed a partnership with a Turk before; no one guided me but myself. First I was attending to the beads' shop to watch embroidering, one of the employers invited me to work with them but my husband did not allow me to work. When I learned the work I opened my own embroidering bead shop. I worked there for four years. Stresses made me ill because I did not know the person I give her the material I could not trust her, I was worried that if they do not bring the material".

She said that her husband was not content with her work. Her husband was a businessman in Afghanistan, they were very wealthy. He could not concede that his wife works in such low

sectors. She explicated that Afghan women are assiduous and that they can do various types of works thoroughly. As she stated, “Afghan women can do all kinds of work, they are so compatible and hardworking”. One more thing that she indicated was the official job opportunities. She asserted that one migrant should have residence permits or citizenship to study here. However, migrants with residence permits must pay for their studies. Hence they can have access to official recruitments.

I asked participants about the barriers to unemployment. Lack of residence permits, lack of diversity of work sectors, language problems, family restrictions, little children, health issues, economic exploitations, and physical abuses were the prominent impediments to the participants’ employment. As one of the interviewees said,

> *“First of all if you don’t have an identity card, they (the employers) don’t employ you, particularly in official places. So they are enforced to work in garments shops. There are no other workplaces; they cannot work in other places if they do not study here as my kids did, they can work here”.*

She continued with comparing then and now, “However, it is better now, there are works, youth can work now, but 30 years ago when we came here there were no jobs for migrants”. Another participant mentioned that language is a critical barrier to finding a job. As she implied, “I think the language is a significant barrier to employment because if you don’t know the language you cannot defend your right”. She added that the lack of residence permits is an obstacle for employment, “If you are irregular they don’t pay your money, there are places that you work but they don’t pay for it because they know that you are illegal and cannot complain them”. Similarly, another woman commented,

> *“First of all lack of documents is the biggest problem. Second, when they find a migrant, they (the employers) give the toughest job and also the lowest salary with no*

insurance and work permits… they (the authorities) should allow us to get educated so that we can work in our own occupation".

In addition, a participant added family restrictions as one of the major barriers to employment. As she explained,

"One of the barriers is that some husbands never allow them to work…the other can be their little children; most of the families (Afghan) don't have the budget for sending their children to kindergarten, so, one of them have to stay at home to look after them".

As well as another interviewee said,

"I don't know if there are other workplaces except about textiles. I think barriers are the language and the knowledge of work. In textiles, you have to be fast, it can be difficult when you try to learn and to be fast at the same time".

Some of the participants expressed the economic, physical, and moral exploitation they had faced by employers. One of them stated that she had been exposed to both physical and economic exploitations. She explained, "All of us are trapped to some people who do not pay us our salary. I worked in one place for two weeks, they didn't pay my money. When I insisted on my money, he shouted and mistreated me". She expressed the experience she had faced in another workplace. This time the employer had attempted to have physical contact with her. As she stated,

"Sometimes people think that they can use you because you are desperate. I start working in a place, it was Thursday, I wanted to borrow money from someone because I had nothing to eat at home. I asked my friend to borrow me 100 TL but she didn't have, then I asked my neighbor she said that I don't have too. I came to my employer

and asked him to borrow me 100 or 50 TL; he suddenly opened his purse and gave me 80 TL. Next day he came and sat next to me and said that don't worry I can help you any time you want, I will give you money… while saying this he tried to touch my shoulder, I shouted what are you doing brother (Abi)? He said that I am always with you don't be sad. He knew that I needed job. First I thought that Turkish people have this kind of sincerity, maybe it is ok for them…I worked three days, after three days I said him that can we talk about the salary please, he said don't worry I will pay you equal to other workers and added that don't forget that I love you…when I stand up he touched my nose I got so serious…after one week he said that I will pay you 800 TL in a month…I knew that he decreased my salary because I denied him so I said no I will not work here it is not fair".

She added that when you are irregular migrant there are always people who want to abuse you. Furthermore, another participant stated, "when the employers understand that you are illegal and do not have any residence permits they torture you because you cannot claim anything. When you don't have documents you cannot complain to the police either".

5.6. Language as a Tool for Social Integration

Language is one of the most significant themes in the social integration process. All of the participants believed in the importance of Turkish fluency to their social integration in Turkey. All of the respondents expressed the impacts of language on other sections of life such as education, employment, interactions, and health.

More than half of the interviewees did not learn Turkish yet. When I asked them the reasons they replied me various answers**. The lack of educational background** was one of the reasons respondents mentioned. As an interviewee said, "I did not learn the languages because I have no literacy, there were online lessons that I participated but I did not learn".

Furthermore, one of the participants learned Turkish in three months and improved it through time. She stated,

"*The reason why I easily learned the language was my literacy and educational background. For example, my sister-in-law has been here for 33 years but did not learn Turkish at all. I think if you have education, you can easily learn it, if you don't it will be difficult".*

She had a high level of interaction with Turkish people because she can speak Turkish. She explicated that everything is easy for her; she can do everything without asking for help.

There is a **shortage of available Turkish courses** for Afghan women according to some participants' allegation. One of the interviewees said, "No, I did not learn Turkish, but if there were the opportunities for me, I could learn". Likewise, another woman stated, "Unfortunately I don't know Turkish, and no I don't go to any courses. One of the reasons why I did not learn the language is the lack of courses". Moreover, one participant mentioned that the language courses cost a lot. As she commented, "I did not learn Turkish because of the high costs of the language courses; I could not pay the money so I did not participate, then I applied to free language course in AKDEM and still wait for my turn".

Children and house chores are other reasons the participants adduced. These women usually stayed at home and did not seek to learn Turkish. One woman answered, "No, I did not learn Turkish but my children learned because I am always at home and do not work so I do not learn. I have not participated to language courses". Another one commented, "I do not know Turkish very much. I have not gone to any language courses, I am learning myself. I participated in AKDEM's language course only for two days but then I left it because of my children". One of the participants expressed that she was not in contact with people due to language barriers. As she replied, "No one talks to me because I do not speak Turkish…I cannot go to any courses because I have two little children who I have to look after them".

Moreover, the other participant said, “I cannot speak like Turkish people but it is good, I can solve my problems. It is difficult to study Turkish because of my little children. I just want to learn Turkish literacy which is enough for me”.

Two of the participants expressed that their **health issues** are barriers to learning Turkish. As one of them commented, “I do not learn Turkish, my mind does not work because I have nerve issues”. The other one explained, “I have health problems so I cannot go to courses and learn the language, but it has been 15 days that I started work”.

Some of the participants were able to learn Turkish through language courses, family members, Turkish friends, colleagues, and people around them. Family Women Support and Disabled Center (AKDEM), Halk Eğitim, and İsmek are institutions that have free language courses in Zeytinburnu. Some of the respondents benefited from free courses and some of them learned through family, friends, and TV series. As one of the participants said, “I learned Turkish from AKDEM language courses which had no fees to pay”. Two of them lived in Zeytinburnu for more than 25 years. Length of time was the advantageous factor in learning Turkish for them. As one of the participants stated, “I did not go to any language courses, no one helped me I tried to learn it myself through talking to everyone around me using wrong or correct words”. Family and friends both were main supporters in improving the language. Another participant said, “It was difficult for me at first but after a while I learned Turkish by practicing with my husband and his family because they were all able to speak Turkish”.

A resposndent was the woman who learned Turkish from the people around her. She uttered, “I did not attend any courses I learned Turkish from people. When I started my job there was one of my Turkish neighbors, we became friends, we were talking to each other for long hours. That was when I learned Turkish in 9 months. People always asked me that how long

you have been here, you speak Turkish very well". Furthermore, one of the women explained that she was encouraged by her colleagues to learn Turkish. As she commented, "I am better than before; my Turkish colleagues talk to me in Turkish so that I can learn the language". Similarly, another woman learned Turkish in her workplace. She said that when she was working in her shop, she could learn Turkish. She mentioned that when one speaks she can understand and can talk to them".

All the participants confessed that language proficiency have considerable impacts on their social integration. Some of them have almost no interactions with Turkish people due to language problems. As one interviewee said, "I have no contact with Turkish people because I do not know their language". Likewise, the other participant stated,

> *"The reason why I have no Turkish friends is that I do not know the language. If I knew the language I could undoubtedly have many friends. Sometimes, when I go to the park, some women try to talk to me but I cannot understand I do not know what to say".*

One woman asserted that not knowing the language directly affected her morale and self-worth. She said, "We have so many problems because we do not know the language. It affects my morale because I cannot talk to neighbors and people around me. My big problem is the language and the lack of residence permit". Moreover, other participants expressed their problems in making friends and having contact with neighbors due to the language.

A number of the participants remarked that they face serious impediments in hospitals and health services due to language problems. One woman said, "We face difficulties in hospitals because we do not know the language. When we go there, we have to deal with some registration process that needs translation". A participant with her daughter stated their experience in hospital,

"When my mom got ill we went to the hospital, and twice when I got ill, they objected to our language, they were shouting and finally said that we do not help you. They told me that you have to learn the language then come to the doctor and live here. Then, I called my neighboring shopkeeper; he translated and solved our problem".

Similarly, other participants expressed their problems in hospitals due to the language problems and lack of translators.

In addition, one interviewee mentioned that one of the reasons that migrant's cannot find a job is language. As she said, "one of the problems in finding a job is language, if you do not understand them, they behave badly".

Two interviewee sisters stated their experience in Immigration Department. They said that some state organs such as Immigration Department do not try to help them and do not understand them if they do not understand the language

One participant expressed one of her experiences when she first arrived in Istanbul. One Afghan man economically exploited them when he understood that they do not speak Turkish. She explained,

"When we came first, we were looking for a house. An Afghan man introduced himself as a housing agent. He told us that give me 10500 Euro I will pledge you a house. We were not aware that the pledging system is not available in Turkey. We came to the notary; the translator was Afghan as well. They brought a paper which in Persian it was written "pledge the house", in Turkish it was written "debt for one year" we signed it. We had been to that house for 6 months, after 6 months one man came and said that I bought this house. The same Afghan man betrayed him as well. This man was powerful so he could force that Afghan man to get the house. We complained to the police, but they could not do anything because the betrayer had run away".

5.7. Education

Education is one of the most important influencing factors of the social integration of migrant women and their children. For most of the participant women and their children, the right to education was not given and they were not able to take the opportunity to enhance themselves and their children. The lack of residence permit and citizenship, the need for equivalency to school, marriage, children, work, health issues, and other issues were the reasons that was illuminated by the interviewees.

Most of the interviewees expressed that the lack **of residence permits** was the reason they did not have education rights. One of the interviewees who was not eager to continue her education because of her age, but she was worried about her children. As she stated, “My children do not have access to schools because we are illegal, we do not have residence permits. We tried to register with their passports but the schools did not accept”. Moreover, another participant commented,

> *“My elder daughter is at the age of school but she cannot go to school because we do not have residence permits. I have the diploma but cannot continue my education. My children do not have residence permits so they cannot study here. These all affect our morale”.*

She was talking very desperately when she was explaining about her daughter’s education. Likewise, one woman said, “I studied psychology when I was in Afghanistan and my daughter studied first class there. Now she cannot continue, I cannot continue my master's degree either because we do not have the residence permit”. This issue caused psychological problems for herself and her daughter. One of the participants expressed her grievance, “No, I did not study here; I studied in Afghanistan till 5th grade. I tried many times to register my

children but they did not accept them due to the lack of residence permits. This affects my children's mental states".

One of the women and her children had residence permits but not citizenship. Nabila had studied till 12th grade in Afghanistan but did not have time to continue her education due to her job and the busy life she had. Her children had the opportunity to finish their school in Turkey but they cannot choose specific university departments such as midwifery, medicine, engineering, and veterinary. They can study these departments when they get Turkish citizenship.

Furthermore, one of the interviewees had been graduated from the midwifery department in Afghanistan. She had a deep desire to continue her master's degree and work here as a midwife. Her university documents are not given equivalency due to the lack of residence permits. As she uttered, "I love to continue my studies, I was working in one clinic as a manager in Afghanistan, and more than 25 women were working under my order. If I had the residence permit perhaps my documents would be accepted".

Another woman was the only participant who was waiting for **the equivalency** for her children's school. She said, "We came here legally, my children do not have access to education because the school needs equivalency. We are waiting for my children's documents".

One interviewee and her children had the residence permit but they had **economic problems** so they all had to work including her children. She said, "None of us have continued school here. My children do not go to school because if they go to school who will work. We all have to work to deal with the payments"

One of the participants said,

"I really want to study, educate myself even though my age does not allow me to continue. When there was a war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan we migrated to Pakistan, then we moved to Iran. When we were in Iran they give us identity cards very late, I got older so I could not go to school anymore. When we moved here, I tried to learn literacy and fortunately, I can read and write. My children have access to schools but due to Covid-19 they study online".

Some of the participants could not continue their education due **to their marriage** and their children. As one interviewee said, "I studied school till the 2nd or 3rd grade in Afghanistan. My children are very little so I cannot attend any literacy courses". Likewise, another woman expressed that she did not have time to continue her studies here due to her children.

One of the participants had Turkish citizenship but still did not continue her education due to marriage, as she commented, "I studied till 12th grade in Afghanistan then we came here and I married here so I could not continue education here. My children have all graduated from their schools here so they can work here". Similarly, another woman also had the citizenship but could not study here due to marriage.

There was a participant who could not study here due to her mother's **health issues**. As she stated, "I studied 9th grade in Afghanistan, I cannot go to school or university because my mother is ill, and I have to stay at home with her".

One of the interviewees had experienced **discrimination** in a literacy course. She explained, "My children go to school Alhamdulillah, in their school, they declared that a literacy course will be started for all the women who want to attend. I went there to register, but they did not allow me because I was Afghan".

5.8. Access to Health Services

Health insurance is not given to all migrants in Turkey. More than half of the participants expressed their dissatisfaction concerning Turkey's health system. Residence permit was not enough for ensuring their health as a migrant. Only two of the participant women had citizenship, which have never had problems in accessing health services. One of them had health insurance. The remaining participants did not have residence permits.

Irregular migrants with no residence permits or passports are not allowed to use public hospitals. They can only use private hospitals but have to pay. Migrants with passports and residence permits can register to public hospitals with money. One of the participants expressed that she did not have any documents to show. She said,

> *"I am always at home and do not work, we do not have access to health services. Once I went to a clinic they sent me to a public hospital, but we cannot use public hospitals; they asked me if I have a residence permit, I said no, they said do not waste your time by waiting, we do not register you".*

There are no specific health supports for pregnant women according to one participant's assertion. She had to pay for her health expenditures. As she stated, "I actually benefited from free health service twice but now I did not see any supports. I have to pay for my pregnancy problems, but they take exorbitant money".

Furthermore, another woman said that her main problem is that there is no access to health services. She had both physical and mental problems after migration, but she never had access to hospitals. She explained, "I experienced so many problems when I moved here that seriously affected my health. Our main problem is that we do not have access to health services". She complained that first, she did not have a residence permit, second, she did not know the language, and third, she was not able to take hospital appointments.

Another participant stated that she had a cyst in her breast but was not able to treat it due to the lack of residence permits. As she uttered,

> *"Problems that we face caused health issues into me, I have both psychological and physical problems. There is a cyst in my breast that really torments me. When I go to the doctor (public) they do not accept me because I have no residence permit or other documents".*

Furthermore, another interviewee mentioned her daughter's situation who is 80 percent disabled. She said that she wanted to get a health report to start her treatment somewhere but she was not able to deal with this problem due to her illegal status. She said that they had to pay 1000 TL for one report. There are no exceptional services for disabled migrants who are living illegally in Turkey.

One of the participants stated that there are Afghan doctors who work illegally in Zeytinburnu. These doctors examine and write prescriptions for 200 TL or lower. In addition, there is one health center for Syrians which is located in Zeytinburnu. Sometimes, Afghans can benefit from this health center. As one of the respondents mentioned,

> *"We have problems in accessing health services, my mother is ill. We usually go to a clinic which is for Arabs. But the examination takes so long. They sometimes remind us that we do not give services to migrants without residence permits and international protection. They checked my mother's pressure only one time".*

Furthermore, another woman expressed that her husband got ill after migration. She explained that her husband's job was collecting garbage which caused asthma and psychological problems to him. They paid high costs for his treatment, now he got better but they have stayed indebted.

Participants who had residence permits still should pay for their treatments because they do not have health insurance. One interviewee had residence permits complained that they face problems in accessing health services. They did not have health insurances so they had to pay for the examination, treatment, and medicines. She said “we can only use the family health center (sağlık ocağı) for free”.

When the father or mother of the family has health insurance other members can benefit from that. A woman explained that her husband had a work permit with health insurance which also helped them in their health issues.

5.9. Socialization of Afghan Women

More than half of the participants acknowledged that they did not go out and have interactions if it is not necessary. They usually go to bazaars, markets, and if it is needed. Some of them go to parks with their families or friends**.** I felt an extreme air of indifference in the respondents concerning their social life. According to them, hardships had been barrier to create time for their social life. One of the interviewees who had been here for five years commented, “When my husband has time, we go to the parks. When I see Turkish people I try to talk to them, however, I do not speak Turkish very well. I do not feel like a foreigner among them”. When I asked if she had Turkish friends, she said that she had no Turkish friends because she did not have a social life. As she mentioned, “I do not have Turkish friends, I do not know why. If you work somewhere, you can surely find a friend, and then they ask your phone number to be in contact or go out together. I am a housewife so I cannot find so many friends”. Likewise, another participant stated that she stayed here for more than five years, but she has no Turkish friends. As she stated, “We often go out when my husband has time. We go to parks together, but other days I stay at home. I have an Afghan friend, we spend time together, but I do not have Turkish friends”. As she mentioned that she was

dependent on her husband in spending time out of her home. Thus, she is restricted by her children to socialize and feels dependent on her husband.

Furthermore, health problem was one of the described hindrances to the social integration of participants. As an interviewee explained that she cannot go out because of her health issues and mentioned that has no Turkish friends. She stated,

> *"I definitely do not have Turkish friends. And with Afghans, we only do greetings when we confront. Nobody wants to go to each other's home here because everyone has their own problems. You do not believe that three families rent a house with three rooms, every migrant live in one room. They all use one kitchen. So, they do not want anyone to come to their home".*

When I asked the interviewees regarding their relationship with their neighbors and their neighbors' reactions towards them, most of them expressed that they usually had no contact with their neighbors due to language problems. According to the participants, language is one of the significant factors of social adaptation. Another woman commented, "Yes, we have Turkish neighbors, they are Kurds. We do not go to each other's homes but they are so kind. Sometimes, they send us food saying that you are guests in here". Furthermore, an interviewee stated, "Turkish neighbors, I have but there is no interaction among us. Sometimes when we confront, I greet them but they look at me with no answer. And sometimes, when they need something, they come to us for borrowing". Another participant expressed her contentedness from her Turk neighbors, as she replied, "we have Turkish neighbors but we do not go to each other's homes. When we pass or they see us they greet us. Our neighbors are very kind people, we are happy with them. We do not have rude neighbors". Oppositely, one woman complained, "With Turkish neighbors, no I do not have contact with them. It has been two years that I live in this apartment; my neighbors have not

been interested in us. These people do not like crowdedness, we Afghans have children, and they do not like it".

The length of spent in Turkey was one of the important factors in establishing intimacy between Afghan women and Turkish people. The more she spends time in a country, the more she can accommodate that country's language, culture, and tradition. One of the participants had been in Turkey for about 29 years. She explained that she had so many friends and had close interactions with her neighbors. As she commented,

> *"I have so many friends from the lowest position to the ministers, it does not matter Turkish or Afghan, I have contact with everyone. I have so many Turkish friends and neighbors who have very good relationship with me".*

All the participants professed the existence of supporting and discouraging factors in the adaptation process in Turkey. According to the findings, the behavior of people was one of the influencing factors in the migrants' social engagement. A participant who had been to Zeytinburnu for about 12 years, but she is not totally adapted to society. She stated,

> *"It is about 11 or 12 years that I stay here. I tried to get used to society, but I do not feel engaged in this society because Turkish people are not sincere and affectionate. They do not like to go to each other's homes. Everyone wants to have contact with their own family, they do not like foreigners".*

Whereas, another woman elucidated that Turkish people had been very kind and welcoming to her. Besides, she added that religion had been one of the determinants in her adjustment to society. As she replied, "Turkey is a very convenient country according to their Islamic viewpoints and humanity that it has. I accustomed here, I feel like Turkey is my own country".

Furthermore, one respondent mentioned that Turkey's security helped her in social engagement. The security allows women to go out, find friends, and enjoy their life. She said, "Security helped me in social interaction because I am a woman who lives alone. In Afghanistan, I had to lean to a man (father and brother). But, in here I feel independent and fearless".

Families and friends, who had settled in Zeytinburnu before, facilitated the participants in social adaptation. For instance, there was a woman who got engaged to Turkish society through her husband's family and friends. These friends and families help migrants in their housing, transferring information, country's rights and regulations, and Turkish culture and traditions.

5.10. Experiences

In this part of the research, I tried to collect positive and negative experiences, people's reactions against them, and problems that participants had confronted from the day they arrived till now. All of the interviewees had experienced incidents such as economic, psychological, and physical exploitations. There are several private associations located in Zeytinburnu that hunt new coming migrants. They persuade migrants to pay money for issuing residence permits. As a participant explained, "We went to various associations to apply for residence permits. They promised us but did not do anything except taking our money".

Irregular migrants face many problems when they first arrive in Turkey. Police catch them and take their fingerprints when they cross the border. When the police release them, they usually move to Istanbul. They confront new challenges when they arrive in Istanbul. As a woman mentioned,

"When we first arrived in Turkey, police caught us. We were in prison for five days. After that, we came to Istanbul. The first three months were very difficult for us. We did not know the language, my son was jobless. But, over time Afghans guided us that there are textiles that you can go for work".

Insulting and discriminatory reactions against migrants were identified by most of the participants as being the impediments to successful social integration. As one of the interviewees expressed that she had faced negative reactions in a hospital when the doctor realized that she is an Afghan. As she stated, "One day when I went to the hospital, after examination the doctor asked me where am I from? I replied I am from Afghanistan, suddenly he reacted as if I was dirty which really disappointed me". Furthermore, there was a participant who had experienced discriminatory behavior in her workplace. She explained,

"When I was working in a place, one Turkish man asked me that why do you (Afghans) come here, you work for low wages, we work for more, so our people do not find a job because the employers give you the job. I looked at him and asked him why did you leave his home while the earthquake? Why did you go to parks? Was not the park so cold? Was he happy there? He answered no; we had to stay out due to the earthquake. I replied that we are here out of desperateness. I had the best job and the best position in Afghanistan. But, I had to migrate and work in textiles for low wages due to the war".

Moreover, another participant faced unpleasant behavior in the Directorate General of Immigration Administration. She mentioned,

"A few days ago when I went to Immigration Office to apply for the humanitarian residence permit, I waited for a long time. At first the officer did not even raise her head. When I explained my demand, he replied that go here is not a hospital. I told

him I know that this is not a hospital but I want to apply for the residence permit. He said I told you that this is not a hospital".

One participant who was very content with the people around her. However, she mentioned the reactions of people against Afghan migrants, "They think that Afghan people are dirty and untidy but we are also Afghans, but we are not dirty".

The majority of migrants had confronted issues in housing due to economic problems, language barriers, and lack of residence permits. As a woman expressed her experience,

"It has been one and a half year that we live in an underground, it stinks, all of us got ill, our bodies are itching, the water was leaking from the ceiling, we tried to collect the leaking water with the pots…but it was a temporary solution, we talked to the house owner to fix it, but he still didn't do anything".

One of the interviewees mentioned that she had not faced any negative reactions. However, she uttered her problem in housing, "We share our house with two other families. We stay in one room because of our economic problems".

When I asked an interviewee about people's reaction towards her she replied, "Turkish people are very kind and respectful, whenever I go out with my baby, there is someone who helps me in buses or other places. They always help me". She also added that she witnessed many problems in housing and finding the proper job since they came here.

5.11. Feelings of Belonging

When the participant women were asked the question regarding the sense of belonging in Turkey, most of the women answered negatively, specifying that they had never felt the feelings of belonging and acceptance. One of the interviewees, who had been here for more

than five years and can speak Turkish very well, had never had a sense of belonging in Turkey. She said,

> *"No, even though I love Turkish people and have no problems with them because they are very nice people. But, for every nation their own culture and country... We have our own culture, history, and civilization. We have our own traditions which I love all of them from deep in my heart. I have never wanted to be Turkish and I have never felt belonging to this land…I do not know the reason may be Turkish people's behavior that caused this feeling". When I asked her "does she feel part of this society", she answered, "Yes I do, I feel part of this society…I am a human being, I go shopping, I work here, I do exchanges, all of them create benefits for their country".*

Another participant who had been here only for one and a half year, did not learn Turkish, and she was an irregular migrant. She expressed her problems and stated,

> *"I feel like I have to have money to have a sense of belonging…poor people like us do not have a sense of belonging because they have a lot of problems… I have never felt like I belong here… I feel like I am here today but tomorrow somebody will take my hand and get me out of here because we do not have residence permits".*

Similarly, one woman stated,

> *"No never, even if I get the residence permit or citizenship I would not sense of belonging. I heard one message of a Turkish woman who was saying that let us live in our country; we do not want migrants to come to our country… when I look at their reactions against migrants, I understand that they do not want any foreigners to live in their country, so, we cannot have any sense of belonging due to their attitude against us".*

Likewise, one of the participants had been to Turkey for about 22 years, she was granted Turkish citizenship, and she could speak Turkish like native speakers. Still, she did not have any sense of belonging in Turkey. As she mentioned, "No, I have never had that feeling to be Turkish…because all of my family is Afghan, I am proud to be an Afghan". Furthermore, Another participant commented, "No, I think the reason is the language problems …because there is only one person who I can talk to, that is why I do not feel like this is my own country…perhaps because it has been only one year that I live here". However, she added that she felt part of society and did not have a sense of alienation. One of the interviewees desperately replied,

> *"We are Afghans, wherever we are we feel alone…because they are not our people, still, we try to have coherence with people living in our place of accommodation…we have the desire to have contacts with them and expect identical behavior from them".*

Oppositely, another interviewee had been to Turkey for five years and speaks Turkish. She had positive comments concerning the sense of belonging to Turkey. As she replied, "Yes I have, but, if Turkey had better opportunities for migrants, we undoubtedly could feel like it is our own country… for example if we had citizenship we cannot find a country better than Turkey because it has security". Moreover, a woman said that "we can have the sense of belonging if we do not have fundamental issues such as residence permits, language, and education…we sincerely want to have coherence with the society but problems ban us". However, a participant added that "As a human being, as an individual I feel part of the society because I love Turkish people". Likewise, another woman commented,

> *"I do not have the feelings of alienation with them. I love my country as well, but I have not felt like I am a foreigner in Turkey because they are very kind*

people…probably because of our dressing style I do not feel apart because there are so many women here who have scarves on their heads".

5.12. The Level of Respect

Participants were asked pertaining the level of respect and esteem they had earned in Turkish society as Afghan women. The question was asked in order to understand women's social integration considering the standpoints of Turkish society on Afghan women. The majority of the participants endorsed that they were respected by Turkish people.

Most of the participants believed that it is a reciprocal action. Hence, they needed to put some steps so that the society opens its embrace to them. According to findings from the interviews, the matter of respect is a double-faced relation, thus, Afghan women had to learn the language, behave in a good manner, and have respect so that Turkish people behave the same way. Some respondents had revealed that they had never witnessed disrespecting attitudes from Turkish people considering their clothing, beliefs, and language.

There was one of the women who expressed that she was respected by Turkish society. She explained that the reasons were her own behavior and because she could speak the language. As she quoted, "Yes, why not…the reason why people respect me is my own behavior and sincerity… another reason is that I can speak the language, I can have a conversation with everyone, I can have contact with people that is why". She confirmed that language was a very important factor in her interaction with the Turkish people. She said that people around her love her so much and respect her because she can speak Turkish very well. She uttered, "Yes, I am respected by Turkish people because they like me. I think because I can speak Turkish and I have a good attitude towards them".

Similarly, one of the participants mentioned that one person's behavior can affect others attitudes against her. She said, "Yes, they respect me. It belongs to oneself; one person's

character determines how other people behave her. As much you respect others and as much you have good behavior, that much people respect you".

One of the participants expressed her happiness of the Turkish people. She commented,

> *"Turkish people are not disrespectful; they have never been disrespectful to me. This is their good side, I have worked with Turkish people many times, and I saw that they have no problems with your clothing, your makeup, and your way of life".*

One of the interviewees shared her contentedness with Turkish people, "They have never disrespected me as an Afghan. They are so good people, may Allah bless them. They have never misbehaved to me".

Furthermore, one of the participants explained that Afghan women were respected by Turkish society. She said because there are people who know the security issues in Afghanistan and understand them. "I think because they understand that our country is at war and we had to move out, that is why they do not disrespect us. Nobody has ever told me that you are Afghan and I am a Turk, I have never seen such things".

Another woman explained that it changes from one to another. She mentioned, "Yes, I feel being respected by them. But, some of them have bad reactions probably they do not like our language, tradition, and clothing. Sometimes, when they sit around us we hear their talks about us". Moreover, an interviewee commented, "Yes, I am respected by Turkish people, but one day a woman was looking at me badly when I was in the bazaar, I think because we were speaking Persian".

One of the interviewees was not so contented concerning the level of respect she had in Turkish society. It was mentioned above that language was a very significant challenge for some migrants. She had faced inappropriate behaviors due to her language differences. As she

stated, “Here, I do not think that I am respected by people, but in, Afghanistan, due to the position that I had, I was respected very much. Sometimes, I go to parks with my friend, when we speak Persian when Turkish people hear that they change their places”. **5.13. Role Changes**

This part of the study contains the answers to the question concerning the probable changes in Afghan women’s roles in Turkey. Most of the participants claimed that their roles changed over time since they moved out of Afghanistan. Security, economy, liberty and freedom, and cultural differences were the most effective factors in providing changes in the participants’ roles.

The majority of the respondents indicated that security was the most significant supporting factor in simplifying their life in Turkey. Security helped them live fearlessly. As the participants responded, security gave them the impetus to rely on themselves and do not be afraid of any threatens out of their homes. Security and freedom both had encouraged them to trust themselves, to have economic independence, to have freedom of clothing, and do everything independently.

As one of the participants described,

> *“In Afghanistan, a woman cannot go out lonely. she cannot do anything without her husband, brother, or father. If she is a young woman she cannot go out lonely, even if she covers herself with a long veil. But in here, whatever or what color she wears, it does not matter”.*

Furthermore, another woman asserted that security and freedom were the most important matters in Turkey. She said,

"Turkey did not give me any power but took my powers and abilities I had. The positive thing is that I am mentally calm in here. When we were in Afghanistan, every single day we heard bombs' sounds. When we got out of home, we did not know that we return alive or not...Turkey is better because it has security and freedom".

Likewise, an interviewee expressed, "Turkey has freedom and security which are everything for me, I am happy that in here no one harasses me or my daughters".

Another participant explained that she had been very dependent on her family when she was in Iran. Since she came here she feels free and independent. One interesting thing that she indicated was that in Iran's society it was important to wear beautiful and chic clothes. However, "in here, it does not matter what you wear or what you do", "I think it is better here" she added.

Moreover, one of the respondents pointed to the security and freedom of clothing. She stated,

"One of the good sides in Turkey is that if you want to wear the veil or not, nobody interferes. But, in Afghanistan, even if you wear proper clothes they still talk about you and harass you. The other side is that Turkey has security, whenever you want to go out you can go".

Women can do whatever they want to do in Turkey. They can choose their way of life, they can work, they can go out, and they can solve their problems with no assistance. As a woman stated,

"Here is much better than Afghanistan. In here, one woman can solve all of her problems. She can work, she can run her life alone, and she can go everywhere without anyone. But, in Afghanistan, it is not the same. I do not work here (laughing)

and still live like in Afghanistan…It is good that we have security in Turkey, at least we can go to parks".

An interviewee expressed that she had not been able to use her courage in Afghanistan. She asserted that it had been very difficult to go shopping because people would talk behind her back. They were saying that "her husband is sitting at home and sending his wife for shopping what a shame". But in here, a woman has security, "she can go out at midnights". "In here, I have no fear, and I do not feel the difference between man and woman".

Some of the interviewees mentioned that there were no changes in their roles. One of them said, "No, I was free and independent in Afghanistan as well…I did not have a job in Afghanistan but I could go out whenever I wanted to go…In here, I can do whatever I want. I newly started to work here; it is good for my mentality". Similarly, another woman told me that there was no change in her role; she said that she was at home taking care of her children in Afghanistan and still, she is busy with her children.

One of the respondents explained that her life did not change comparing her economic condition in Iran and Turkey. She stated, "All the members of my family were working when we were living in Iran...I think all the problems that we had in Iran we have them in Turkey as well".

5.14. Supporting Entities in Social Integration

The participants were asked about the supporting entities facilitating their social integration. By this question, I intended to evaluate the role of the state, NGOs, social services, and community in their social integration process. As previously mentioned, there are a high number of Afghan people living in Zeytinburnu. Thus, there are many Afghan shops, Afghan restaurants, and Afghan bakeries. The Afghan migrants usually supported by their compatriots, Afghan friends, and families. As one of the participants mentioned, "My mother-

in-law, my sisters-in-law, and Afghan community living in Zeytinburnu supported me to integrate".

Almost all of the respondents revealed that they never had the state's supports in their social integration. Although, some of the women mentioned AKDEM as their supporting entity, which is an NGO that partially belongs to the municipality of Zeytinburnu. As one woman stated, "Since we became acquainted with AKDEM, I feel like they support us when we refer to them. There are Afghans there who can understand our language so they can support us". AKDEM is a place where has several services for migrants' social cohesion, such as language courses, social services, legal services, psychological services for women and children

The majority of the participants manifested their despairing reaction when I asked about the supporting entities. They expressed that they needed to endeavor by themselves to facilitate their social integration. As one of the participants said, "No one helped me, I tried by myself. I learned the language, tried to interact with people, and searched for the system and rights".

Some of the participants had stayed in limbo because they had no idea regarding the supporting entities in social integration. After all, they had no friends and families and had no courage to function by them.

5.15. Expectations from the Turkish Government

In this section, I collected data regarding the expectations of the Afghan women from the government. The majority of the participants shared their concerns regarding their statuses. They elucidated the importance of acquiring residence permits and citizenship in their social integration process. If they have residence permits they can have access to health services, education, rights, and opportunities. One of the interviewees asserted,

"Residence permit, only residence permit, if we have residence permit we can defend our rights. If we have a residence permit we can find a good job, at least we are treated as human beings in health centers when we acquire the residence permit…I have face problem in taking "Hes Kod", I cannot go anywhere".

Likewise, a woman said,

"Only residence permits, I want residence permits or something else similar to that so that my children can go to school. We want to have a normal life. We want to have a normal house and want to do our treatments…all the members of my family are ill".

Moreover, another participant commented,

"First of all I want to thank the government because we have no documents, we are staying here illegally, we use Turkey's nature…the only thing that I want from them is a document for my children so that they can have access to education. We do not have other problems, we are thankful".

Sometimes the residence permits are not enough to live in Turkey coherently. As the respondents described, they face some critical issues if they do not have permanent residence permits or citizenship. An interviewee who had already had a residence permit mentioned, "I want a permanent residence permit or citizenship. But if they are not able to give us citizenship, make the residence permit's application easier…we want our children to have access to education". Furthermore, one of the respondents who had residence permits requested a work permit. She stated,

"First of all I want a work permit so that I can work legally…then I want that my children educate here and their education helps them in getting jobs like Turkish citizens, I want the opportunities that are given to Turkish citizens to be given to my

children as well. Like the European countries which give all the expenditures such as house rents, water and electricity costs, and health expenses till the migrant get solve her/his basic problems".

One participant explained that the residence permit application process was very complex and needed high payments. As she stated,

"We expect to be like their own citizens, we want citizenship because the residence permit application has high expenses which we hardly do the payments. And I want from them to raise the amount of salaries so that our economy gets better".

Some of the participants requested to settle in a third country due to the difficulties migrants faces in Turkey. As an interviewee stated, "My expectation from the government is to send us to the third country… I even do not want to have their residence permit".

One of the most significant issues that should be taken into account was their requests for financial support. The majority of women had expressed their expectation for economic aid because their incomes are not enough for their daily expenditures. A woman who had no economic problems expressed, "I expect that the government helps all the Afghan migrants because most of them are very poor, most of them live in parks, I want the government to support them economically". Likewise, another participant Said, "I need a residence permit for my husband, and a good economic condition that is all. We thank Turkey for being non-discriminate and so kind to us".

One of the interviewees mentioned that there are no education opportunities for Afghan women in Turkey. She added that the government should create various job opportunities for Afghan women. She explained, "first of all, they should create the opportunity of education for women who were not able to continue their schools in Afghanistan. Besides, they should create job opportunities for women who are at home with their children".

5.16. Discussion of the Findings

This section is a very significant part of the study. This part correlates the points of view in the literature review with the related findings after a long field work and data collection process. My purpose is to make clear the relationships of the study with the literature and to express this research's contribution to the migration studies.

As Huddleston mentioned that Labor, education, health, residence permits are the interrelated dimensions of social integration, I found that employment, language, education, health, length of residence and socializations are the most influencing factors of migrants' social integration.

Similar to the arguments of Laurentsyeva and Venturini, I emphasized the significance of developing a sense of belonging to the host society. According to my findings, most of the interviewed Afghan women were not satisfied in their feelings of belonging and acceptance in Turkey. I observed the demographics of the participants which included their ages, family ties, gender roles, fertility, and family structure of them. As Laurentsyeva and Venturini mentioned, I also found the significant topics in social integration process such as language, the duration of stay, the extent of discrimination, friends and neighbors in the host society, resident permits, etc.

Poros underlined the importance of social networks on social integration. Poros explained the impacts of social networks in getting jobs, housing, business establishment, and access to health services. The links and relationships can be established at schools, workplaces, and several institutions both in the country of origin and the host country. In line with this, I observed that social network was one of the influencing factors in choosing Zeytinburnu as a living place in Istanbul. Almost every interviewee asserted that Zeytinburnu is the place where a high percent of Afghans live there; therefore, they can help them in housing, health services, education, language, and access to up-to-date information concerning the migrants.

As well as several institutions and organizations are working for Afghan migrants in Zeytinburnu.

According to Malipaard and Phalet, there are negative and positive dimensions of social contact. They asserted that discrimination and devaluation of minority identity are possible challenges in socializing with the host society. They explained that the positive dimension of socialization with the host society is visiting neighbors and spending time with friends. My observation is that socialization Afghan women did not go out if it was not necessary. They usually have contact with their families and Afghan friends. According to their answers, they have no time for social contact with the host society due to the economic barriers and life's hardships. Lack of job and education opportunities circumscribed them from having contact with Turkish society.

Çarıkçıoğlu underlined the importance of both the government and trans-national human rights regime as the main contributors in practicing social and economic integration. In my research, I found that Turkish government has main responsibility in Afghans' social integration process. Most of the participants uttered their concerns regarding their legal statuses. They need residence permits for accessing fundamental services such as health, education, job etc. My observation shows that NGOs and trans-national human rights regime do not have enough supporting system for Afghan women living in Zeytinburnu.

Nawyn explained that women migrants' opportunity to get a job in the host country is related to their educational background before moving to the new country. In line with this argument, in my research, I acknowledged the educational background of Afghan women before migration. The participant women uttered that, they cannot use their educational background to access qualified job opportunities in Turkey. Because there are barriers such as language

problems, lack of legal status, problems in providing equivalency to school/university documents, and economic issues.

According to Richter (2004), migrants get a new identity relating to their gender relations different than their old cultural gender relations. Furthermore, migrants get new structural barriers in the host society. In my interview, I included the topic of "Role Changes", which describes the changes in Afghan women's life after migration to Turkey. Most of the participants asserted that factors such as security, freedom, society, economy in Turkey impacted their roles in family and society. They can live fearlessly, do not need a man counterpart to deal with their daily works, can have economic independence, they can have freedom of clothing, and freedom of choice.

As Maymoon (2017) argued that the lack of legal protection in terms of employment and women's fear of illegality, cause risks of exploitation and abuse in the labor market, I collected some data encompassing the Afghan women's experiences in their workplaces. According to collected data, some of the interviewees explicated that employers in Zeytinburnu abuse their illegality and economic desperation. Some employers do not pay the wages and some of them commit sexual abuses. Afghan women expressed their deep despondency in this case because they cannot complain to any organs with fear of deportation.

According to Gouws (2017) argument, factors that courage men and women for migration are different from each other. Men generally migrate for economic reasons but women migrants move for social and cultural reasons. Although in my research there were women who expressed some social and cultural restrictions, but in general participant women moved to Turkey for four reasons: 1. Security, 2. Economic issues, 3. Personal enmity, and 4. The issues of honor.

As Rahmani (2019) argued that women face gender discrimination in the labor market in both sending and receiving countries and added that women are paid fewer wages than men. I observed that Afghan women in Zeytinburnu confront gender discrimination in the labor markets. Most of them who have job, work in textiles and as they mentioned their experiences of economic exploitations they had experienced in several workplaces. The participants constantly asserted that there is arduous work in textiles which is one of the substantial barriers to their employment. Afghan women face gender discrimination in accessing job opportunities as well as in the workplaces in Afghanistan. As they mentioned in the interview, their situation in the labor markets in Turkey is much better than in Afghanistan.

Mısırlı (2019) explicated the gender-sensitive integration policies that should be taken into account the secondary position of women in labor market, their responsibilities in the family, and their vulnerability to violence, and take into account that women have different needs than men in terms of adaptation. Furthermore, Waseema (2005) and Forbes (2004) mentioned that migrant women need stronger support of government and international human rights agencies to participate in different spheres of social integration. She added that developing women's confidence and retaining them are effective methods in their full and active social participation. In line with the above arguments, in my study I emphasized the importance of supporting entities for Afghan women's social integration. Afghan women migrants are usually supported by their compatriots and Afghan friends and families. Besides, Afghan women migrants need more support by the Turkish government and the NGOs in terms of social adaptation and inclusion.

As Mısırlı (2019), Koçak & Gündüz (2016) mentioned in their studies that policies developed for the socialization of refugee women contribute significantly to the progress of the integration processes. These policies reduce the concerns in the new country and make them feel safe in solidarity. Besides, they added that, it is essential for women to participate in

social-cultural activities in order to get out of their isolated lives away from the society. So that, women can make new friendship develop their language skills, and increase their sense of belonging to the new country. In my study, I found that there is a visible gap concerning the policies for Afghan women's socialization process in Turkey. As the participants explained, there is no enough opportunities for possible social-cultural activities created by the government and as well as other national or international entities. Thus, most of the Afghan women living in Zeytinburnu do not have access to language courses, are not able to make friendships, and cannot develop a sense of belonging. However, Afghan women have to take the responsibility of socialization, search for language schools, try to enter the possible social-cultural activities, and change their position in society on their own.

Mısırlı (2019) described the importance of women's health in the host society. She/he added that women experience many mental and physical health problems on their migration routes. The traumas caused by health issues increase the insecurity of women refugees and damage the integration process. My study found that health is one of the critical factors in Afghan women's social integration process. Most of the participants expressed their health issues including gynecological diseases. More than half of the participants uttered their dissatisfaction concerning the Turkey's health system for migrants. Lack of the residence permits and health insurance are the main barriers for their health problems. According to the participants they cannot socially integrate into society if they are not physically and mentally fine.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This study mainly intended to investigate the social integration of Afghan women living in the Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul by creating a broad perspective regarding the supporting entities, including NGOs, the Turkish government, and other social services. This research aimed to explore Afghan women's comprehension of their social integration through their experiences. Besides, this study seeks to fill the gap in the level of awareness of the subject because there are no academic studies concerning the social integration of Afghan women in Zeytinburnu.

Turkey had been one of the countries that received immigrants from different parts of the world, and Afghan migrants were the constitutive members of this migration history. Nevertheless, Turkey has not yet established an efficient system to facilitate migrants' social integration process further. In this regard, the immigration laws and practices still need to be developed to prepare fundamental rights to enhance migrants' needs such as housing, health, education, employment, and social cohesion.

Integration is a collective measurement that involves three main dimensions; the legal and political dimensions, socio-economic dimensions, and the cultural-religious dimensions. It is a complex process that can be performed at supranational, national, and local levels. Social integration is adapting the host society's culture and knowledge through respecting laws and developing a sense of belonging to the host society. Furthermore, Social integration includes patterns to decrease the barriers for migrants through providing social opportunities. Social interactions, social participation, cultural cohesion, language, and the extent of discrimination in the host society are the influencing factors to the social integration of migrants.

Throughout history, women in Afghanistan had experienced life without liberty due to the conservative customary laws imposed not only by the government but also by the families and society. Wars and conflicts had been the key reasons for the lack of socio-economic developments, cultural enhancements, and women's freedom of rights in Afghanistan. All of the factors mentioned above caused migration to neighboring countries such as Iran, Pakistan, lately Turkey, and the European countries. Hence, harsh situations in Afghanistan forced them to risk their lives and endure journeys through irregular ways passing long and grueling.

Afghan migrants move to Turkey with high expectations and prospects unaware of the upcoming challenges. Since they arrive, they realize the affliction and difficulties they can face in the host country (housing, employment, health, education, language, residence permits, and social cohesion).

Although Turkey has made many administrative and legislative regulations, Turkey still has insufficient policies concerning migrants. "International Protection," "Conditional Refugee," "Subsidiary Protection," and "Temporary Protection" are the main statuses given to migrants in Turkey. The state is the leading integration actor who is supported by the international organizations which work for migrants. Local municipalities are other responsible actors to provide supportive services for migrants. International and Non-Governmental Organizations are significant entities in maintaining several benefits such as transferring information about their rights and regulations in Turkey, providing interpreting services, opening language courses.

Family ties, friendship, and neighboring relationships, and links established by administrative and local communities are types of networks that help reach services, adapt to the new society, and create a better social coherence. As Afghan people have a high opinion of the

close relationships with their relatives and Afghan compatriots, they prefer to find a place where Afghans reside.

Three main problems prohibit migrants from socially integrating into Istanbul: legal and financial issues, coping with child labor and maintaining education, and the fear of anti-migrant movements. Istanbul municipality, local municipalities, NGOs, and IGOs are responsible for creating Afghan women's social integration facilities.

The main research question was: How Afghan migrant women can socially, culturally, and economically integrate with the Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul, Turkey?

Sub-question1: Which social problems do Afghan women confront when they come to Turkey?

Sub-question 2: What are the main causes of non-integration tendencies of Afghan women?

Sub-question 3: What are the strengths and limitations of the policies of the Turkish government concerning Afghan women's integration process?

Sub-question 4: What improvement measurements are needed to deal with the social integration problems of Afghan women?

To answer the research questions, I decided to use a qualitative research method conducted through face-to-face and telephone interviews with Afghan women living in Zeytinburnu.

As Indra (1996) explained that the experiences of women migrants are complex and multidimensional and added that they are not a homogenous group. Similarly, my observation is that Afghan women in Zeytinburnu are not homogenous; they have different experiences. Thus, there is a need for broad studies concerning the Afghan women migrants in Turkey and worldwide.

Considering the answers of Afghan women, there are several influencing factors in their social integration. Language, employment, residence permits, and the length of residence are the main influencing factors of social integration. The most responded reason for their settlement to Zeytinburnu was the residence of the high number of Afghans. Most of the interviewees described that Zeytinburnu maintains opportunities that other districts do not, such as Afghan shops, Afghan restaurants, Afghan friends, and the institutions servicing Afghan people. There are textiles and other job opportunities for Afghan migrants that turned Zeytinburnu into a more attractive place.

Nawyn (2010), in the macro-level analysis, explained that the need for so-called "feminized jobs" increased women's migration. Feminized jobs include different types of low-cost and unqualified jobs. According to my findings, health issues, work conditions, economic exploitations, children, and the pandemic process have been the most significant impediments to Afghan women's employment and socio-economic integration. Also, Çakır (2020) mentioned that there should be a high focus on women migration by the nation-states and scholars due to the abuses, violence, exploitations, and other human rights violations, particularly irregular migrants. Textiles are the main source of employment for women in Zeytinburnu, as well as there are other job opportunities with low wages. The participants work for long hours but have less salary with no health insurance. Although employment is an advantage in the social integration of Afghan women, it is also seen as a barrier to further social interaction.

As a feminist author named Mehta (1996) illustrated, Afghan women change their household roles after migration, my observation shows that Afghan women feel more liberated in Turkey than in Afghanistan. They had got socio-economic independence after migration. As the participants said, they can quickly go out, have the right to choose their way of clothing, have the right to work, go out without men accompany, etc.

Furthermore, language is the prior subject in the social integration of Afghan women. All of the participants constantly mentioned the importance of language fluency in the implementation of social integration. Turkish knowledge is a supporting topic in women's education, employment, health, and social interactions. Not having access to education and not learning the language lead women to work in unskilled jobs with low wages. This situation creates an unequal society by excluding poor women (Millenium Challenge Corporation, 2020). In constant with this argument, the interviewees explained that they had faced many barriers to accessing education and employing skilled jobs. According to the participants, lack of residence permits, document equivalence, and language problems are the leading causes for employment in unskilled jobs with low wages.

In line with the Giannoni, Franzini, Masiero (2016) arguments which underline the importance of the host country's social integration policies for migrants, I asked participants concerning their expectations from the Turkish government. Most of the respondents shared their concerns regarding the insufficient social integration policies. Findings show that Afghan women need fundamental rights to socially integrate, such as residence permits, access to education, language courses, health services, and other possible opportunities.

Nawyn (2010) stated that economic reason is not the only cause that women choose to leave their countries. There are non-economic reasons which forced them to migrate, such as escaping from domestic violence and prostitution. My research explains other reasons forcing women to move out of their countries, such as lack of security, economic problems, personal enmity, and issues of honor.

Gedalof (2009), in his feminist theoretical writings, mentioned the challenges after migration in the work of mothering such as child care and childbirth, adjustment of cultures in the family such as dressing, food, and family relationship seem to be undervalued. In my

research, I founded that house chores, child care, and childbirth are issues that need to be considered in a migrant family after migration. The majority of the participants expressed that house works and child care are their prior responsibilities which seem to be barriers in their employment, socialization, learning language, and education. Sense of belonging was mentioned as an essential topic in the social integration of women by Gedalof (2009). He noted the question of how do migrant women access a sense of belonging in the host society. Although the interviewees emphasized the importance of feelings of belonging and acceptance in society, most of them had never felt belonging and acceptance.

My arguments include that some concepts should be measured to understand the context of women migrants' social integration. According to my research, a general overview of the women migrants' characteristics should be undertaken. My study includes an explanation of the life of migrants before migration and their socio-economic backgrounds, which explicitly describe their reasons for migration.

The social networks had been a major source of data before migration and after migration. Afghan women determined their settlement according to the information they had got from their Afghan counterparts. Social networks for Afghan women are only women counterparts due to their cultural backgrounds. Relations with friends, neighbors, and people can help women; migrants have a more straightforward social integration process.

Employment is a crucial factor in the social integration of women migrants. My findings show that women migrants generally spend their time doing house works and taking care of children. The lack of recruitment created impediments in women's economic integration as well as social integration.

Learning the language, access to education and access to health services are three other major social integration factors that create the extent of women's adaptation to society. Afghan

women expressed their high access to language courses, education, and health services due to the lack of residence permits.

Traumatic experiences during and after the migration have a high level of impact on women migrants' psychology and their social integration process. Insulting and discriminatory reactions against women migrants were identified as being the impediments to successful social integration. The level of respect by the host society considering the dressing, beliefs, language, and traditions is influencing issues in the social integration of the women migrants.

Supporting entities assist women migrants' social integration, such as the host government, non-governmental organizations, governmental organizations, social services, and the host community. Afghan women in Turkey expressed that they, some family, and friends have supported their social integration process. Their compatriots usually sponsor Afghan migrants. Almost all of the respondents revealed that they never had the state's supports in their social integration. However, some of the women mentioned NGOs working for migrant women and children in Zeytinburnu. Participants stated some recommendations concerning better social integration in Turkey. They elucidated the importance of acquiring residence permits and citizenship in their social integration process. They mentioned that if they have residence permits, they will have access to health services, education, rights, and opportunities. Some of them emphasized that temporary residence permits are insufficient for reaching essential services; therefore, they need a permanent residence permit or citizenship to associate socially. Financial supports, access to education, access to health services, and social cohesion are other expectations conducted by the respondents.

Gender has played a significant role in every phase of migration. Thus, the integration needed an extensive investigation when the women migrants are concerned. The notion of masculinity and femininity had changed when the migrants provided the decision to migrate

and move to a new environment. Women can face barriers and difficulties different than men after migration. Women confront various challenges in the social integration process, which are not entirely the same as men do. Hence, I tried to reveal some of the experiences of the participant women, including the challenges they had strived with. Starting with the traumatic experiences, the secondary position of women in the labor market, violence, feminine health issues, physical abuses, economic exploitation, and family-based problems are the main problems that hinder women from having successful social integration in the host society.

There is a need for broader research concerning the social integration of Afghan women in Turkey. For better support and assistance of Afghan women, comprehensive findings are needed through academic research in this area to make their problems visible. A clear understanding of the barriers and influencing factors of the integration will be a bridge between Afghan women and the policies and regulations relevant to the social integration of Afghan women. My suggestion is a comparative research study concerning the social integration of women migrants in Turkey and other different countries for future studies.

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APPENDİXES

General

- What is your name-surname (Voluntary)?
- How old are you?
- Are you married? Do you have child/children?
- What is your education status? Did you study in Afghanistan or other country?
- What was your job in Afghanistan or other country?
- Are you currently employed? How did you find the job?
- What do you think about difficulties and helping patterns in finding jobs? (Language, networking, job search programs, etc.)
- When did you come to Turkey? How? How long have been here?
- Can you please tell me about the place you stay before Turkey?
- Could you get identity cards or documents?
- Did you learn Turkish? If no can you please tell me the reasons?
- Do you have access to health services? What are the barriers?
- Do you have access to education? What are the barriers?

Social Integration

- What do you do to socialize?
- Are you in contact with your neighbors (Turkish)?
- Do you have Turkish friends?
- As an Afghan woman do you think you are respected by people around you? (People working in different services such as health, social services, etc) considering your dressing style, beliefs, and language? Explain the reasons you have achieved such level of respect?
- Do you think that you have achieved the sense of belonging and welcoming in Turkey? What do you think about how can a migrant achieve sense of belonging? Explain with examples.
- What are positive and negative reactions regarding you as an Afghan woman in Turkey? Explain with examples.
- What kinds of things have helped you in adaptation in Turkey? (Language, family and friends, NGOs working for women, religious or ethnic groups)
- Can you please share your positive and negative experiences in Turkey? (After arriving till today about changes in roles and education maybe)
- What do you think about changes that enabled you doing something which you were not able doing before moving to Turkey? (health care, employment, personal safety etc)
- Which difficulties did you face when you come to Turkey? How did you deal with the difficulties?
- When you have a problem which group or organizations do you choose for asking support?
- Do you feel part of the society?
- Why did you choose to stay in Zeytniburnu?
- What kind of opportunities do you think Zeytinburnu can create for Afghan women?
- What are your expectations from the government?