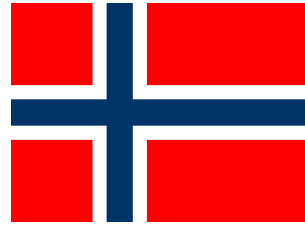




**EURASIA  
PARTNERSHIP  
FOUNDATION**



2009

# **IDENTIFYING THE STATE OF ARMENIAN MIGRANTS IN TURKEY**

Sociological Qualitative Research

**Research Paper by  
Alin Ozinian  
EPF**



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# Overview and Methodology

## Aim of the Study

This study seeks to:

- accurately determine the state of Armenian (RoA) migrants in Turkey
- expose the social-legal problems of Armenian migrants and study the probable solutions of the situation
- try to determine profiles , relationships and real number<sup>1</sup> of Armenian migrants
- expose community leaders' knowledge, attitudes and perceptions towards Armenian migrants
- prepare recommendations to the Turkish and Armenian government and civil society to ameliorate the situation of Armenian illegal migrants in the absence of official relations between the two countries, which could include:
  - ✓ Recommendations on plausible ways of establishing relationships between Armenian and Turkish counterparts to efficiently oversee the issue of illegal labor migration from Armenia to Turkey
  - ✓ Recommendations on innovative mechanisms for protecting the rights of Armenian migrants in Turkey.<sup>2</sup>

**This research has been conducted by Alin Ozinian as part of Eurasia Partnership Foundation<sup>3</sup>'s program "Research to Identify the State of Armenian Migrants in Turkey"**

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<sup>1</sup> The exact number of Armenian migrants in Turkey is unknown to this day, but according to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who stated that the real number is 50,000 in January 2009, it's increasing day by day. Other politicians and government authorities have suggested different numbers reaching as high as 70.000. <http://www.bugun.com.tr/kose-yazisi/75808-issizlik-kacak-yabanci-isciler-ve-ermeni-kokenli-kacak-isciler-makalesi.aspx>

<sup>2</sup> The Armenian migration problem in Turkey is a part of the general migration problem in Turkey but because of the absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries, this problem is still excluded from the agenda of Turkish migration policy. Consequently, with the help of certain innovative mechanisms, the problem can be addressed.

<sup>3</sup> For the past 15 years, Eurasia Foundation (EF) has worked to revive civic and economic vitality in the independent countries of the former Soviet Union. In the South Caucasus region, EF grants and programs have targeted each nation's individual needs, but also supported cross-boundary cooperation and capacity building efforts serving multiple countries. To reinforce these achievements in sustainable local institutions, EF launched the Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF) in 2007, three locally registered, networked institutions promoting civil society and economic development in their host countries through small grants, operating programs and development of public-private partnerships. Supported by the United States Agency for International Development and other public and private donors, EF has invested nearly \$70 million in the South Caucasus since 1992. EPF is a member of the EF Network, which is comprised of five local foundations based in Russia, Central Asia, the South Caucasus, Eastern Europe and Washington, DC. More information on the Eurasia Partnership Foundation can be found at [www.epfound.am](http://www.epfound.am).

**supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the United States Agency for International Development.**

## Methodology and Outputs

Research focused on two main stages:

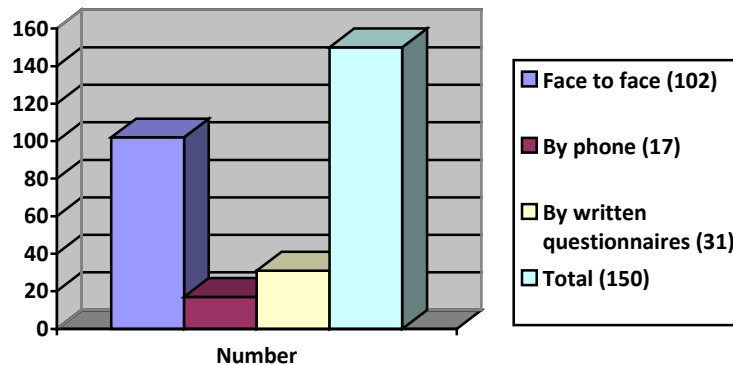
### 1. Documental Data<sup>4</sup>

- Turkish and International Press Scanning<sup>5</sup>
- Investigation of Researches and Studies about Armenian Migrants in Turkey

### 2. Interviews

- **Survey (150 Migrants)** This survey<sup>6</sup>, conducted in the Istanbul-Kumkapi<sup>7</sup> district, helped us to gather and review essential information about Armenian migrants through the use of charts and other visual aids.

**Chart 1- Methods of Survey with Armenian Migrants**



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<sup>4</sup> Annex 5

<sup>5</sup> Turkish Press Scanning<sup>5</sup> was very important to understand the points of view of Turkish different political powers and their future plans on this issue. It also became easier to understand how effective the Turkish press is when it comes to managing and manipulating the issue.

<sup>6</sup> Annex 1

<sup>7</sup> Kumkapi is an old Armenian district in the European section of Istanbul. Migrant Armenians like other migrants (African and Asian) mostly prefer to live in this area where is easy to find inexpensive lodgings.

150 Armenians were asked four basic questions:

Questionnaire:

- Gender group
- Location in Armenia
- How they settled in Turkey
- Do they wish to return to Armenia or not

➤ **In-depth Interviews (50 Migrants)** *In-depth interviews were the main source for understanding the migrants` situation and problems. Being illegal workers they were afraid of speaking to anybody and the only way to get them to talk was to create a neutral and trustworthy envirmnt and, just likea friend, share their experinces and worries. 50 Armenians were interviewed face to face. Participants were selected by their age, gender, level of formal education, marital status, residence region in Armenia, period of entry.*

Questionnaire:

- Age group
- Gender group
- Field of business activities
- Educational background
- Marital status
- Location of residence in Armenia
- Date of entry
- Reasons for choosing Turkey
- Plans in Turkey (transit or settling for a long period)
- Average monthly income
- Method of settling in Turkey (illegal, short term visa, with TR ID, obtained by any means)
- Whether or not they have been or will be working in the same fields of business as in Armenia
- Whether or not their opinions on Turkey have changed after moving
- Problems with local Armenian and Turkish communities; if they closely interact with said communities
- In their estimation, the number of the Armenian migrants in Turkey

- Opinions on Turkey before they've moved to Turkey and changes in those opinions (if any)
- Relations and problems with Turkish people and native Armenians (if any)
- Expectations from Turkish Government
- Expectations from Armenian Government
- Future plans of the Armenians migrants

➤ **Focus Groups:** *Focus group studies were very important for discussing the problem with different people simultaneously and to observe/compare their reactions and answers when they are speaking publicly. With the help of the three focus group studies, participants determined and discussed migrant problems publicly for the first time. When we guaranteed not to publicize their names, we received plenty of new sources and ideas with which to understand the problem and draft new solutions. Focus group studies have been made in two different cities (Ankara and Istanbul) with three main focus groups.*

### ***1. Prominent reporters covering diplomatic and foreign affairs***

We tracked down journalists and columnists who prepare news and articles about Turkish-Armenian relations and especially on Armenian migration to Turkey. We invited journalists from different and well-known newspapers and agencies who belong to different political movements to gauge their ideas on the issue.

### **Focus group interview guide**

- What is the extent of media coverage on the issue of illegal Armenian immigrants?
- What is the degree of media objectivity when covering the issue?
- How do reporters collect information on this issue?
- What is the government's perspective on the issue of illegal Armenian immigrants?
- What is the basis for various numbers of Armenian immigrants (30,000, 60,000 or 70,000)? Can these numbers be confirmed?
- What should be the solution of the illegal Armenian immigrant issue?
- What is the media's role in arriving at a solution?

## 2. *Illegal Armenian workers*

Seven female and three male workers of different ages (30 - 50) and regions had been chosen for this focus group study. No voice recording was at the request of the participants. This allowed them to express themselves more freely. They answered our questions and argued with each other on various points, showing us the diversity of opinion that existed amongst them. In addition, it was very interesting that opinions differed widely amongst the male and female participants. This study helped us to see how they perceive the problem from a personal perspective.

### Focus Group Participants (Illegal Armenian Workers) – ISTANBUL

<b>A</b>	Lori	M	30
<b>B</b>	Shirak	F	35
<b>C</b>	Kotayk	F	30
<b>D</b>	Yerevan	F	40
<b>E</b>	Lori	F	34
<b>F</b>	Tavush	F	45
<b>G</b>	Shirak	M	42
<b>H</b>	Shirak	M	38
<b>I</b>	Syunik	F	50
<b>J</b>	Shirak	F	53

### **Focus group interview guide**

- Why did they choose Turkey for immigration?
- What are the main problems they face living in Turkey?
- How would they want to find solutions to their problems?
- Where are their families? How do they keep in touch?
- What are the consequences of living as an illegal immigrant? What are their concerns and fears?
- What do they think about returning to Armenia?
- How do they solve their medical and educational problems?
- What is the condition of non-adolescent children?
- What is the latest situation regarding immigration? Is there any increase or decrease? If there is, why?
- What are their expectations from the Turkish and Armenian governments?



### 3. *Employers of illegal Armenian workers*

Six female and five male employers of different ages (35 -50) and ethnicities (Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian) were selected for this focus group study. No voice recording was made at their request. This allowed them to speak more openly. Participants discussed problems of the migrants and attempted to come up with solutions that would help them to create a safe working environment for the migrants.

#### Focus Group Participants (Employers of Armenian Workers) – ISTANBUL

	Housewife	Turkish	42	F
<b>B</b>	Factory Director	Kurdish	55	M
<b>C</b>	Shop Owner	Turkish	39	M
<b>D</b>	Housewife	Turkish	48	F
<b>E</b>	Housewife	Armenian	45	F
<b>F</b>	Housewife	Armenian	50	F
<b>G</b>	Housewife	Armenian	49	F
<b>H</b>	Shop Owner	Turkish	32	M
<b>I</b>	Shop Owner	Armenian	37	M
<b>J</b>	Restaurant Manager	Kurdish	41	M
<b>K</b>	Shop Owner	Turkish	34	F

#### **Focus group interview guide**

- Why do they employ illegal Armenian workers?
- According to their observations, what are the problems these people face in Turkey?
- How can be these problems solved?
- In their opinion, do workers think of returning to Armenia?
- What is the latest situation regarding immigration? Is there any increase or decrease? If there is, why?
- What are their expectations from the Turkish and Armenian governments?

➤ **Experts:** *Meeting with experts gave us the chance to understand the viewpoints of different political parties and figures and to clarify the political, economical and legal problems of migrants.*

- ✓ *3 representatives of Turkish NGO's*
- ✓ *3 representatives of different political parties*
- ✓ *4 journalists*
- ✓ *5 businessman*
- ✓ *2 academicians, other researchers*
- ✓ *7 representatives of local Armenian community*

## **Desk Research**

As a preparation study before the main stage<sup>8</sup>, all the reliable data, studies or research<sup>9</sup> and articles published in the Turkish and international press<sup>10</sup> were collected and analyzed.

As a result of these studies we can point out some difficulties and opinions:

- There are very few sources<sup>11</sup> and information<sup>12</sup> about the problem of Armenian migrants in Turkey. This prevents us from knowing exactly:
  - ✓ Numbers<sup>13</sup>
  - ✓ Economic, politic, residency and legal situations<sup>14</sup>
- The issue of RoA (Republic of Armenia) citizens working in Turkey has never been discussed in the context of illegal labor in Turkey. The issue has always carried a political edge and has been viewed in terms of its significance for Turkish foreign policy.

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<sup>8</sup> In-depth interviews

<sup>9</sup> Annex 7

<sup>10</sup> Annex 5

<sup>11</sup> Prior research ( about general migration in Turkey) and some articles which have been published in Turkish and international media

<sup>12</sup> Even related institutions such ministries, social and governmental bodies and police can't provide any accurate information.

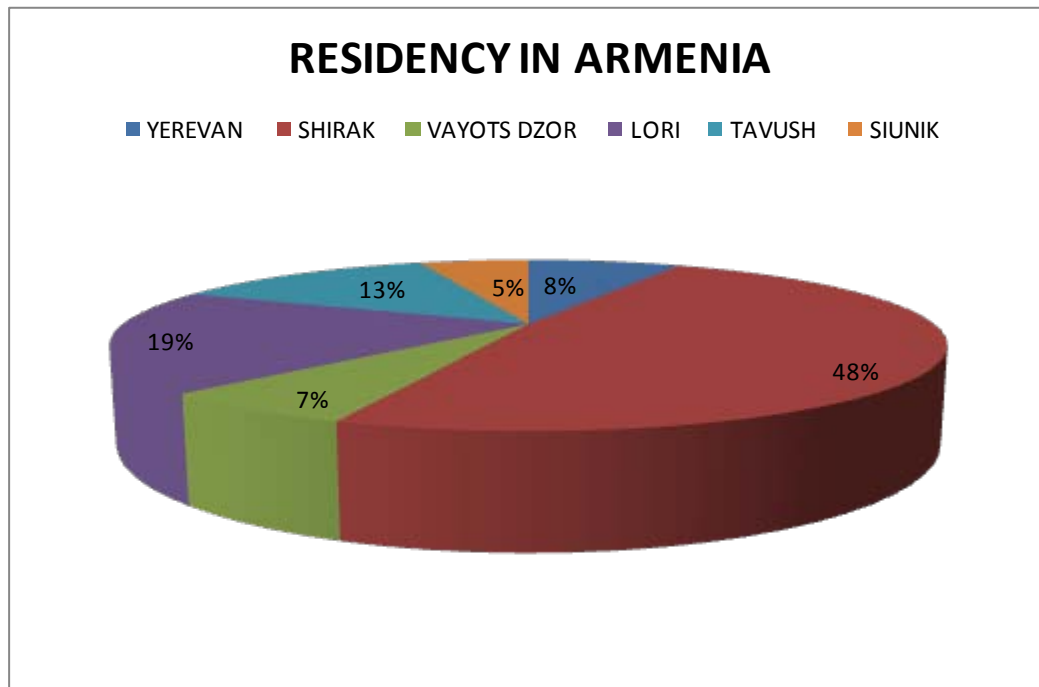
<sup>13</sup> An accurate number of Armenian migrants still does not exist. The 40,000 or 70,000 figures cited by the Turkish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister have no factual basis.

<sup>14</sup> According to Turkish legal definitions, illegal Armenian workers don't fit into any general categories. Almost all of the illegal Armenian workers first enter Turkey legally (They enter Turkey with a thirty days visa which is 15 dollars and sold in Istanbul Ataturk Airport and at the Georgia-Turkey border crossing. Thus, illegal Armenian workers are people who both stay and work illegally in Turkey.

- Absent official diplomatic relations between the two countries, there are no governmental means to obtain more in-depth knowledge about Armenian migrants in Turkey.
- Fear and anxiety of Armenian migrants and also the local Turkish-Armenian community make it more difficult to obtain information from the.
- Lack of specific policy regarding Armenian migration to Turkey

## Survey

**Chart 1: Residency Regions of Armenian Migrants in Armenia<sup>15</sup>**

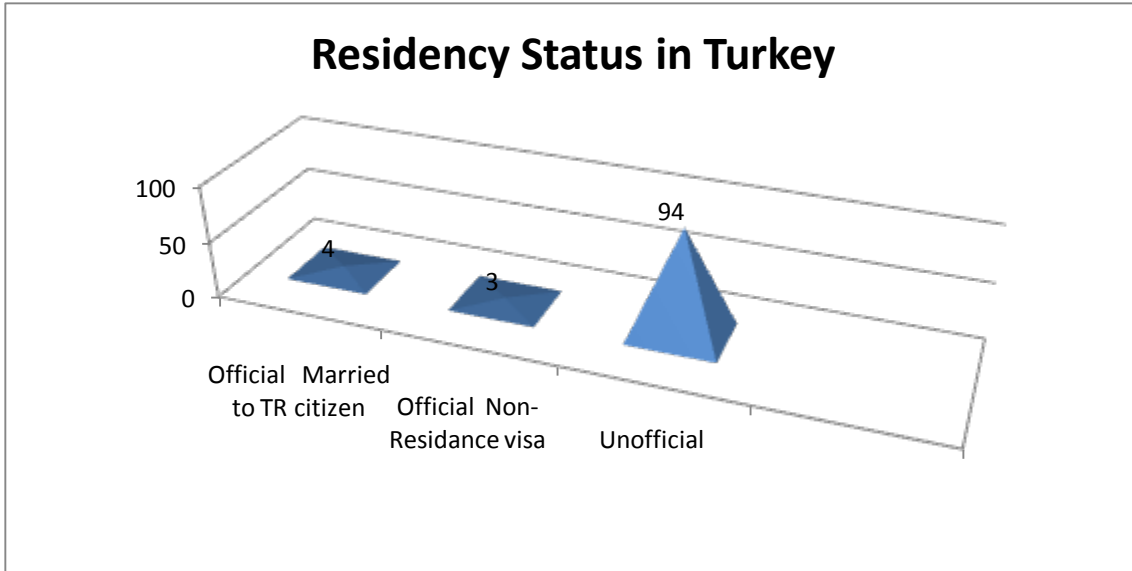


**Chart 2:**

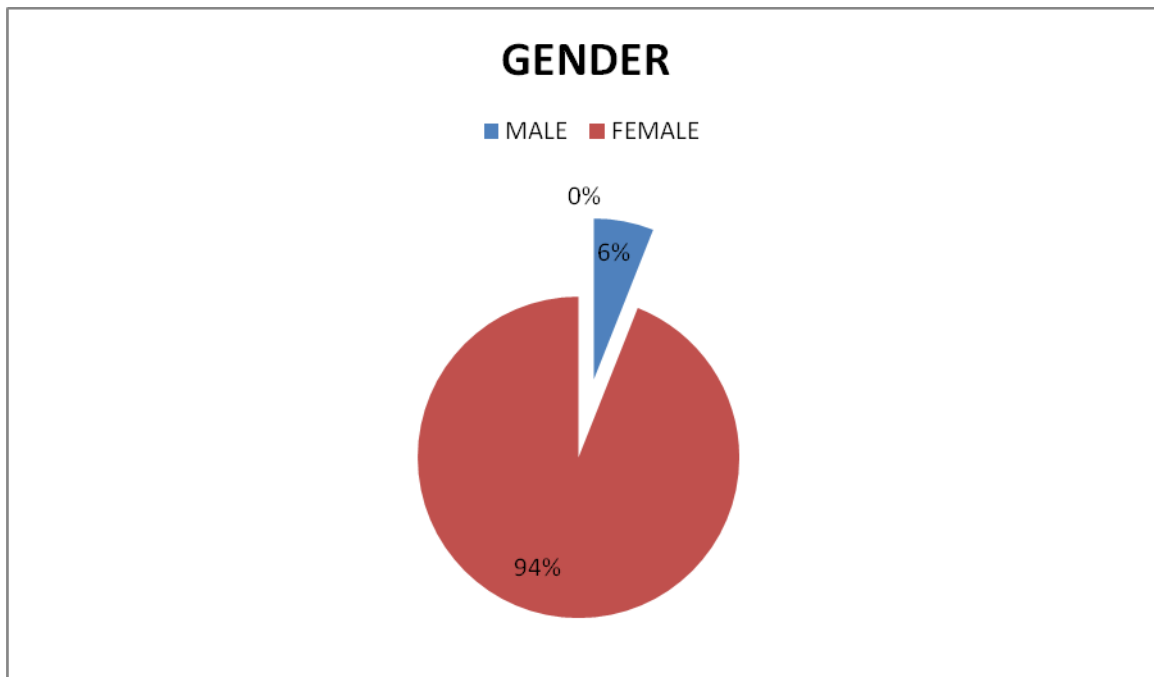
**Residency Status of Armenian Migrants in Turkey<sup>16</sup>**

<sup>15</sup> Source, Survey on Armenian Migrants, see Annex 1

<sup>16</sup> Source, Survey on Armenian Migrants, see Annex 1

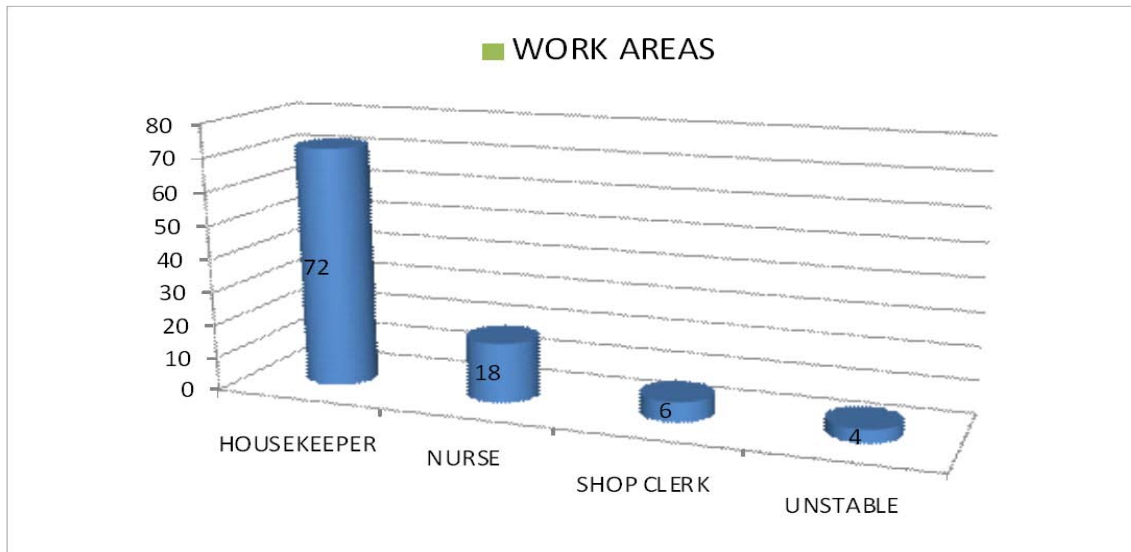


**Chart 3: Gender Diversity of Armenian Migrants in Turkey<sup>17</sup>**

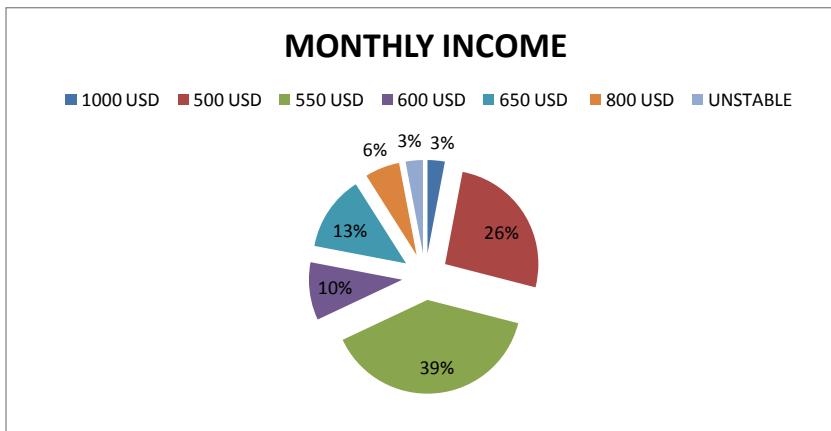


<sup>17</sup> Source, Survey on Armenian Migrants, see Annex 1

**Chart 4: Work Areas of Armenian Migrants in Turkey<sup>18</sup>**



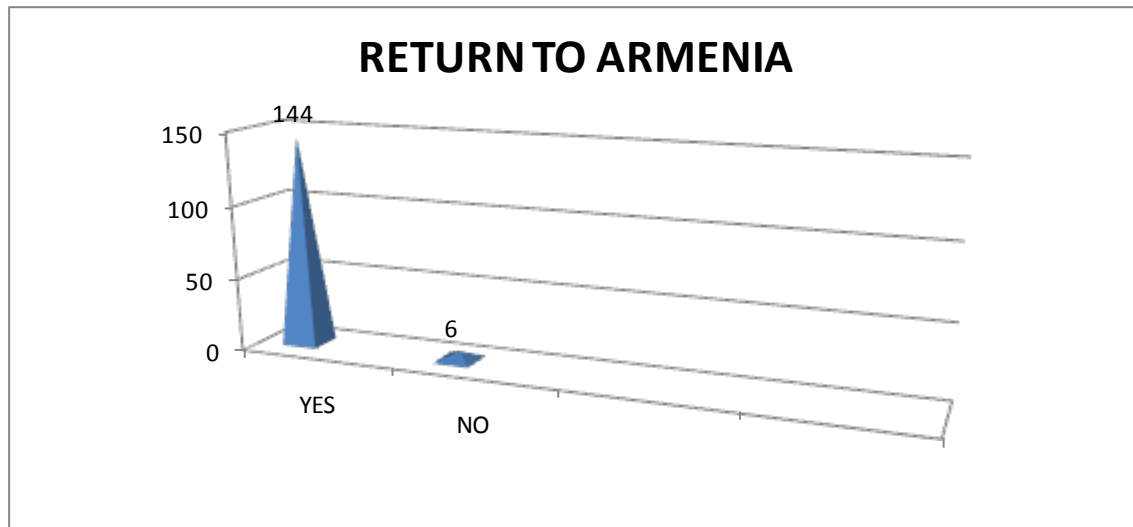
**Chart 5: Monthly Incomes of Armenian Migrants<sup>19</sup>**



<sup>18</sup> Source, Survey on Armenian Migrants, see Annex 1

<sup>19</sup> Source, Survey on Armenian Migrants, see Annex 1

**Chart 6: Request of Return to Armenia**



## **In-Depth Interviews and Focus Group Studies with Armenian Migrants**

### **Profiles of Armenian Migrants: Problems and Relations**

#### **Residency Status in Turkey**

- Immigration from Armenia to Turkey started after the independence of the Republic of Armenia in 1991 and continues today. Between 2002 and 2007, the extent of the immigration has increased. All of the illegal immigrants enter Turkey with a 30 days visa, which they purchase at border crossings or airports.

**G.Y. (Female, 32)** - *I have no residence permit. So I haven't left here for four years. Because when I leave I can never come back again.*<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Annex 2-Interview 10

**A.S. (Male, 65)** - *I don't have any permit. Frankly, I'm an illegal immigrant. When I first landed at Ataturk Airport, I got a daily visa and of course I've overstayed the deadline. It works this way - when I leave the country, I'll be fined 175 TL and I'll be banned from entering Turkey for as long as I stayed here illegally.*<sup>21</sup>

- After entering the country they become illegal workers and traveling back to Armenia becomes impossible for them. Some Armenian immigrants mentioned that persuading the border officials is not that hard. When immigrants want to go back to Armenia, they pay a \$100-\$150 bribe. Officials put a “Deport” seal (signifying the owner has been deported) on their passport and without being fined (due to the expiration of their visa) the immigrants can leave Turkey.
- When Armenian migrants want to come back to Turkey, they bring along a new passport with a new surname (changing it via marriage or divorce), obtain a 30 days visa and cross the border.

**S.M. (Female, 52)** - *For the first three years, I didn't go back to Armenia. I stayed here illegally with a four day visa. Then I missed my children and went back to Armenia. On the border they put a seal on my passport which meant I couldn't come back to Turkey anymore. Then I obtained a new passport under my maiden name. Now I'm using that passport. After my last entry I've never traveled back. This means I'm an illegal immigrant.*<sup>22</sup>

- A few Armenian migrants have married Turkish citizens or arranged bogus marriages in order to obtain Turkish citizenship. Most of these migrants hail from Yerevan.

**L.M. (Female, 32)** - *Ok, I'll tell you my secret. My boss found a Turkish man willing to enter into a fake marriage with me. So this marriage gives me the opportunity to receive residency and a work permit.*<sup>23</sup>

**I.H. (Female, 29)** - *My husband is a Turkish citizen. So after we got married I didn't become a Turkish citizen. But I have an ID, a residence permit and a work permit.*<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Annex 2-Interview 13

<sup>22</sup> Annex 2-Interview 6

<sup>23</sup> Annex 2-Interview 11

<sup>24</sup> Annex 2-Interview 12

- Living and working illegally causes lots of legal and psychological problems for the migrants. Armenian migrants claim they are granted special privileges and are confident that the Turkish government and local governmental bodies don't want to deport them.

***Z.A. (Female, 50)** - I'm afraid. The house where I live is in the Ferikoy district of Istanbul. There are lots of Armenian families living there and they all employ illegal Armenian immigrants. It means we're very much exposed. Also, the people we're working for are anxious about the possibility of the police finding out. I only leave the house in the morning and do the shopping. I haven't been going out at night for 8 years.<sup>25</sup>*

- According to the statements of Armenian migrants, they feel that the Turkish Government has no plans about deporting them. Police officers are quite aware where the Armenian migrants live but there are only a few instances when the police have come and arrested them. Mostly, migrants have been arrested for criminal activity, not invalid visas. A large segment of Turkish intellectuals also believe this to be the case.<sup>26</sup>

***H.A. (Female, 42)** - I'm not afraid of being caught by the cops while walking on the streets. If they want to find us, it's not so difficult. They already know where we live and work. I think they don't bother with catching us.<sup>27</sup>*

- This policy (to condone, not deport) can be explained in different ways. It may be a card to be played during Armenia-Turkey negotiations. Then again, it may be a manifestation of good and wise behavior from a neighbor country, or just a facet of the overall unmanageable and irregular migration problem of Turkey.

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<sup>25</sup> Annex 2-Interview 1

<sup>26</sup> Dr.Sedat Lachiner (International Strategic Research Organization) - *Do you really think that the Turkish government now wants to deport these people? If so, why isn't the government changing its visa regulation for Armenian citizens and still letting them in? By the way, the migration issue is a really very big problem for Turkey and it's hard to fight against it. But, as I said before, it's hard work to identify the illegal workers and deport them but there is an easier way - don't give them a visa...And this is not what the Turkish Republic is doing.*<sup>26</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Annex 2-Interview 9



### **Residency Regions of Armenian Migrants in Armenia**

- It's been noted that most of the illegal Armenian immigrants in Turkey come from the countryside of Armenia; especially those villagers whose homes were badly damaged by the 1988 earthquake (The epicenter of the quake was the village of Nalbant). Insufficient employment in this area is another significant immigration factor.

### **Residency Districts of Armenian Migrants in Turkey**

- Migrants generally live in Kumkapi district in Istanbul. Recently, illegal immigrants have started to live in other districts as well. According to interviews with natives of Kumkapi, both Turks and Armenians think they share similar moral values. Thus, native residents behave differently towards Armenian immigrants and Russian immigrants. According to the statement of a greengrocer who has a shop in Kumkapi district, he sees Armenian women as honest people who work to earn enough money to live. He wouldn't sell anything to other foreign women on credit, but he sells goods to Armenians on credit. He says that he trusts them.
- Generally, illegal workers reside in the houses where they are employed. Turkish-Armenians mostly live in the Ferikoy, Kadikoy, Bakirkoy and Yesilkoy districts. Workers in these cases face no major problems regarding accommodations. The same cannot be said of those workers who rent housing in the Kumkapi district. Here, living conditions are quite poor. In some homes, ten people share three rooms.
- Armenian migrants in Turkey mostly live and work in Istanbul. Some of them also work in Antalya or Alanya during the summer period as hotel staff, but they stay just for 3 or 4 months. There are also a tiny number in Trabzon, Kars and other eastern cities. It's very difficult to contact them because they hide their ethnic roots and identity.

### **Gender Diversity for Armenian Migrants in Turkey**

- Based on all the interviews, studies and comments, we can say that approximately 95% of all illegal Armenian workers in Turkey are women. Women prefer to work in Turkey, because most of the jobs that illegal workers can obtain are suitable (house cleaning, nursing, baby-sitting, etc.) It's interesting that most male Armenian immigrants don't work. They come to Turkey to stay with their wives and keep them safe.

**H.A. (Female, 42)** – *It's not that most of the illegal immigrants from Armenia are women; all of them are women. This is because women are fighters. Instead of accepting and cursing their fate and becoming alcoholics, like men they work. And I think it's healthier. But they also suffer. They become people who live empty lives while they're trying to have control of their lives.*<sup>28</sup>

- This migration process has also made women to review their marriages and examine the equality they share with their spouses.

**M.G. (Female 37)** - *Men have standards, I think. They don't tolerate being insulted or oppressed. They're men, you know. I have been working here for ten years. I haven't responded to any insults thrown my way. I earn a little money from my job and I don't want to lose it. Men start a fight over any insulting word. My husband is also the same...It's because we're easterners. But sometimes I want to ask - If he's a man and a tough person, then why does he let me work? Doesn't his manly pride suffer while I'm cleaning someone else's house?*<sup>29</sup>

### **Work Areas of Armenian Migrants in Turkey**

- As mentioned, job opportunities for illegal workers are very limited. We can note shoe and confection factories as suitable work areas for illegal immigrant workers, along with house-cleaning, baby-sitting, etc.
- Everyone mentioned that there are people who work as prostitutes. Understandably, very few respondents said that they were.

**L.M. (Female, 32)** - *Women can adapt to different circumstances better than men. Also there are more job opportunities that are suitable for women. Generally women work as house cleaners, nurses or baby sitters. These jobs are suitable for women not for men.*<sup>30</sup>

- According to the studies on illegal immigrant prostitutes, only a few Armenian women are involved. (It is said that Armenian women are not fit to compete). Thus, some Armenian women introduce themselves as Georgians. A prostitute from Georgia confessed that sometimes she introduces herself as an Armenian to Turkish clients because some prefer to have sex with Armenian women out of spite and revenge.

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<sup>28</sup> Annex 2-Interview 9

<sup>29</sup> Annex 2- Interview 4

<sup>30</sup> Annex 2-Interview 11

- There are some who work as clerks, sales representatives (given their knowledge of Russian, they can work in firms trading with Russian companies) or, very rarely, as translators. Some occasionally work as cleaners in Armenian schools or churches.

**H.A. (Female, 42)** - *Of course whomever you ask will tell you that they're working as a housemaid or nurse. But the reality is a bit different. There are prostitutes and thieves among us. Because of these kinds of people our name is tainted. Sometimes I refrain from stating my nationality. They say people look down on us. But we hear such stories that I can't characterize people as unjust for looking down on us.*<sup>31</sup>

### Education Level of Armenian Migrants

- 90% of the immigrants stated they were either college graduates or vocational high school graduates. (according to their statements, none has declared any documents) None of them are presently working in Turkey in the same field as they did in Armenia.
- Women who work in Turkey as house-maids or babysitters clearly stated that they did not do those jobs in Armenia, arguing that they have friends and family in Armenia and they would feel ashamed.

**A.B. (Female, 46)** – *I really wanted to work in Armenia a lot. But I couldn't work as a house maid there. I wouldn't... There's no shame in working, I know that. But I have got kids and I don't want them to hear words like "their mother is a cleaner, she is cleaning toilets". Almost everybody has a profession in Armenia, but not all the immigrants are college graduates, as they claim...I don't want to accuse everyone, but most of the people claim that they are either an engineer or a doctor. Then why do they work here? Does a doctor clean another person's window or door, like me? No. Also all well-educated people moved to other countries, like Russia, Europe or USA...Look, I came here to work. I'm in no position to criticize or judge people. But there are some events that piss me off. For example, one lady claims that she was a chief of a department in a hospital in Armenia and now she is baby-sitting in Turkey. Nonsense... And also people here believe them. Maybe they want to believe. Think about it; a chief of a department of a hospital cleans your floor.*<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Annex-interview 9

<sup>32</sup> Annex 2-Interview 2

### Monthly Income of Armenian Migrants

- The income of Armenian migrants range between 550 USD and 800 USD. Rarely, it may rise to 1000 USD. Factory workers receive the lowest income. While daily house cleaners earn 45 USD daily, house cleaners monthly earn between 550 USD and 650 USD.

**S.T. (Female, 53)** - *My monthly income is between 500 and 550 USD... People like us can't earn more money than this. It can hit a maximum 600 USD. Then too, if your bosses love you, they invite you to their summer house and buy you presents on religious festivities...*<sup>33</sup>

### Marital Status of Armenian Migrants

- It's hard to provide any specific information about the marital status of immigrants. Generally, they introduce themselves as widowed or divorced. Some of the married women have had no contact with their husbands since coming to Turkey. Thus, it's difficult to say anything precise on the subject.

**H.A. (Female, 42)** - *I came to Turkey in 2000 for the first time. ...I wanted to see if I could find a job here. I was a nursery school teacher, but I haven't worked after getting married. When I got here, they offered me a job. I started to work as an assistant in a rich family's house. I had problems with my husband so I decided to stay here. Also, we're kind of divorced at the moment....It was the most important factor. I didn't have the financial freedom to divorce my husband in Yerevan. I couldn't have rented a house for myself. My children were also newly married, so I couldn't have gone and stayed with them.*<sup>34</sup>

- Most of the illegal Armenian women workers are between 40 and 60 years old. The youngest are 20. The main concern of young women appears to be to find a husband or boyfriend and to get married.

**S.H. (Female, 32)** - *I came to Turkey in 2003. One of our neighbors in Yerevan was working in Turkey. One of his friends in Turkey had made a request of him... This Turkish-Armenian family had a son and they couldn't find a proper girl for him to marry. They said that the girl should be Armenian. So they asked our*

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<sup>33</sup> Annex 2-Interview 13

<sup>34</sup> Annex 2-Interview 9

*neighbor to find a proper bridal candidate for their son. Our neighbor was my mother's childhood friend. So he reminds me. They told me the story and tried to convince me. My father had passed away when I was very young. My brother had married. My mother had a lot of debts and also my brother's wife moved to our house. So I think, that by marrying me off, my mother wanted to lighten the household expenses. Then I accepted the offer.<sup>35</sup>*

### **Request of Return to Armenia**

- Almost all of the Armenian migrants are planning to return to their former homes. It's hard for them to make the return date definite. They say they are waiting for certain economic developments to occur in Armenia, but that it's difficult for them to describe those developments or predict when they will happen.

**A.B. (Female, 45)** - *Of course I plan to return to Armenia. But I have no idea about the future. Sometimes I think about it over and over for a few days and I get a great headache, so I don't want to think about it anymore....Our situation is a voluntary exile in one way, maybe not. Listen, I want to tell you something. I don't make any plans for my future any more.<sup>36</sup>*

**S.T. (Female, 52)** - *I don't know what the future will be. I hope it'll be better. I want to go back to Armenia. But like they say - to want is not enough to succeed.<sup>37</sup>*

- There are also a few migrants who are content and happy with their new lives in Istanbul. Most of them are married and have created a stable life in Turkey. They don't believe they could have done the same in Armenia.

### **Education Problems of Armenian Migrant Children**

- The situation of the children who were born in Turkey as a result of legal or illegal marriages, or who have come to Turkey at a very young age, is the most heartbreaking of subjects. When a child of an illegal Armenian couple is born in Turkey, the parents can't apply for their child's citizenship. Also, they can't go back to Armenia. Thus, the child

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<sup>35</sup> Annex 2-Interview 5

<sup>36</sup> Annex 2-Interview 2

<sup>37</sup> Annex2- Interview 3

can't get an Armenian passport either. In addition, these children can't go to any public school or Armenian community school.

- Most of these uneducated children spent their lives by playing on the streets. By spending most of their time unattended, they become more prone to adopting non-social behavioral traits and involvement in crime.
- It is said that some young Armenian adults organize lessons for these kids at the home of a friend or neighbor. However, since these lessons are usually of a temporary nature, the children do not benefit.

**M.G. (Female, 37)** - *I have thought it over a lot, but I just can't bring my children here. I don't want to turn them into illegal immigrants at such small age. They can't get any education here. Living here would damage them. I don't want to harm them. I want them to have a proper education. I don't want them to live a life like mine. For example, there are children who were born in here who can neither speak Armenian or Turkish properly. They spend all their times on the streets. If you go to Kumkapi you can see lots of them on the streets.*<sup>38</sup>

- Armenian migrants, who brought their young children to Turkey or who had kids in Turkey, sometimes can't tolerate the situation and are forced to return to Armenia.

**K.S. (Female, 39)** - *Of course, I will...My kid was born in here and he will have to go to school in a few years. So I will go back to Armenia when the time comes.*

### **Relationship with Non-Armenian Immigrants**

- As mentioned earlier, Armenian migrants mostly live in Kumkapi, Istanbul. Kumkapi is a haven for other migrants from Egypt, Africa or the Far East. In general, Armenian migrants prefer to associate with other Armenian migrants. They also create social groups according to the town and villages they hail from back in Armenia.
- In fact, migrants have little free time on their hands. Thus, they occasionally say they would rather not develop relationships with others or make close friends.

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<sup>38</sup> Annex 2-Interview 4

**M.G. (Female 37)** - *What do I do when I'm not working? Nothing in particular. I buy phone cards, call my mom and talk to her. I buy presents for my kids.*<sup>39</sup>

**G.A. (Female, 36)** - *In my spare time, I dream. I dream of the days that I'll go back to Armenia. I buy presents for my loved ones. Sometimes I write letters to them at night.*<sup>40</sup>

### **Relationship with Turkish- Armenians**

- We can easily say that the relationship between Armenian migrants and native Turkish-Armenians is bit complicated. It's no secret that native Armenians, who number 60,000 in Turkey, are in a position to easily find a work for Armenian migrants. However, due to personal fixations and cultural dissimilarities, their relations become problematic.

**S.M. (Female, 52)** – *Actually, the native Armenians are good people. They give us job opportunities. If it wasn't them, where would we be working? But it's a fact that they look down on us.*<sup>41</sup>

**A.B. (Female, 46)** - *Native Armenians are entirely a different subject. Everyone thinks that we have solidarity, but there's none. They look down on us. In their opinion we are peasants and we know nothing. But they don't know that we had television in our houses long before they did. What I'm trying to say is that while I'm working in this job today, no one can guess what his or her situation will be in the future. So we shouldn't overrate ourselves and look down on others.*<sup>42</sup>

- When immigrants first come to Turkey, they generally contact a Turkish-Armenian who gets them a job at their work place or house. Of course speaking the same language (also dialect differences create tension among the groups) and not needing to learn the local one makes the process that much more easy. But in some situations 'being an Armenian' is not sufficient basis to understand one another and to solve each other's problems. The diversity of inter-family relationships, education and incomes creates a huge chasm that precludes unified action.

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<sup>39</sup> Annex 2-Interview 4

<sup>40</sup> Annex 2-Interview 7

<sup>41</sup> Annex 2-Interview 6

<sup>42</sup> Annex2-Interview 2

**A.S. (Female, 65)** – *Migrants from Armenia in Turkey work for native Turkish-Armenians. Some employers treat their employees as they treat their guests. Also, there are some who don't want to employ any Armenian. Just like in Turkey, not all of the cities in Armenia are on the same level of development. Also there are great economical and cultural differences between villages and cities. Armenians who come here to work are from the countryside of the RoA. So they're only one face of Armenia. In Turkey, Turkish and Armenian people judge all those coming from the RoA based on these individuals. These people are rude and greedy. Natives make their decisions with these people in mind. But most of the Armenians in the RoA are city folk: they're well educated and intellectual. The thoughts of Turkish citizens regarding Armenians from the RoA make me feel sad, because these examples they see do not represent my homeland. But I understand the thoughts of the natives here due of the impression they have come away with after meeting Armenians from the RoA. When I see these people, I also feel ashamed to be an Armenian. It's immoral to say this, but there are some people amongst them whom I wouldn't welcome to my home.*<sup>43</sup>

- Some RoA migrants say that Turkish-Armenians do not treat them in the correct manner and that they look upon the migrants as “those others”. Migrants say that some Turkish-Armenians don't even hide their contempt and that such behavior really hurts the migrants who are in a foreign land far from family and home.

**H. (Female, 29)** - *Armenian employers like to suppress the migrants. If you ask them, they will tell you that they're giving us jobs and food. They are right, they do. But they shouldn't use it against us all the time. In the end, we're working to earn that money.*<sup>44</sup>

- Armenian employers said that they employ illegal Armenians to help out fellow Armenians in need. In addition, a few employers confessed that the migrants work for less wages and that this was another incentive to hire them. While some Armenian employers are happy to have someone in the house who talks Armenian with their children, others complain about not understanding eastern Armenian. (Native Turkish-Armenians speak western Armenian).
- According to employers, their workers mainly fear being deported and not having the proper permit to stay and work in Turkey legally. Also, some employers avoid hiring Armenian migrants because of the ones that have been involved in prostitution and

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<sup>43</sup> Annex2-Interview 13

<sup>44</sup> Annex2-Interview 12



criminal activities. Employers believe that instead of solving the problem, it has been politicized and used against Armenia as political leverage. Employers have a hard time estimating the true number of illegal Armenian immigrants. However, there are those who believe the figures of 30,000 or 70,000 are unrealistic and have been inflated for political purposes.

### **Relationship with Turks**

- Armenians and Turks only relate on a business level and it would appear that they like this arrangement. RoA migrants describe it as a `supply and demand` relation. The migrants frequently associate Armenians with Turks and do not hesitate to make such sweeping generalizations.

**A.B. (Female, 46)** – *Those Turks who don't care about politics have no problem with us. But sometimes cops and other civil servants behave in a hostile manner. We hear lots of things. Turkish-Armenians are entirely a different subject. Everyone thinks that we have solidarity, but there's none. They look down on us. In their opinion we are peasants and we know nothing. But they don't know that we had television in our houses long before they did. What I'm trying to say is that while I'm working in this job today, no one can guess what his or her situation will be in the future. So we shouldn't overrate ourselves and look down on others.*<sup>45</sup>

- In general, RoA migrants say that they feel more comfortable in the houses of Turks. In some way the character portrayed by a Turkish woman is more acceptable than a Turkish-Armenian woman. Migrants have found similarities with Turkish families that remind them of their own traditional Armenian family.

*“Turks [Turkish Women] are better than the Armenians [Istanbul Armenians]. They look after their families. They cook and serve meals to their husbands.”*

- Turkish employers state that they better communicate with Armenian women than with Russian or Moldavian women. They also note the cultural similarities between Turks and Armenians. In their opinion, Armenians are more honest, modest and have similar points of view on ethical subjects with Turks.

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<sup>45</sup> Annex2-Interview 2

## Concerns: Prior and Subsequent to Arriving

- Most of the Armenian immigrants mentioned that they had concerns before they came to Turkey. They even said that they were afraid. All of them say that their opinions on Turkey completely changed shortly after they arrived. This fact shows that there are some indirect benefits of this immigration phenomenon. This face-to-face communication between the people from Armenia and Turkey (apart from politicians, academicians, students, intellectuals and the people from higher social classes) has the potential to create a basis for dialog between the two nations. Of course, the long-term continuity of this process is dependent on whether it has positive or negative connotations in the short-run.

**A.B. (Female, 46)** - *I was feeling distressed about going to a foreign country where I wouldn't know anyone. Sometimes I still feel surprised that I dared to come here. Also, uncertainties were another problem –what would I do, where would I work and what would be the reaction of the Turkish people if they found out I was Armenian? I knew that they didn't like us.*<sup>46</sup>

- All the immigrants said that after the assassination of Hrant Dink their concerns and fears have increased. They say that prior to the murder of Dink their only fear was being deported but now they say that they're afraid of being killed. Most said that they are considering moving back to Armenia.

**S.T. (Female, 52)** - *Of course I had worries, but not many. I had seen Istanbul before. My husband's relatives had been living in Istanbul and I depended on them. I believed that if I had problems, they would help out. A person sees the reality of their situation when one is alone. When you're in a difficult situation, you can't mention it to anyone. You hesitate to speak. Before leaving Armenia I had many worries, but only a few were realized. I had thought that I would be afraid of meeting Turks, but I wasn't.*<sup>47</sup>

- RoA migrants say they feel very uncomfortable when they hear political arguments and start to think about being deported.

**G.A. (Female, 36)** - *For example when Armenian Genocide resolutions – I don't even understand them completely – are passed in foreign parliaments, the native Armenians start to blame us. They say, "You live in Armenia peacefully. You have no problem. What will we do if they attack our churches, our schools?" What can I*

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<sup>46</sup> Annex 2-Interview 2

<sup>47</sup> Annex 2-Interview 3

*do? It's as if I'm responsible for those resolutions. Yet I'm in danger more than they are. At least they're citizens of this country, regardless of them being Armenian. What would I do if cops take me? Political incidents affect us directly. We start to worry after such political events happen. Everyone thinks that they will deport us. After Dink's murder it was a very critical time for us. We thought that it would affect us.*<sup>48</sup>

**M. G. (Female, 38)** - *Of course I experience difficulties. I work for seven different families at the moment. Two of my bosses are Turkish, five are Armenian. Each of them behaves differently. For example, the mother of one of my bosses is from Kayseri. She always cooks "manti" (a ravioli-like dish served with yoghurt and garlic) for me. But the other Turkish boss criticizes me about the political situation between Armenia and Turkey. He always says, "We give you people jobs and money, but you are always ungrateful. You talk about genocide all the time. If your president knows that much, he should find a way to feed you first. He shouldn't let you need my help." I feel very bad. I curse my fate. You're already working in a foreign country, away from everything. You can't find any solution to your problems. You are desperate and the people you work know it and use it against you. He talks politics with me. I'm not the person who can help him solve his problems. He vents his irritation on me.*<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Annex 2-Interview 7

<sup>49</sup> Annex 2-Interview 14

## *Focus Groups and Experts*

Political conflicts between Turkey and Armenia (Karabakh conflict, closed borders, Genocide, murder of Hrant Dink) negatively impact migrants, making them more fearful and passive in their actions.

By living and working in Turkey, RoA migrants gradually break down existing stereotypes of the “terrible Turk”.

All the reporters who had written extensively on the issue had scant information regarding “The problem of illegal Armenian workers”. It is understood that this issue has generally been covered in the media in a superficial and political manner. The most interesting discovery on this subject is that the issue of illegal Armenian workers usually garners media attention when political tensions flare between Armenia and Turkey. Otherwise, it’s never mentioned. The most important problem between Armenia and Turkey are the Armenian Genocide resolutions discussed in the parliaments of other countries.<sup>50</sup>

How the issue of illegal Armenian workers is viewed in Turkey is a matter of some debate and uncertainty. At first glance, the issue seems to be part of the overall domestic “foreign illegal workers” problem. This problem has been politicized, particularly of late. Instead of searching for a solution to the problem, what has dominated is a perspective that sees this problem as convenient leverage or a symbolic warning to the Armenian government, to be raised when appropriate.

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<sup>50</sup> *Journalists and researchers also want to obtain factual information for use in their studies.*

## **Recommendations**

Over the fall and winter of 2009, Artak Shakaryan, EPF Armenia-Turkey Program Manager made presentations of the research findings to a number of stakeholder institutions and expert groups in Armenia (including Ministry of Social Affairs, IOM, USAID, and media). In February 2010, Artak Shakaryan and Alin Ozinian presented the research findings to groups of stakeholders in Istanbul and Ankara, Turkey. Some of the most important recommendations that the presenters received in Armenia and Turkey includes the following:

- To conduct a smaller-scale sociological research on returnees, as upon return from Turkey to Armenia they may say things they wouldn't dare to say while in Turkey.
- To conduct an in-depth desk research of the whole set of Turkish policies and procedures regulating migration issues. Among the most important questions to get an answer to are these:
  - Do these policies segregate people on ethnic-national criteria?
  - Does the Turkish legislation provide rights to Armenian (and other) migrants but they are still afraid to get in contact with authorities?
  - What rights do the children of irregular migrants have in Turkey<sup>51</sup>? Do they have a right to education in Turkish public and/or private educational entities or educational entities that belong to minorities (e.g. local Armenian minority in Istanbul)? If yes, why do the Armenian migrants avoid from sending their children to Turkish educational entities? If not, what might be the role of the local Armenian community in Istanbul and/or the Armenian Church in managing the issue?
  - Does Turkey have an experience of “amnesty” for irregular migrants? If yes, have ever been an Armenian irregular migrant(s) amnestied?
- Given the fact that the majority of Armenian irregular migrants in Turkey are women, the research on the (potential) role of women shelters and women organizations in Turkey in helping Armenian women might be explored.

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<sup>51</sup> One of the participants at the presentation at TEPAV in Ankara argued that Turkey was a signatory under the UN's International Convention on Children's Rights, which means that Turkish authorities now cannot prevent children of irregular/illegal migrants from access to Turkish educational entities. However, the process of registering the children of irregular migrants in a school/college will necessarily imply the exposure of his/her parents to the Turkish migration authorities, which creates a vicious circle

## **ANNEX 1**

### **Survey on 150 Armenians**

<b>P</b>	<b>Location in RA</b>	<b>Residency Status</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Return to RA</b>	<b>Monthly Income</b>
1.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
2.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
3.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
4.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
5.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
6.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
7.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
8.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
9.	YEREVAN	OFFICIAL Married to TR citizen	F	YES	1000 USD
10.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
11.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
12.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
13.	SIUNIK	OFFICIAL non-residence visa	F	YES	550 USD
14.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
15.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	NO	550 USD
16.	YEREVAN	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
17.	YEREVAN	OFFICIAL Married to TR citizen	F	YES	1000 USD
18.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
19.	YEREVAN	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
20.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
21.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
22.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
23.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
24.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
25.	SIUNIK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD

26.	SIUNIK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
27.	YEREVAN	OFFICIAL Married to TR citizen	F	YES	550 USD
28.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
29.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
30.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
31.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	NO	500 USD
32.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
33.	YEREVAN	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
34.	SHIRAK	OFFICIAL	F	YES	1000 USD
35.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
36.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
37.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
38.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
39.	YEREVAN	UNOFFICIAL	M	YES	550 USD
40.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
41.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
42.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
43.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
44.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
45.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
46.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	NO	1000 USD
47.	SHIRAK	OFFICIAL non-residence visa	F	YES	800 USD
48.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
49.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
50.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	M	YES	500 USD
51.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
52.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
53.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
54.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
55.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	M	YES	600 USD
56.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	M	YES	550 USD
57.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	M	NO	800 USD
58.	YEREVAN	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
59.	SIUNIK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD

60.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
61.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
62.	YEREVAN	OFFICAL Married to TR citizen	F	YES	1000 USD
63.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
64.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
65.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
66.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
67.	SIUNIK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
68.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	UNSTABLE
69.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
70.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
71.	SHIRAK	OFFICAL non-residence visa	F	YES	550 USD
72.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
73.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
74.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	UNSTABLE
75.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
76.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
77.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	600 USD
78.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
79.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
80.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	M	YES	500 USD
81.	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	M	YES	500 USD
82.	SIUNIK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
83.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
84.	VAYOTS DZOR	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
85.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
86.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
87.	YEREVAN	OFFICAL non -residence visa	F	YES	550 USD
88.	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
89.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
90.	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
91.	SIUNIK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD



<b>92.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	UNSTABLE
<b>93.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
<b>94.</b>	SIUNIK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
<b>95.</b>	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
<b>96.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>97.</b>	SHIRAK	OFFICIAL Married to TR citizen	F	YES	550 USD
<b>98.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>99.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>100.</b>	SIUNIK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>101.</b>	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	M	YES	500 USD
<b>102.</b>	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
<b>103.</b>	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
<b>104.</b>	TAVUSH	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>105.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>106.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>107.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>108.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>109.</b>	GEO.JAVAKHQ	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>110.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>111.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
<b>112.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	800 USD
<b>113.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
<b>114.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
<b>115.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	NO	650 USD
<b>116.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	NO	650 USD
<b>117.</b>	GEO.JAVAKHQ	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>118.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>119.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>120.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
<b>121.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
<b>122.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>123.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>124.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>125.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>126.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD

<b>127.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	UNSTABLE
<b>128.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	650 USD
<b>129.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>130.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>131.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>132.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>133.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>134.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>135.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>136.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>137.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>138.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	UNSTABLE
<b>139.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>140.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>141.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>142.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	500 USD
<b>143.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>144.</b>	GEO.JAVAKHQ	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>145.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>146.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>147.</b>	SHIRAK	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>148.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>149.</b>	LORI	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD
<b>150.</b>	GEO.JAVAKHQ	UNOFFICIAL	F	YES	550 USD

## **ANNEX 2.**

### **Selected interviews with Armenian migrants (transcripts)**

#### **INTERVIEW 1**

**Name: Z. A.**

**Year of Birth: 1959**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: Vocational High School of Nursing**

**Marital Status: Widow with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 2000**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 650 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My Name is Z. A. I'm 50 years old. I'm a nurse. I've been working in Istanbul for eight years. I'm from the city of Echmiazin. I've got two kids, my son is married and I've got two grandchildren.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Istanbul in 1999 for the first time. I was unemployed in Armenia and unable to find any job in any hospital. Also there was no opportunity of housework in Echmiazin. One of my neighbors was working in Istanbul and we were having conversations when she was visiting Armenia. She was working as a housemaid for a rich family and also they were providing accommodation for her. In Armenia she could have never earned as much as she was earning in Istanbul. One day, she suggested me to go to Turkey and work there as a nurse. After she left I considered this suggestion for some time. In those days, my son also wanted to marry and we had already lost my husband long ago. I decided to work in Turkey for my children's benefit and came to Istanbul.

**- Why didn't you want to work in Armenia?**

Why wouldn't I? I wanted it too much. But I couldn't find any job in hospitals. Whether I found a job, the minimum salary was too low. I could never earn this much money there.

**- What is your monthly income?**

I earn 650 USD a month. But my salary is one of the highest. Because I've been working in the same house for 8 years and my job is very hard. Also my boss loves and trusts me.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

There was an old couple where I worked in Turkey for the first time. The lady's health was good, but the old man wasn't in such good shape; he was paralyzed. In the beginning I was helping the lady of the house, nursing his husband and cleaning the house. After a while, the lady got sick, too. Their kids became my boss after then. Now I'm doing all the works in the house and nursing the couple by myself.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn enough money by doing this same job in Armenia?**

Now look, I wouldn't have done this same job in Armenia. I wouldn't want to do it. One would be reluctant to do this kind of job where he/she has relatives. Maybe it's not a proper way to think, I don't want to argue, but this is how I feel. Believe me, I only use 100 USD of my monthly salary, I sent the rest to my son and daughter who are married. I don't want my grandkids to live any poverty. We had had really hard times, Soviet Union has come to an end and the system has collapsed. Before then, everyone had a salary and it was always enough to live. Then everything collapsed. In one night the money you have in your bank account became nothing. People sold their houses to buy a ticket to USA. Then happened the earthquake and the war in Karabagh.

Sometimes I think that, it is better for my kids that I work here out of sight and support them. That's all I can do and there's nothing more. I'm working in a country which declared us as enemy and also which is an enemy for us. So what can I do more than this?

**- Well, what about your life?**

Sometimes one should suffer for others' good. I should do this sacrifice for my kids. Maybe if my husband was alive, he wouldn't let this happen. But it's better this way for everyone.

**- What were your thoughts, before you came to Turkey in 1999? Did you have any fear or worries?**

At first I was really afraid. But when I see people traveling forth and back, I decided that there's nothing to be afraid. There was no incident that I had heard of. But of course I have had worries.

**- What kind of worries did you have?**

I didn't know Turkish people. I did know that they were talking against Armenian people in a hostile manner - there are already such words in hostile manner - and I was scared. If I say that I didn't worry about how I will live along with that people, it would be lie. But when I came to Turkey, I saw that the Turkish people don't care about politics that much.

**- What is your opinion on manners of Turkish people and native Armenian people, against Armenian immigrants in Turkey?**

You know the attitude of Turkish people. The ordinary people have no problem with us, but when there's a political tension with Armenia, government uses us as leverage. The manners native Armenians against us are a bit different. Let us leave this subject aside.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

More or less the aim is the same; earning money... But the reasons differ from one another. Some came here to collect enough money for their kids' education, some to buy a house in Armenia or to pay their debts.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

In the beginning, I had had a 10 day visa. I've never left this country since then. So, no, I don't have a residence permit. I'm an illegal immigrant.

**- Are you afraid of being caught? Do you have any difficulties?**

Of course I'm afraid. The house I live in is in Ferikoy district of Istanbul. There're lots of Armenian families living in there and they all have illegal Armenian immigrant employees. It means we're very much exposed. Also the people we're working for are distressed due to the possibility of being informed to the police. I only leave the house in the morning and do the shopping. I haven't been going out after evening hours for 8 years.

**- What do you do when police asks for your id or any other documents?**

They don't, they can't, because I don't walk around. A complaint would change everything and police would come to house. But I hope that kind of thing never happens.

**- What about your relationship with the Turkish and native Armenian people?**

I've no problem with anybody. But it's a fact that people like me don't involve in the society. The Turkish people I have communication with are merchants, like grocer, greengrocer, dry-cleaner, etc. They only care about trade. So what can happen? Won't they sell me goods due to my nationality?

Sometimes our Turkish neighbors tell something like, "Look, how hospitable and kind people we are. If it weren't us your situation would be worse". When they talk like this, I feel ashamed and guilty, like I put my own country down; put her down in another country. But once there was luxury in my country, too. We were living in comfort. Today there are also people who have a stable job and live comfortably. But I and people like me have had lots of troubles.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

Of course I will return to Armenia. I've always considered my life in Turkey as a temporary period. I have got children and grandchildren in Armenia and I want to live with them. Probably after moving back to Armenia I won't work anymore, I will stay at home.

**- Maybe then your kids would take care of you...**

If they can find a job, why not?

**- Are they unemployed now?**

Yes, they're unemployed. I send them the money.

**- Although they're unemployed they got married and gave birth to children... Is there really no job for them?**

Unfortunately, you're right. Youngsters want to get married and have a child, and I support them. They can find a job, but my son wants to do his own profession. He is a jeweler and he needs money to do that job. And the money I send isn't enough for him to do his job.

**- And he gets angry and stays at home?**

These matters are very difficult. I don't know what to say. Actually you're right; he can go and find a job. I came to a different country to do whatever I can. But youngsters are more obstinate.

## **INTERVIEW 2**

**Name: A. B.**

**Year of Birth: 1963**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: High School**

**Marital Status: Married with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 2000**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 650 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is A.B. I'm 46 years old. I have been working in Istanbul for nine years. I'm from city of Gyumri. I have got two kids and I'm married.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Istanbul in 1996 for the first time. I wasn't working in Armenia then. But I needed a job and I was unemployed. There were limited jobs I could do, but I wouldn't want to do that kind of jobs in Armenia.

**- What kind of jobs were they?**

House cleaning, nursing, baby sitting...

**- Do you think the reason of these difficulties you've been living is related with your lack of education?**

The problems were not related with me in person. Everyone has the same problems. But some has easily survived, and the others like me still struggle to survive.

**- Why didn't you want to work in Armenia? Is it also too hard to find a job there, for the college graduates?**

I would want to work there too much. But I couldn't work as a house maid there. I wouldn't... There's no shame in working, I know that. But I have got kids and I don't want them to hear words like "their mother is a cleaner, she is cleaning toilets".

Almost everybody has a profession in Armenia, but not all the immigrants are college graduates, as they claim.

**- They are lying, you mean.**

I don't want to accuse everyone, but most of the people claim that they are either an engineer or a doctor. Then why do they work here? Does a doctor clean another person's window or door, like me? No. Also all well-educated people moved to other countries, like Russia, Europe or USA.

Look, I came here to work. I'm in no position to criticize or judge people. But there are some events that piss me off. Such as: One claims that she was a chief of a department in a hospital in Armenia and she is baby-sitting in Turkey now. Nonsense... And also people in here believe them. Maybe they want to believe. Think about it; a chief of a department of a hospital cleans your floor.

**- What is your monthly income?**

I earn between 450 and 500 USD a month. 2 years ago, I had left the house I was working and started to work in a new place. I had had problems with the lady I was working for. When I was offered a new job, I left there. It's not easy to be insulted. Don't underestimate the work we're doing. It's not as easy as it seems to be.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

The first job I've had in Turkey was house cleaning. My responsibility was cleaning the house, washing the dishes, washing the clothes, ironing, etc. In the first few years, it was ok. Also we had left Armenia in such haste and we were ready to do anything to earn money. In the meantime they've noticed our despair and tried to use us. Then problems started...

**- You mean they have taken advantage of you?**

Yes.

**- Would you give us some details, please?**

There were lots of work in the house and sometimes I was unable to finish them all. Their kids and friends were visiting the house frequently. They had all kind of technology in the house, but my boss ordered me to wash the dishes with my hands, using the dishwasher was forbidden. Lots of this kind of nonsense rules... I couldn't object to her. She was my boss. I should have done whatever she orders. But you feel offended, you know. You curse your fate.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn enough money by doing this same job in Armenia?**

Maybe I could. But as I mentioned before, I wouldn't want to do the same job there. Also I don't have any expense, here. I've been sending all my income to my family.

**- Your family?**

To my mother... My mother is looking after my children.

**- What about your husband? You said that you were married.**

Yes, we're officially married, but I don't want to talk about it. That bond has no good for both of us. I think, this answers your question.

**- Instead of working, what about your life? What do you do in your spare time?**

Nothing... I have only one free day. I visit my friends. As you know, most of the illegal immigrants are living in small houses with 10 to 15 people in Kumkapi district. When I see them, I thank to God for my situation.

Besides, when I went to bed, I always wonder when this way of living will end, where my and our life are heading.



**- What were your thoughts, before you came to Turkey in 1996? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Of course, I had got worries. It continued after coming here and also I have got worries today.

**- What kind of worries did you have?**

I was feeling distressed due to going to a foreign country where I don't know anyone. Sometimes I still feel surprised that I dared to come here. Also uncertainties were another problematic factor; like what I'd do, where I'd work, what the reaction of the Turkish people would be if they have recognized that I were an Armenian – I knew that they didn't like us.

**- What is your opinion on manners of Turkish people and native Armenian people against Armenian citizens living in Turkey?**

Turkish people, who don't care about politics, have no problem with us. But sometimes cops and other civil servants behave in a hostile manner. We heat lots of things. Native Armenians are entirely a different subject. Everyone thinks that we have solidarity, but there's none. They look down on us. In their opinion we are peasants and we know nothing. But they don't know that we had had television in our houses long before they had one. What I'm trying to say is: I'm working in this job today. But no one can guess what his or her situation will be in the future. So we shouldn't overestimate ourselves and look down on others.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

The only aim is earning money. Some do it in proper ways like I do, some don't.

**- What kind of improper ways are you talking about?**

Prostitution, burglary, swindling...

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

No, I don't have any permit. Before I came here, I had taken a visa for 30 days. That's all. I'm an illegal immigrant like all others.

**- Are you afraid of being caught? Do you live any difficulties?**

Of course I'm afraid. So I don't leave the house that often, only in between specific hours. My bosses are afraid of being informed to police by their neighbors. And they are using it against me. They always mention the risks they're taking. So it affects our salaries. We're aware of all, but we can't say a word. Sometimes I hope that police takes me and all this trouble comes to an end. But then I try to calm myself.

**- What do you do when police asks for your ID or any other documents?**

It never happened to me until now and I hope it will never happen.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

Of course I plan to return to Armenia. But I have no idea about the future. Sometimes I think about it over and over for a few days and I get a great headache, so I don't want to think about it any more.

Our situation is a volunteered exile in one way or maybe not. Listen, I want to tell you something. I don't do any plans for my future any more.

### **INTERVIEW 3**

**Name: S. T.**

**Year of Birth: 1957**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: High School**

**Marital Status: Married with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 1995**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 650-700 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is S.T. I'm 52 years old. I've been working in Istanbul for seven years. I'm from city of Erivan. I'm married. My husband is very sick. He is bedridden. I've got two kids. And I've no bachelor's degree.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Istanbul to visit my relatives in 1995. Our financial status was very bad. They were my husband's relatives and I came here to want some help. They helped us a bit but not very willingly. They were always suggesting that I should have worked. But I wasn't a person who would do that kind of jobs. Before then, my husband had been working in a shoe factory and our financial status was very good. In the 80s he had had very hard and stressful times and within a few years he became sick and unable to work. It became my duty to look after my husband and our children. I don't have any bachelor degree, so there were very few jobs available for me in Erivan. Maybe it sounds absurd, but I was worrying about my friends' and relatives' thoughts. One worries about others' opinions whether he/she is in such bad situation. Yet it's very wrong.

**- Do you regret having come to Turkey?**

No, I don't. Because I had to... But if you ask if I would want everything to happen in a different way, my answer is: yes. Of course I would want to stay at my homeland. At this age it's harder, you know. You're working for the people who are at the same age as your children. There's no respect...

**- Do you have difficulties at your work places? Do people look down on you?**

I have difficulties all the time, but it's a personal thing.

**- Would you give us some details?**

I'm far away from everything. From the city I was born, from my home, from my children... My grandchildren were born and I could have seen them only once. I miss everything. For example I miss the yoghurt of my homeland. When I have dinner, if there's yoghurt on the table, tears start to well in my eyes. People in the house have fun of me. They say: "What about the yoghurt in Armenia. This yoghurt tastes better." Maybe... Maybe Armenian yoghurt is really crap, but I like it.

**- What kind of jobs have you been doing in Turkey?**

House cleaning, nursing, baby sitting...

**- Would you give us some details?**

In my first few years in Turkey, I have worked for a newly wed couple. The lady was pregnant, they were waiting a baby. After the birth I'd be the baby sitter. The lady of the house was a very good person. In a few months she gave birth to a baby and we start taking care of the baby together. Her husband was also a very good person. They never treated me like a house maid. I was like a member of their family and believe me I treat the baby as my own grandchild. Then, I don't know if I've passed my own bad luck to the family, the landlord's business has taken a downward turn. They even sold their house and they had to dismiss me. We were all too sad while I was leaving them. I have worked there three years. After that incident I even started to think about going back to Armenia. But, I couldn't. I needed to work. I've started to work for another family, but only for three months. Then for another family and then for another... Now I'm working for a family whose members are very good people. They never look down on me.

**- Have you been working for only native Armenian families all this time or have you worked for any Turkish family?**

I've taken care of an old Turkish lady for only five months. She passed away.

**- What are the differences between Armenian and Turkish people as an employer?**

I haven't been treated badly by Turkish people. But when you're doing these kinds of jobs, people look down on you; they don't see you as a human being. For them, you are just a house maid, nurse or a gardener. For them that's your only characteristic.

**- What is your monthly salary?**

Between 500 and 550 USD... People like us can't earn more money than this. It can be maximum 600 USD. And also if your bosses love you, they'd take you to their summer house with them and buy presents on religious festivities.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

Actually it's a bit complicated. You start to work as a baby sitter. But then lady of the house orders you to clean the floors. Then she orders you to clean doors and windows. Sometimes you have arguments with them and they fire you. You can do nothing, because you're an illegal immigrant.

**- What kind of disadvantages do you live due to working as an illegal immigrant?**

All kind of... When you try to defend your rights, they start to threaten you. They don't threaten you openly, but they always imply it.

**- Would you give us some details, please?**

For example, one of my landlords fired me without paying my last two months' salary. I told them that they were acting unjustly. It's ok to be fired, if they didn't like my work. But I worked there for two months. I got angry. Maybe 1000 USD is not too much for them, but it's for me. Then they implied that they would inform the Immigration Office about me. I left the house immediately.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn the same money by doing this same job in Armenia?**

Maybe it wouldn't. But it's better to do some jobs away from your home.

**-Instead of working, what about your life? What do you do in your spare time?**

Not much... On my free days I go shopping, buy presents for my daughters and grandchildren. I write letters and send them.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 2000? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Of course I had worries, but not much. I had seen Istanbul before. Also my husband's relatives had been living in Istanbul. I was depending on them. I was thinking that if I have lived any trouble, they would

have helped me here. One sees the reality of his/her situation when he/she is alone. When you're in a difficult situation, you can't tell it to anyone. You hesitate to say. Before leaving Armenia I had had more worries, but very least of them has happened. I had believed that, meeting Turkish people would be too fearful, but it wasn't.

**- What kinds of worries did you have?**

Actually I don't remember. I wasn't worried that much. I think I had had no expectations. I came here blindfolded. I had had nothing to lose; only my children... The only thing I can do for them is sending money, now.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

I think it's not because they love Turkey. They come here to earn money. Also some comes here to marry and save their lives. I know some in person.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

I have no legal documents. As I've mentioned before, I'm an illegal immigrant.

**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

When I was new in Turkey, yes... But I'm not afraid anymore. I think police knows who to catch, so they don't disturb us. I think they ignore us. They know we are trying to earn money in an honest way. But if you do some other kind of things, they would catch you.

**- What kind of things?**

Illegal things, you know... Smuggling, etc... Though they take bribe from them. So, honest people like me are not being disturbed by the police. It looks like, they let us do our jobs.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

I don't know how the future will be. I hope it'll be better. I want to go back to Armenia. But as it's said: "To want is not enough to succeed."

## **INTERVIEW 4**

**Name: M. G.**

**Year of Birth: 1972**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: High School**

**Marital Status: Married with 3 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 1999**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 500-550 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is M.G. I'm 37 years old. I have been working in Istanbul for ten years. I'm from the city of Icevan. I'm married. My husband works here, too. We have got three children. My mother-in-law is taking care of them. I don't have a bachelor degree.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Istanbul in 1997 for the first time. Exactly ten years have passed. I was 26 – 27 years old then. My children were very young. What brought me here? Poverty brought me here indeed. Despair... My mother-in-law said that I could do house cleaning, baby sitting, etc. in Turkey; one of her relatives had done the same. She said that in Turkey there were good Armenian families who would give me job. My mother-in-law forced me to come to Turkey. I didn't want it that much?

**- Why?**

My husband stayed in Armenia. My children were too young. I didn't want to leave them. Who wants to leave their babies alone? My mother-in-law forced me too much. She said that I would come to Turkey, work for a few years and then return to Armenia. So I came here. I wonder if she would force me that much, if I were her own daughter. I don't think so. My mother cried a lot. But she was unable to help us. She also had no money. My father had passed away. She could have covered her own expenses.

**- When did your husband come to Turkey?**

Three years after my arrival. I told him to come. He was unemployed there. I told him if he came here he could find a job in a factory. I was too young. I wanted my husband beside me. Also he would protect me. But I don't know if I've done the right thing. Because men can't do this kind of jobs. Immigration is not their thing. It wounds their pride.

**- Most of the Armenian immigrants are women. What's the reason of it, in your opinion?**

Men have standards, I think. They don't tolerate to be insulted or oppressed. They're men, you know. I have been working here for ten years. I haven't said a word against any insults. I earn little money from my job and I don't want to lose it. Men start a fight over any insulting word. My husband is also the same.

I think, it's because we're Easterner. But sometimes I want to ask: If he's a man and a tough person, then why does he let me work? Doesn't his manly pride hurt while I'm cleaning someone else's house?

**- Do you regret having come to Turkey?**

No, I don't? Maybe... I don't know. Coming here is not the problem. Everything is related. Everything is integrated. I regret for everything. I'm sad. Sometimes I think about it. There're lots of people who're living in comfort. Why are we living like this? Maybe fate, maybe punishment of something... But punishment for what?.. I have been thinking for the answer of this question for ten years.

**- Do you have difficulties at your work places? Do people look down on you?**

Of course I live difficulties. I work for seven different houses at the moment. Two of my bosses are Turkish, five of them are Armenian. Each of them has different behaviors. For example mother of one of my boss is from Kayseri. She always cooks manti (a ravioli-like dish served with yoghurt and garlic) for me. But the other Turkish boss criticizes me over the politics between Armenia and Turkey. He always says: "We give you people job and money, but you are always ungrateful. You are talking about genocide all the time. If your president knows that much, he should find a way to feed you first. He shouldn't let you need me."

**- What do you feel in that kind of situations?**

I feel very bad. I curse my fate. You're already working in a foreign country, away from everything. You can't find any solution for your problem. You are desperate; the people you work for are all aware of that and using it against you. He talks politics with me. I'm not the person who he can solve his problem with. He vents his spleen on me.

**- In other words, political problems affect you directly.**

Yes, very much indeed. We're always on tenterhooks. After Hrant Dink's murder, we were very frightened. We thought this violence would grow and find us, too.

**- Would you give us some details, please?**

When there's a problem between Armenia and Turkey, we feel distressed. They start talking about deportation of Armenian immigrants. Also to make an example they deport some of us. It's a fact that they try to do something by using us.

**- What are the differences between Armenian and Turkish people as an employer?**

They have very common behaviors, actually. I don't classify them as Turkish or Armenian. There are helpful people in both sides and also there are people who look down on us, who try to oppress us. I can't claim that all the Turkish people behave badly against us.

**- What is your monthly income?**

My total income is 500 – 550 USD. I work every day.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

Generally house cleaning... I'm cleaning houses on weekly bases. I do some extra works. On weekends parents go to a vacation and I look after their children. I wash wools, sew quilts.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn the same money by doing this same job in Armenia?**

I couldn't earn this much. Also I wouldn't want to do this kind of job there. I would be ashamed.

**- Instead of working, what about your life? What do you do in your spare times?**

Nothing in particular... I buy phone cards, call my mom and talk to her. I buy presents for my kids.

**- Have you considered taking your children to Turkey?**

I have considered a lot. But I can't take them. I don't want to make them illegal immigrants at such small age. They can't have any education in here. They would be ruined in here. I don't want to harm them. I want them to have a proper education. I don't want them to live a life like mine. For example there are children who were born in here. They can speak neither Armenian nor Turkish properly. They spend all their times on the streets. If you go to Kumkapi you can see lots of them on the streets.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 1997? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Of course I had worries. But when the moment comes you go through fire and water quicker than winking an eye.

**- What kinds of worries did you have?**

All kinds of... I was an alone woman... I had too much worries.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

Everyone has the same reason. The one who can't find a job in Armenia comes to Turkey to earn money. Sometimes young girls come here to marry with a native Armenian men.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

No I don't have any papers. I'm an illegal immigrant, like others.



**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

In critical times, yes... If there's a political distress then all of us become alerted. Although our bosses become alerted. But in other times police knows who to catch. They don't lay hand on us, if there's no event.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

I want to go back too much. I've got children there and I want to see them badly. I want to be with them, but I have to save some money first.

## **INTERVIEW 5**

**Name: S.H.**

**Year of Birth: 1977**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: Collage**

**Marital Status: Single**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 2005**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 550-700 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is S. H. I have been working in Turkey for four years. I'm single and my family lives in Erivan.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Turkey in 2003. One of our neighbors in Erivan was working in Turkey. One of his friends in Turkey had a demand from him. This Turkish citizen Armenian family had a son for whom they hadn't able to find a proper girl to marry him. The girl should be Armenian, so they asked our neighbor to find a proper bridal candidate for their son. Our neighbor was my mother's childhood friend. So he recalls me. They told me the story and tried to convince me. My father had passed away when I was very young. My brother had married. So my mother had a lot of debts and also my brother's wife moved to our house. So I think, by marrying me, my mother wanted to decrease house expenses. Then I accepted the offer.

**- You accepted marriage without seeing the groom?**

I didn't accept the marriage. I accepted to meet him.

**- Then what happened?**

They told me they'd send me the ticket. No, the truth is; they asked me to buy the ticket, and they promised to pay it back when I arrived to Turkey. That's how I came here. Then I met the man, we didn't like each other. It didn't happen.

**- But you didn't return to Armenia?**

No, I didn't. When I first came here, I was staying with one of our acquaintance. The cancellation of marriage made me very upset. But the woman, I was staying with, encouraged me. She told me not to bother myself, if I wanted to stay in Turkey, she would find a job for me. I didn't want to go back to Armenia, because everyone would annoy me by asking whys. So I decided to stay here.

**- Where did you start to work?**

First I worked as a baby-sitter. But I didn't like staying at home too much. So I quit. With the help of one of my friends I've found a job in a wholesale store in Nisantasi. I like my new job.

**- Do you have difficulties at your work places? Do people look down on you?**

Absolutely not... I like my job too much and my bosses are very friendly to me.

**- Are your other colleagues Armenian, too?**

No I'm the only Armenian. The other two are Russian

**- Are they illegal immigrants, too?**

Their situation is a bit different from me. They travel back to Russia once a month and renew their visa. So, they're not working as illegal immigrants like me.

**- What if you couldn't find this job? Would you continue working as a house maid?**

No, I don't think so. Those kinds of jobs are too tiresome, and also people you're working for look down on you. If I was so desperate, maybe I would do. But I'm very happy working in my actual job.

**- What is your monthly income?**

I earn between 500 and 550 USD a month. Sometimes I get a bonus. When I get bonus my salary increases to 700 USD.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn the same money by doing this same job in Armenia?**

Yes. As a sales representative it would be impossible for me to earn 700 USD.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 2003? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Of course I had. But, you know, I came here to get married. So I was thinking that my future husband would support me. I was worried about having friends. I thought it would be hard for me to have friends in Turkey.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

I think they're different. Because there are a lot of people coming to Turkey from Armenia and they're working in different jobs. There're people who're working as a housemaid or baby-sitter. Some works in factories. And some comes here to find someone to get married.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

No, I have no papers. Also my visa has expired. If I leave Turkey, I can't come back again.

**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

No. I don't want to think such things. Sometimes I think, in such kind of situation, my bosses would come and rescue me.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

Yes, I want to go back to Armenia, but also I like it here, too. Ah, if only I had a long term visa, I could have easily traveled forth and back.

## **INTERVIEW 6**

**Name: S.M.**

**Year of Birth: 1957**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: High School**

**Marital Status: Married with 3 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 1999**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 600 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is S. M. I'm 52 years old. I'm a high school graduate. I've been working in Istanbul for ten years. I'm from the city of Erivan. I've got three kids. My daughter is married and I have one grandchild.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Istanbul in 1997, for the first time. I had never worked back in Armenia. Never felt the need to work. My husband's income was enough for us. My husband had worked until 1996. He was an ironmaster. His hand has injured while he was working and he became disabled. We used our savings to live through one year. My son-in-law helped us a bit, but I had had two kids who were continuing their education. I should have earned money.

**- Didn't your husband have any insurance or pension?**

Yes, there was. But it wasn't enough to live. Also my husband's last boss supported us for one year after my husband became disabled. It was also his construction site where the accident occurred. But how long would he be taking care of us and how long we would have accepted that.

**- Why didn't you want to work in Armenia?**

I wanted to work, but...

**- Would you give us some details, please?**

It was hard and very upsetting for me to work as a woman who had not worked for a long time. I wasn't familiar with the business life. I started working as a clerk in a shopping mall in Erivan. I've worked in a ready-made clothing store, which was importing goods from Turkey, for almost 6 months.

**- Then, why didn't you want to continue working there?**

People started to gossip about me. They were saying that I had left my sick husband at home and became a streetwalker. Unfortunately people can be ruthless in this kind of situations. I was very upset. In the mean time I heard some of my colleagues talking about coming to Turkey. I've listened to them and discussed it with my husband. So I decided to come to Turkey.

**- What is your monthly salary?**

I earn 500 USD at the moment. I can earn more, but I'm new in this house. I have been working here just for three months. I was taking care of an old couple before and I was earning 600 USD a month. I hope I can work here long enough to have my salary increased.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

The entire house works. Cleaning, ironing, cooking... Even I take care of the children. Most people, who do the same job, wouldn't like to take care of children or they would want extra salary. But I like children. Also I'm so alone in this big city, they accompany me.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn the same money by doing this same job in Armenia?**

I couldn't have earned this much of course. By doing the same job or working as a clerk, maximum salary I would have earned would be between 150 and 200 USD. Also working here has some advantages for me. I have almost no expense in here. My bosses provide me shelter and food. Even they buy me clothes time by time. Therefore I can send 90 percent of my salary to my family in Erivan.

My daughters are college students. They're looking after their father.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 2003? Did you have any fear or worries?**

I had had worries. But I was saying to myself, if there were this much people working in Turkey then I could work, too. Also all the work places that people were talking about were house interiors. I knew I would have nothing to do with outside world. My only concern was about being caught.

**- What kinds of worries did you have?**

I had never seen a Turkish person before. I had never talked to them face to face. I had known Azerbaijani people a bit. But I had believed that Turkish people would be more modern than Azerbaijani people. I don't know why.

**- What is your opinion on manners of Turkish people and native Armenian people against Armenian citizens living in Turkey?**

Most of the Turkish people don't know what Armenian is. But lately, with the increasing propaganda against Armenian people, the lives of Armenian people, like me, got harder. I can't make one simple classification about Turkish people. There are some who treats us very friendly, but there are some, like a green grocer who doesn't sell fruit because I'm Armenian.

Actually the native Armenians are good people. They give us a job opportunity. If it wasn't them, where would we be working? But it's a fact that they're looking down on us.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

The main aim is the same; to earn money... But unfortunately there are some people who earn money doing improper jobs.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

First three years, I didn't go back to Armenia and stayed here illegally with a four day visa. Then I missed my children and went back to Armenia. On the border they put a seal on my passport, which meant I wouldn't come back to Turkey anymore. Then I took a passport arranged on my maiden name. Now I'm using that passport. After my last entrance, I've never traveled back. Meaning I'm an illegal immigrant.

**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

Of course, I'm afraid. Especially lately we all afraid to be caught.

**- What do you do when police asks for your id or any other documents?**

I go out rarely. I don't leave the house after six p.m. Also cops know who to catch.

**- What about your relationship with the Turkish and native Armenian people?**

My relation with the Armenian people, who I'm working for, is good. Also it has to be. But I've limited communication with Turkish people. For example there's a green grocer near our house who doesn't like me because of my nationality. He doesn't sell me anything. I'm afraid of him anyway. I don't go to his store.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

Yes, I will. After my youngest daughter's graduation... The older one has graduated and started to work. If their expenses to the family decrease, then I can go to Erivan, find a job and take care of myself and my husband.

**- Then maybe your daughters will take care of you?**

Probably they will. But if they get married how will it happen?

## **INTERVIEW 7**

**Name: G. A.**

**Year of Birth: 1973**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: Bachelor Degree**

**Marital Status: Married with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 2000**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 500-550 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is A. E. I'm 36 years old. I have been working in Istanbul for nine years. I'm from the city of Erivan. I'm married. My husband is working as a jeweler in Russia. We've got two kids. My mother-in-law takes care of them. I graduated from Department of Food Engineering. I have a bachelor degree.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Istanbul in 1998. Almost nine years have passed. I was 27 years old then. My kids were too young and it was hard for me to leave them. My main reason of coming here was my brother's illness. He was cancer and he had to have an operation. Also after the operation he needed to be treated and treatments were too expensive. My husband's salary was just enough for our minimum expenses. In 1996, just before my brother fell ill, my husband had left Armenia to work with his older brother. My father had passed away when I and my brother were too young. So it was my responsibility to take care of my brother. I tried hard to find a solution in Armenia and avoid coming here. Because my grandfather was from Van and they ran away from there to survive in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Turkey was an evil place for me, which I would never want to come.

**- Why didn't you want to come to Turkey?**

First I was separated from my husband. By coming here I'd be separated from my children, too. My mother would be left alone and I'm very fond of my mother. Also, as I mentioned before, I was afraid of coming here. I thought something bad would happen to me if I came here. I was 26 years old. It's a very young age to move to a hostile country.

Then my mother came here and it made me feel more peaceful. She accompanies me and takes my loneliness away.

**- When did your mother come here?**

Four years after me. First few years, I sent money for my brother. When he was cured and my mother-in-law accepted to take care of my children, my mother came here. I found a job for her. And also she accompanies me.

**- Most of the illegal immigrants from Armenia are women. Why?**

The women have more duties than men. And they have to make more sacrifices. It has been like this in all times and in many lands. Men have a strange perspective of pride. For example they don't work in a stranger's house because of their pride, but their pride is not hurt when their wives are cleaning that stranger's house.

**- Do you regret having come to Turkey?**

I think I don't... I don't want to interfere with God's business, but I think if I had not come here, worked and sent money to my brother, my brother wouldn't be amongst the livings. I'm so happy. If I had had five lives, I'd have given it without a thought. But sometimes I think about my life. What did I have from the life? I'm away from my husband, from my children and I'm 37 years old. I'm so tired. (She cries)

**- Do you have difficulties in your work places? Does anyone look down on you?**

I don't know. I'm just a house maid. I can't expect them to treat me like a guest. But everyone has their own manners. Some treat me very well. They even say: "You get so tired today, go and have a rest." But there are some who don't even give a lunch.

**- What do you feel when that happens?**

I become upset, but also I get used to it. If the person is Turkish, I wonder if they treat me like this because of my nationality. But also native Armenians treat me so ruthlessly sometimes.

**- How do they treat you, for example?**

For example when that draft bills on Armenian Genocide – I don't even understand them completely – pass the foreign countries' parliaments, the native Armenians start to blame us. They say: "You live in Armenia peacefully. You have no problem. What will we do if they attack our churches, our schools?" What can I do? Like I'm responsible of that draft bills... Yet I'm in danger more than they do. At least they're citizens of this country, whether they're Armenian. What would I do if cops take me?

**- In other words the political incidents affect you directly...**

Of course they do... They affect us very much... After these kinds of political incidents we start to worry. Everyone thinks that they would deport us. After Dink's murder it was so critical. We thought that it would affect us.

**- Would you give us some details?**

I don't know how I can explain. We are already uneasy. In those kinds of situations we become nervous. Also some nationalist people try to scare us, try to make us flee. Please don't ask anymore.

**- What are the differences between native Armenian and Turkish people as an employer?**

Turkish people only care about our work. But Armenians are a bit different. For example, I was working for a Turkish family. They wanted me to talk to their children in Russian and Armenian. They wanted their children to learn foreign languages at a young age. I taught him lots of foreign words. But Armenian families don't want me to talk to their children. They say that if I talk to the children, they would start to



talk like a peasant as I do. It's about complex. However we're not talking like peasants. Armenian language has two dialects; Eastern Armenian and Western Armenian... In Armenia we talk Eastern Armenian. But if I try to explain this, they would call me smarty pants and fire me. (She laughs)

**- What is your monthly salary?**

I earn between 500 and 550 USD. I work whole week.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

House cleaning on weekly bases... Sometimes there are extras. I go for ironing or take care of the children of families who go to a vacation on weekends. I wash wool and sew quilts.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn enough money to live by doing this same job in Armenia?**

I would earn enough money, but I earn better here. Also it's better doing this kind of jobs away from home.

**- Except working, what about your life? What do you do in your spare time?**

I dream. I dream of the days that I'll go back to Armenia. I buy presents for my loved ones. Sometimes I write letters to them at night.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 1998? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Of course I had... I told you before.

**- What kinds of worries did you have?**

All kinds of... I was a lonely woman. It was a foreign country. I had too many worries.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

Except for the people who come here to marry or who are fraud, everyone comes here to work for money.

**- What do you mean by fraud?**

Their main concern is to have money without working.

There are different kinds of people among them. Some get married with old women to have their inheritance after their death. Some steals valuable belongings from the house they're working in.

Because of these kinds of people our name is tainted. When you mention your nationality, everyone treats you like a thief.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

No, I don't have any documents. I'm an illegal immigrant, like everyone else.

**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

I don't travel around much. Especially in critical times...

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

I'll work here a few years more and then I'll go back to Armenia. Also it's getting harder for us to work in this country.

## **INTERVIEW 8**

**Name: A. P.**

**Year of Birth: 1954**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: High School**

**Marital Status: Widow with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 1999**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 500-550 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is A. P. I'm 45 years old. I have been working in Istanbul for eight years. I'm from the city of Echmiazin. I don't have a bachelor degree. I'm divorced and I have two daughters.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Turkey in 1999 to visit my relatives. In 1996 my husband had gone to Russia for work. First month we had had communication but then we've never heard from him again. The financial situation of me and my kids were too bad. I had got relatives in Istanbul. I had found some loan and come to Istanbul by bus. I had no choice. Due to my lack of education, there were limited job alternatives for me. I begged my relatives to find me a job, so I could send money to my kids. They found a family, whose some members were sick, old and were in need of care. I started working there for 300 USD per month. And eight years passed like this.

**- Do you regret having come to Turkey?**

I don't think I'm in such kind of condition to feel regret. I had to come here. Turkey was giving visa easily and it was the cheapest one. So I did what I had to do.

**- Do you have difficulties in your work places? Does anyone look down on you?**

Of course, those kinds of things happen.

**- Would you explain?**

How can I explain? You should feel it. The people's behaviors are hurtful. They treat me like I was born a house maid or they act like they were born a landlady. They look down on me. They think we don't know anything. But one should have empathy.

**- What kind of jobs have you done?**

House cleaning, baby sitting, nursing...

**- Would you give us some details?**

In my first few years, I was nursing an old lady. After she passed away I've worked in the same house for another year. But then they implied that they didn't need me anymore, so I looked for a new job. I started to work as a baby-sitter. She was newly born and the family members were really nice. But she grew and started school. From now on, I'm working as a daily house cleaner.

**- Have you worked for only Armenian families or were there any Turkish families you've worked for?**

I've never lived and worked in a Turkish person's house. But for example, I have a Turkish customer who is a news reporter. I'm working as a daily house cleaner for her.

**- What are the differences between native Armenian people and Turkish people as an employer?**

Turkish people are more respectful. Besides any Turkish person who has an Armenian employee can't be a nationalist or conservative. So working for them is easy. But Armenian employers try to use us.

**- What's your monthly income?**

I earn between 500 and 550 USD per month. Workers like me can't earn more than this. But sometimes landladies give us their old clothes. They make extra payment on our birthdays or if there's a religious festivity.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

I've done what they wanted me to do in the houses I've worked since I came here. Some of my friends argue with their bosses. For example they're working as a baby sitter in a house and the landlady wants them to do the ironing, they argue. But I do whatever they want. I'm an illegal immigrant, I can't argue with them.

**- What kind of disadvantages do you have due to being an illegal immigrant?**

First it affects my salary. They pay me less money because of my situation. It doesn't matter how good I do my work, they always remind me that I'm an illegal immigrant. Also I don't feel comfortable because of my situation. I'm an illegal immigrant, you know.

**- Would you explain it, please?**

I feel uncomfortable in all means. When someone asks me my nationality, I tell him/her that I'm a Georgian. I'm afraid of being treated badly. It wasn't like this in the beginning, the last events, especially Hrant Dink murder made us nervous.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn the same money by doing this same job in Armenia?**

I couldn't have earned this much money. Also I wouldn't like to do this kind of job there. I've got two daughters. They'll eventually get married. I don't want anyone to talk about them as daughters of a house maid.

**- What do your acquaintances think you're doing in Turkey?**

Only very close relatives and friends know what I'm doing in here, but they don't tell it to anyone.

**- Is it really that shameful to work as a house maid? There are lots of people doing various kinds of illegal jobs. They should be ashamed, not you.**

Yes, you're right. But saying is one thing, making it is another...

**- Instead of working, what about your life? What do you do in your spare times?**

Nothing exactly... I've got friends in Kumkapi district. I visit them once a month.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 1999? Did you have any fear or worries?**

I had had no worries. I had acquaintances working and living in Turkey. I don't know. My situation was too bad at the time, so I didn't have any time to worry or afraid.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

Most of the Armenian people come here to earn and collect money, and return to Armenia. Some singles come here to find a rich husband.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

No, I don't have any legal documents. I'm an illegal immigrant, as I mentioned before.

**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

Generally I'm too cautious. I don't leave the district I'm living in, that often. Also I absolutely don't leave home after 10:00 p.m. Also police tries to catch the people doing specific business.

**- What kind of business?**

Prostitution, smuggling... I don't know. Those kinds of business, as you see. Cops also take bribe from them.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

I haven't been making any future plans for a long time. But surely I want to go back. I miss Armenia so much. Who wants to leave his home and work in a foreign country? Anybody who can think clearly can see that the reason of this preference is despair and that it's hard to live like this.

## **INTERVIEW 9**

**Name: H. A.**

**Year of Birth: 1967**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: Vocational High School of Nursing**

**Marital Status: Married with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 2000**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 650 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is H.A. I'm 42 years old. I'm from the city of Erivan. I'm married. My husband is in Erivan. I've got a son and a daughter. They're both married.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Turkey in 2000 for the first time. I have relatives in here. I came here to visit them. Also I wanted to see if I could find a job here. I was a nursery teacher, but I haven't worked after I got married. When I got here, they offered me a job. I started to work as an assistant in a rich family's house. I had got problems with my husband, so I decided to stay here. Also we're like divorced at the moment.

**- You mean you decided to stay here to leave your husband?**

It was the most important factor. I didn't have the financial freedom to divorce my husband in Erivan. I couldn't have rent a house for myself. My children were also newly married, so I couldn't have gone and stayed with them.

**- Do you live in the house you're working?**

Yes, I do. I save all the money I earn.

**- Most of the illegal immigrants from Armenia are women. Why?**

Not most of them, all of them are women. Because women are fighter. Instead of accepting and cursing their fate and become an alcoholic, like men do, they work. And I think it's healthier. But also they're suffering; they become a person who lives nothing while they're trying to have control of their lives.

**- Do you regret having come to Turkey?**

No, I don't. I came here with my own will. I've stayed here with my own will. I'll stay here until I collect enough money, if no problem occurs.

**- Do you have difficulties at your work place? Do people look down on you?**

Not much... My employers are honest, well-mannered and intellectual people. I can't tell that they're treating me badly. Whether my employers treat me properly, sometimes their guests or neighbors can say odd things.

**- What do you feel in that kind of moments?**

It depends... Sometimes I don't care a bit, but sometimes I cry over a word for a few nights.

**- Do political issues affect your life directly?**

Of course they do... They affect our lives very much. Actually they affect us in two ways. Employers get nervous and they hesitate to keep us as employee. Also we all get nervous and frightened. Especially this year hasn't started good for us.

**- Would you give us some details, please?**

If I talk frankly and harsh; all the jobs, employers give us, are a favor. I mean it's a kindness. It's a favor of both employers and the government.

**- What are the differences between native Armenian people and Turkish people as an employer?**

There's no difference at all. Also there aren't too many Turkish people who employ Armenian workers.

**- What's your monthly income?**

I earn between 550 and 650 USD in total. It depends on my work. Nursing brings more money, but it's also more tiresome.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

I don't do heavy work in this house I'm working. 3 days a week another Armenian woman comes and does the cleaning and ironing. I cook the meals, clear the mess up and help the child with her lessons.

**- Would it be impossible for you to earn the same money by doing this same job in Armenia?**

Yes, I couldn't have earned this much money. It would be impossible.

**- Instead of working, what about your life? What do you do in your spare times?**

Almost nothing... Even sometimes I spend my free days at home. We walk around with the daughter of the family. It's easier to communicate with children in all lands.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 2000? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Of course I had worries. But one makes her mind without thinking over details. If you think over and over you can't make anything.

**- What were your worries?**

Except for the problems with this country, I had had my own worries.

**- Would you give us some details, please?**

I have never been away from my children, from my country. I have never lived in a foreign country amongst foreign people. I didn't know how people would treat me here as a lonely woman. I was also thinking that people would look down on us due to my nationality. As a matter of fact I was proven right.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

Of course whoever you ask would tell you that they're working as a housemaid or nurse. But the reality is a bit different. There are prostitutes and thieves among us. Because of these kinds of people our name is tainted. Sometimes I refrain to tell my nationality. They say people are looking down on us. But we hear such stories that I can't tell people are unjust for looking down on us.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

No, I don't have any legal documents. I'm an illegal immigrant like everyone else.

**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

No, I'm not, because if they want to find us, it won't be so difficult. They already know where we are living, where we are working. I think they don't bother to catch us.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

Of course, I'll go back to Armenia. But I need to work a bit more. I need a bit more money to realize my dreams.

## **INTERVIEW 10**

**Name: G. Y.**

**Year of Birth: 1977**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: High School**

**Marital Status: Single**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 2003**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 1000 USD**



**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is G. Y. I'm 32 years old. I don't have a bachelor degree. I have been in Istanbul for four years. I'm single. I'm working as a salesman. I have a barrow in the marketplace.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Turkey in 2003, for the first time. I've been here since then. I've never traveled back to Armenia. I was a saleswoman there, too. I had had friends in Istanbul. They suggested me to come and see here. I came here and decided to stay. Now my mother sends me the goods and I sell them in the Kumkapi bazaar.

**- Why didn't you want to work in Armenia?**

I was doing the same job there, but I was earning less. I earn here more than I was earning there.

**- What's your monthly income?**

Sales plus house cleaning that I do in my spare times bring me 1000 USD a month. My rent is too low. I share the house with 5 other friends. I could never earn this much money in Erivan.

**- Isn't it hard for a woman to work in a marketplace?**

It was hard in the beginning. But I get used to work here. I'm not bored. Also the other salesman treats me kindly.

**- Is there any woman who has a barrow in the marketplace?**

No, there's no saleswoman in the marketplace, as I know of. There was a shop once. But they closed it. Its owner was also an Armenian.

**- Wouldn't you earn enough money to live, by doing this same job in Armenia?**

I would have earned enough money to live, but I wouldn't earn this much. With this money I earn here I can take care of my parents, too. I send them money, I can cover my expenses and I can save money.

**- What are you selling in the bazaar?**

Smoked fish, caviar, powdered milk... And also salami, pastrami and garlic flavored sausage, which come from Armenia.

**- Who are your customers?**

Generally Armenians, Russians and Moldavians... You know Turkish people don't eat pork. And all the foods, I sell, have pork in them.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey? Did you have any fear or worries?**

I had no worries, because I had lots of friends in here.

**- What is your opinion on manners of Turkish people and native Armenian people against Armenian citizens working in Turkey?**

I haven't worked at houses that much and I've only worked for Armenian people. So I don't have much to say on the subject.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

They all come here to earn money. But some does illegal business.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

I have no residence permit. So I haven't left here for four years. Because when I leave I can never come back again.

**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

I'm working on the street and nothing happens. They know us. If one works honestly, they do nothing.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

Of course I plan to go back to Armenia. I've always considered my life in here as a temporary period. I'll surely return to Armenia.

## **INTERVIEW 11**

**Name: L.M.**

**Year of Birth: 1977**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: High School**

**Marital Status: Married**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 2001**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 800-900 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is L. M. I'm 32 years old. I have been working in Istanbul for six years. I'm from the city of Icevan. I'm a college graduate. I've been away from my husband for seven years and I have no kids.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Turkey in 2001, for the first time. I had had two friends who were living and working here. Also one of them got married. When they had come to Armenia, they offered me to come and work in here and I accepted their offer. So I bought a bus ticket, took a visa for thirty days on the border and came here.

I stayed at my friends' house for a short period. Then I started working as a baby sitter. The family members were very kind people. The landlady was Armenian and the landlord was Turkish. They had a satellite dish. Some nights I was watching Russian channels. One day landlord asked me if I know Russian. When I told him that I know Russian, he offered me a job in his office. And I accepted.

**- Was working in the office more desirable for you?**

Yes, it was, because its salary is better. Also I'm a college graduate. I can do more qualified jobs than house cleaning. Also baby-sitting is boring. I've started to work in the office with excitement.

**- Are you still working at the same place? Are you fond of your job?**

I've been working in this office, which I've mentioned before, for three years. I'm very happy there. In Russian required jobs, I'm very important for the company. Also I get used to work there. I'm really happy.

**- Most of the illegal immigrants from Armenia are women. Why?**

Women can adapt to different circumstances better than men do. Also there are more job opportunities that are suitable for women.

Generally women work as house cleaner, nurse or baby sitter. These jobs are suitable for women not for men.

**- Are you happy for being in Turkey? Do you ever regret having come to Turkey?**

Personally I'm happy, because I'm working in a different kind of business area than other immigrants. Nobody looks down on me. Nobody underestimates me. I'm not spending most of my time inside a house. Probably I would be unhappy if I were them. Their life is too hard.

**- Don't you have any difficulties in your work places?**

Of course, I have. In the beginning I didn't tell anyone that I was an Armenian to protect myself. But then I realized that it's worse to be known as Russian. Then I start to tell that I'm an Armenian and everything become easier.

**- Would you explain?**

I don't know how to explain. When you say that you're a Russian, everyone start to think that you are a prostitute or an easy girl. So you always have to be alerted and you should be careful with your behaviors. You take strange offers from the people that you least expected. There are some really strange offers that you can't believe what you hear.

**- What do you feel in that kind of moments?**

Of course I feel so bad, I get very angry. I always turn to myself and check my behaviors too see if I had done something wrong. I've even changed my dressing style. I was wearing more modern clothes before, but I don't pay any attention to my dressing style anymore.

**- Do the political issues affect your life directly?**

Yes, indeed. That's why I didn't want to tell people that I was an Armenian in the first place. As you know, due to draft bills on genocide or any other political issues all my Turkish colleagues start to react. They exclude you, suppress you. If I hide my nationality and tell that I'm a Russian then I would face other problems. So it's so hard for us.

**- What's your monthly income?**

I earn between 800 and 900 USD per month.

**- What are you doing to earn this money?**

I help the Russian relations of my company. They assign me the duties where they need someone who knows Russian.

**- Wouldn't you earn enough money to live by doing this same job in Armenia?**

Unfortunately no... Most of the people in Armenia know Russian, so there wasn't any job that needs my knowledge.

**- Instead of working, what about your life? What do you do in your spare times?**

I see my friends. I also have new friends in here. I travel around, read book.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 2001? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Of course I had worries. But my friends were working in here, so I decided that I could do the same.

**- What kind of worries?**

All kind of... First of all I was an Armenian. Also I was a lonely woman.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

They all come here to earn money. They're just working in different jobs.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

I was working as an illegal immigrant until last year. I've had neither residence permit nor work permit

**- What has changed?**

I'm not sure if it's proper to tell you. I became conspicuous at the work. I start to worry about being informed to the police. So did my boss. So we've found a formula for me to stay in Turkey legally. So I'm not an illegal immigrant any more.

**- Would it be too dangerous for you to tell us about that formula?**

Ok, I'll tell. My boss found a Turkish citizen man for me to make a fake marriage. So this marriage gives me the opportunity of residence and work permit.

**- Are there any others who use this same formula?**

Yes, there are, but not too many, because the process is very complicated. The women who work as housecleaner don't try this kind of tricks. They don't need it. But if one works in a company and communicates with lots of people like me, then they need to use this kind of formulas.

**- I guess you should be more relieved by overcoming your illegal situation.**

Of course I'm relieved. I can go out at night, travel around. For example I couldn't go to Hagia Sofia for four years. I was anxious about being asked my ID. But I've visited Hagia Sofia this year. Even I traveled to Izmir last month.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

I don't know exactly. I earn good in here, but I don't know how long this place will want me. The political issues scare me.

## **INTERVIEW 12**

**Name: I. H.**

**Year of Birth: 1981**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: Armenian Language and Literature**

**Marital Status: Widow with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 1999**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 650 USD**

**- Would you introduce yourself, please?**

My name is I. H. I'm 29 years old. I've graduated from Department of Armenian Language and Literature. I have been living in Turkey for five years.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I came to Turkey in 1999 as a guest of an Armenian local newspaper. I've stayed here for two weeks and loved Istanbul very much. But I didn't have any intention to move here.

**- Then, how did you come here?**

In 2001 son of one of our acquaintances came to Armenia. We loved each other and decided to get married. At first, I asked him to move to Armenia. He also wanted it, but then some family issues occurred on his side and we decided me to settle down in Turkey.

In 2002 we got married and I came to Istanbul.

**- You came here not to work but because of your love.**

Yes, absolutely... But I don't now if it was a good thing.

**- Do you regret having come to Turkey?**

No, but I would be happier if we have stayed in Armenia.

**- Do you have a job?**

Yes, I'm working as a translator. I'm making translations from Russian to Turkish for a translation office.

**- Do you have difficulties at your work place? Do people look down on you?**

I don't have any difficulties, because I'm working at home. I don't have any communication with people. I only see my husband and his family. But I feel sad for the Armenian women who work as a house maid here.

**- Would you explain it?**

My complaint depends on two separate subjects. These women work here illegally, so they have some difficulties due to their situation. Also if any political issue occurs, people start to talk about their deportation. Their future is too vague. Also the places they're living are very bad.

**- I've seen the places they're living.**

The native Armenians look down on them. They exclude them. But it's too sad; they only try to earn money to live.

The other thing that bothers me is native Armenian's point of view on Armenian citizens. They think all the Armenians are the same. It's true that the people who work here have a lack of education and most of them are not townsmen. But it doesn't mean that all the Armenians are like this. Also there can be thieves amongst them, but also it doesn't mean that all the Armenians are thieves.

These are my main concerns. Instead of supporting them, native Armenians look down on them.

**- What are the differences between native Armenian people and Turkish people as an employer?**

I'll talk frankly. The Turkish people who have Armenian employees are more open-minded. They don't have any bad feeling in them. So they don't cause any problems. But Armenian employers like to suppress them. If you ask them, they will tell you that they're giving them job and food. They are right, they do. But they shouldn't use it against them all the time. In the end, they're working to earn that money.

**- What's your monthly income?**

Generally, between 650 and 700 USD... It depends on how many translations I make in a month.

**- If I got it right, you have permit to live here.**

My husband is a Turkish citizen, so after we got married I didn't become a Turkish citizen eventually, but I have an ID, a residence permit and a work permit.

**- Except working, what about your life? What do you do?**

We have satellite at home. I watch Armenian channels. I miss my country naturally.

**- Couldn't you adapt here yet?**

I've adapted here, but one can miss her homeland. My advantage is having a family here. They make me forget my longing.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 2001? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Of course I had worries, but not much. I already had seen Istanbul. And also I had my husband living in here. Also that's why I came here.

**- What were your worries?**

I was worrying about my nationality. I didn't know what to say when people would ask me.

**- What do you say when day ask?**

It depends on when it's asked, where it's asked and in what situation it's asked. (She laughs.)

## **INTERVIEW 13**

**Name: A. S.**

**Year of Birth: 1944**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: Pedagog**

**Marital Status: Widow with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 1992**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 650 USD**

A.S. Born in Ijevan, a city north of Armenia, as a daughter of a worker, in 1944. In 1950 her family has moved to Erivan. A. S. graduated from Department of Pedagogics in Erivan University and has worked as a teacher for 33 years, after her graduation.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

We first came to Turkey in 1992. I was in the trade business with my husband. I was one of the biggest glassware importers in Armenia. But Armenia was in a very bad situation then. My pension was not



enough for my family, so did my husband's... So we started to think what to do. The best and most profitable job was trade. We were both inexperienced on trade business. Why Turkey? Actually the answer is very simple. Turkey is the nearest and cheapest country for an Armenian person who wants to work abroad. Taking visa is also very simple. When you go to border and pay 10 USD, you can have a Turkish visa.

**- What were your thoughts before coming to Turkey in 1992? Did you have any fear or worries?**

Our friends in Armenia warned us about not mentioning our nationality. They said that Armenian people were not welcomed in Turkey, so we should have introduced us as Georgian. We've introduced ourselves as Georgians to the people we met for two years. Then we saw that these people had no problem with Armenian people. Everyone was minding their own business. Also one who works in trade business has nothing to do with politics. When you make the payment no one would tell you "I won't trade with you because you're an Armenian." Except that I had had no worries or doubts. I can honestly say that we had had no problems with local tradesmen when we were in trades business.

**- Why did you stop your trade business?**

In 1997 my husband passed away. I've found out that I couldn't have done this job on my own, so I've stopped the trade business. In the meantime my both daughters were single. To cover their education and other expenses, I should have worked. As I mentioned before, my pension was not enough. As the nearest and cheapest country I decided to come to Turkey and work here. Now I'm taking care of an old lady.

**- What is your opinion on manners of Turkish people and also native Armenian people against Armenian citizens living in Turkey?**

It would be better if I answer your question in this way: We shouldn't judge Armenian people living in here and living in Armenia in one way. The Armenians in Turkey work for native Armenian people. Some employers treat their employees as they treat their guests. Also there are some who don't want to employ any Armenian.

As in Turkey, not all of the cities, in Armenia, are in the same level of development. Also there are great economical and cultural differences between villages and cities. The Armenian people who come here to work are from the countryside of Armenia. So they're only one face of Armenia. In Turkey, Turkish and Armenian people judge all Armenians over these people. These people are rude and greedy. Natives make their decision over these people. But most of the Armenians in Armenia are townsmen; they're well educated and intellectual. The thoughts of Turkish citizens on Armenian people make me feel sad, because these examples, they see, do not represent my homeland. But I understand native people's thoughts because of the impression the Armenian people they have met have made on them. When I see this people, I also feel ashamed of being an Armenian. It's immoral to say this, but there are some people amongst them whom I wouldn't welcome to my home.

**- In your opinion, are the reasons of Armenian people's immigrating to Turkey differ from one another?**

All comes here to earn money. After saving enough money, they all want to go back to Armenia. Besides there are some who comes here to get married. And also there are some who wants to find a way to stay here, but their number is not that much.

**- How do you stay in Turkey? Do you have any residence permit or any other legal paper?**

No, I don't have any permit. Frankly, I'm an illegal immigrant. When I first landed Ataturk Airport, I've taken a daily visa and of course I passed my extension. It works this way: When I'll leave the country, I'll be fined 175 TL and I'll be banned from entering Turkey as long as I stayed here illegally.

**- Are you afraid of being caught by the cops, while you're walking on the streets?**

I'm not afraid but I'm cautious. I don't leave house in late hours. Also my job is obvious. I only go out for shopping, I don't travel around. For example the day Jewish Synagogue was attacked; police checked every house for damage control, to cover the damages. Of course I didn't answer the door. Sometimes when there's an issue in the neighborhood, people show me as a witness, but I give some uncertain testimony.

**- Then what do you do when police asks you for an ID?**

Frankly, police takes bribe from all illegal immigrants; Armenian, Russian or Georgian... We give this bribe – almost 100 TL – to avoid being sent to Immigration Office. Because if you're sent to Immigration Office, they would deport you immediately. You can't save yourself by bribe there.

But I should mention that the police know who is who. They know who does what to earn money (she implies prostitutes here). They don't disturb honest people like us, and we don't have any bad thoughts about them.

**- How is your relation with Turkish and native Armenian people in Turkey? Do you have any difficulties with them?**

Frankly, I have had no problem with both parties. Especially I haven't seen any bad behavior from Turkish people. In the beginning I hesitated to tell my nationality, but now I don't mind telling it. I live in Ferikoy district and people are familiar with Armenians due to their centuries long past. Nobody has told me: "Why did you come here? Go back to your country." Nobody has ever told me such things or criticized me. I have never been a target of any hostile manner or harassment. But native Armenians look down on us. They see us as ignorant peasants.

But I don't blame them also. My people like to whimper. After Armenian had gained autonomy, these people started to use this attitude to have themselves a place in social life of the countries they migrated. In short, they tried to get the sympathy of people by talking about economical problems of Armenia, to have financial support. They shouldn't be seen as an example of the people of Armenia. These people never had

proper clothes, never walked on the asphalt streets or saw money other than ruble. I don't blame these people, too. Armenia was in a bad situation, there were economical problems and people tried every way to survive. But I think that a person must have psychological problems to speak ill of his/her homeland this much. It means, this mentality is something like this: I couldn't be successful there, so it means that place was evil, that place is not suitable to be successful or happy.

**- What are your future plans? Will you return to Armenia?**

Of course, I'll go back to Armenia. My reason of coming here is to earn money. When time comes, I'll go back. I know lots of people think the same way. No one asked us to come here to work. Neither from Turkey nor from Armenia... We came here to work. It's your choice to work or not. That's all...

## **INTERVIEW 14**

**Name: K. S.**

**Year of Birth: 1960**

**Sex: Female**

**Education: National Conservatory**

**Marital Status: Widow with 2 children**

**Year of Arrival in Turkey: 1990**

**Job: Nursery and maid**

**Average Wage: 650 USD**

K. S. was born in Erivan in 1960. She has been interested in theatre and different branches of art since her childhood. With her parents' support she managed to enter National Conservatory in Erivan. She was graduated from conservatory in 1983.

**- When did you come to Turkey for the first time and what were your reasons?**

I first came to Turkey in 1990 as a tourist. Frankly, Turkey was better than I expected. I was expecting a more oriental and underdeveloped society, but it wasn't.

**- When did you come here to work and why did you choose Turkey?**

I came here to work in 2001. I have never given up theatre even in the worst situation of Armenia. It's true that my income was very low, but in the afternoons I was working as a hair dresser. As you know, we, actresses are good at hair dressing and make up due to our profession. I've used this talent of mine for my financial advancement. Then I thought that maybe I could have earned more money abroad. My father's family is from Erzurum, so we've got relatives in Istanbul. Before all else I thought that they could have helped me here. It was easy to come to Istanbul. It was cheap and taking visa was not a problem. I thought that I could do something here.

**- Well, then what happened? How did it go in Istanbul?**

I came here and tried to find out what I can do. At first I've stayed with my relatives. I've gathered some Armenian teenagers around and formed several amateur theatre groups. I've made a progress like this. I was also a well-known actress in Armenia, but I thought I could do something in here. As a matter of fact I should make this clear. Istanbul is a city where Armenian theatrical performances have been taking place since Ottoman Empire. I carry on this tradition. Instead of the income, I really enjoy to put Armenian theatrical performances on stage.

**- Are you planning to go back to Armenia?**

Of course, I am... It's my homeland. I came here to realize my certain goals. Also my kid was born in here and he will have to go to school in a few years. So I will go back to Armenia when time comes. This fact makes me feel happy.

**- How is your relation with people here? Do people exclude you?**

I don't have too much relation with Turkish people, just in ordinary life; with grocer, greengrocer, etc. They don't even notice my nationality. It's obvious that I'm a foreigner, but they don't know where I'm from. Well, of course I tell them when they ask me, but I haven't seen any negative reaction even then. No one has ever told me "What are you doing here? Go back to your country."

As a matter of fact, we have more problems with native Armenian people than Turkish people. They put a distance with you at first sight. They make you feel that you're a foreigner and you're not wanted in here. They try to acknowledge you that you're different from them.

**- Is it because they just see one kind of people from your country? Do you think it would be different if they have met different kinds of people from Armenia?**

Of course... The people who come here are the ones who couldn't survive in Armenia. But instead of looking down on them, we should try to understand them. No one would want to leave his country, his established order, his home, his wife and his loved once and move to a foreign country just with a suitcase. So we should understand their situation and have a more positive behavior towards them.

**- Would you define Turkish people in your own words?**

First, Turkish people are fanatically patriotic people. I don't think it's a bad thing. I wish my people would be like them, too. They want to live in European standards, they fight for it and they deserve it.

### ANNEX 3- Evaluation for 14 In-depth Interviews

<i>INT. NO</i>	Year of Birth	Age	Sex, 1-male, 2-female	Educ, 1-secondary, 2-vocational, 3-high, 4-other	status 1-married, 2-widow, 3-	Children, Number	Arrived, year	Years in Tr.	Job title	Monthly wage, USD
<i>1</i>	1959	50	2	2	2	2	2000	9	Nursery and maid	649
<i>2</i>	1963	46	2	3	1	2	2000	9	Nursery and maid	650
<i>3</i>	1957	52	2	3	1	2	1995	14	Nursery and maid	675
<i>4</i>	1972	37	2	3	1	3	1999	10	Nursery and maid	525
<i>5</i>	1957	52	2	3	3		2005	4	Nursery and maid	625
<i>6</i>	1957	52	2	3	1	3	1999	10	Nursery and maid	600
<i>7</i>	1973	36	2	3	1	2	2000	9	Nursery and maid	525
<i>8</i>	1954	55	2	3	2	2	1999	10	Nursery and maid	525
<i>9</i>	1967	42	2	2	1	2	2000	9	Nursery and maid	650
<i>10</i>	1977	32	2	3	3		2003	6	Nursery and maid	1000
<i>11</i>	1977	32	2	3	1		2001	8	Nursery and maid	850
<i>12</i>	1981	28	2	3	2	2	1999	10	Nursery and maid	650
<i>13</i>	1944	65	2	3	2	2	1992	17	Nursery and maid	650
<i>14</i>	1960	49	2	3	2	2	1990	19	Nursery and maid	650
<b>Ave rage</b>		44. 9	2.0					10. 3		659

## ANNEX 4

### 1-Arriving foreigners and citizens in TURKEY, 2000-2007<sup>52</sup>

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Nationality
<b>10 428</b>	<b>11 619</b>	<b>13 248</b>	<b>13 956</b>	<b>17 548</b>	<b>21 124</b>	<b>19 819</b>	<b>23 340</b>	<b>Foreigner total</b>
<b>153</b>	<b>909</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>886</b>	<b>833</b>	<b>911</b>	
								OECD COUNTRIES
5 702	6 854	7 947	7 986	10 012	11 519	10 163	11 411	EUROPE OECD COUNTRIES
690	504	397	524	187	879	292	620	
2 277	2 881	3 481	3 305	3 985	4 240	3 762	4 149	Germany
505	443	691	044	141	122	469	805	
320	360	377	379	456	486	429		Austria
630	145	196	814	253	051	708	472 482	
256	310	313	308	426	485	451		Belgium
885	512	600	043	769	758	426	542 712	
100	126	164	154	215	304	235		Denmark
958	013	642	226	283	620	755	265 429	
53	64	80	59					Finland
775	284	999	734	81 354	95 748	78 766	84 378	
449	523	522	470	544	701	657		France
727	777	349	071	917	190	859	768 167	
439	632	873	938	1 199	1 253	997	1 053	Netherlands
819	833	249	483	474	885	466	403	
915	845	1 037	1 090	1 398	1 757	1 678	1 916	United Kingdom
286	932	480	629	412	843	845	130	
41	48	53	58					Ireland
967	638	034	993	71 332	98 316	88 973	109 287	
93	116	88	92	115	198	234	288 358	Spain

<sup>52</sup> Türkiye İstatistik Birligi Verileri

107	021	815	301	079	596	334		
148 830	200 760	203 645	204 134	285 032	405 956	326 255	338 182	Sweden
81 257	126 545	143 381	188 859	272 262	308 682	210 276	229 688	Switzerland
218 768	315 134	210 686	236 918	319 007	401 852	402 573	514 803	Italy
3 364	3 840	1 275	1 361	2 152	3 968	6 662	9 103	Iceland
2 014	3 534	4 172	3 436	7 110	9 676	5 374	6 785	Luxembourg
67 384	87 641	94 527	88 816	126 034	161 746	165 580	184 446	Norway
13 322	18 424	16 905	12 263	15 276	21 086	18 152	30 512	Portugal
218 092	189 028	279 751	393 399	491 300	584 784	412 819	447 950	Greece
733 238	646 143	443 107	399 361	486 865	741 830	873 536	1 071 253	OTHER OECD COUNTRIES
515 284	428 989	247 593	222 675	289 290	434 991	532 404	642 911	U.S.A
58 075	58 666	51 249	56 777	67 958	91 089	99 581	109 865	Australia
89 463	87 791	94 519	67 810	64 308	116 935	125 755	168 852	Japan
56 893	57 033	39 006	41 850	52 773	81 229	97 928	128 567	Canada
13 523	13 664	10 740	10 249	12 536	17 586	17 868	21 058	New Zealand
1 239 936	1 353 101	1 756 168	1 870 139	2 299 207	2 753 094	2 351 710	2 742 035	OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
29 748	26 148	29 216	32 423	44 463	51 296	50 328	57 601	Albania
28	28	32	34	41 750	44 917	40 489	50 437	Bosnia

631	233	500	639					Herzegovina
381 545	540 437	834 070	1 006 268	1 310 643	1 621 704	1 177 903	1 239 667	Bulgaria
49 469	51 799	63 269	48 656	59 528	88 711	94 447	129 730	Czech Republic
4 047	5 459	6 642	6 299	13 097	16 710	15 952	24 369	Estonia
12 002	13 055	14 837	15 293	20 754	22 919	22 322	29 470	Croatia
6 713	10 331	14 605	18 123	24 635	24 026	34 169	57 436	Latvia
12 292	13 317	20 129	22 861	37 724	50 467	48 462	71 791	Lithuania
36 760	38 179	51 334	48 186	62 416	78 115	78 266	82 718	Hungary
108 928	113 591	120 944	119 236	116 017	119 150	118 387	93 705	Macedonia
118 185	150 993	150 588	102 153	138 611	181 021	190 770	276 783	Poland
265 128	180 941	180 106	185 111	169 348	202 623	245 941	390 505	Romania
22 195	27 233	33 296	24 149	32 236	35 451	36 152	54 729	Slovakia
8 104	7 544	11 125	15 698	23 044	23 737	23 138	35 412	Slovenia
128 383	125 818	187 998	185 968	192 784	175 414	163 723	137 100	Serbia
27 806	20 023	5 509	5 076	12 157	16 833	11 261	10 582	Other European Countries
1 380 731	1 431 190	1 661 767	2 072 103	2 790 003	3 431 601	3 772 925	4 824 943	COM. OF INDEPENDENT STATES
179 878	178 861	163 114	192 645	330 313	411 652	380 132	434 577	Azerbaijan



9 622	17 179	36 386	45 037	62 365	77 183	85 336	106 578	Belarus
17 549	7 080	17 572	23 118	33 097	36 648	41 692	53 142	Armenia
179 563	163 970	161 687	167 759	235 143	367 339	549 328	630 979	Georgia
38 939	37 977	43 786	54 549	83 419	106 196	135 637	195 219	Kazakhstan
8 789	7 909	10 375	13 825	24 657	31 023	41 449	44 638	Kyrgyzstan
62 687	46 064	46 079	55 329	72 055	90 704	108 578	145 341	Moldova
21 062	21 365	20 387	18 926	20 394	24 689	28 607	43 082	Uzbekistan
677 152	757 121	946 494	1 257 559	1 603 372	1 864 682	1 853 442	2 465 336	Russian Federation
952	1 266	1 526	1 934	4 923	6 811	11 950	36 415	Tajikistan
10 987	14 996	21 323	15 970	26 621	34 282	48 857	76 334	Turkmenistan
173 551	177 402	193 038	225 452	293 644	380 392	487 917	593 302	Ukraine
1 124 323	1 074 877	1 203 394	1 398 315	1 688 231	2 311 110	2 279 980	2 868 741	ASIAN COUNTRIES
56 953	69 534	86 657	89 033	111 962	155 983	183 710	228 050	EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES
21 518	23 609	29 763	26 367	34 910	41 828	53 194	63 884	China
376	1 765	2 220	1 165	475	2 216	3 132	4 368	Honkong
22 816	29 828	42 839	46 738	60 831	92 040	108 399	135 244	Korea
12 243	14 332	11 835	14 763	15 746	19 899	18 985	24 554	Other East Asian Countries
41	40	39	36	46 156	61 650	67 087	89 532	SOUTHEAST

828	131	382	094					ASIAN COUNT.
7 467	7 549	9 657	5 873	7 074	8 269	8 956	11 792	Indonesia
16 447	14 341	13 121	14 905	12 400	15 072	21 115	24 757	Philippines
8 817	9 164	8 169	6 941	14 373	19 182	18 084	23 851	Malaysia
6 217	6 019	5 070	5 906	8 424	13 066	11 577	17 155	Singapore
2 546	3 026	3 245	2 416	3 693	5 904	7 176	10 999	Thailand
334	32	120	53	192	157	179	978	Other Southeast Asian Count.
404 012	351 641	453 803	546 244	673 878	1 008 432	934 560	1 144 936	SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES
2 228	7 182	1 941	25 101	8 720	9 401	14 562	16 919	Afghanistan
280	772	866	2 140	2 732	2 939	3 128	2 351	Bangladesh
12 546	9 234	10 113	13 610	20 003	26 479	35 378	45 175	India
380 819	327 067	432 281	494 977	631 522	957 245	865 942	1 058 206	Iran
7 908	7 259	8 354	10 082	10 373	11 756	14 700	21 307	Pakistan
231	127	248	334	528	612	850	978	Other Sout Asian Count.
621 530	613 571	623 552	726 944	856 235	1 085 045	1 094 623	1 406 223	WEST ASIAN COUNTRIES
491	2 337	4 361	4 120	3 155	4 201	4 254	5 829	Bahreyn
1 710	3 400	4 978	6 717	7 259	8 812	12 153	13 005	U.A.E.
3 597	1 813	2 866	3 031	2 942	3 282	3 163	3 634	Palestine
20 776	16 386	15 758	24 689	111 819	107 968	123 118	180 217	Iraq
312 301	310 714	270 262	321 096	299 944	393 805	362 501	511 435	Israel

114	613	824	1 209	1 424	1 955	2 584	3 783	Qatar
103 278	91 264	97 985	105 404	121 002	140 920	172 680	190 512	TRNC
1 309	5 324	6 989	8 191	7 203	11 086	11 824	12 589	Kuwait
16 693	22 328	31 298	34 055	36 395	41 074	35 995	45 461	Lebanon
122 417	109 723	126 428	154 823	195 597	288 626	277 779	332 840	Syria
15 779	20 714	25 656	23 569	25 283	36 328	38 890	41 490	Saudi Arabia
134	534	1 209	1 288	523	763	233	399	Oman
22 194	27 023	33 127	36 649	40 017	43 700	46 518	61 002	Jordan
737	1 398	1 811	2 103	3 672	2 525	2 931	4 027	Yemen
172 545	181 301	185 295	174 114	198 278	233 266	233 148	258 148	AFRICAN COUNTRIES
33 395	39 941	41 476	42 131	44 262	45 017	38 564	45 006	Algeria
11 628	11 791	12 638	13 760	15 994	24 915	30 380	37 788	Morocco
19 503	17 489	16 169	8 491	9 530	13 320	15 148	14 420	Republic of South Africa
1 367	1 031	1 385	1 924	2 260	2 862	3 140	3 793	Kenya
24 143	31 468	29 938	28 159	27 828	29 319	31 497	33 700	Libya
31 848	22 384	21 583	23 229	34 451	43 149	42 459	52 946	Egypt
4 238	2 267	2 057	1 375	1 830	2 713	4 306	5 600	Nigeria
1 199	1 768	2 135	2 123	1 802	1 384	1 751	2 434	Senegal
1 926	1 977	2 212	1 903	2 364	2 897	4 383	5 989	Sudan
39	44	51	46	52 456	61 093	47 984	41 890	Tunisia

682	978	244	712					
3 616	6 207	4 458	4 307	5 501	6 597	13 536	14 582	Other African Count.
62 943	66 946	39 952	41 442	53 973	111 195	125 748	143 635	AMERICAN COUNTRIES
12 236	9 395	2 892	6 498	5 790	10 265	11 474	14 600	Argentina
11 925	10 521	8 332	7 334	9 903	20 071	24 222	33 136	Brazil
269	387	668	268	390	556	398	1 894	Dominican Republic
454	937	888	850	1 306	1 326	1 728	2 309	Ecuador
1 419	2 473	2 259	1 750	2 143	3 340	4 175	5 066	Colombia
18 502	20 899	11 297	12 141	13 396	17 801	20 000	25 630	Mexico
453	3 175	171	179	254	481	565	671	Panama
75	94	75	395	72	123	223	155	Paraguay
704	1 210	868	712	877	1 256	1 243	1 616	Peru
4 262	3 633	3 306	3 079	3 756	5 415	5 644	7 112	Chile
505	1 713	1 014	886	1 110	1 396	1 819	2 070	Uruguay
1 325	2 402	1 832	1 450	2 142	3 200	4 545	6 604	Venezuela
10 814	10 107	6 350	5 900	12 834	45 965	49 712	42 772	Other American Count.
790	269	477	281	351	428	207	171	OCEAN COUNTRIES
10 957	11 578	10 619	14 126	19 289	22 483	19 287	20 365	Haimatlos
<b>5 314 884</b>	<b>4 892 641</b>	<b>5 059 422</b>	<b>5 817 368</b>	<b>7 097 473</b>	<b>8 045 085</b>	<b>8 167 369</b>	<b>8 854 788</b>	<b>Citizens total</b>

## 2 -Departing foreigners and citizens in Turkey, 2000-2007<sup>53</sup>

c								
2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Nationality
<b>9 991 004</b>	<b>11 276 531</b>	<b>12 921 982</b>	<b>13 701 419</b>	<b>17 202 996</b>	<b>20 522 621</b>	<b>19 275 948</b>	<b>23 017 081</b>	<b>Foreigner total</b>
								OECD COUNTRIES
5 491 745	6 694 736	7 846 486	7 886 362	9 960 273	11 284 856	10 030 496	11 439 822	EUROPE OECD COUNTRIES
2 212 213	2 842 720	3 552 185	3 288 904	3 970 364	4 117 952	3 729 334	4 192 512	Germany
303 293	353 242	368 236	385 196	459 046	484 201	423 979	473 273	Austria
241 891	300 861	302 854	273 717	409 308	455 987	418 024	549 890	Belgium
96 711	122 002	162 832	146 707	213 407	304 812	243 207	266 847	Denmark
53 822	60 831	80 683	54 114	84 032	98 571	76 205	83 623	Finland
431 369	514 455	496 482	453 658	540 606	679 140	619 366	739 442	France
409 170	607 508	846 112	973 935	1 200 547	1 251 463	1 003 954	1 081 436	Netherlands
898 066	850 161	1 015 671	1 089 679	1 424 321	1 763 174	1 704 041	1 940 412	United Kingdom
40 550	45 323	46 572	56 130	70 771	94 374	87 430	108 101	Ireland
85 139	107 958	78 902	90 805	114 325	199 562	225 252	285 092	Spain

<sup>53</sup> Türkiye İstatistik Birliği Verileri

127 191	176 750	199 513	195 641	286 104	402 114	326 738	338 678	Sweden
83 936	135 757	150 918	171 881	267 933	297 053	204 534	222 499	Switzerland
192 762	293 687	194 106	231 861	308 894	386 554	386 456	504 914	Italy
2 866	3 840	1 016	1 378	1 729	3 572	6 538	9 165	Iceland
1 600	2 521	2 444	2 724	5 848	8 827	4 399	6 283	Luxembourg
73 965	89 796	86 003	75 191	115 600	150 218	146 344	174 410	Norway
12 078	18 121	16 473	11 851	13 879	21 088	17 528	29 908	Portugal
225 123	169 203	245 484	382 990	473 559	566 194	407 167	433 337	Greece
705 449	635 166	439 813	401 652	495 592	748 544	885 505	1 098 933	OTHER OECD COUNTRIES
500 609	420 137	246 916	226 114	293 025	439 238	542 658	662 048	U.S.A
59 742	64 060	53 196	56 683	71 823	92 296	99 611	113 806	Australia
77 131	81 431	89 007	66 143	64 327	116 926	125 003	168 690	Japan
55 666	56 160	39 779	42 506	53 736	82 605	100 713	133 497	Canada
12 301	13 378	10 915	10 206	12 681	17 479	17 520	20 892	New Zealand
1 200 288	1 295 185	1 640 045	1 820 960	2 229 756	2 699 648	2 318 472	2 821 016	OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
28 134	25 810	28 086	31 519	41 851	50 990	47 857	56 698	Albania
28 606	27 569	28 350	31 968	39 434	42 494	40 303	50 215	Bosnia Herzegovina

371 560	537 714	853 003	1 040 985	1 324 106	1 622 600	1 196 979	1 347 616	Bulgaria
46 887	49 129	56 842	44 637	56 063	82 232	83 497	123 620	Czech Republic
4 233	5 090	5 177	5 750	11 768	16 404	14 204	24 100	Estonia
11 656	12 987	13 744	14 695	21 443	22 744	22 162	28 763	Croatia
7 132	10 112	12 187	16 148	22 631	23 941	31 228	56 635	Latvia
12 161	12 625	18 503	20 896	34 972	49 979	44 511	69 963	Lithuania
35 027	36 442	45 215	45 533	57 947	77 252	74 698	81 524	Hungary
102 396	104 462	103 690	112 049	111 576	114 629	117 734	95 412	Macedonia
121 242	134 395	126 724	89 987	120 061	179 617	178 328	274 556	Poland
253 032	174 225	166 465	180 317	167 206	198 331	242 097	382 971	Romania
22 307	26 082	29 366	23 182	29 676	34 904	33 615	51 850	Slovakia
9 042	7 259	9 382	14 403	22 465	23 551	22 159	34 681	Slovenia
115 223	113 198	137 769	143 972	157 734	143 762	157 769	130 933	Serbia
31 650	18 086	5 542	4 919	10 823	16 218	11 331	11 479	Other European Countries
1 311 703	1 370 335	1 586 838	2 084 654	2 737 343	3 411 204	3 660 920	4 639 360	COM. OF INDEPENDENT STATES
152 789	148 503	144 266	190 713	326 937	400 703	382 717	425 026	Azerbaijan
10 516	15 516	32 186	42 873	59 560	78 495	84 000	106 555	Belarus
14	7 067	16 952	22 573	31 359	36 353	41 751	53 393	Armenia

672								
167 026	160 205	162 296	164 515	229 382	357 405	541 488	619 893	Georgia
37 733	36 605	41 503	52 068	80 062	105 679	132 850	188 882	Kazakhstan
8 070	8 110	9 881	12 705	22 364	27 474	36 133	42 981	Kyrgyzstan
55 164	48 524	43 022	51 210	68 972	86 152	107 639	141 947	Moldova
20 218	20 744	19 590	17 438	19 103	23 641	26 615	39 857	Uzbekistan
667 287	741 863	909 015	1 300 299	1 579 451	1 878 179	1 782 568	2 353 333	Russian Federation
978	1 264	1 485	2 017	4 799	6 570	11 867	35 554	Tajikistan
10 682	14 399	20 347	16 094	24 938	29 700	37 179	53 750	Turkmenistan
166 568	167 535	186 295	212 149	290 416	380 853	476 113	578 189	Ukraine
1 040 973	1 028 273	1 181 320	1 279 844	1 503 206	2 006 280	2 019 316	2 606 006	ASIAN COUNTRIES
52 775	65 878	83 232	88 247	113 606	151 726	180 694	220 744	EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES
19 727	21 322	29 282	26 214	35 707	39 819	51 162	61 133	China
525	1 712	1 737	699	919	1 699	3 316	3 480	Honkong
22 137	28 981	41 117	46 897	61 161	90 664	107 639	132 433	Korea
10 386	13 863	11 096	14 437	15 819	19 544	18 577	23 698	Other East Asian Countries
39 502	39 005	38 340	34 473	45 790	61 056	64 259	87 329	SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES
7 399	7 542	9 152	5 566	7 137	8 277	8 314	11 411	Indonesia



15 617	13 919	13 015	14 746	11 758	14 542	19 906	24 102	Philippines
7 755	8 852	7 797	6 696	14 775	19 550	17 496	23 814	Malaysia
5 135	5 830	4 925	4 984	8 214	12 759	11 468	16 482	Singapore
2 451	2 807	3 330	2 430	3 690	5 770	6 912	10 517	Thailand
1 145	55	121	51	216	158	163	1 003	Other Southeast Asian Count.
352 787	330 926	448 842	459 960	510 424	728 951	704 742	951 938	SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES
2 064	6 126	2 205	24 558	8 609	8 968	17 169	23 913	Afghanistan
281	660	771	1 243	1 750	1 770	2 607	3 296	Bangladesh
11 892	9 057	10 132	13 129	20 186	26 944	33 258	44 436	India
330 595	307 801	427 462	411 558	469 450	678 622	636 282	854 488	Iran
7 605	7 135	7 989	9 168	9 966	11 978	14 550	24 816	Pakistan
350	147	283	304	463	669	876	989	Other Sout Asian Count.
595 909	592 464	610 906	697 164	833 386	1 064 547	1 069 621	1 345 995	WEST ASIAN COUNTRIES
497	2 463	3 948	2 692	2 730	3 552	4 081	5 657	Bahreyn
1 674	3 331	4 809	6 893	7 359	8 572	11 455	12 288	U.A.E.
3 472	2 077	2 584	2 778	2 934	3 513	3 394	3 661	Palestine
13 249	13 539	14 823	28 124	109 805	108 595	114 067	141 082	Iraq
300 514	300 453	259 468	307 359	284 475	388 339	359 114	503 570	Israel
101	614	857	1 151	2 580	1 843	2 413	3 593	Qatar
100	88 951	96 738	103	120	142 547	171	192 511	TRNC

680			781	570		205		
1 340	5 126	8 425	9 193	7 564	11 196	10 990	12 270	Kuwait
16 075	21 600	30 172	29 833	34 864	40 616	35 171	44 298	Lebanon
120 306	107 229	128 922	146 552	192 174	274 718	271 848	322 487	Syria
15 103	20 144	24 382	21 865	25 276	34 352	37 388	40 513	Saudi Arabia
62	456	1 176	1 217	469	720	223	443	Oman
22 193	25 184	32 901	33 737	39 051	43 546	45 135	59 703	Jordan
643	1 297	1 701	1 989	3 535	2 438	3 137	3 919	Yemen
166 389	174 825	177 797	172 428	202 314	234 390	225 610	246 098	AFRICAN COUNTRIES
32 834	38 577	39 559	42 602	45 507	45 250	37 752	43 250	Algeria
10 361	11 323	11 894	13 115	14 524	24 183	27 054	35 242	Morocco
20 288	17 209	15 965	8 535	9 579	13 496	15 333	14 472	Republic of South Africa
1 272	1 078	1 337	1 838	2 346	2 887	3 119	3 676	Kenya
21 913	30 708	29 040	28 034	30 182	30 734	31 389	32 792	Libya
31 348	21 352	20 420	22 734	34 958	43 817	40 489	51 056	Egypt
1 455	1 538	1 543	1 369	1 941	2 749	4 175	5 242	Nigeria
1 208	1 667	1 934	1 742	1 632	1 353	1 592	2 056	Senegal
1 844	1 943	2 203	1 785	2 323	3 000	4 175	5 634	Sudan
38 894	44 494	49 622	46 631	54 083	60 138	47 306	40 727	Tunisia
4 972	4 936	4 280	4 043	5 239	6 783	13 226	11 951	Other African

								Count.
62 475	66 199	39 049	41 570	54 576	115 473	117 300	146 188	AMERICAN COUNTRIES
11 616	8 711	2 818	6 552	5 793	10 237	11 181	14 355	Argentina
11 277	10 587	8 212	7 194	9 737	20 146	23 214	32 412	Brazil
270	499	700	299	383	519	418	1 883	Dominican Republic
468	901	801	881	1 348	1 304	1 561	2 239	Ecuador
1 553	2 435	2 443	1 681	2 124	3 298	4 094	4 868	Colombia
18 455	20 592	10 936	12 563	13 534	17 738	19 373	25 290	Mexico
507	3 172	189	176	249	500	561	719	Panama
79	90	66	402	69	130	186	146	Paraguay
714	1 184	831	718	849	1 231	1 235	1 639	Peru
4 086	3 553	3 219	3 051	3 858	5 437	5 299	6 926	Chile
691	2 089	938	888	1 049	1 340	1 529	5 469	Uruguay
1 226	2 358	1 635	1 416	2 052	3 133	4 491	6 403	Venezuela
11 533	10 028	6 261	5 749	13 531	50 460	44 158	43 839	Other American Count.
937	355	387	309	920	395	212	144	OCEAN COUNTRIES
11 045	11 457	10 247	13 640	19 016	21 831	18 117	19 514	Haiti
<b>5 279 099</b>	<b>4 856 816</b>	<b>5 129 591</b>	<b>5 891 729</b>	<b>7 288 876</b>	<b>8 246 056</b>	<b>8 275 396</b>	<b>8 937 660</b>	<b>Citizens total</b>

### 3- Comparison of Arrivals and Departures

Years	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Arrives from RA to TR	17 549	7 080	17 572	23 118	33 097	36 648	41 692	53 142
Departures from RA to TR	14 672	7 067	16 952	22 573	31 359	36 353	41 751	53 393
	2877	33	629	545	1738	295	-59	-251
Total RA citizens in TR	5807							

## ANNEX 5 - Turkish Press Scan

What's most interesting about the "Illegal Armenian Worker Problem" is that; this subject only comes up whenever political tensions flare between Armenia and Turkey. The most important problem between Armenia and Turkey are the Armenian Genocide resolutions discussed in the parliaments of other countries. When these draft bills come up the first issue to be discussed is that of illegal Armenian workers. But instead of defining or solving the problem, these discussions are aimed at deporting the illegal workers.

The Turkish public and illegal Armenian workers were confronted with this possibility for the first time on October 8, 2000, when Tansu Ciller, the president of the True Path Party (DYP), made the suggestion in response to discussions on draft bill regarding the Armenian Genocide at a Foreign Affairs Committee hearing in U.S. House of Representatives. In response, Tansu Ciller proposed the deportation of illegal Armenian workers.

*"Tansu Ciller, the president of the DYP, has suggested the deportation of the illegal Armenian workers as a response to the false Armenian genocide claims of Armenian pressure group in USA. Tansu Ciller, expressed her thoughts as "a temporary deportation of Armenian citizens who work in Turkey", in her speech in Eskisehir."*<sup>54</sup>

*"Tansu Ciller has stated that 'the government has lack of determination and will power against the draft bills on so-called Armenian genocide, and has to play its trumps wisely'. Ciller has asked the government to take more efficient measures and suggested that the government impose restrictions on the use of Incirlik airbase, use the court order in Turkey's favor and deport 30 thousand Armenian citizens who live in Turkey for various reasons."*<sup>55</sup>

However, the most interesting aspect of Ciller's statement was that she used 30,000 as a figure for RoA citizens living in Turkey. This figure varies widely and is a subject of constant debate. People questioned whether she included Turkish-Armenians in her estimate. In any event Tansu Ciller never declared her sources for such a number.

*"Tansu Ciller, President of the DYP, has made a series of goofs at the meeting with Fatih Ugurlu, President of Memur-Sen (Union of Civil Servants) and the members of the board of directors. The president of the DYP suggested the deportation of 30,000 Armenian citizens living in Turkey, as a response to the draft bill on so-called Armenian genocide. Ciller said, 'The Turkish citizen Armenians are my own citizens. But Armenian citizen businessmen come to Turkey for trade. Either we should collect and send them back to Armenia or deport them and let others to struggle with the situation.'*"<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> [webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2000/10/08/248014.asp](http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2000/10/08/248014.asp) - 8k -

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.aksam.com.tr/arsiv/aksam/2000/10/09/politika/politika1.html>

<sup>56</sup> <http://www.aksam.com.tr/arsiv/aksam/2000/10/08/guncel/guncel7.html-cillerden-gaf-ustne-gaf>

The most hard-hitting response to this suggestion came from Oktay Eksi, in his following article “By Ciller’s Mind”, (*Hurriyet*; November 8, 2000)

*“It’s UNBELEIVABLE but the other day, at a meeting which was organized by the Eskisehir Chamber of Industry, Tansu Ciller, the DYP President, has declared:*

*‘There’re 30 thousand Armenian citizens living in Turkey, nowadays. Turkish citizen Armenians are my own people. If they’re Turkish citizens they have all the rights that come with citizenship. But there’re Armenian citizens... 30 thousand... They’re businessmen. They come here for trade. Either we should collect and send them back to Armenia or deport them and let others to struggle with the situation.’ I mean there are lots of solutions like this. We want to discuss them with Mr. President.”*

*How flat the world is for some people. They speak like there are no restrictions.*

*Does Mrs. Ciller want to scare Armenian citizen businessmen (we’ve learned of their existence just now) who do business in Turkey or is she trying to prove that Turkey has a long way to go before becoming a state of law, with Ciller-like-minded politicians? Or is she trying to prove that Turkey is some kind of tribal country, in which people can come and work without any registration and kicked away by the governmental officials when members of the government get pissed off?*

*Also, it should be investigated if there really are 30 thousand Armenian citizens who came here to work. If there are, then how did they come here, who did they ask for permission, how did they open a business and become tax payers? If they don’t have any permission or rights, then who has tolerated this situation, aren’t they responsible?*

*We will be happy if someone provides answers.*

*Is Turkey a bear garden?”<sup>57</sup>*

(In Turkish “Dingo`nun Ahiri”, connotating somewhere, someplace where you can not control anything; things just happen without any permission – **Author**)

While these discussions on deportation were going on, the most confusing question of all concerned the number of RoA citizens in Turkey. Hrant Dink’s article, entitled “The place where the ‘Whoa!’ has been forgotten” (*Birgun*; May 11, 2004) struck a quite ironic note:

*“... There are two reasons for this mistake. ... First of all, it’s due to the contribution of all the Armenians who have been scattered all around the world to work, not just the ones in Turkey. Secondly; the number of Armenian citizens has never reached 30,000. It’s never even passed 3-5 thousand. Then what is the source of this number 30,000? I think it’s time to confess. Here is the story behind the number 30,000. Here is a story which sounds like one of Aziz Nesin’s”:*

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<sup>57</sup> [webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2000/10/08/247942.asp](http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2000/10/08/247942.asp) - 9k

*It was the time when a draft bill on the Armenian genocide had passed the National Assembly of France and hostile discussions about Armenians had started. One of the TV stations, that I admire much, asked for my help to produce a high quality TV show that would exclude these hostile discussions. They wanted to make a show which had a humanitarian and peaceful point of view and would show the lives of illegal Armenian workers, struggling to earn a living, despite the fact that everyone was angry with Armenians. Since I know where these Armenians were working and living, they shot the program in a very short period with my guidance. The day the program was going to be screened, my friend who was editing the film, called me and asked me this question: ‘What is the number of Armenian citizens in Turkey? It’s claimed to be over 10,000. Is it true?’ I said reflexively: ‘Whoa! What nonsense! 30,000 would be a better number if you want to exaggerate.’ Then he skipped the ‘Whoa!’ part of my answer and took the 30,000 number seriously. I watched the show in the evening and it was a good show. It included messages of friendship and understanding. Unfortunately, one of the pieces of information included in the show was number 30,000.*

*So, from then on, the number 30,000 has become one of the most discussed subjects in Turkey. People like retired ambassadors, esteemed old politicians and prominent reporters have written such things like “Considering Armenians’ hostility against Turkey, we feed 30,000 Armenian citizens”; Tansu Ciller, the president of the DYP, suggested the deportation of 30,000 Armenians to teach the RoA a lesson; the government and National Security Council have included these 30,000 RoA citizens in their agenda and have discussed policy proposals on the matter. A solution was also found. From now on, a visa regime would be applied to the RoA and the entry of Armenian citizens to Turkey was going to be constrained. The accommodation permit of 30,000 Armenian citizens would no longer be extended.”*

While thoughts on “what to do with these Armenians” were occupying people’s mind, the other distracting question was “what is the real number of these people?” The problem of illegal Armenian migrants surfaced very rarely until 2006. In 2006, a resolution on the Armenian genocide had been approved by National Assembly of France. It was then that discussion on the problem of illegal Armenian workers started.

*“October 12, 2006, was an important day for Turkey. We were at the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, when the draft bill, which legally indicts people who claim that there was no Armenian genocide, was approved by National Assembly of France. In the halls of Grand National Assembly everyone was depressed and nervous. Maybe it wasn’t healthy to discuss the future state of relations between Armenia and Turkey. But we talked to some of the representatives of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and asked them for their opinion on the matter and steps to be taken as a solution.*

*We’ve talked to lots of representatives but almost all declared similar ideas and suggestions for a solution.*

*Some representatives of the AKP didn’t want to state their names:*

- *Will the AKP government be able to find a solution of the Turkish-Armenian conflict? Is the government eager for it?*

The answer of AKP representatives - *We've made important attempts as the Turkish government. But now it's the turn of Armenian citizens and diaspora Armenians. They should think a bit now. The Armenian government should intervene in the diaspora when Armenians organize such actions. These kinds of actions will delay the process. Today, there're 70,000 – 150,000 Armenian people working in Turkey. What more can Turkey do?*

- *As you know, Yasar Yakis, Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly's EU Integration Committee, has declared that if this draft bill is approved by the National Assembly of France, the Turkish government will deport all illegal Armenian citizens. What is your opinion of his declaration?*

The answer of AKP representatives - *We don't approve of this declaration. Turkey should show its reaction in democratic ways. It's not right to punish desperate people. Also it doesn't suit us.*

- *The number of RoA citizens has been declared as 30,000 by Mr. Abdullah Gul last year. But today you give numbers of 70,000 - 150,000. Isn't it a national security problem that Turkish government can't state the number of foreign people who enter the country?*

The answer of AKP representatives: *I think the governmental offices, which are responsible from these people, would know the exact number. We reflect public opinion.*

Mehmet Cicek: Representative of Yozgat city:

- *Mr. Yasar Yakis has declared that if this draft bill is approved by National Assembly of France, the Turkish government will deport all illegal Armenian citizens. The draft bill has now been approved. What will happen next?*

M. C. - *I don't have any information on such a declaration. You claim that there is one. This isn't the first incorrect action taken by the French government. But we can't punish our own citizens due to the mistakes of others. Also it doesn't suit us.*

- *No, you got it wrong. We're talking about Republic of Armenia citizens not native Armenians.*

M. C. - *If the Turkish government had ever wanted take this kind of course, it would have deported these people long ago. But these people have never been harmed.”<sup>58</sup>*

What we found interesting in these interviews is that: 1) Turkish representatives can hardly differentiate between native Turkish-Armenian citizens and Armenians who are citizens of the RoA 2) The number in question has instantly jumped to 150,000 (Maybe they include native Turkish-Armenians in this figure)

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<sup>58</sup> Turkiye'deki Dusunsel ve Duygusal Iklim Projesi /2006(Alin Ozinan-H. Boll)



Sukru Elekdag, representative of Istanbul, was the first to bring the problem of illegal Armenian workers to the agenda in 2006.

In his October 17, 2006 speech, at a hearing in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Elekdag said:

*“Dear friends. The draft bill, which brings pecuniary punishment and jail sentences to those who deny the so-called Armenian genocide, is an absurd, senseless, and anti-democratic law. In my opinion, the most effective precaution to take against this draft bill is putting leverage on Armenia. One of the first precautions to take is sending 70,000 Armenian citizens, who work in Turkey, back. Also this enforcement wouldn’t be a real sanction, because it will be the enforcement of an actual law which has, incorrectly, not applied before. Another sanction can be canceling flights between Istanbul and Yerevan. There are still seven flights a day from Yerevan to Istanbul. Armenian people use these flights to trade.”<sup>59</sup>*

(In fact, there are only two flights a week; he exaggerated – **Author**)

Thus, the number has increased from 30,000 to 70,000. No one has declared the source of this information.

The first one who came out in support Elekdag’s suggestion was Yasar Yakis, representative of the city of Duzce and Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly’s EU Integration Committee. On November 9, 2006, Yakis made the same declaration and suggested that 70,000 Armenians be deported. At the “Year 2006, Duzce and Economy” panel, organized by Association of Businessmen and Manufacturers of Duzce at the Hotel Tasli, Yakis said:

*“There are 70,000 illegal Armenian workers in Turkey. Depending on the laws, if the Turkish government says to them ‘You are working here illegally. You can’t work’, they will be in trouble. For example, Georgia has deported two Russian military officers for being members of the secret service. Then Russia reacted by deporting all the Georgians from Russia. Another similar example is when the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus declared its independence, Turkey, Pakistan and Bangladesh recognized the government. But the Greek government declared that all Bangladeshi citizens working on Greek ships would be fired if the Bangladeshi government didn’t rescind its recognition. This was designed to pressure the Bangladeshi government. The government of Bangladesh discussed the situation and saw that it would be paying an arm and a leg for this recognition, so they rescinded it. I mean, it will be a discomfort for Armenia if we send back all the illegal Armenian workers in Turkey. If you ask, ‘Why should we punish Armenia for the mistake of France?’ I can say that Armenian government has to be aware of its responsibilities.”<sup>60</sup>*

Naif Alibeyoglu, the mayor of Kars, supported the suggestion to deport in his speech on November 7, 2006. At the “The Role of Exportation on Improvement” seminar, organized in Kars, Mayor Alibeyoglu stated that there has been no improvement in exports from Kars. He said:

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<sup>59</sup> [www.eraren.org/index.php?Page=DergiIcerik&IcerikNo=426](http://www.eraren.org/index.php?Page=DergiIcerik&IcerikNo=426) - 42k

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2006/10/10/guncel/agun.html>

*“Throughout the entire Cold War, Kars suffered since it was the neighboring city to USSR. Then Iğdir and Ardahan separated from Kars and these events negatively affected Kars. What also proved to be unfortunate was that Kars bordered on Armenia. As natives of Kars we’re protesting loudly. If there’s an embargo going on against Armenia, then let it be a complete embargo. While there’s unemployment problem in Turkey, 50,000 illegal Armenian immigrants are living in Istanbul. Of course from a humanitarian point of view, we should help all who are in need. It would be a sign of our generosity. But then if there’s an embargo, then let it be a complete embargo. Armenian tourists travel to Antalya and Trabzon. Only Kars faces all the problems. Of course we natives of Kars are ready to fight Armenia. But if there’s an embargo, then let it be a complete embargo. I mean we would respect these kinds of decisions and we should live prudently.”<sup>61</sup>*

Afterwards, intellectuals and writers began to discuss the issue.

In his article, dated October 22, 2006, Murat Bebiroglu wrote:

*“Retired ambassadors like Alev Alatlı, Gunduz Aktan, and Sukru Elekdag ask the government to take harsh precautions. I’m afraid the discussions will end up suggesting the deportation of all Armenians in Turkey. If I’m not mistaken, suddenly Sukru Elekdag raised the number of illegal Armenian immigrants from 30,000 to 70,000. Everyone started to use this number. I wonder if this number of illegal Armenians actually corresponds to reality. If I’m not mistaken, one of the ministers has declared their number as 30,000 a few months ago. And lately that minister has not declared any new number on the subject. I wonder if it’s a slip of tongue. Or is it a message to the Western countries? Is someone trying to imply that the Turkish government would deport both Armenian citizens from the RoA and Turkish-Armenian citizens? I know you’ll see it as a conspiracy theory, but these kinds of statements make people feel suspicious. One of the writers asks, ‘What will we say, when they call it a new emigration, when we deport all Armenian citizens from Turkey?’ In fact, while it’s claimed that there are over one million illegal Iraqi, Iranian and African workers, if you collect illegal Armenians one by one and deport them wouldn’t it be a collective punishment of innocent people? Also will collective punishment or usage of the threat of collective punishment as leverage correspond to state law? Eventually, it’s clear that it will be us, native Armenians, and poor Armenian citizen immigrants, who will suffer the consequences of this kind of law. It’s hard to foresee to what point this cultural nationalism will improve...”<sup>62</sup>*

Kadir Dikbas, in his *Zaman* article of October 13, 2006, tried to discuss this subject from a different point of view.

*“...France is persistent in its hostile behavior. The draft bill was voted in the French Assembly yesterday. Now it will be voted in the French Senate. Nowadays people in Turkey discuss what to do in response. One of the suggestions is deporting the Armenian citizens in Turkey whose number is claimed to be between 40 and 70 thousand. The subject which hadn’t been discussed till now, started to be discussed after the voting on the draft bill which forbids saying ‘there has never been an Armenian genocide’, in France. It’s hard to understand why the Turkish government has tolerated this illegal employment to grow this far, while the*

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<sup>61</sup> [www.hurriyet.com.tr/sondakika/5474789.asp?m=1](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/sondakika/5474789.asp?m=1) - 77k –

<sup>62</sup> [www.hyetert.com/yazi3.asp?s=0&AltYazi=Makaleler%20%5C%3E%20Genel&Id=263&DiId=1](http://www.hyetert.com/yazi3.asp?s=0&AltYazi=Makaleler%20%5C%3E%20Genel&Id=263&DiId=1)

*Armenian and French governments have been carrying out this genocide campaign for political benefits. Now we justly ask, 'How can illegal Armenians work here while my own citizens suffer unemployment? What kind of nonsense is this?' Also some voice their opposition by asking, 'What do you want from poor workers?' Actually Turkey is face to face with a serious illegal worker problem. The problem doesn't include only illegal Armenian workers. The illegal workers who come here as tourists from Eastern European, Middle Eastern and Asian countries, work generally in small and medium enterprises, especially in work areas like construction, foundry, tannery, textile, plastics, agriculture, sailing, loading-unloading, cleaning, clerking, tourism. ...Turkey, who has officially started to export labor after 1960, has come face to face with an illegal worker problem after the downfall of the USSR. Nowadays, the number of illegal workers in Turkey has increased to very high numbers. Some of these people come here on tourist visas that have one or three month extensions. And they never go back or some renew their visas periodically and continue working here. Also, there are some who enter the country illegally.*"<sup>63</sup>

Anahit Hazaryan discussed the same subject from a different point of view:

*"In recent years, Turkey has become a favored country for Armenian immigrants who have become commodities in the international slave market after the downfall of Socialist regime. Thus, illegal immigrant Armenian citizens, whose number is claimed to be as many as native Armenians (50,000 – 60,000), have been added to the native Armenian population who, play role of both oppressor and oppressed. While the Turkish government has been treating its own wealthy Armenian citizens with suspicion, it has come face to face with poor Armenian immigrants from Armenia. While poor Armenians live the dishonor of becoming slaves, under the deportation threats of Turkish government, which don't seem to be applied, for now, and declarations like 'you blame us for committing a genocide, but we accept you within our borders', they also have to swallow this double-insult."*<sup>64</sup>

The Foreign Affairs Committee of U.S. House of Representatives voted on the Armenian Genocide draft bill introduced by Californian Senator Mr. Schiff and supporters on January 30, 2007. The bill was approved by a vote of 27 to 21. As in the past, discussions regarding the deportation of illegal Armenian workers in Turkey invariably surfaced.

This time, the first comment on the subject came from Prof. Dr. Kemal Cicek. He offered a detailed solution of Armenian genocide arguments. One of the most important parts of his article, published in the October 14, 2007 edition of *Zaman*, was as follows:

*"So, I think, the precautions, which should be taken against the discussions on the draft bill in U.S. House of Representatives, should be aimed at Armenia and Armenian Diaspora, not the USA. Personally I think, while fighting against Armenian pressure groups, it would be more efficient to target Armenian corporations and organizations than aiming at countries. So my suggestion is to take precautions against Armenia directly. The detention on relations with Armenia or opening the borders to encourage the participation of Armenia in various dialogues, as suggested by the EU and others, should not even be considered. Isolation policy against Armenia has to be applied more seriously. Those illegal workers who*

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<sup>63</sup> <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=60045>

<sup>64</sup> <http://makale.turkcebilgi.com/kose-yazisi-99256-kadir-dikbas-ermeni-kacaklarin-hatirlattiklari.html>

*came from Armenia to work in Turkey should be deported immediately. This step would trigger a reaction against the Armenian Diaspora from within the citizens of Armenia and would increase tension between them.”<sup>65</sup>*

At the time, the deportation of illegal Armenian wasn't discussed that much. But as in Hasan Kanbolat's article, published on October 9, 2007, illegal Armenian workers have been targeted and brought to the attention of the public.

*“Even though Armenia continues its hostile actions against Turkey, there are regular bus rides from the Eastern Black Sea part of Turkey to Armenia, passing through Georgia. Armenia is allowed to use the port of Trabzon for exportation and importation. Entry to Turkey has become easier by granting visas on the border; a policy that was put into force on January 10, 2002. Turkey is showing tolerance towards the illegal employment of almost 100,000 Armenians.”<sup>66</sup>*

In addition, some really interesting arguments about illegal Armenian workers have occurred over time: *“The country called Armenia has a population of only 3 million and is in poverty. When you walk the streets of Armenia you almost can't see any young Armenians. It's because the young Armenians have immigrated to other countries to work. Even in Turkey, almost 50,000 young and old, male and female Armenian citizens work.”<sup>67</sup>*

## SUNDAYS ZAMAN

### Armenian workers may boost Turkey's hand in foreign policy

“Un-hate a Turk Today” said the banner raised on April 24, 1969, a day Armenians commemorate mass suffering endured during World War I, in front of the St. Vartan Armenian Cathedral in Manhattan's Murray Hill neighborhood.

The unconventional performance by Armenian-American artist Kardash Onnig symbolizes his long journey in promoting dialogue and understanding between Turks and Armenians. Onnig, whose parents were born and raised here in Turkey, told *Sunday's Zaman* that he has been struggling to make the case for the reopening of the border between Turkey and Armenia. On a recent trip that took him all over the country, he said, “I came back very proud of my heritage that had given so much to Turkish culture.”

Ironically though, he became the target of hate from his own. His visa has been revoked by the Armenian Embassy in Washington because of the book “Savage Chic: A Fool's Chronicle of the Caucasus,” which he published after returning from a six-month artist-in-residency stay in Karabakh.

Like Onnig, there is a sizable number of Armenians coming to Turkey, and their number is growing along with a positive perception of Turks and Turkey. Armenians, who feel the economic crisis taking its toll

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<sup>65</sup> <http://www.teorivepolitika.com/41/TP41Y10.htm>

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.asam.org.tr/tr/yazigoster.asp?ID=1799&kat2=2>

<sup>67</sup> Husnu Mahali - <http://www.aksam.com.tr/yazar.asp?a=67421,10,110>

back home, are moving to Turkey in the hope of landing on a job. They obtain non-immigrant tourist visas on the border and simply overstay their visas after being hired as babysitters, cleaners, factory workers or seasonal farm workers, albeit illegally.

### **Up to 100,000 workers from Armenia**

Nobody knows the exact number of Armenian expatriates who live in Turkey and send money home. But various figures estimate the numbers to be between 40,000 on conservative side, all the way up to 100,000. With the possible opening of the border between Turkey and Armenia, their numbers are expected to increase.

Armenian expats recently became a subject of controversy in Turkey after some politicians seized the opportunity to capitalize on the growing discontent about illegal workers numbering more than a million. Against the backdrop of possible normalization of relations with Armenia, some have raised the possibility of sending Armenian expats back to their home country in an attempt to derail the dialogue process.

“I’m not opposed to Armenian workers flocking to Turkey to look for a job,” says Güven Sak, professor of economics at the Ankara-based Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges University of Economics and Technology (TOBB ETÜ). “It indicates Turkey has become a center of attraction for neighboring countries, and this creates a lot of opportunities for us,” he told Sunday’s Zaman. He stressed, however, that guest workers should be employed legally. “The government needs to overhaul the immigration system and review border security along the guidelines of European Union norms,” he added.

Mehmet Seyfettin Erol, professor of international relations at Gazi University, agrees with Sak in that a possible backlash against Armenian workers might backfire on Turkey and harm the interests of the country. Speaking to Sunday’s Zaman, Erol underlined the importance of Armenian workers living and earning their livelihood in Turkey and said, “This is soft power for Turkey.” He also urged more cooperation between civic organizations and youth and health institutions in the two countries. “Treating them as ‘others’ does not serve any purpose and it will, in all likelihood, push Armenians away from Turkey,” he noted.

### **Workers’ remittances important for Armenia**

Keeping Armenian workers well fed and well paid here in Turkey will surely strengthen Turkey’s role at a time when more Armenian migrant laborers are returning from abroad in big numbers. The Ministry of Economy in Yerevan estimates the country receives more than \$2.5 billion a year in remittances, which make up about a fifth of Armenia’s gross domestic product (GDP). With less money available to send home because of the distressed job market abroad, the revenue of the government fell 25 percent this year. Returning expats are also adding to the huge army of the unemployed in a nation of 3 million.

The local currency has lost a third of its value against the dollar, and the government has turned to International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for a loan amounting to over \$1 billion. It is also soliciting a helping hand from Russia, the biggest trading partner and investor in the country. Russian

companies control much of Armenia's infrastructure, including railways, gas pipelines, a nuclear power plant and mobile telecoms.

Although the border has remained closed since 1993, as a sign of solidarity with Azerbaijan after Armenia occupied Nagorno-Karabakh, Turkey lifted restrictions on the admission of Armenians into the country in January 2002. Armenian visitors can either use airlines that operate regularly between Yerevan-Istanbul and Yerevan-Trabzon, or they can use bus services routed through Georgia ending in cities across the Black Sea coast in eastern Turkey.

The current visa regime allows Armenian citizens to enter the country on 30-day non-resident visas. If any alien is found to be working illegally, they are reported to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. The alien is later deported to their home country and fined TL 844 (\$540). He or she is also barred from re-entry to Turkey for five years. The employer also gets hit with a TL 4,227 (\$2700).

Şükrü Elekdağ, an opposition party deputy from the Republican People's Party (CHP), was very critical of the government at the time and suggested the deportation of 70,000 Armenian workers in stages. Asked by *Sunday's Zaman* whether he still holds the same view today, Elekdağ dodged the question and declined to comment on the issue, saying the question is based on ill-faith.

### **PM: Turkey will not deport Armenians**

Turkey's prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, dismissed flatly, however, any suggestion that Armenian workers should be deported in order to pressure the Yerevan government. Putting the figure at around 40,000 in a speech he delivered in January, Erdoğan said: "They [Armenian workers] fled the country, they could not sustain themselves in their homeland, and we opened our doors. We could deport them, but we are not doing so." Stressing that Turkey had welcomed people many times in the past, the prime minister underlined that Turkey is continuing to present the same exemplary attitude.

In fact, government agencies have rarely used their power to deport Armenians so far. In response to a parliamentary question brought by ultranationalist party, the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), deputy Hakan Coşkun, who reiterated claims raised by Elekdağ earlier, Interior Minister Beşir Atalay said eight Armenians were deported in 2007 and only one as of March 2008. In comparison, more than 50,000 Armenians passed through the Turkish border checkpoint in 2007, making the number of deportees seem almost insignificant.

Even though there is an undeclared official policy to keep Armenian workers relatively comfortable here in Turkey, there is not much the government can do if and when it decides to crack down on illegal immigration. "The fines and penalties are high, but the numbers of official inspectors who are tasked with finding illegal employees in workplaces are very few," says Kadir Dikbaş, a columnist and expert on economic policy in Istanbul. He said he understands the reasoning behind the government policy but says

the situation creates unfair competition in employment policies. “There is also the risk of not protecting these workers’ rights as they simply do not exist in official records,” he added. <sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> <http://www.sundayszaman.com/sunday/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=174850>

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