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"THE PERCEPTIONS OF ARMENIAN IN TURKEY"

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&

"GENDER IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION STUDIES AND MIGRANT WOMEN'S POSITION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION"

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PREFACE

This Working Paper consists of two papers written by Tuğçe Erçetin and Leyla Yıldız within the framework of the 2st Jean Monnet Students Workshop organized by the Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism run by Prof. Ayhan Kaya at the Department of International Relations and the European Institute. The Workshop was organized in May 2014 at the Dolapdere Campus of Istanbul Bilgi University, and both BA and MA students from the fields of European Studies, Politics, International Relations, Anthropology, Sociology, Cultural Studies, Law, and Translation Studies were present to submit their academic papers on the following issues with regard to the Turkish accession process into the European Union: mobility, diversity, citizenship, minorities, identities, education, multiculturalism and interculturalism. As the emphasis of the Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism is on the matters of social cohesion, the students were expected to discuss their works on the relevant issues, which are believed to be very relevant for the Turkey-EU Relations in general, and for the Turkish context in particular.Some of the papers were published on the website of the Jean Monnet Chair (http://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/tr/news/jean-monnet-student-workshop-13-may-2014/).

The first paper by Tuğçe Erçetin discusses some of the cultural/political/juridical/social issues of the Armenian-origin citizens through their experiences and perceptions in Turkey. The second paper by Leyla Yıldız, on the other hand, discusses gender and migration in the European context. I would like to thank both authors for their contribution to this issue. And I believe that their enthusiasm and dedication will be a good example for all our students.

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PAPER 1

This paper has been written as a dissertation in the University of Essex.

THE PERCEPTIONS OF ARMENIAN PEOPLE IN TURKEY

Tuğçe Erçetin*

Defining one's identity according to the position of the "other" is nothing but sickness. If one needs to have enemies in order to perpetuate his/her identity; then that identity projects nothing but sickness.

Hrant Dink

1. Introduction

Robert Gurr states: "Minorities are often subject to one or several discrimination or insecure circumstances: direct discrimination, economic disadvantage, political exclusion, physical violence, and cultural restrictions in terms of language usage, religious practice, cultural traditions, and the formation of cultural organizations."[1] This paper aims to present some cultural/political/juridical/social issues of the Armenian citizens through their experiences and perceptions in Turkey. Therefore, the research method was to survey the Armenian minority living in Turkey. The research question is, "W*hat explains perceptions of the Armenian minority in Turkey?*" In this sense, the dependent variables "discrimination" and "insecurity" are created to see which factors best explain these perceptions. In addition, the key independent variables determining why Armenians hold these perceptions are identity, the portrayal by the Turkish media, social interaction (with the Diaspora, Armenian community), political participation in Turkey, and their background.

This question and research is interesting, because the Armenian community has been recognized as a minority group in the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923. Although Turkey has many obligations to the international human rights regime, religious, ethnic, linguistic, educational, and institutional discrimination still exist. As a nation-state the Republic of Turkey adopted the understanding of "one language, one religion, and one nation". The "official" and "unofficial" approaches towards Armenians as citizens in Turkey are not fair or equal. The transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey produced a traumatic ambience inducing fear of segmentation in the social subconscious;[2] the paper will go into detail in the following chapter on the events of 1915. Therefore, Turkish-Armenians as a minority group became the object of this domestic situation damaging their political, cultural and social structure. At this

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1 Ted Robert Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts,* (Washington: United States Institute for Peace Press, 1993).

2 Etyen Mahcupyan, "The Issues of non-Muslim Communities and Not Being Citizen in Turkey," *TESEV Publications*, (June 2004): 2.

point, the concept of "citizenship" is deeply complicated when describing the status of Armenian people, because I argue that the fact that Armenian people in Turkey feel like second-class citizens is already a sufficient reason for perceived discrimination and insecurity.

Furthermore, some policies or practices will be discussed in the following chapters in order to emphasize dependent variables, including the religious marginalization and exclusion of Armenian people; here I will provide the theoretical framework to understand how Armenians may define their needs in a society (human needs theory as a community) as well as what they experience as a result of Turkish society and governmental/social practices (cultural/structural/direct violence). It will be necessary to indicate their status within the state and the boundaries of Turkey, portraying the functions of Armenian institutions (church, school, foundation) and Armenian peoples' relationship vis-a-vis the state and citizenship. When we deal with these issues, it is inevitable to recognize certain discriminatory practices that pertain to these institutions. Although the perceptions of individuals are significant to attain the results, also the structure of the Armenian institutions, juridical arrangements, jurisdiction, bureaucratic obstacles, and governmental decisions/policies present significant parameters to show how they formed their perceptions of the experience of discrimination and insecurity.

2. Historical Background

There are various theories on the origins of Armenians. The first written source using the words "Armenian" and "Armenia" is a monument of Darius I, who was the King of Persia from the sixth century BCE. This monument refers to Armenia and Armenians in the geographic area of today's Eastern Anatolia. Since this period, Armenians have become one of the Anatolian peoples. The Armenian lands became a battleground during the Ottoman period, although the borders were changed for different reasons. A large part of the region remained in the Ottoman Empire, comprising the Armenian community.[3] Until 1915, the area of historical settlement of the Armenian people was the Armenian highland, described as a territory about 300.000-400.000 km located between the adjacent plateaus of Iran and Anatolia, and between Northern Mesopotamia and the Caucasus.[4]

The Ottoman Empire consisted of a unique millet system of self-government for the non-Muslim minorities. The Armenian population was known by the Turks as the *Millet-i Sadıka*, or "loyal nation".[5] The situation of the Armenians in Anatolia, especially in the eastern part was conflictual, because they were deprived of security of life and property and of protection against rape. The state and unofficial despots received taxes and tribute. Kidnapping of Armenian women, extortion of property and similar negative experiences were ordinary crimes committed against Armenians without punishment. The Armenian people tried to complain many times, however, they were ignored or declared "guilty" by the officials. Under these conditions, they launched armed struggles to take the initiative. Between 1894 and 1896, around 100,000 Armenians were killed in Erzurum, Muş, Trabzon, Bitlis, and the Sason regions with the encouragement of the central administration.[6]

3 Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*. (London: Hurst&Company, 2006), 66-67.

4 Tessa Hoffman, "Armenians in Turkey: A Critical Assessment of the Situation of the Armenian Minority in the Turkish Republic," published in *The Forum of Armenian Associations in Europe*, (October 2002): 9.

5 Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 356.

6 Gunay Goksu Ozdogan and Ohannes Kilicdagi, "Hearing Turkey's Armenians: Issues, Demands, and Policy Recommendations," *TESEV Publications*, (May 212): 16.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Turkish nationalism arose as a reaction against the freedom struggles of Greeks, Balkan Slavs, and Arabs. Then the "*turkification*" was strengthened within a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country in order to preserve the Empire through assimilation, deportation, and the annihilation of the Christian groups. The Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) took command in 1913-1914.

2.1. The events of 1915

World War I caused intermittent carnage and nearly led to the extinction of Armenians in a series of events that included disease, famine, deportation, and massacres, which is referred to as the first genocide by Armenians and supporters. The Armenian side advocates that the Ottoman government of the Committee of Union and Progress organized a systematic genocide. On the contrary, the Turks deny the genocide and hold that Armenian claims are a "vindictive propaganda campaign against Turkey".[7] Turkish people have various discussions on the facts: "Armenians are seen as traitors for rebelling against the Empire and cooperating with the Russian army". For Armenians, the Ottoman Empire started to be increasingly oppressive. According to Sarkissian, "There were four general causes of complaint: the non-acceptance of non-Muslim testimony in the courts; the abuses connected with the matter of taxation; oppression and outrages committed by government officials, such as forced conversions, rapes, assaults, etc., and oppression and outrages committed by civilians."[8] Approximately 800 Armenian community leaders were deported on April 24, 1915, and more than a million Armenian people perished from 1915 to 1923.[9] In the 1920s, small and dense Armenian communities remained in various provinces in the Central Black Sea area, in Central Anatolia, in East Anatolia, and in the Southeast region.[10] While Armenians constituted 7% of the overall population in 1914, their population rate decreased to 0.5% according to the 1927 census data.[11]

The scholars from the Association of Genocide advocated that "the mass murder committed to the Armenians in Turkey in 1915 represents a case of genocide according to the UN Convention on prevention and punishment of genocide."[12] These events traumatized the Armenian community in Turkey, leading to a collective sense of victimization. In following the crucial event/genocide, as a Diaspora of Armenians for Turkey, the Armenian community outside Turkey helped Armenians to preserve their identity. The 1915 event has significance for the Armenian perception of insecurity and discrimination, because many Armenian people had concerns about "possible" direct violence and because of this event they were declared "traitors" or "separatists" in Turkey, even though many Armenians lost their lives. The 1915 event created a "good and evil" dichotomy between the Armenian and Turkish sides. At this point, the question of genocide should be mentioned.

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7 Michael M. Gunter, *Armenian History and the Question of Genocide*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 8-13.

8 Arshag Ohan Sarkissian, *History of the Armenian Question to 1885*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1938): 37.

9 David L. Philips, *Diplomatic History: The Turkey-Armenia Protocols,* (New York: Columbia University Institute for the Study of Human Rights, March 2012), 3.

10 Soner Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk*?, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 53.

11 Ozdogan and Kilicdagi, "Hearing Turkey's Armenians: Issues, Demands, and Recommendations," 17.

12 Quoted from Armenian National Institute, http://www.armenian-genocide.org/recognition.html accessed in 1 August 2013.

3. The Situation of the Armenian Minority in Turkey

Turkey is known as a party to the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, under which the definition of minorities was determined as "non-Muslims". Non-Muslim minority rights were granted as follows: "The freedoms of living, religious beliefs and migration; the rights of legal and political equality; using the mother tongue in the courts; opening their own schools or similar institutions, the holding of religious ceremonies". Only Greeks, Armenian Christians and Jews were formally recognized as minorities.[13]

In Turkey, the Armenian population is estimated at about 50,000-60,000 nowadays and they live mostly in Istanbul. According to the National Office of the Republic of Turkey, eight to ten thousand live abroad, mostly in Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium.[14] Apart from Catholics or Protestants, the majority of them belong to the Armenian Apostolic Church. They are Christian and their identity is described as Armenian rather than Turkish. The Turkish state has recognized their identity respecting minority status. Nevertheless, most Turks regard them as foreigners. Hofmann states that Armenian people belong to the lower to upper urban middle classes of Turkey. According to my survey results, 16.67% of the participants are public or private sector managers (including academicians and teachers), 7.50% craftsmen, 17.50% white collar workers, 0.83% public servants, 4.17% workers in public or private sectors, 13.33% independent business employees with a higher education degree. So, they are barely represented as public servants in public service. This is related to their identity problem, because state officials must be Muslim in Turkey. This 0.83 percent who are Armenian public servants may have "converted" from Christianity to Islam.

The situation of Armenians can be described as one of extreme prejudice that includes discrimination and insecurity. Many restrictions, such as the legal uncertainty (e.g., the foundation law on minority properties), unequal practices, and concerns about insecure circumstances determine the daily life of the Armenian community in Turkey. The citizenship activities of Armenians are limited within the religious, social, educational, and political fields under the authority of the Turkish government and society. For instance, schools are under the authority of the Turkish state, humiliating the identity of teachers, teaching in Armenian language, deciding who is and is not allowed to attend an Armenian school or how schools are run.[15]

4. Method

To assess perceptions of discrimination and insecurity, an online survey was conducted among 120 Armenian participants living in Turkey. Sixty-three percent of the participants described themselves as Turkish-Armenian. The average age of the participants was 39.9 years and their ages ranged between 18 and 73 years old. In total, 36.67% of the participants were female and 63.33% were male. The questionnaire designed for the Armenian situation was labelled "Turkey and the Armenian community". Respondents were requested to reflect their self-perceptions as Armenians. The dependent variables in this study were whether or not Armenian respondents perceived discrimination and insecurity. Respondents were contacted by e-mail and through Armenian newspapers, NGOs, and communities. The results are given by testing into STATA using some commands to see correlation analysis, tabulation to get frequencies and percentages of

13 *World Directory of Minorities* (London: Minority Rights Group International, 1997), 379.

14 Taline Voskeritchian, "Drawing Strength From the History and Cultural Legacy of Their Beloved City," *Armenian International Magazine*, (December 1998): 38.

15 Hoffman, "Armenians in Turkey: A Critical Assessment of the Situation of the Armenian Minority in the Turkish Republic," 6.

values, creation of variables using 'generate and replace' commands, Pearson statistics and chi square; then regression command is used for the models in the study.

The perception of discrimination as a variable included four basic questions. These questions focused on discrimination experienced by Armenian people as a minority group in Turkey at the level of the society and governmental practices. The degree of discrimination was determined on scales ranging from 0 to 4; a higher score is indicative of a stronger perception of discrimination that contains cultural/structural violence. To mark the perception of discrimination, some expressions were involved as well, such as "feeling like a second-class citizen", "portrayal by Turkish media", "extraordinary reactions by Turks", and "inequality in military service", which will be explained in the next chapters.

Moreover, the perception of discrimination was measured with four independent variables in order to reach the main finding in relation to the hypotheses "political participation/representation", "media usage", "social interaction", and "Armenian identity" to determine whether they feel discrimination or not. In addition, some questions about the Foundation Law, patriarchal elections, perceptions/prejudgements of Turkish people about the Armenian community in Turkey, negative experiences because of their identity, and posters/signboards in Armenian schools related to cultural/structural violence are significant in the investigation of Armenians' perceptions. As a result of their perceptions, the study will also determine their preferences for a neighbourhood, approval of mixed marriage between Turks and Armenians, and voting choices.

The other dependent variable, the perception of insecurity, was determined with three questions, with responses ranging from 0 to 3 in order to demonstrate to what degree they feel insecure (or not). The insecurity variable is measured by asking whether they feel comfortable or not buying an Armenian newspaper, their observations on hate speech against their identity, and concerns about direct violence. It is argued that the insecurity variable relies on the existence of perceived discrimination. The paper argues the following hypotheses:

H1: Respondents who identify more strongly as Armenian will perceive more discrimination.

H2: Respondents who have more interaction with Armenian fellowship/congregation organizations, the Diaspora and prefer an Armenian majority in their neighbourhood will perceive a greater degree of discrimination against Armenians.

H3: Armenian media usage and the portrayal of Armenians by the Turkish media causes more perceived discrimination for respondents.

H4: Deficiency in political participation/representation increases perceived discrimination among respondents.

H5: Respondents who observe more discrimination, hate speech and the portrayal by the Turkish media in a negative light will experience greater insecurity.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Independent Variables

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Political Representation	4.75	1.75015	0	6
Social Interaction	2.12	.7731035	1	3
Armenian Identity	2.45	.7021065	1	3
Armenian Media Usage	1.16	.8401264	0	3

Details About Indicators of Discrimination Variable

Table 2. Correlation Between Indicators of Discrimination Variable

	Reactions	Second Class C.	Portrayal of Turkish Media
Reactions	1.0000		
Second Class C.	0.3278	1.0000	1.0000
Turkish Media	0.4415	0.1290	1.0000
Inequality in Military	0.2100	0.2521	0.3842

Four items (extraordinary reactions, portrayal in Turkish media, second-class citizenship, inequality in military service) are positively correlated with each other. The positive correlation demonstrates that as one item increases, others influence discrimination. According to most respondents, Turkish people have different reactions when they learn Armenian names and identities, and this situation causes feelings of discrimination, because it makes Armenians feel like second-class citizens or foreigners. In other words, Turkish people may see their Armenian names as "different and foreign" or their identities as "other" than Turkish people, therefore they have reactions against Armenian people. These reactions are derived from the lack of knowledge about the Armenian people in terms of their religion and ethnic origin; they may have no idea where Armenian people originate from. These "extraordinary reactions" exclude the group by promoting a belief that Armenian people come from different lands than the Turkish people. An Armenian male related that a Turkish person had asked how he (the Armenian) was travelling from Armenia to participate in the course in their school. Armenian people feel that they don't belong in the same group with others. I include these indicators based on certain practices. For instance, in the 1940s, Armenian people were registered in the category of "foreigners" in the census. In 2006, the former President Ahmet Necdet Sezer implemented a veto on the Foundation law, but the point was that minority foundations were seen as "foreigners" and "dangerous" in terms of the veto justification.[16] Thus, it can be said that Armenians are described as foreigners in official documents. From a general point of view, Armenians in Turkey are seen as "foreigners" and "outsiders" by a large segment of the society. Turkish media is believed to practice discrimination, which causes the perception of second-class citizenship and ex-

16 Kilicdagı and Ozdogan, "Hearing Turkey's Armenians: Issues, Demands and Policy Recommendations," 28.

traordinary reactions towards Armenians as an outcome of correlation. The "Armenian image" in Turkish media is significantly related to both outcomes.

Christian people may be subjected to discriminatory and degrading practices during their military service. Or Turkish people do not trust Armenian people, because they can be perceived as "traitors", based on historical uprisings/collaborations and their identity as "non-Muslims". Lack of trust towards the Armenian community and inequality in military service are associated to produce discriminatory approaches to them. Respondents specified that most Turkish people are prejudiced against their group. Hrant Dink, who was the manager of the Armenian newspaper *Agos*, wrote that he performed his military service in the Denizli 12th Infantry Regiment; after taking the oath of enlistment, all the other soldiers in the regiment were promoted to sergeant except for him: he remained a private.[17] This inequality in military service puts the Armenian community in a position apart from others, and not a privileged one. In this sense, independent variables influence the dependent variable of the perception of discrimination. Therefore, these indicators have been explained which emerge from the dependent variable discrimination, and the results will be presented.

Details About Indicators of Insecurity Variable

Table 3: Correlation Between Indicators of Insecurity Variables

	Buying Armenian Newspaper	Hate speech
Hate speech	0.0068	
Concerns on Direct Violence	0.0359	0.2180

Feeling uncomfortable buying an Armenian newspaper, observations of hate speech and fear of direct violence generate the insecurity variable. When observations of hate speech increase among Armenian people, they feel more insecure with respect to concerns about direct violence. In addition, the (negative) portrayal of Armenian people within Turkish media and negative experiences due to their identity are directly correlated with each other by 0.0159 percentage point. This means that violence or negative experiences against Armenian people are associated with their "image" in the mainstream media. Negative experiences include verbal harassment, physical injury, and humiliation. There is "high" positive correlation to feeling insecure buying an Armenian newspaper (0.6808). Therefore some questions were asked to acquire these indicators. The 1915 events caused a trauma among Armenians in Turkey, and the study reveals that still they have insecurity concerns with these indicators. For instance, in 2007, Hrant Dink, the founder and former chief editor of the weekly Armenian newspaper *Agos,* was murdered in front of his office. According to Human Rights defenders and his family, the masterminds of this assassination were protected by the state.[18] His murderer tried to defend himself by explaining

17 Hrant Dink, "Why I was Target", Hrant Dink Foundation, http://www.hrantdink.org/index.php?Detail=302&HrantDink=11&Lang=tr (accessed August 2, 2013).

18 Özgür Öğret, "Hrant Dink Murder to be Retried, but Concerns Remain," Committee to Protect Journalists, (May 2013), http://www.cpj.org/blog/2013/05/hrant-dink-murder-to-be-retried-but-concerns-remai.php (accessed July 8, 2013).

that he hadn't any idea who Dink was and the murderer was influenced by the newspapers. He confessed to shooting Dink for insulting Turkish identity".[19] In 2012-2013, Armenian people were murdered in particular neighbourhoods (Maritsa Küçük and İlker Şahin, a teacher in an Armenian school; Sultan Aykar was injured). In addition, Sevag Balıkçı was murdered during his national military service on April 24, 2011, the day that marks the beginning of a chain of Armenian massacres in 1915 in Turkey. As a result of these cases, some indicators are elaborated upon to generate the insecurity variable which is related with violence.

5. Theoretical Framework

This section provides a theoretical framework which has a linkage with practices regarding the Armenian community in Turkey. It includes some concepts to present their experiences, and my hypotheses about the Armenian minority rely on these. This minority group have developed perceptions which are derived from "constructed" ideas or images about them. The communities came together with constructed understandings/consciousness. In this sense, the study argues that the Armenian community perceives discrimination and insecurity because of cultural/structural/direct violence. Armenians came to observe discrimination and insecurity when the majority of Turkey (Turks) excluded them and denied their basic rights and freedoms using a constructed consciousness about the Armenian people as a tool. So, "constructed" approaches towards Armenian people produce discriminatory and insecure perceptions by Armenians, consequently, this section presents those concepts.

The situation and perceptions of Armenians may be explained by constructivism that can be seen as a kind of "structural idealism", because a constructivist framework provides us with a means to observe how actors are socially constructed. This study tries to discover how the perception of the Armenian people is constructed in Turkish society, in other words, how "constructed ideas and images" of the Turkish society (social, cultural, and political) caused the perception of discrimination and insecurity by Armenians. In other words, the independent variables aim to show this constructive formation as a result of "constructed ideas" and "perceptions" by social actors, things that are not naturally given. In this sense, constructivism propounds some concepts like "enemy image", "structural/cultural violence" which are shaped by constructed ideas, perceptions, beliefs, and values. According to Wendt, there are two basic tenets of constructivism: "(1) that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and (2) that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature".[20] According to this argument, if Armenian people experience discriminatory attitudes towards their group, it derives from a societally constructed formation with an image of them highlighting an "outsider" position relying on societal perception or interaction. Historical events and conflict/tension on identities based upon nation-state interests may construct perceptions or attitudes, after which mutual perceptions alter dynamics within a society.

"Enemy image" is constituted by representation of the other as an actor. In other words, "enemy" represents the opinion or perception of the other side. The "other" may not recognize the right of self to exist as an autonomous being. Enemy images emerge from deep issues through victimization among the sides blaming one another. For instance, the Armenians are defined as "traitors" by the Turks; the Crusaders perceived the Turks as "infidels", the Greeks represented

19 Philips, *Diplomatic History: Turkish-Armenian Protocols*, p.36.

20 Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

the Turks as "barbarians". In Turkey, and calling Armenian people "Armenian seeds" as an invective is very common. People may use hate speech by declaring their enemies as "Armenian", or "Armenian seed" to exclude them. Parties may see each other as threats in terms of an enemy image, and this kind of mutual relationship creates constructed perceptions of "evil" and "good", making these divisions widespread. For instance, "the 1915 event" became traumatic because of differing perceptions: while Turks evaluated as treachery and collaboration of Armenians with third party enemies during these years, Armenians saw the event as ethnic cleansing by Turks. Turkish society constructed an "Armenian image", annihilating Armenians' dignity and alienating them from the society, and thus Armenians tend to observe discrimination. Construction of an "enemy image" has its source in the "emotional connection" with national identity, as Elias states that 'the love of nation is never something which one experiences toward a nation to which one refers as "them"', which about "self-love" is referring to "we".[21] Because of this strong "self-love" structure, "others" can be excluded from the majority, emphasizing the "evil/good" division.

Armenian people have experienced structural/cultural violence as Galtung and Höivik have described the concept. Structural violence impacts slowly, but its results can be worse than direct violence. Direct violence is often measured by the number of deaths[22] or casualties. Both scholars advocate that structural violence has a visible effect on the difference between the optimal life expectancy and the actual life expectancy. If particular groups have lack of resources or access to better standards of living, it leads to a lower life expectancy. If citizens cannot achieve their desired standards socially, culturally, economically, and politically; their lives suffer from the lack of these conditions. This situation causes structural violence. For instance, if only 2.68% of respondents describe the conditions of Armenian schools as "very good", that stirs a "lower expectancy" of achieving educational standards. It means that Armenian people cannot meet their educational needs under good conditions. According to Galtung, *segmentation, penetration, fragmentation, and marginalization* should be described as structural violence; therefore, based on the survey results, we can claim that the Armenian community is confronted with structural violence, because respondents clearly state that there are high levels of marginalization (86%) and discrimination (62%) against Armenians...

Galtung defines as the key point of cultural violence as: "those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence - exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science - that can be used to legitimize direct or structural violence."[23] It implies religious or political signs/symbols, for instance, stars, crosses, and crescents in terms of religious symbols, or flags, anthems and military parades; the pictures of leaders; inflammatory speeches and posters in the political sense. Many posters and signboards are placed In Armenian schools intentionally in order to emphasize the Turkish identity and culture. According to survey results, these symbols consist of harassment, because people feel pressured. Recalling the "crucial event" in 1915, the officials who were responsible for the deportations received their orders from Talat Pasha.[24] During this catastrophe, it was Talat Pasha who orchestrated the Ar-

21 Taner Akcam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism&The Armenian Genocide*, (New York: Zed Books, 2004), 41.

22 Johan Galtung and Tord Höivik, "Structural and Direct Violence: A Note on Operationalization,"*Journal of Peace Research 8*, no.1, (1971): 73.

23 Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence,"*Journal of Peace Research 27*, no. 32, (August 1990): 291.

24 Takvimi Vekayi 3540, 1st session, main indictment of the Main Trial *into From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism&Armenian Genocide* by Taner Akçam, (New York: Zed Books, 2004): 166.

menian massacres back in 1915; consequently the name becomes significant when Armenian schools are named "Talat Pasha High School" in Bomonti, which is an Armenian neighbourhood.[25] In Turkey, there is a state tradition of naming streets or buildings after the perpetrators of atrocities.[26] Furthermore, usage of language in Armenian schools and intervention in Patriarchal elections in terms of "religious needs" reinforces the argument about cultural violence against the Armenian people.

Galtung illustrates four classes of basic needs: survival needs (death, mortality), well-being needs (misery), identity/meaning needs (alienation), freedom needs (repression). If these needs are not met, the result may be linked to human degradation and discriminatory conditions. The absence of the provision of these needs lead us to investigate whether Armenians have perceived discrimination or not. In Turkey, the Armenian community is faced with identity issues including pressure by the dominant "identity" or "culture". It is possible to see signboards which say "How happy he is who can say 'I'm a Turk'" in Armenian schools[27] which highlights an identity dominant over the Armenian people, ignoring their own. In Turkey, there are German, English and American schools, but none of them display a poster that seems a make a kind of racist statement.[28]

Moreover, according to Maslow's similar needs theory, "belongingness" is a need that is satisfied by social relationships providing protection for the individual from danger.[29] It may make sense that Armenian people have social interactions with the community or Diaspora. The definition of alienation has the same meaning: the internalization of culture that comprises two aspects: to be desocialized from a groups' own culture and to be resocialized into another culture that contains prohibitions and imposition of languages, which has been experienced in Armenian schools. Kymlicka states that most people have an influential bond to their own culture, and that they have a legitimate interest in maintaining this bond.[30] There should not be an expectation from people to abandon their own cultures to integrate into new ones. Internalization causes a forced exclusion of their identity in order to express the dominant culture. It prevents the expression of their own culture or identity, at least in public space. However, the perceived insecurity and discrimination against Armenians is related to the perceptions of Turkish people about them; "constructed" Turkish opinion and portrayal of Turkish media empower marginalization against Armenians. Therefore, Armenian people cannot experience "belongingness" in the society.

For political psychologists, opponents have a tendency to "demonize" each other. In this sense, both sides claim that their side is always righteous and the other side is inherently aggres-

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25 Mehmet Akgul, "Racism and Discriminatory View for 15o Years", *Evrensel Newspaper*, http://www.evrensel.net/news.php?id=14898 (accessedJune 26, 2013).

26 Orhan Kemal Cengiz, "Hrant and Talat Pasha", *Todays Zaman*, (February 2013), http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist-306203-hrant-and-talat-pasha.html (accessed June26, 2013).

27 Mehmet Akgül, "Bu Fotoğraftaki Yanlışı Bulun (Find the Mistake in This Picture)", Evrensel Newspaper, (October, 2011), http://www.evrensel.net/news.php?id=14753,)accessed June 12, 2013).

28 Turkish News, "Armenians of Istanbul Deeply Concerned by 'I'm Happy, I'm a Turk' Poster Pasted on the Wall of Armenian School", http://www.turkishnews.com/en/content/2011/10/06/armenians-of-istanbul-deeply-concerned-by-%E2%80%9Ci%E2%80%99m-happy-i%E2%80%99m-turk%E2%80%9D-poster-pasted-on-the-wall-of-armenian-school/ (accessed June12, 2013).

29 Ronald J. Fisher, "Needs Theory, Social Identity and an Eclectic Model of Conflict," in *Conflict: Human Needs Theory* ed. John Burton, (Hampshire: The MacMillan Press, 1990), 91.

30 Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 119.

sive. That kind of demonizing results in seeing the "other side" as a "threat or enemy". The hatred, the fear, and atrocities are recreated by "the other", which causes difficulty in establishing a new relationship with the other side.[31] If there is a lack of communication which causes lack of belongingness, stereotypes and misperceptions may be increased among both sides. In Turkey, it is possible that some Turkish people have never met an Armenian, so these people have no idea about them, and the "constructed" or "learned/second-hand" knowledge they have causes distance from each other. Distance leads to misperceptions and these constructed perceptions induce exclusion or harm.

As a minority group, Armenian people experience various forms of discriminations in societal and governmental areas stemming from constructed formations. The reasons for augmentation of this perception are deficiency in political representation/participation, social interaction with Armenian groups, media, and greater feelings of Armenian identity (a feeling of being Armenian that increases their bond with their identity).These factors intensify the constituent items of the perception of discrimination leading to insecurity.

5.1. Discussion on Citizenship of Armenian Minorities in Theoretical Framework

In this study, the perception of discrimination is directly related to the perception of second-class citizenship, which means that "being a citizen" equal to a Turkish citizen is not possible, because Armenian people are citizens of Turkey, but their standards are not equal to those of the rest of the society in relation to cultural/structural violence. The concept of citizenship was used in the French Revolution to highlight the phenomenon of symbolic equality. Political elites instrumentalized the concept as an ideological instrument in nation-states.[32] Modern citizenship is a constitutional concept expressing rights and obligations which should be provided for individuals in the relationship with their state. During the emergence of nation-states, it became an instrument to establish hegemony over communities. As a supporting concept for nationalism, it determines the cultural inclusion based upon similarity among individuals and cultural exclusion based on differentness from "foreigners/minority groups". According to T.H. Marshall, the citizenship institution is an "unequal system"[33] which highlights the possibility of "being second-class citizens" for particular groups.

In a general sense, citizens have equal rights before the law juristically and they manage their right to elect and be elected politically while they accept their obligations of payment of taxes and national military service. Nevertheless, as H4 argued, Armenian experiences are linked directly to limited political participation because of observable discrimination in the citizenship concept. In theory, Armenian people have juridical, political, and social rights; however, in practice, this minority group has no rights to be elected, rights to property or inheritance.[34] Lack of these standards results in structural violence in terms of reduced life expectancy. Additionally, the Capital Tax in 1942 was an indicator displaying the difference of citizenship between the Armenian minority and the majority of the population. The law required that the tax be paid with-

31 Maria Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding," *Journal of Peace Research 44*, no.3, (May 2007): 351.

32 Ayhan Kaya, "Discussions on Citizenship, Multiculturalism, and Minorities in the Process of European Union," in *Majority and Minority Policies in Turkey: Discussions on Citizenship in the Process of EU*, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation/TESEV Publications, (İstanbul, 2008): 6.

33 Thomas Humphrey, *Citizenship and Social Class*, (London: Pluto Press, 1950).

34 Taner Akcam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide*, (London: Zed, 2004).

in 15 days, based on the wealth of the taxpayers; the state sequestered their assets and sent minority groups to labour camps in order to provide taxes if they were unable to pay. Non-Muslim people (including the Armenian minority) had to pay ten times the amount required of the majority population. So, obviously, from the very beginning a line was drawn to stress the difference in citizenship between the Armenian minority and the Turkish majority. The goal was removing non-Muslim people (perceived as non-nationals) from economic life. The politicians made statements emphasizing minorities as "foreigners", unlike their citizens: "We will provide opportunities and spaces for Turkish people in the Turkish market; we will annihilate "foreigners" who are dominant in our markets".[35] This is not the current situation, but it demonstrates how, in the evolution of the concept of citizenship, Armenian people developed their perceptions of observing discrimination and how the perception of discrimination is constructed.

Theoretically, their situation suits the model of "multicultural vulnerability". According to Kymlicka, a comprehensive theory of justice in a multicultural state comprises both universal rights and group-differentiated rights or "special status" for minority cultures.[36] Instead of "special" protection, the Turkish state established a Minority Collateral Subcommittee in Turkey as a state institution to control non-Muslim citizens for national security.[37] Nevertheless, the Turkish state has no intention to control the entire citizenry except for "others" like the Armenian people. In other words, the Turkish state puts them in a "different" category. As another implementation regarding cultural violence, in 1993, the board of education and discipline of the Ministry of National Education agreed on Turkish language in all courses at Armenian schools. A Turkish assistant principal was appointed, and the justification was to raise individuals who are "suitable for Turkish culture".[38] The Law No. 625 used the expression, "*Turkish origin and citizen of the Republic of Turkey*", when selecting the principals for schools.[39]

As I mentioned before, structural violence causes "low standards", which prevents the acquisition of standards equal to those of the majority. The Foundation Law and the incapability of Armenian people to have assets substantiate the evidence of structural violence against Armenians. The physical assets of minorities have relied on the foundation system since the Ottoman period. It was not possible to acquire any real estate and the legal existence of foundations was not recognized until 1912.[40] Non-Muslim foundations were established by enactment of the Sultan, then became legal entities gaining permanent status with the Lausanne Treaty. The Foundation Law No. 2672 was introduced in 1935, then the Directorate General for Foundations (DGF) demanded a proclamation from minority foundations regarding minority properties. The list was provided, including properties which belong to foundations. The historical process shows difficulties for non-Muslim minorities (Armenians as well) and the impossibility of their property rights as citizens. The 1936 Declaration and the "seized foundations" practice were purposed to seize from non-Muslim foundations their registered immovables, but they were given by the judiciary. In 1971, the 2nd Civil Law Chamber of High Court of Appeals confirmed

35 Ayhan Aktar, *The Capital Tax and Turkification Policies*, (İstanbul: İletisim Publications, 2000), 44-46.

36 Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, 6.

37 Baskın Oran, *Minorities in Turkey: Concepts, Theory, Lausanne; Legislation, Case-law, Implementation*, (İstanbul, İletisim Publications, 2004), 94.

38 Arus Yumul, "Minority or Citizen?,"in *Majority and Minority Policies in Turkey: Discussions on Citizenship in the Process of EU*. Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation/TESEV Publications, (İstanbul, 2008): 55.

39 Oran. *Minorities in Turkey: Concepts, Theory, Lausanne; Legislation, Case-law, Implementation*, 91.

40 Murat Bebiroğlu, "Cemaat Vakıfları", (Non-Muslim Foundations), Hye-tert, (January 2001), http://www.hyetert.com/yazi3.asp?s=1&Id=16&DilId=1 (accessed July 8, 2013).

the decision of the lower court and stated: "*Legal entities formed by non-Turkish individuals prohibited from acquiring real estate.*"[41] DGF made a decision in 1974 and the Turkish state seized these possessions by action for nullity which are not figured in Enactments. The issue of Foundation properties still presents concerns.[42] In 2008, a new Law on Foundations was put on the agenda and non-Muslim foundations had new opportunities, such as acquiring and disposing their immovable assets. The Turkish state introduced implementations for protecting their property rights during the EU process, however, there was no real progress in terms of reform by the rule of law.

Article101(4) of the Civil Code in terms of establishment of new foundations precludes non-Muslim "citizens" from establishing new foundations. But Muslim Turkish "citizens" were allowed to do so; depriving non-Muslim "citizens" of the same rights can be seen as explicit discrimination. There is no payment for indemnities to the foundations of the Armenian community for immovables that were seized from them and transferred or sold to third parties.

So, these examples of implementations are indicators that the legal concept of "equal citizenship" doesn't provide the same equality and citizenship status for Armenian minorities. Arendt addresses the topic of the logic of nation-state based on a homogeneous nation which causes to minorities to be perceived as a "problem" in a nation/country,[43] because they represent diversity with their ethnicity, religion, and culture while nation-states are constructed on symbols and features of the majority and identity of a majority group. In Turkey, the concept of "Turk" became a political/juridical identity category falsifying the egalitarian understanding of citizenship; "other" (non-Turkish, non-Muslim) people became second-class citizens in the Turkish state/society because they were not involved in the definition of the culture of the Turkish nation.

6. Results: Background of Participants and Perceived Discrimination

For this survey, 44 female and 76 male participants responded to the questionnaire. There is marked positive correlation between the perceptions of discrimination in the highest educational qualification achieved. 59 percent of Armenians who have higher degrees feel more discrimination, 23 percent of Armenian people with only a high school education feel less discrimination. Furthermore, Table 4 shows that if people have education higher than high school, the perception of discrimination increases from low to high level, or perceived discrimination is higher after the bachelor degree.

41 2nd Civil Law Chamber of the High Court of Appeals, decision dated 6 July 1971 and numbered E. 4449, K. 4399.

42 Dilek Kurban and Kezban Hatemi, "The Story of an Alienation: Real Estate Ownership Problems of Non-Muslim Foundations and Communities in Turkey," *TESEV Publications*, (June 2009).

43 Hannah Arendt, "Zionism Reconsidered,"*Menorah Journal 32*, (August 1945), 162-96.

Table 4: Education and Discrimination

Perceived Discrimination	Primary School	Secondary School	High School	Undergraduate	Postgraduate	Total
Low	0.00	0.00	23.08	38.46	38.46	100.00
Medium	4.76	0.00	4.76	38.10	52.38	100.00
High	0.00	1.64	9.84	59.02	29.51	100.00

Perceived discrimination is not strongly related to gender (p=0.329), however, 62.12% of male participants perceive discrimination at high level, whereas only 1.52% perceive it at low level. In addition, 61.76% female respondents place it at high level compared to 20.59% female respondents at medium level. 35 female and 58 male respondents feel insecure; 17% female participants feel insecure at the highest level.

General Findings

Nearly all of the 74 Armenian respondents describe their identities as "Turkish-Armenian" rather than Turkish. Respondents are mostly well educated and this is significant because it illustrates that education level is a determinant of their awareness of their conditions in Turkey. For instance, more educated individuals state that there is widespread usage of hate speech against Armenian people, and these participants believe that Turkish media targets Armenians in a negative sense in the ratio of 80 percentage who follow the media. It is widely accepted that Armenian people from Turkey have a significantly higher rate of describing the 1915 events as "genocide" instead of "deportation". In total, 62 percent of respondents perceive discrimination at the highest level, and only 3% of respondents do not perceive discrimination.

Table 5: Distribution of Levels on Perceived Discrimination

Level of Perceived Discrimination	Frequency	Percent
None	3	3.00
Low	1	1.00
Medium	13	13.00
High	21	21.00
Very High	62	62.00

Table 6: Distribution of Levels on Perceived Insecurity

Level of Perceived Insecurity	Frequency	Percent
None	3	2.68
Low	17	15.18
Medium	57	50.89
High	35	31.25

As a part of cultural/structural violence, perceived discrimination is practiced in educational institutions as well. 77.59% of Armenian respondents studied at an Armenian school in Turkey and only 2.68% of respondents think that conditions at these schools are "very good", while 17.86% are less positive, responding "bad", and 53% assert that conditions are neither good nor bad. 81.08% of the respondents feel like second-class citizens in Turkey who described the conditions at Armenian schools as good (2.68%) and these people believe that inequality is prevalent in military service. So, conditions at schools and inequality in military service determine their feeling as second-class citizen. For 87.72% of respondents, it seems normal to see extraordinary reactions by society; for instance, 76.85 percent of the participants experienced those reactions.

Armenian people have been exposed to exclusion in terms of their religion; for instance, 86.36% participants support the argument with regard to being "other" in their own country. These participants believe that the majority define Turkey as a 99% Muslim country that creates "religious marginalization" in their perception. The conversion of Christian Armenians to Islam was common, which has linkage with the integral component of collective ethnic identity. 55 respondents perceive the highest level of discrimination in terms of their religion, while13% of Armenians feel discrimination at the medium level, confirming religious marginalization.

To reach the results for H4, I had tabulation into STATA to see how many Armenian experience displeasure about their political representation, observing discrimination. Armenian people are not satisfied with Armenian representation and political behaviour in Turkey; especially if these people have relations with the Armenian fellowship (*cemaat*), they feel it explicitly, as H2 argued. Fellowship and perception of insufficiency of Armenian representation are highly correlated to each other (0.2635). 83.73% of people with connections with the Diaspora see the lack of representation, which supports the argument about lower life standards that cause structural violence. The tabulation command was applied to distinguish who feels discrimination in political representation because they are in a relationship with these particular groups.

As a result of correlation commands, the study found that Armenian people perceive discrimination with the ruling party (AKP-Justice and Development Party), Turkish nationalist posters-signboards, inequality in military service, and governmental intervention in Patriarchal elections. They construct their perceptions with these societal, governmental, and institutional questions as well.

Some Turkish nationalist symbols/posters/signboards are obtrusive, expressing famous statements as mentioned above: "How happy I am, because I'm Turkish" in Armenian schools. We can note that the importance of the oppressive atmosphere of these signboards was expressed by 59.63% of respondents. The Turkish state tradition increases the score of the perception of discrimination among Armenian participants by 0.2626 correlation by presenting a sign which belittles their identity and culture. 41 respondents who define themselves as Armenian with a strong awareness of their identity clarify that Turkish nationalist posters/signboards have an exclusionist impact on Armenians that creates pressure. Seven respondents who feel less Armenian or have less awareness of their identity perceive those symbols as less repressive.

87.72% of Armenian people in Turkey support the belief that there is inequality in the military service and that they find it more difficult to be promoted to higher ranks compared to Turkish and Muslim people. This proportion is really high; 88.10% of female and 87.50% of male respondents shared the opinion about inequality in the military service for Armenians. According to 73 respondents, this inequality in the military leads to discrimination due to prejudgements by Turkish people that is derived from "constructed" stereotypes. The perception could derive from the statement: ""Traitors" cannot be 'reliable' in the military".

72.50% of the Armenian respondents remark that the government intervenes in the election of the Patriarch. In historical perspective, the Armenian Church is traditionally open to public participation, and civilians play a key role in the election of the Patriarch. For Armenians, the Patriarch is the highest authority on spiritual matters, the spiritual leader who protects their status. In Turkey, there exists a Directorate of Religious Affairs which is the highest Islamic religious authority, thus it is supposed that non-Muslim communities should also have their religious institutions represented in order to provide "equal" and "fair" standards as a "free" institution. The former Patriarch Mutafyan was elected in 1998, but then became ill by the end of 2007, a situation that prevented him from performing his duties. The government declined to give permission for the election of a new Patriarch. The Governorate of Istanbul, in a letter (No. 31941) dated 29 June 2010 to the Armenian Patriarchate of Turkey, stated that permission was not given for patriarchal or co-patriarchal elections, that there was "no legal basis for the establishment of a committee for the purpose of electing a new patriarch or a co-patriarch", and that the appropriate procedure was for the Spiritual Council to elect a "deputy of the patriarch".[44] Thus, the Armenian Patriarchate has no legal status as an institution and no opportunity to have a seminary to train their clergy.[45] In the context of cultural violence, the Armenian community cannot achieve their identity "needs" with these restrictions. According to participants, when the government continues to intervene in elections, the Armenian group correlates it with religious discrimination as cultural violence, implying different rules for their worship, meetings, charities, training of religious functionaries, opening graveyards, etc.[46]

76.85% of the Armenians face extraordinary reactions and their portrayal in Turkish media is really influential in building this "otherness"; there is a highly positive correlation, and 89.66% of participants support the belief that the Turkish media portrays Armenians in a negative light. 58.93% of participants indicated that they have personally had negative experiences due to their identity. 77.39% of participants state that they have fear of violence against them, since the media continues to target them with an "enemy image". 59.66% of participants feel comfortable buying an Armenian newspaper in the public sphere compared to 40.34% who don't. 53.45% of Armenians feel more secure and comfortable living within an Armenian neighbourhood than in a Turkish mixed neighbourhood. 35.34% of participants do not distinguish which neighbourhood they live in. Still, respondents (86.32%) think the implications of the Foundation Law are not fair, and it seems that the Turkish government cannot provide citizenship rights regarding property for the Armenian community, which has an impact on structural violence. 86% of participants think that Turkish people are prejudiced against Armenian people, 21.82% believe that Turkish people see Armenians as a threat. On the other hand, 81 percent of respondents feel like second-class citizens in Turkey.

All of these variables affect having positive correlations with feeling like a second-class citizen. From this point, we can understand that the Armenian community has a perception of discrimination regarding the Turkish government and its policies. Furthermore, their voting preference depends on their perception about discrimination by 0.0789 positive correlation. Interestingly, 77.78 percent of Armenians feel like second-class citizens among the people who prefer to vote for BDP (Peace and Democracy Party, the Kurdish political party) and 20 percent of those

44 G. G. Özdoğan and O. Kılıçdağı, "Hearing Turkey's Armenians: Issues, Demands and Policy Recommendations," 56.

45 Nigar Karimova and Edward Deverell, "Minorities in Turkey," *Utrikepolitiska Institutet, Occasional Papers*, no:19, (2001): 10.

46 Orhan Kemal Cengiz, "Religious Discrimination on Minorities in Turkey, " *Radikal Newspaper*, (May 2004).

who did not respond that they felt like second-class citizens vote for the current ruling party. According to these results, BDP and independent candidates (which is a block linked with BDP) are less discriminatory and provide more security for their identities and culture. The majority of respondents prefer to vote for the BDP and independent candidates.

In general, the Armenian people identify the 1915 event as "genocide", according to 92% of the respondents. Most respondents do not approve of mixed marriage between Armenians and Turks among the people who consider the 1915 event "genocide", so 45% of the respondents are against mixed marriage because of the perception of genocide. As a result of positive correlation (0.4209) between the definition of genocide and concerns about direct violence, it can be said that "historical trauma" continues to influence the perception of insecurity in Turkey. "Common pain" has positive association with feeling insecure. 79 respondents experience insecurity, including concerns about violence against them. Furthermore, the existence of interaction with Armenian groups is influential in forming perceptions when they gather with Armenian groups/individuals. In other words, the perception of discrimination and insecurity has linkages to interaction with Armenian fellowships/congregations and the Diaspora. 80% of the respondents with linkage to the community/fellowship have concerns about direct violence in Turkey. The bond engenders a separate sphere among Armenians that makes them feel distinct or separate. Regarding the correlation with perceived insecurity, the sense of "belonging": increases with interaction with fellowship/congregation groups; it is possible that the similarities within these groups makes it easier to see the shortcomings in their interaction with the majority society.

Table 7: Correlation Between Social Interaction with Armenian Groups, Perceived Insecurity, and Identification of Genocide

Genocide Identification	**Genocide Identification**	**Social Interaction**
Social Interaction	0.1036	1.000
Perceived Insecurity	0.3475*	0.1669

*** Stars show the statistical significance (p<0.05).**

H3 posits that the Turkish media causes more discrimination leading to insecure positions for Armenians. Armenians' concerns about direct violence increase when the Turkish media continues to project an "enemy image" of Armenians. 58.93% of participants remark they have had negative experiences based upon their identity, and this type of experience may stem from their image as depicted by Turkish media. Historical hatred increased perceived insecurity; 85.87% of Armenian participants believe that there was a "genocide" and this same percentage of people still have concerns about direct violence. Numbers in parentheses show the number of individuals/participants/absolute numbers.

Table 8: Defining Genocide and Concerns on Direct Violence

	Concerns on Direct Violence		
Definition of Genocide	**Low**	**High**	**Total**
No Genocide	75.00	25.00	100.00
	(6)	(2)	(8)
Genocide	14.13	85.87	100.00
	(13)	(79)	(92)

Pearson chi2(1) = 17.7190 Pr = 0.000

Main Findings - Social Interaction and Discrimination

Table 9: Social Interaction and Perception of Discrimination

	Perceived Discrimination					
Social Interaction	**None (0)**	**Low(1)**	**Medium(2)**	**High(3)**	**Very High(4)**	**Total**
Low	(0)	(0)	(6)	(1)	(10)	(17)
	0.00	0.00	35.29	5.88	58.82	100.00
Medium	(3)	(1)	(6)	(10)	(21)	(41)
	7.32	2.44	14.63	24.39	51.22	100.00
High	(0)	(0)	(1)	(10)	(31)	(42)
	0.00	0.00	2.38	23.81	73.81	100.00
Total	3.00	1.00	13.00	21.00	62.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(8) = 19.9564 Pr = 0.011

For all tables, numbers in parentheses next to "none, low, medium, high" show levels of perceptions and the numbers above the percentages show the number of individuals/participants. Eighty-one percent of respondents who have social interaction with Armenian communities/fellowships and the Diaspora and prefer to live in Armenian-majority neighbourhoods feel more discrimination in Turkey. The crucial point is to compare 73% of people who feel discrimination at a very high level with 51% who display a medium interaction value. The difference seems high as a determinant of the significance of interaction over people and the perception of discrimination. Some respondents have no connection or they do not prefer an Armenian-majority environment, and those people have lower negative perception in terms of discrimination; only 7% hold this view. If people have limited social interaction, their perception of discrimination is low as well. If discrimination is higher (level 3/4), the percentage of respondents with more rather than less social interaction increases, 73% versus 58%. Based on this result, we can reject the hypothesis that social interaction and Armenian perception of discrimination are unrelated in Turkey. The rejection of the null hypothesis shows most clearly from the Pearson statistics; chi-square is very unlikely to equal zero (low p value). We can see the correlation result below; it is positive, indicating that as the social interaction increases, we can expect that the perception of discrimination score also increases.

According to H2, interaction with the community illustrates to us that if these people are gathered within the community, it means that they are moving away from equal citizenship and the endeavour to be like "everyone" in the society. 40 respondents who have interaction with particular Armenian groups describe their status as "second-class citizen" in Turkey.. On the contrary, only four respondents who have a connection with these groups perceive themselves as "equal citizen" to the majority. 28.70% of respondents identify the relationship between Turks and Armenians as "neither good nor bad"; this is a high rate of difference between the perceptions of the two groups. It is comprehensible why Armenian people largely prefer an interaction with their community. These people prefer to interact and spend time with Armenian groups to feel less discrimination. This is obvious if they have connection with the Diaspora and fellowship/congregation (*cemaat*) and also prefer to live in Armenian majority by 0.5475 positive correlation.

Table 10: Correlation Between Social Interaction and Perceived Discrimination

	Social Interaction
Perceived Discrimination	0.2436*

Political Representation/Participation and Discrimination

Table 11: Deficiency of Representation/ Participation and Perception of Discrimination

	Perceived Discrimination				
Deficiency of Representation/ Participation	**None (0)**	**Low(1)**	**Medium (2)**	**High (3)**	**Total**
None	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)
	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Low	(1)	(1)	(4)	(6)	(12)
	8.33	8.33	33.33	50.00	100.00
Medium	(0)	(1)	(5)	(14)	(20)
	0.00	5.00	25.00	70.00	100.00
High	(1)	(7)	(4)	(13)	(25)
	4.00	28.00	16.00	52.00	100.00
Very High	(0)	(0)	(3)	(15)	(18)
	0.00	0.00	16.67	83.33	100.00
Total	3.95	11.84	21.05	63.16	100.00

Pearson chi2(12) = 38.5823 Pr = 0.000

The respondents were asked some questions regarding their situation in order to discover whether or not there is a perception of discrimination in political representation, as H4 argued. In their view, there were some specific complaints, such as: "Armenian people cannot be represented: there isn't a deputy in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey; Armenian people are on-

ly represented in religious matters; Armenian people cannot express their issues and demands; there is no civil institution/organization to represent the Armenian people in Turkey." 66.67% of Armenians advocate that Armenian people have deep issues in being represented or expressing their situation in order to meet their standards politically. 65 percent of participants indicate that there is no representation for them and that this situation increases discrimination against Armenians. High level of discrimination section in the table represents people who think there is a problem for representation in Turkey: that means that the deficiency of representation is very high. 31% difference between high and very high levels demonstrates that if the deficiency of representation increases, perceived discrimination is higher based on disadvantage due to representation. Table 11 shows that perceived discrimination score is higher in the highest level of deficiency of representation with a values of about 83.33 percent. 33.33% difference from very high to low level is advanced, indicating that if the sufficiency of Armenian representation increases (high section), the percentage of respondents have more perceived discrimination (level 3 or 4). Perceived discrimination has a positive association with the deficiency of political participation/representation ($p<0.05$), meaning that there is statistically significant correlation between the two.

Table 12: Between the Deficiency of Political Representation and Perceived Discrimination

	Deficiency of Political Representation
Perceived Discrimination	0.2370*

- Armenian Identity and Discrimination

Table:13 Armenian Identity and Perception of Discrimination

	Discrimination					
Armenian Identity	**None (0)**	**Low (1)**	**Medium (2)**	**High (3)**	**Very High (4)**	**Total**
(1) Low	(0) 0.00	(0) 0.00	(0) 0.00	(6) 54.55	(5) 45.45	(11) 100.00
(2) Medium	(3) 10.71	(1) 3.57	(2) 7.14	(3) 10.71	(19) 67.86	(28) 100.00
(3) High	(0) 0.00	(0) 0.00	(10) 16.67	(12) 20.00	(38) 63.33	(60) 100.00
Total	3.03	1.01	12.12	21.21	62.63	100.00

Pearson chi2(8) = 20.9746 Pr = 0.007

H1 advocated that perceived discrimination depends on the degree of sense of Armenian identity. If they studied at Armenian schools, speak Armenian more in daily life and follow the Armenian media, they have greater awareness of being Armenian. These features generate their "Armenian identity", and if they have greater awareness of being Armenian, they perceive discrimination more. 66% of Armenian (respondents?) use their own language in daily life, whereas 34% pf respondents do not. These people who display a strong Armenian identity do not feel uncomfortable buying an Armenian newspaper. According to the results, being Armenian influences the degree of discrimination among respondents. The rejection of the null hypothesis illustrates obviously from Pearson statistics and probability which is related with p value that is lower than 0.05, statistically significant. If definition of Armenian identity decreases (level 1) by the participants, the perception of discrimination decreases by the 45 percentage of respondents, the table shows difference from 63% to 45% in "very high level of discrimination". 10.71% shows high level of discrimination and respondents feel Armenian at medium level; on the contrary, 63.33% includes higher level of discrimination if definition as Armenian increases by the respondents. Results remark that if Armenian people have less awareness of being Armenian or if they show their Armenian identity less as low section indicates (1), they don't have discriminatory perceptions. The difference between level 1 and 3 on feeling Armenian identity reveals 18% variation on the perceived discrimination. There is 18% increment whereas participants feel more Armenian. The stronger Armenian identification (3) indicated more discrimination than less identification (1 and 2).

Table 14: Correlation Between Armenian Identity and Discrimination

	Armenian Identity
Perceived Discrimination	0.0829

Media and Discrimination

Table 15: Armenian Media Usage and the Perception of Discrimination

	Perceived Discrimination					
Media Usage	**None**	**Low**	**Medium**	**High**	**Very High**	**Total**
Never	(0)	(1)	(1)	(5)	(8)	(15)
	0.00	6.67	6.67	33.33	53.33	100.00
Sometimes	(0)	(0)	(10)	(9)	(40)	(59)
	0.00	0.00	16.95	15.25	67.80	100.00
Often	(1)	(0)	(1)	(6)	(7)	(7)
	6.67	0.00	6.67	40.00	46.67	100.00
Frequently	(2)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(7)	(7)
	18.18	0.00	9.09	9.09	63.64	100.00
Total	3.00	1.00	13.00	21.00	62.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(12) = 25.1834 Pr = 0.014

Table 16: Turkish Media and the Perception of Discrimination

	Perceived Discrimination					
Portrayal of Turkish Media	**None**	**Low**	**Medium**	**High**	**Very High**	**Total**
Positive	(3)	(0)	(4)	(1)	(0)	(8)
	37.50	0.00	50.00	12.50	0.00	100.00
Negative	(0)	(1)	(9)	(20)	(62)	(92)
	0.00	1.09	9.78	21.74	67.39	100.00
Total	3.00	1.00	13.00	21.00	62.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(4) = 49.4346 Pr = 0.000

According to H3, media usage has an influence on the observation of discrimination. As a result of tabulation, if Armenian people follow the Armenian media, the degree of perception of discrimination is high. There is a 10% difference between participants who don't follow any newspaper or radio and people who use the Armenian media. Table 15 indicates the perception of discrimination is still advanced even if people don't follow the Armenian media as well. Even though the usage of Armenian media is influential and makes discrimination apparent, the portrayal of Armenians in a negative light in the Turkish media causes an increase in the perception of discrimination (Table 16). 12.50% have the perception of discrimination who think that Turkish media portrays Armenian people in positive light; however, 67.39% remark discrimination who believe that Armenian people are targetted by the Turkish media in a negative sense. To show the association between portrayal of Turkish media and discrimination, I emphasized the sense of second-class citizenship among Armenians:

Table 17: Correlation Between the Portrayal of Turkish Media and Second Class Citizenship

	Portrayal of Turkish Media	**Second Class Citizenship**
Second Class Citizenship	0.1290	
Perceived Discrimination	0.6179*	0.6950*

The Portrayal of Turkish Media and Insecurity

Table 18: The Portrayal of Turkish Media and Insecurity

	Perceived Insecurity				
Turkish Media's Portrayal	**None**	**Low**	**Medium**	**High**	**Total**
Positive	(1) 12.50	(5) 62.50	(1) 12.50	(1) 12.50	(8) 100.00
Negative	(2) 1.98	(12) 11.88	(54) 53.47	(33) 32.67	(101) 100.00
Total	2.75	15.60	50.46	31.19	100.00

Pearson chi2(3) = 18.5914 Pr = 0.000

For Turkish media's designation, 89% of participants think that they have been targeted in a negative light, which is directly related to concerns about direct violence. Additionally, 91% of respondents are aware of hate speech against them among the "insecurity" dimensions. Perceptions of insecurity increase when Armenian people evaluate the Turkish media's portrayal as negative. Table 18 shows how many people have the perception of insecurity and think the Turkish media targets Armenians negatively. The positive correlation between those two (0.3178) is high indeed. These results indicate that the Turkish media doesn't differ significantly from the hypothesized insecurity value; there is statistically significant relationship between the perception of insecurity and portrayal in the Turkish media by 0.000 p value.

Table 19: The Portrayal of Turkish Media and Concerns on Direct Violence

	Concerns on Direct Violence		
Turkish Media	**No**	**Yes**	**Total**
Positive	(6) 66.67	(3) 33.33	100.00
Negative	(20) 19.42	(83) 80.58	100.00
Total	23.21	76.79	100.00

Pearson chi2(1) = 10.3661 Pr = 0.001

For table 19, when Turkish media portrays Armenians positively, 66.67% say they have no concerns on direct violence, while 80.58% have concerns with negative portrayal. For the perception of insecurity, the portrayal of Turkish media in negative sense, and the hate speech

against Armenian community cause a bigger feeling of insecurity as a result of correlation in stata. In the table, stars mark correlations that are individually significant.

Table 20: Correlation and Significance Between The Portrayal of Turkish Media, Observation on Hate Speech, and The Perception of Insecurity

	The portrayal of Turkish Media	Hate speech
Hate speech	0.2762*	
Insecurity	0.4962*	0.5080*

Discrimination and Insecurity

Table 21: Discrimination and Insecurity

	Perceived Insecurity				
Discrimination	**None**	**Low**	**Medium**	**High**	**Total**
None	(1) 33.33	(2) 66.67	(0) 0.00	(0) 0.00	(3) 100.00
Low	(1) 100.00	(0) 0.00	(0) 0.00	(0) 0.00	(1) 100.00
Medium	(0) 0.00	(5) 41.67	(6) 50.00	(1) 8.33	(12) 100.00
High	(0) 0.00	(3) 14.29	(13) 61.90	(5) 23.81	(21) 100.00
Very High	(1) 1.61	(6) 9.68	(30) 48.39	(25) 40.32	(62) 100.00
Total	3.03	16.16	49.49	31.31	100.00

Pearson chi2(12) = 60.8276 Pr = 0.000

H5 argued that discrimination leads to insecurity, because when some citizens feel "different" or "other" in the society, they perceive uncomfortable practices and this situation prompts "insecure" perceptions. Results support this argument: in the table below, when the perception of discrimination increases, feeling of insecurity becomes higher at the same time. As we see, the "very high" level of perceived discrimination matches with "high" level of insecurity (40.32%). Thus, as we expected, analysis shows that insecurity tended to be positively related to discrimination for the Armenians in Turkey.

Table 22: Correlation Between Perceived Discrimination and Insecurity

	Discrimination
Insecurity	0.4803

7. Model

Various independent variables are likely to correlate and multivariate analysis is needed to test the hypotheses for the "discrimination" dependent variable.

Model 1: Multivariate Regression

Perceived Discrimination	Coefficient	Std. Err.	P value	Beta
Social Interaction	.2741601	.1258886	0.032	.2071463
Armenian Identity	.0460714	.1329069	0.730	.0332712
Political Participation	.1926959	.0615213	0.002	.3011358
Media Usage	-.1522483	.111444	0.175	-.1306019
Cons	1.884037	.5218693	0.000	.

F(4, 94)	4.18
R-squared	0.1511

According to these results, the four predictors together explain about 15% of the variance in the perception of discrimination (R^2 =.1511). The coefficient on Armenian media usage becomes negative, and consequently much weaker (-.15), which is not significant either (p=0.175). Not all the coefficients are significant, but the deficiencies of political participation/representation and social interaction have a statistically significant impact on the perception of discrimination. For instance, a coefficient of social interaction suggests that if we increase the value by 1 unit then the perceived discrimination will change by .2741601, and coefficients of other variables explain similar change by their own values. Using the Armenian media reduces the perceived discrimination by 1.5 percentage points in comparison to social interaction with Armenian groups and deficiency of political participation. Being Armenian or awareness of being Armenian is not quite statistically significant, but it increases the perception by 0.4 percentage points. Model I shows the comparison of their betas, which is the standardised regression coefficient to remark how strongly each independent variable influences the dependent variable. Evidently, social interaction with Armenian groups and deficiency in political representation play a stronger role in influencing perceived discrimination.

For insecurity perception, logistic regression demonstrated results in how independent variables change perceptions among Armenian respondents.

Model 2: Logistic Regression					
Perceived Insecurity	**Coefficient**	**Std. Err.**	**P value**	**Strength (min/ max)**	**Marg. Eff.**
Discrimination	1.049457	.3561963	0.003	0.7550	0.1055
Social Interaction	.1627813	.4542681	0.720	0.0339	0.0164
Armenian Identity	-.8028934	.5540227	0.147	-0.1239	-0.0807
Political Representation	.7700549	.2507904	0.002	0.7999	0.0774
Media Usage	-.9024012	.4432618	0.042	-0.3518	-0.0908
Cons	-2.613062	1.896482	0.168		

Logistic regression evaluated the perception of insecurity and it is obvious that discrimination causes greater insecurity. Contrary to this, when Armenians use Armenian media more, they feel less insecure. If the deficiency of political representation/participation increases, Armenian people are more likely to feel insecure, which can be related to their lack of opportunities to express demands/issues. Social interaction with Armenian groups has an impact on perception of insecurity among Armenians; however, it is not significant statistically (p=0.720). Furthermore, discrimination, deficiency in political representation, and social interaction have probability of creating greater perceptions of insecurity. The sixth column shows the change in the probabilities when the independent variables vary from their minimum to maximum. The predicted probability that discrimination causes feelings of greater insecurity is 0.7550 higher than social interaction with Armenian groups, 0.0339, the highest predicted probability belongs to deficiency in political representation. We see that marginal effect of discrimination is much higher than others in Model II. It means that discrimination and the deficiency of political representation explain perceived insecurity more than other variables.

8. Conclusion

This study emphasized that Armenian citizens perceive discrimination against themselves and insecurity. Theories of these perceptions were tested on the implications of social interaction with Armenian groups, political representation, media usage, and awareness of Armenian identity. To sum up the results, deficiency in political representation and social interaction with Armenian groups strongly affect the perceptions. Models show a statistically significant interaction between discrimination, social interaction, deficiency of representation, and awareness of Armenian identity. Armenian media usage does not reach a positive significance on high levels of discrimination and insecurity. However the portrayal by the Turkish media changes their perceptions about their status in a negative sense.

Furthermore, the results proved that constructivism is influential in creating the emerging perception of cultural/structural/direct violence due to their identity. For instance, we see that social interaction with particular groups plays an important role in their perceptions, meaning that common "constructed" values, beliefs, ideas, and knowledge change people's perceptions and attitudes. As a result of the perceptions of discrimination and insecurity, the Armenian minority group prefers to live in Armenian-majority neighbourhoods, which is associated with the vari-

ables of both discrimination and insecurity. The majority of Armenian respondents don't approve of mixed marriage between Turks and Armenians when they feel discrimination, but it is not associated with insecure perceptions based on fears of direct violence. So, the study can argue that there are "images" distinguishing "evil" and "good" in Turkey and Armenian people perceive that they became "other" in their own country because of governmental and societal approaches and implementations.

The importance of this study is to demonstrate perceptions of Armenian people in the dominant Turkish culture and identity. In multi-ethnic or multi-religious countries, communities should respect each other, accepting one another's rights, liberties, and existence. Otherwise, the "equal citizenship" which is the right of all groups is not implemented to protect everyone, and the result is a conflictual political, social and cultural environment.

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PAPER 2

GENDER IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION STUDIES AND MIGRANT WOMEN'S POSITION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Abstract:
Female migrants have been invisible in migration studies since the feminist approaches introduced gender analyses in migration research. The role of gender relations is significant to understand the dynamics of international migration. This study provides an overview of the feminist migration literature to explain gender and other intra and inter-related concepts' roles in women's migration to the understanding of international migration. It also analyses labour market participation of migrant women in the European Union with its policies and, most specifically, migrant women from Turkey in Germany.

Key words: feminist, migration, labour market, the EU, Germany, Turkish migrants

Introduction

This paper aims to insert feminism into international migration studies and to understand how gender is 'a constitutive element of migration'. Sociologist Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo argues in an article published in 2000, "We now have a clear understanding that migration is gendered and that gender relations change with migration processes". Sarah Mahler and Patricia Pessar insist on the examination of what they call "gendered geographies of power" in the study of migration. Gender indicates relations of inequality in society. Gender informs different sets of social relations that organize immigration and social institutions in immigrants' countries of both origin and destination. The third stage of feminist scholarship emphasises looking at gender as 'a key constitutive element' of immigration.

As feminist scholars argue that gender organizes a number of immigrant practices, beliefs, and institutions, in the first part of this paper, the importance of gender as a constitutive aspect of migration processes andthe questions of how gender permeates migration practices, institutions and identities, and how gender affects international migration are explored.

In the European Union, female migrants comprise half of the immigrant population. Although female migrants are not the followers of their fathers, husbands and households anymore, they are still considered as dependent migrants. On the other hand, women migrants are mostly employed in low-paid and low-status jobs, and they are open to varieties of discrimination. In the second part of this paper, migrant women's position in the European Union labour force is discussed and examined using both qualitative and quantitative data. In the last part of this study, after examining migrant women's position in the EU labour market, the position of the migrant women from Turkey in Germany is discussed as a case study. Since immigrants from

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Turkey are the major migrant group in Germany, they are also regarded as the driving force of Turkey's EU accession process.

1. Inserting Gender into Migration Studies: A Short Outline of the Feminist Literature

Before understanding how gender is 'a constitutive element of migration', we must understand exactly what 'gender' is. Parrenas (2009: 2) states that gender points to the social and cultural differences between masculine men and feminine women.Gender relations are the ways in which a culture or society defines rights, responsibilities, and the identities of men and women in relation to one another (Bravo-Baumann, 2000). Gender does not only indicate differences between masculinity and femininity, but is also constructed socially. Female and male roles are constructed differently socially or culturally; they are "located" differently within our societies, therefore everything from policies to practices affects them differently (Ascoly et al., 2005: 6). Underlining gender is significant to understand "feminization" of international migration and theoretical explorations on gender and migration studies. Firstly, some central studies of the literature on feminism and migration are outlined to clarify how gender was introduced in international migration studies.

According to Hondagneu-Sotelo(2003), feminist-oriented scholarship and immigration research had a growth during the late 20th century and she explains the emergence of gender and migration research by examining the stages of feminism starting from the 1970s to the present. Before the first stage of feminist research, men were the subjects of the immigration studies and they were assumed to be representative of the entire immigration population. John Berger and Jean Mohr write in the introduction of their book, *A seventh man: the story of a migrant worker in Europe*: "Among the migrant workers in Europe there are probably two million women. Some work in factories, many work in domestic service. To write of their experience adequately would require a book itself. We hope this will be done. Ours is limited to the experience of the male migrant worker"(Berger J. & Mohr J., 1975: 8). In the 1970s and early in the 1980s with the emergence of the first-stage feminist research, women were taken into account as the subject of immigration studies. On the other hand, in this period of the research, there were two research approaches that explain why Hondagneu-Sotelo named this era "women and immigration". The first approach was "*add and stir",* whereby women were "added" as a variable and measured with regard to, say, education and labour market participation, and then simply compared with migrant men's patterns' (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003: 6). The second was a "*women only*" approach, in which research projects focused only on women migrants. In the late 80s and early 90s, the feminist research moves from women and migration to gender and migration. Scholars of this period, (Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar, Nazli Kibria), focused on gender relations in families and households by looking into the experiences of migrant men and women. Considering only families and households as gendered institutions was the problem with these research studies. Finally, gender emerged as 'a key constitutive element of immigration' in the third stage of feminist research in migration. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003) states that gender differentiates men's and women's experiences in migration and organizes a number of immigrant practices, beliefs, and institutions, like workplaces, labour demand, media, and state agencies.

Another scholar, Ania Tollefsen Altamirano, indicates in her article (1997) that according to the developments within feminist geography to migration research, feminist theories can contribute to the understanding of international migration. Altamirano explains this idea by referencing Linda McDowell's works in1993 about feminist geography, where she identifies three

main points : *feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint theory and post-rational feminism*. The first two points follow the same steps as the first and second stages of feminisim, where women became visible in the social sciences, and post-rational feminism refers to the centrality of gender in relation to other categories. Altamirano also states that, ''One of the main influences on feminist geography within this perspective has come from post-colonial work in a "third world" context" (Altamirano, 1997: 5). This is to explain that early in the 1980s, many poor, young, mostly unmarried women from third-world countries were subjects of labour migration (Sassen: 1984; Hondagneu-Sotelo: 2003; Mohanty:1991; Altamirano:1997). From this perspective what is important is that MariaCaterina La Barbera (2012) sees 'the third-world context' as an outcome of 'Western feminism'[1]. La Barbera criticizes Western feminists for essentializing gender and sees it as a form of reductionism. She takes into account Black feminist scholars' ideas about the gender factor. They argue that "race, culture, and religion are as many foundational elements of identity as gender, but also that all of these are inseparably interconnected"(Lorde, 1984; Spelman, 1988). Therefore, La Barbera comes with the idea of *Multicentered feminism* and *intersectional-gender* as an analytical tool within this framework to avoid gender essentialism and consider different contexts such as class and race that cause discrimination which women have to deal with. She explains the concept as follows:''*Intersectional-gender* is an interdependent category that is originated at the interweaving of gender with other categories of social identification. To conceptualize gender as intersectional by itself means that it is connected, *inter*-acting and *intra*-acting with race/ethnicity, sexuality/body-ability, culture/religion, and economical/educational level'' (La Barbera, 2009:26).

All of the views mentioned above state that previous studies were dominantly male–based and ignored the partipation of migrant women in international migration. Migrant women were assumed to be forced and dependent migrants as family members because of the lack of data and insufficient analyses. However, the emergence of gender studies contributed to our understanding of international migration. Gender relations and hierarchies have an effect on the migration process as well as in the analysis of migration. Gender relations and hierarchies also cause gender inequities in women's migration. The feminist approaches introduced gender analyses in migration research and explained that males and females migrate differentially in many contexts. The gender and migration studies developed and changed in the last century, making a special contribution to building the interdisciplinary field of migration studies (Donato; Gabaccia; Holdaway; Manalansan; Pessar: 2006). Now, it is not only the analysis of families, households or women's lives. Moreover, as mentioned in the introductory part of this work, Sarah Mahler and Patricia Pessar insist on the examination of what they call "gendered geographies of power" to explain that the analysis of gender must consider both male and female migrants' lives and experiences in all fields of the world system.

Finally, this section is meant to explain how gender plays an important role in migration studies. Recent studies also display that gender should be considered with other concepts such as race, class and religion. As a result, in migration studies, one cannot speak only about'migrant woman' and 'migrant man'; other concepts must be considered that are connected to gender.

1 La Barbera uses the terms ' western vs. third world ' to distinguish between powerful and privileged communities, on the one hand, and economically and politically marginalized communities on the other.

2.Gendered Cross-Border Flows and Migrant Women's Position in the EU Labour Force

Between the 1950s and early 1970s, in response to a great demand from the labour market, migration rates increased in Europe. Political changes affected migration flows to Europe differently over the last decades. The need for migrants declined drastically as a result of the oil crisis in the 1970s; however, after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Western Europe faced a new wave of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe (Rubin et al., 2008: 34). Many workers came into the labour market with the expansion of the European Union and the Schengen Agreement. The first arrivals were particularly poorly educated migrants, but since the early 1980s, increasing numbers of better-educated women and men have started moving into Europe. Forster and Johnsen states that 'European integration in particular has led to the internationalisation of even small and medium enterprises and a growth in the numbers of employees working abroad' (in Kofman, 1996:50). Today, 232 million international migrants are living in the world; the proportion of female migrants ranged from 52% in the global North to 43% in the global South in 2013. While women comprise about 48% of all international migrants, considerable differences exist across regions. The proportion of female migrants was the highest (51.9%) in Europe in 2010/2011 (OECD-UNDESA :2013).

Analytical frameworks and previous research have often considered migrant women as dependent or forced migrants who move involuntarily and don't have the right of decision-making in their families or households during the migration process. Studies have traditionally focused on the experiences of migrant men, also assuming that the causes and consequences of international migration were similar for migrant women and migrant men. As a result, migrant women's participation and contribution to international migration is ignored and disregarded. Recent studies of gender and migration that included women in studies of international migration indicate that migrant women have become independent actors in international migration flows. This fact is commonly known as the *feminization* of migration. The numbers given above support the idea that there is a growing feminization of international migration. Besides, Chammartin (2002: 39) mentions that ''According to the United Nations Population Division data, obtained mostly from population censuses and covering documented as well as undocumented migrants, the stock of female migrants grew faster than the stock of male migrants in most of the world''.

The table below gives information about the percentage of women among immigrants who had arrived within a ten-year period to a number of OECD countries between 1994 and 2004. The numbers are proof of the growing feminization of migration flows among countries. For example, it is clear from Table 1 that while the number of migrant women was only 48% in 1994, it rose to 56% in Austriain 2004. Between the same years, Sweden, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Denmark, Germany and Belgium experienced female migration flows (Ayres and Bayber, 2006).

Table 1 : Indicators of the recent feminization of migration flows

Percentage of women among immigrants who arrived between 1994 and 2004

	2004	1994
Austria	56	48
Belgium	54	52
Czech Republic	54	..
Germany	53	48
Denmark	48	42
Spain	51	55
Finland	53	..
France	54	54
Greece	52	54
Hungary	54	..
Ireland	50	51
Italy	55	49
Luxembourg	51	46
Netherlands	53	48
Norway	56	..
Poland	61	..
Portugal	57	57
Sweden	53	50
United Kingdom	50	54

In many parts of the world, as on the European continent, female migrants are no longer followers of their fathers, husbands and households; they are now independent actors in international migration. However, situations that affect women's security, such as conflicts, war, natural disasters or poverty, can cause them to become subjects of forced migration. Kofman (2000:54) argues that "Eurostat data indicate that over a third of migrant women are single. It is, after all, more acceptable than ever in European societies for women to migrate on their own for educational, employment or social reasons". Female migrants'modes of movement depend not only on family reunification but also vary depending on reasons such as social, economic and political expectations. "A United Nations report on women and migration argues that the impact of women's status and roles on their propensity to migrate must be considered at three levels: individual, familial, and societal. Individual factors include age, birth order, race/ethnicity, urban/rural origins, marital status (single, married, divorced, widowed), reproductive status (children or no children), role in the family (wife, daughter, mother), position in family (authoritative or subordinate), educational status, occupational skills/training, labour force experience, and class position. Family factors include size, age/sex composition, life-cycle stage, structure (nuclear, extended, etc.), status (single parent, both parents, etc.), and class standing. Societal factors include those community norms and cultural values that determine whether or not women can migrate and, if they can, how (i.e., labour or family reunification) and with whom (alone

or with family)''(Boyd andGrieco: 2003). Other factors that affect migrant women's movement are labour market demands, immigration laws and regulations that exist in the host and the sending country that also determine who is permitted to migrate.

Although female migrant women are now visible in migration studies, most of the migrant women are still largely treated as dependants or as providers of unskilled labour. Kofman (2000:51) explains in his article, "In the European states with colonial ties (France, Netherlands and the UK), teachers,nurses, doctors and social workers were recruited in the post-war years from the former colonies. In the past two decades, welfare sectors have undergone considerable restructuring, but they nevertheless continue to employ large numbers of skilled and unskilled workers. The onset of cutbacks in the provision of public services, expansion in the number of graduates and increasing competition for professional posts vary from state to state. So too does the regulation of professions and the dependence upon migrant labour differ''.

The greatest demand for female labour stems from domestic work, migrant women being predominantly employed in sectors such as care-giving (cleaning, housekeeping, elder care, child care), factory, manufacturing, agriculture and entertainment. Sectors in which women participate involuntarily are prostitution and the sex industry. "Significant numbers of migrant women are also involved in prostitution and the sex industry –some of them involuntarily through trafficking for sexual exploitation"(Rubin et al., 2008). Compared to male workers, foreign-born migrant women are twice as likely to work in low-skilled professions, according to the OECD. Women's labour market outcomes are usually lower than men's, especially for those born in non-EU countries (Rubin et al., 2008).

Table 1 : Indicators of the recent feminization of migration flows

	Native Born	EU-born Migrants	Third-Country Migrants
Elementary occupations	9.6	26.4	38.0
Services and sales workers	19.0	20.6	26.5
Office clerks	16.9	12.4	7.9
Other associate professionals	20.6	13.3	8.3
Legislators senior officials and managers	6.7	6.9	3.9
Professionals	17.2	13.4	7.5

The Eurostat's (2010) Labour Force Survey indicates that according to their nationality, migrant women with a high level of educational attainment are more concentrated in low-skill or elementary occupations than are native-born women with a high level of education (Kontos,2011). The sectors where female migrants are employed are mostly gender-segregated, low-paid, low-status and unregulated. These sectors offer little protection: employees have to deal with unfavourable working conditions such as long working hours, non-payment of wages, humiliation, pyhsical and sexual harassment, and violated work arrangements in the labour market. Therefore, female migrant workers are more vulnerable than males.

In the Technical Report that they prepared for the European Commission in 2008 (Rubin et al., 2008), the authors state that four country groupings emerge from comparisons of the labour force participation rates of third-country migrant women with native-born women in the same country. The authors express in the report that native-born women largely take part in the labour force more than those of third-country migrant women in the old migrant-receiving countries of Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, Austria. In Greece, Spain and Portugal, (Southern Europe), defined by the authors as 'new' migrant-receiving countries, the labour force participation rates of native-born women are lower than those of third-country migrant women. Thirdly, both native-born and third-country-born women's labour force participation differs according to their migration flows in the 'Nordic' countries of Denmark and Sweden, and it is more similar to the 'old' migrant-receiving countries than to the 'new' migrant-receiving countries. Finally, in the 'accession' countries (Cyprus, Czech Republic and Hungary), a very heterogeneous pattern of labour force participation is found.

Migrant women's age, education, marital status, the number of children and their ages, time of arrival in the receiving country, language skills and legal status can determine their integration into the labour force. The number of children and family status are significant factors in participation in the workforce. If the children are younger,the participation rate will remain lower; on the contrary, if a migrant woman has no children or children over ten years old, the labour force participation will rise. Similarly, if the family supports migrant women's participation in the workforce, the higher the participation rate will be. On the educational level, as I mentioned in Table 2, even if female migrants have a high level of education, they are concentrated in low-skill and low-paid jobs. An important cause of this disadvantageous situation, as some researchers point out, is that the migrants' academic and vocational qualifications acquired in their home countries are often not recognised and/or not accepted in the receiving country (Rubin et al., 2008).

In the EU labour market, both being a woman and a migrant cause disadvantages for third-country female migrants compared to EU-born migrants. According to Eurostat's 2010 statistics, within the EU27 countries, the unemployment rate was 7.5% for native-born women age 25-54 years-old; 10.9% for migrants from other EU27 countries, and 16.3% for third-country migrants.[2] The unemployment rate was 30.8% for third-country migrant women age 15-24 years-old,while it was 19.0% for native-born women. The numbers given prove that female migrants from third countries are faring worse than native-born migrants and migrants from other EU countries, and to some extent, worse than male migrants. For example, the employment rate was 52.8% for female migrants aged between 25 and 54 from third-countries: while for the same age group it was 73.0% for native-born women and 68.4% for women from other EU countries. Third-country male migrants are better integrated into the labour market (with a 73.2% employment rate) than their female counterparts.

Otherwise, types of employment that female migrants represented also cause a disadvantage in the workforce. Female migrants mostly get involved in and are sometimes forced into part-time and temporary-contract employment. According to the European Union Labour Force Survey, in 2005, in France, Belgium, Sweden and Spain migrant women have a high proportion of temporary-employment contracts compared to native-born women.

It becomes apparent as a result of the findings mentioned above that third-country migrant women are more vulnerable, having to face different levels of disadvantages which affect their

2 http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/release_calendars/publications

workforce participation, employment and unemployment status in the EU labour force,than native-born women, migrant women from other EU countries and even male migrants.

In the labour market, situations such as unsafe working conditions, lack of a support network, sexual harassment and gender-related discrimination can influence women's motivation to migrate. Moreover, cultural pressures from family or society, prejudices and violence perpetrated because of bias against factors such as legal status, age, class, culture or ethnicity, single motherhood and homosexuality can limit women's movement. Problems connected with the policies of the host and sending countries, for example, violence in the public sphere, within the family, discriminative policies, inadequate access to appropriate jobs, limited knowledge of their rights and, in certain cases, earlier experiences of violence in their home communities, increase migrant women's vulnerability to violence, as well as their capacity to protect themselves against these situations,and reduce their motivation to migrate (Chammartin 2002; Ascoly et al., 2005).

As a result of economic growth, many of the EU member states opened their doors to immigrants in order to meet their demand for high levels of labour across a wide range of sectors. In the European Union, the challenge of integrating migrant women and men into the labour markets is the responsibility of the national authority of the individual member state.[3] However, after the enlargement, Europe has experienced great migration flows which caused demographic economic and social change; therefore, integration policy has become increasingly important at the EU level and there are efforts to develop a common approach to integration within a coherent European framework (Kontos et al., 2009). The EU Commission adopted a common Framework for the integration of third-country Nationals in the European Union. ''Following the European Council in Tampere, which explicitly called for a more vigorous integration policy, the Union adopted an arsenal of instruments for facilitating integration in the following areas:

- the right to family reunifcation;
- the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents;
- the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purpose of paid employment or self-employed economic activities;
- admission of students and volunteers;
- asylum policy (minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers and minimum standards for the qualification and status of third-country nationals and stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection);
- combating discrimination (Directives 2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC);
- granting third-country nationals the same protection as EU workers in the field of social security when moving in the EU.''[4]

The Commission's Communication on Immigration, Integration and Employment, published in 2004, and the European Parliament resolution that followed recognised that "different groups of migrants require different policies forintegration", that women are "a substantial majority of immigrants, including those of second and third generation, asylum seekers and illegal immigrants", and that they are the victims of discrimination on the basis of both gender and or-

3 http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/other/c10611_en.htm
4 http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/other/c10611_en.htm

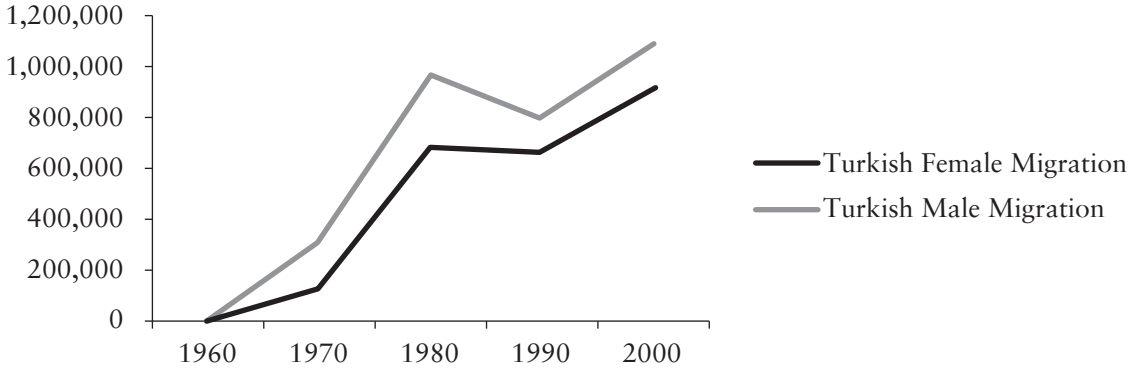
igin, and that such discrimination also affects second- and third-generation immigrants" (Kontos et al., 2009).

Significantly, the EU Commission stresses and focuses attention on the integration of migrant women as an important target group, since they comprise half of the immigrant populations and are faced with the different levels of discrimination mentioned above in this study. The European Union funded a research project, *Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society: Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations* (FeMiPol), in 2006-2008, in respond to the challenges of integration policy. The target group of the research project was new female migrants within eleven EU member states: the UK, France, Germany and Sweden as old immigration countries; Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Italy as new immigration countries; Cyprus, Poland and Slovenia as new immigration countries and new market economies. The aim of the project was to clarify how new female migrants are influenced by the social and labour market policies — including integration and migration policies (Kontoset al., 2009). The project aims to respond to the need to explore and analyse the impact of integration policies and to serve as a basis for the development of recommendations for appropriate integration policies. Therefore, the researchers have formulated recommendations for more appropriate policies to provide better integration for new female migrants. Some of the recommendations include strengthening civil society agents, empowerment through rights for migrant women working in prostitution, combatting trafficking and safeguarding human rights by empowerment through rights, creating immigration channels in order to offer chances of legal immigration, and limiting informal labour markets (Kontos et al.,2009). The FeMiPol project is proof that a solution can be found in acting together at the EU level to develop and improve their national policies, rules and regulations in order to prevent discrimination and provide a better social and economic integration, protection and empowerment with legal rights and entitlements to female migrants within the EU.

3. A Case Study : Looking at the Labour Market Position of Female Immigrants from Turkey in Germany

Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany signed the bilateral Turkish-West German agreement on 30 October 1961. With the agreement, individual Turks were permitted to enter West Germany on temporary work contracts; afterwards their families were also permitted to enter. It is acknowledged by Europeans that temporary labourers had become permanent residents: as Max Frisch expressed this situation in 1999,"*We asked for workers. We got people instead.*" In the last five decades, the main dynamic of the migration flows from Turkey has also changed. In the 1960s, workers entered with the guest worker program, in the 1970s and 1980s it was family reunifications, in the 1980s the refugee movement, asylum-seekers in the 1990s, and irregular migration in the 2000s (Diker, 2012). In the official German discourse, they have generally been addressed as '*gastarbeiter*' (guest-worker), '*ausländer*' (foreigner); on the other hand in Turkey, they have been stereotyped as '*Almancı*' or '*gurbetçi*'.

Turkish immigration to Germany, by gender, 1960-2000



Source: World Bank

By 1973, 599,000 Turkish citizens had migrated to Germany, but during this era female participation within these migration flows was significantly low. According to İçduygu, female participation had increased over time, mainly due to two factors: the voluntary and imposed demands of potential women migrants and the migratory policies of the host countries towards family reunification (İçduygu, 2012).

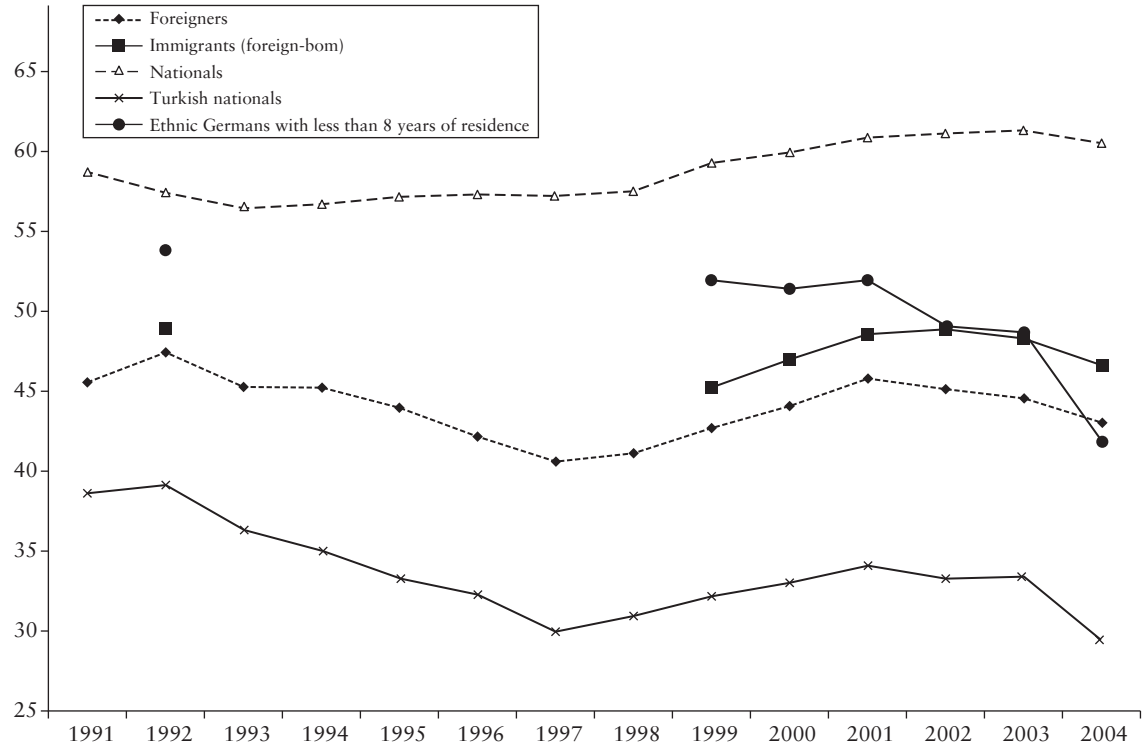
In the 1960s, many of the female workers were concentrated in the sectors of electronics, automotive industry, textiles, chemical production, food processing and packaging, as well as cleaning services (Abadan-Unat, 1977). The reason for the increasing demand for female workers was the cheap workforce, as it was women who first migrated to Berlin in 1964 and were mostly concentrated in the textile and electronics sectors (Kaya et al., 2005). Although only 175 Turkish women entered Germany in 1960, the number rose dramatically to 143,611 women in 1975, in contrast to 409,606 Turkish males.

Today Turks are the major immigrant group in Germany.At the end of 2003, about 1,880,000 persons with Turkish nationality lived in Germany (Euwals et al.; 2007). This number rose to 2,435,230 in 2011 (Şahin, 2012).The integration of workers from Turkey, as they are regarded as the driving force for Turkey's accession process to the EU, is significant for both countries. Immigrant women demand social security and equal payment for equal work, but they also have to deal with discrimination against foreigners in Germany. Since Germany used nationality criterion to define migrants, policies shifted to the migrant's cultural differences based primarily on nationality. A significant factor causing discrimination against women from Turkey is Islamophobia, based on the view of female oppression sanctioned by Islam. Another reason for discrmination is that they are considered shy and isolated housewives. Moreover, if they do not work, their dependency on their husbands and children increases. In the past, integration services focused largely on language training, but language is still a problem for immigrant women, partly affecting their participation in the workforce.

Many studies indicate that due to their education and improvement in language profiency, second-generation immigrants do better in the labour market, and have a high employment rate in comparison to the first generation.In fact, second-generation migrants have a 41% employment rate, while early migrants have 21% (Euwals et al.,2007). In particular, language profiency is one of the main factors that affect Turkish women's labour market integration, mainly wag-

es and employment status, as rivals to German workers. During the periods 1992-1997 and 2003-2004, the employment rate of Turkish women dropped substantially.

Employment/population ratios of German nationals, ethnic Germans, Turkish nationals, foreigners and foreign-born women



Source: European Community Labour Force Survey

In her article Ulutaş argues that today, most of the immigrant women from Turkey are employed in cleaning services following the transformation of the labour market since Germany closed its doors to unskilled labour migration (Ulutaş, 2013). According to her, one significant reason for this is the discrimination based on ethnicity and gender in the German labour market. Since cleaning services are defined as 'low status and –dirty- jobs' mainly migrant women are employed in these low paid and part-time jobs. Other factor is that immigrant women from Turkey have high fertility rates that hinder their participation in the labour market or cause them to be employed in part-time jobs. In 2009, the rate of migrant women employed in part-time jobs was % 83,7 and in 2011 %70 of them were women with children. In the cleaning sector two important trade unions are IG-BAU and VER-Dİ; migrants from Turkey organized under these trade unions, however their participation in these trade unions was affected negatively since there is the threat of cheap labour force from the East Europe.

The German federal government introduced the first package of labour market reforms to benefit the integration of foreigners ("Hartz I") in 2003. It promoted employment opportunities

through temporary employment agencies, "Personnel Service Agencies" (PSAs), which aim at integrating unemployed individuals into the labour market through work experience combined with accompanying qualification measures. However, the PSAs were not succesful for immigrants (Liebig, 2007). The new Immigration Act came into force on 1 January 2005. According to the Law, the Ministry of Economics and Labour remains responsible for the actual labour market integration. It promoted the establishment of integration courses, which are conducted by certified private or semi-public providers, and comprise 630 hours, of which 600 hours are basic language training and 30 hours an "orientation course" about German history, culture and political system (Liebig, 2007). One significant approach of the law is that the German state demands more active efforts from immigrants than in the past. Within the new immigration law, another reform package,"Hartz IV", came into force. The aim of the package was social assistance and long-term unemployment aid to the immigrants.

Although the German federal government has introduced several labour market reforms in recent years, whatever strategies are adopted,both men and women immigrants' problems still remain. The MP of The Left (German: *Die Linke*) party Sevim Dağdelen states that female migrants in Germany experience poverty 2.5 times more than the average; moreover, the number of immigrant women who have to take a second job due to low income is two times more than the average (Özay, 2011). She also points to forced marriages and the law about marriages whereby, if one of the couple is outside of Germany, delays women's divorce for at least three years. According to the law, if the couple divorces before three years, the one who came to the Germany with family reunification can be deported. According to the VER-Dİ, even when women perform the same job as men, they earn 23% less, and migrant women are concentrated in 70% of the low-paid jobs. The president of the Immigrant Womenıs Association, Sidar Demirdöğen, has expressed their demands from the government for the removal of low-paid part-time jobs, the recognition of diplomas obtained in foreign countries, and equal payment for equal work (Özay, 2011).

Conclusion

Feminist theories introduced gender and increased awareness of the important role of gender in migration studies and contributed to the understanding of international migration. Recent studies of international migration have made it clear that women are no longer dependents and followers of their husbands, families and households. The feminization of migration refers to the fact that in the last decades more women are migrating independently for different reasons. Most importantly, female migrants are facing different levels of social, economic,and political discrimination on both state and societal levels because of being both woman and migrant. In sum, there is a growing demand for migrant women's labour and migrant women mostly employed in 'women's work' in the domestic and care-giving sector; protective and integration-friendly legislation laws and programmes must be formulated by governments, in collabouration with trade unions and NGOs, to promote their equality and to protect their human rights. Like Germany, immigrant receiving states initiate some reforms to assist in the integration of migrants, but these reforms are not always sufficient or successful. Since the EU Commission places significance and focuses attention on the integration of migrant women as an important target group, a solution can be found by acting together within the EU framework.

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