

Foreign Workers without Work Permit in Istanbul: A Sociological Study

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Economic inequality is one of the major reasons for current migration issues for both individuals and nations. Other significant reasons are threatening environment, natural disasters (drought, scarce resources, earthquake, etc.) and epidemic illnesses. Countries try to achieve their large-scale development plans and service plans so that international capital flows and service and goods are imported and exported as well as information exchange and migration of workforce are experienced. Certain crime types have gained a global character as a result of new world order accompanied by globalisation and it moves between countries. Both illegal migration and international workers without work permit are among such crime types. This study aims to identify the reasons for foreign people who came Istanbul, leading to have their profiles. Another aim of the study is to analyse the position of people from the former Communist countries that are relatively new established as a result of new world order of 1990's and that are experiencing a process of adoption to the capitalist economy.

Keywords: Working without Work Permit; Migration; Foreign People

Introduction

Today nearly 500,000 foreign people entry to and work in the EU countries illegally as a result of such factors as EU's project on "freedom, security and justice", economic wealth of this region and a significant gap between north and south (İçli & Sever, 2008).

The question of why people with different cultural backgrounds prefer to live in different countries can be accounted for using quantitative evidence within the framework of theoretical approaches. In short, one of the frequently discussed topics within the migration theories is about those working in foreign countries without working permit.

Certain crime types have gained a global character as a result of new world order accompanied by globalisation and it moves between countries. Both illegal migration and international workers without work permit are among such crime types.

EU has experienced a regional integration. It has also experienced the Single European Act and Schengen Agreement leading to elimination of internal border checks. Therefore, such topics as migration, right of asylum, visa and working permit have become frequently debated issues.

Thus, the EU countries can be regarded as "target countries as they are subject to intense migration. Additionally, it should be noted that Turkey is both a target and a transition country to the EU countries for people from those countries that are experiencing serious problems, i.e. Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, etc.).

It is known that current international commercial, economic, technical, social and political collaboration has improved. Countries try to achieve their large-scale development plans and service plans so that international capital flows and service and goods are imported and exported as well as information exchange and migration of workforce are experienced. Economic,

commercial and industrial development leads to wealth as well as to the need for work supply. Employers need educated and qualified workforce and when they can not meet this need locally, they try to meet it through international workforce.

In terms of security issues, despite the researches suggesting that international people are much more subject to criminal behaviour (Allen, 1999; Barker et al., 2002; Chesney-Lind & Lind, 1986; de Albuquerque & McElroy, 1999; Fujii & Mak, 1980; Kelly, 1993), this study deals with developing the profiles of criminal international people in Istanbul.

Employment Rights of Foreign People in Turkey

The right to work is secured under the 48. Article of the constitution and regarded as among basic public rights in the Turkish legal system. It is also recognised in regard to foreign employees. However, this right is limited by the 16. Article of the constitution in accordance with international legislation for foreign employees.

Within this framework, requirements and arrangements for working in Turkey for foreign people are given in the code of work permit and related regulations. Moreover, employment in different job areas is particularly organized in the related laws.

Until the enforcement of the code of work permit (from 1923 to now) more than seventy legal arrangements were made in regard to foreign employment in Turkey. In former regulations there was a multi-centred and distributed structure, therefore foreign employment was not been effectively organized.

In the code of work permit and related regulations, significant new practices are offered in regard to foreign employment. In short, this code radically changed the conditions for work permit and built a new system for work conditions. The conditions offered by this new system are significant for both the foreign employees and the employers.

Those who work in Turkey without bearing a work permit commit the crime of “working without permit” and those who employ these persons commit the crime of “employing illegal employees”.

Related Literature

Modernization Theory states that if market mechanism function following free market economy principles without any intervention, there can be a balance between those countries from which people migrate and host countries. Therefore, migration occurs from those regions where development rate is relatively low to those regions where it is relatively high. It decreases the need for employment whereas it also decreases the need for supply (Turner, 1999; Rosenberg & Birdzell, 1992: p. 78).

Mutual job market theory argues that immigrant workers are needed by developed countries (Piore, 1979). Migration changes based on the characteristics of workforce need. In other words, the aims of the immigrant workers are shaped in accordance with the economic background of the target country. Job markets in target countries are categorized into several parts. Local workers (national citizens) have much more attractive jobs while immigrant workers often work in 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult). Furthermore, as a production factor immigrant employee have much more flexible pattern in contrast to local workers (Bijak, 2006: p. 10). Employee supply and preferences can be changed and immigrant workers may be subject to much more difficult working hours and conditions than those of local workers (Massey et al., 2002: pp. 431-466).

Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin’s differential opportunity theory states that those persons of traditional societies who feel themselves underachieved are likely to search for opportunities to be successful (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960: p. 239). Therefore, they may tend to migrate. However, those who cannot legally migrate or who cannot find a job in their native countries or who are desperate in regard to find a job may illegally migrate.

Theory of inequality and unbalance emphasizes the inequalities and unbalance in social system. It argues that negative conditions lead individual to migrate, for instance unequal wage, common unemployment, etc.

Parsons’ AGIL (Adaptation, Goal Attainment, Integration, Latency) formula, like the theory of inequality and unbalance, states that social integration is possible only when scarce resources are fairly distributed. On the other hand, Parsons’ voluntarily act principle argues that individuals make choices about different acts taking scarce resources into account (Parsons, 1951). Immigration means that persons think about how they can best benefit from scarce resources and then, act based on this reflection.

In the rational decision-making process, an individual has the aim of improving their life quality through migration. Additionally, he makes decisions over the issues of education, finance, health-care and security. This process of decision-making is personal. Choosing a certain thing over the other options means thinking about expectations and gains. Therefore, migration is a result of a conscious and informed process of decision-making.

Parekh’s migration theory provides a totally different account of migration. It uses the opportunity theory as a starting point. It argues that if there was a workforce supply in a country, migration would fill this gap. However, when this supply is met or employment is limited, migration will stop and those

migrants who cannot find a job in the target country will go back to their native country (Parekh, 1997: p. 40).

Toynbee’s challenge and response theory (1946) adopts an approach that is very close to the Marxist thinking. It argues that each social change can be interpreted in terms of the process of challenge and response. Each individual has some degree potential energy. Given that universe is a challenging force for humans, they can be seen as creatures who resist and respond this force. For instance, they may give up living in their native lands to overcome the poverty and they keep up living in a foreign country to make money although local people will try to exclude them.

International migrants as well as illegally employed persons are two significant topics that have been attracted by several disciplines (Böhm, 1998; Houben, 1999; Sohler, 1999; Messinger, 2000; Rechling, 2004; Tschernitz, 2004).

Europa at the 1900’s experienced serious unemployment problems. Therefore, citizens of the European countries migrated to the countries of New World (Australia, USA, Canada, New Zealand etc.). More than twenty-six million people were reported to migrate to the USA during the period of 1870-1920. These migrant people worked in these countries in the jobs related to transportation, communication, railway systems, etc. (Solimano, 2010).

Of the people who migrated to the USA for employment during the period of 1870-1920, one-third was single, male and independent of their family members. Moreover, one fourth of these migrants were young people and their ages ranged from sixteen to forty (Solimano, 2010).

Except for wars and violence acts, migration mostly occurs due to economic reasons. It is closely similar to the balance of supply-demand. Migration that occurs due to basically economic reasons becomes attractive because of higher wage in the target country, regular working hours and higher levels of life quality. Therefore, countries of new world order become better and productive in terms of technology, commerce, industry and finance. However, working conditions of migrant workers began to be less attractive over time. Although their life quality in the target country is much higher than that of native country, their wage is much lower than that of native citizens.

After the 1920’s, England experienced massive migration by Irish people. More than half of Italian migrants tended to go to France and Germany. France and the Netherlands also experienced migration flows from Belgium. In the new world order, Canada and the USA are experiencing massive migration (Hatton & Williamson, 1998). In short, most countries experience migration with the aim of employment (Chiswick & Hatton, 2003).

In recent times, typology of immigrants as well as target countries has changed. Countries of new world order tried to understand and deal with this fact of migration. For instance, they carried out researches on the number of illegal migrants.

Although exact number of migrants cannot be known, there are ways of estimating these figures. Biffel (2002) carried out series of interviews and concluded that there are thousands of children with the age range of 6 - 15 in Australia.

Another way to estimate the rate of migration is the comparison of figures related to illegal migrants caught by security forces. For instance, Australia decreased the number of illegal migrants in 2003. In 2004, a total of 38,530 illegal migrants were caught and this figure is 14% less than that in 2003. Illegal migrants identified are from Russian Federation, India, Moldova

and Romania. Those who illegally live in the country are from Bulgaria, Moldova, Serbia and Montenegro (IOM, 2005).

Matuschek (2002) states that there is a methodological complication in regard to the studies of illegally employed migrants. He also focuses on informal economy and illegal migration.

Schneider developed another approach towards black economy in Austria in which cash flows in the market. It is based on the estimation of spot buy of goods and services in black economy (Schneider, 2003). He states that higher levels of cash flows are reflection of the expanded black economy. Therefore, the situation of illegally employed migrants in past periods could be revealed.

In Poland, the rates of both registered and non-registered workers are employed in order to reveal the case of black economy. In 2000, the number of registered workers was 885,000, while it was 924,000 in 2003 (Flaszyńska & Zaráński, 2005: p. 68). However statistics of Poland Central Statistics Office (CSO) indicate that the number of registered employees is 12.6 million (CSO, 2007: p. 19). These rates are used in order to identify the profile of illegally employed migrants in the country.

Like in the past, foreign people in the host countries work in difficult, dangerous and dirty jobs for fewer wages today. Moreover, several jobs are negatively affected by migrant employees, for instance, construction, agriculture, commercial jobs, care services and domestic services (CSO, 2005: p. 14). Additionally, it is reported that illegal migrants are also employed at hotels and restaurants (Biletta & Meixner, 2005: p. 5). They also work in such jobs as interpreters, language educators, finance advisors, computer specialists who are qualified workforce jobs (CSO, 2005: p. 19; Golinowska, 2005: p. 98; Kicinger & Kloc-Nowak, 2008: p. 5). Camarota (2004) argues that income of illegal migrants is less than that of local people. Moreover, two-thirds of them do not have university education.

States' visa policy may be related to illegal migration and illegal employment. In those countries of which economy is heavily based on tourism income illegal migration is experienced much more frequently. Until October 2003, those from Ukraina, Belarus and Russia who entered to Poland without visa dominated the informal sectors (Kicinger & Kloc-Nowak, 2008: pp. 8-9). The findings of the study by Igllicka (2000) in 1995 indicate that there were more than 500 thousand people from Ukraina. Additionally Bartoszewics (2006: pp. 2-3) found that in 2005, 45% of 10.5 million tourists from Ukraina, Belarus and Russia came to Poland for economic purposes (for having jobs).

Although research findings suggest that high levels of illegal migrants work without work permit in the target countries, official statistical figures in this regard are not so high. In order to account for this trouble, the data provided by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and of Zawadzka and Zaráński (2003: p. 208) were analysed to find out those foreigners who were arrested between 2002 and 2006 (**Table 1**).

Hungary is one of those countries that has struggled against migration and illegal employment. During the 1990's migration

in Hungary became a visible social, economic and political problem. Although the number of foreigners was steady during the 1980's, it increased during the 1990's (Juhász, 1999: p. 4). The reason for this increase may be the war experienced during the related period of time in the Balkans.

In 1991, 29,000 foreigners were caught at the Hungarian border. This figure increased to 10,000 both in 1996 and 1997. It is found that 70% of the illegal migrants caught planned to use Hungary as a transition point (Juhász, 1999: p. 7).

As a result of visa agreements, those from Romania, former Yugoslavia and former USSR could easily entered to Hungary. Since they cannot move to other affluent European countries, they stayed at and work in Hungary. Juhász (1999) argues that these migrants often worked in the fields of construction, agriculture, tourism, entertainment, restaurants, textile industry and independent business.

The case of Thailand is similar to those of other countries. Thailand has a relatively better economy. Because of economic problems experienced in its neighbour countries such as Myanmar and Cambodia, political instability and overpopulation, people from these countries migrate to Thailand and work there (Huguet & Punpuing, 2005). The other example for it is the migration of people from Somali and Ethiopia to Yemen (de Regt, 2007).

The other studies (Hatton & Williamson, 1998; IOM, 2005; Kicinger & Kloc-Nowak, 2008; Igllicka, 2000; Bartoszewics, 2006; Juhász, 1999; Huguet & Punpuing, 2005; de Regt, 2007; İçli & Sever, 2008) emphasize another significant point: those who officially and legally enter a country but do not exit. In other words, an illegal migrant may enter a country legally. Therefore, it is useful to analyse data about those who enter and exit the country in order to have a full understanding of this process.

Illegal Foreigners in Turkey

Turkey is both a transit country and a target country due to its geographical position and status. Therefore, its citizens have migrated to European countries and the USA to work while it is subject to illegal migration of the people from nearby countries.

During the 1960's Turkey sent workers to foreign countries to support its development. The other significant basis of Turkey's economy has been tourism. Since tourism was supported due to merely economic purposes, Turkey adopted relatively flexible visa procedures. Although target population for Turkey's tourism was affluent European people, tourists have been mostly from Russia, Ukraina, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria and Armenia. However, soon the situation has become an issue of foreigners who get income as a result of prostitution and illegal employment. This problem has led to economic distortion and transborder cash flows. Within this context, flexible visa policy that was originally developed for Turkey's own interest has become in favor of people from neighbour countries.

Formerly, migrants were going out and coming back in as required by visa procedures. Currently they do not have to come back their native countries and continue to work in Turkey although their visa period is over. In other words, permanent illegal migrants replace the flyer migrants. This fact is clearly seen in the numerical findings given in **Table 5**.

Istanbul is driving force of Turkey in terms of population, workforce, industrialization and economic capacity. Its geopolitical position is a point of intersection for migration from Asia to Europa, transit transportation and commercial flows. Therefore,

Table 1.
Illegally employed foreign origin people in Poland.

2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Toplam
2080	2711	1795	1680	1718	9984

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, 2006 and Zawadzka & Zaráński, 2003).

related data should be analysed in order to have a complete understanding of its position.

Table 2 presents data given by Istanbul Police Department about foreigners who were involved in criminal and administrative crimes in Istanbul during the periods of 1995-2000 and 2001-2006:

During the period of 1995-2007, they committed mostly the crimes of illegal employment, prostitution and visa violation (administrative crime). The detailed numerical data on these crimes are given in **Table 3**.

Table 3 indicates that the crimes of illegal employment and prostitution have increased since 1995.

However, the rates of these both crimes were much lower during the period of 1995-2000. On the other hand, the crime of visa violation has significantly increased since 2001.

Table 2.

Foreigners who are party in criminal behavior and administrative crimes in Istanbul during the period of 1995-2000.

Year/Crime	Total
1995	4543
1996	10,017
1997	18,002
1998	12,689
1999	17,350
2000	16,047
2001	13,232
2002	10,148
2003	8753
2004	10,990
2005	9864
2006	10,307

Source: (IEM, 2008).

Table 3.

Distribution of frequently committed crimes by foreigners in Istanbul during the period of 1995-2007.

Year/Crime	Illegal Employment	Prostitution	Visa violation
1995	-	565	653
1996	485	1835	1295
1997	2,032	2448	1168
1998	3,738	3123	2207
1999	4,780	3013	1511
2000	2,453	1685	2033
2001	148	894	2965
2002	351	527	1561
2003	449	407	1893
2004	378	829	2195
2005	229	455	2505
2006	285	71	3582
2007	949	244	1662
Total	16,277	16,096	25,230

Source: (IEM, 2008).

The findings of Turkey Statistics Institution (2008) are given in the following table in regard to foreign passengers who entered to and exited Turkey during the period of 2000-2007. It is clearly seen that beginning from 2000 to 2007 the number of people that exited Turkey is not as much as those who entered Turkey.

As seen in the **Table 4**, foreign-originated people entered Turkey but they did not exit the country. This gap may be a result of visa violance or that they get residence permit. However, it is also likely that they earn money through illegal employment in order to maintain their life.

The data of Turkey Statistics Institution (TUIK) also provide the numbers of people who committed the crime of illegal employment by their origin of country as well as their entrance and exit figures during the period of 2001-2007.

The data presented in **Table 5** suggest the following facts about people from different countries:

1) The number of people from Turkmenistan who entered Turkey had increased seven times during the period of 2000-2007. However, the number of them who exited Turkey during the same period had increased only five times. Thus, Turkmenistan is one of the countries whose citizens mostly come to Turkey.

2) The number of people from Georgia that entered Turkey had increased six times in 2007 on the contrary to the figure of 2000.

3) The number of people from Russian Federation, Bulgaria and Iran that entered Turkey had increased four times in 2007 on the contrary to the figure of 2000. The increase for the same period for people from Belarus is nearly ten times.

Methodology

In the study, the case of people who legally or illegally entered to Turkey and arrested because of illegal employment between January 2004 and December 2007 was analysed. Since all individual data were accessed, no sampling was employed. Data were analysed and descriptive study was carried out. The data were presented as tables of one-way frequency.

All participants of the study committed the crime of illegal employment in Turkey. Additionally, some participants committed the crime of visa violance or deliberately injury or property damage, etc. Majority of them legally entered to Turkey. However, touristic or student visa bearers cannot have work permits.

Table 4.

Distribution of foreigners who entered and exited Turkey during the period of 2001-2007.

Passenger/Year	Entry	Exit
2000	10,428,153	9,991,004
2001	11,619,909	11,276,531
2002	13,248,176	12,921,982
2003	13,956,405	13,701,419
2004	17,548,384	17,202,996
2005	21,124,886	20,522,621
2006	19,819,833	19,275,948
2007	23,340,911	23,017,081
Total	131,125,657	127,909,582

Source: (TUIK, 2008).

Table 5.
Foreigner who entered to and exited Turkey during the period of 2001-2007 (TUIK, 2008).

Country/Year	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007	
	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit
Turkmenistan	10,987	10,682	14,996	14,399	21,323	20,347	15,970	16,094	26,621	24,938	34,282	29,700	48,827	37,179	76,334	53,750
Azerbaijan	179,987	152,789	14,996	148,503	163,114	144,266	192,645	190,713	330,313	326,937	411,652	400,703	380,132	382,717	434,577	425,026
Georgia	179,563	167,026	163,970	160,205	161,687	162,296	167,759	164,515	235,143	229,382	367,339	357,405	549,328	541,488	630,979	619,893
Bulgaria	381,545	371,560	540,437	537,714	834,070	853,003	1,006,268	1,040,985	1,310,643	1,324,106	1,621,704	1,622,600	1,177,903	1,196,979	1,239,667	1,347,616
Ukraina	173,551	166,568	177,402	167,535	193,038	186,295	225,452	212,149	293,644	290,416	380,392	380,853	487,917	476,113	593,302	578,189
Russia Fed.	677,152	667,287	757,121	741,863	946,494	909,015	1,257,559	1,300,299	1,603,372	1,579,451	1,864,682	1,878,179	1,853,442	1,782,568	2,465,336	2,353,333
Moldovia	62,687	55,164	46,064	48,524	46,079	43,022	55,329	51,210	72,055	68,972	90,704	86,152	108,578	107,639	145,341	141,947
Iran	380,819	330,595	327,067	307,801	432,281	427,462	494,977	411,558	631,522	469,450	957,245	678,622	865,942	636,282	1,058,206	854,488
Romania	265,128	253,032	180,941	174,225	180,106	166,465	185,111	180,317	169,348	167,206	202,623	198,331	245,941	242,097	390,505	382,971
Armenia	17,549	14,672	7,080	7,067	17,572	16,952	23,118	22,573	33,097	31,359	36,648	36,353	41,692	41,751	53,142	53,393
Belarus	9,622	10,516	17,179	15,516	36,386	32,186	45,037	42,873	62,365	59,560	77,183	78,495	85,336	84,000	106,578	106,555

Therefore, a total of 1841 people who were arrested due to illegal employment in Istanbul during the years of 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007 participated in the study and their files were accessed. Their profiles were developed including their gender, age and nationality. Additionally, other crimes committed by them are also analysed, specifically concerning place of crime.

Results

A total of 1841 people were arrested by either police or gendarmerie due to illegal employment in Istanbul during the period of 2004-2007. Since in order to work in Turkey, a foreigner has to have a work permit, they were deported due to violation of affiliated administrative laws.

As seen in the **Table 6**, the number of illegally employed foreign people was increased from 378 in 2004 to 949 in 2007.

As seen in the **Table 7**, the majority of the participants are male (61.6%). Citizens of twenty-four different countries were arrested by police or gendarmerie due to illegal employment in Istanbul during the period of 2004-2007. The rate of Asian people who committed crimes (legal employment and another crime) is found to be 75.5%. The rates of those from Europe and other continents are found to be 24.3% and 0.2%, respectively.

In terms of origin of country, it is found that people from the following countries often committed crimes in Istanbul: Turkmenistan (24.8%), Azerbaijan (17.3%) and Georgia (13.3%).

Majority of the participants as seen in **Table 8** committed the crime of illegal employment and were deported (72.9%). Only 1.8% of them illegally entered to Turkey. However, those who legally entered Turkey also committed several crimes. 23% of the participants committed visa violation while illegally employed. Thus, they committed two distinct crimes that require deportation.

In Turkey, foreign origin people are deported when they committed crimes that can be either judicial or administrative crimes. In terms of crimes committed by the participants, it is found that only 4.1% of the participants committed judicial crimes in addition to the crime of illegal employment. The remaining individuals were deported due to committing the administrative crimes.

More than half of the foreigners who committed a crime were arrested by police (69.4%). 30.6% of them were arrested by gendarmerie. These rates also indicate the fact that they committed crimes in urban areas (**Table 9**).

In terms of age distribution of the participants (**Table 10**), it is seen that more than half of them were in the age range of 19 - 30 (59.8%). It is followed by those with age range of 31 - 40. A considerable point in age distribution is that foreign originated

Table 6.

Number of illegally employed foreign people during the period of 2004-2007.

Year	Number of illegally employed foreigners
2004	378
2005	229
2006	285
2007	949
Total	1841

Table 7.

Distribution of illegally employed foreigners by their gender and country of origin during the period of 2004-2007 (percentage).

Gender	n	%
Male	1134	61.6
Female	703	38.2
Travesty	4	0.2
Total	1841	100.0
Continent		
Asia	1390	75.5
Europe	449	24.3
Africa	1	0.1
America	1	0.1
Total	1841	100.0
Illegal foreign workers		
Turkmenistan	457	24.8
Azerbaijan	318	17.3
Georgia	244	13.3
Bulgaria	143	7.8
Ukraine	114	6.2
Russian Federation	113	6.1
Moldovia	111	6
Iran	99	5.4
Romania	78	4.2
Armenia	58	3.2
Belarus	37	2
Uzbekistan	35	1.9
Tunisia	6	0.3
Kyrgyzstan	6	0.3
Afghanistan	4	0.2
Lebanon	3	0.2
Philippines	3	0.2
Mongolia	3	0.2
Israel	2	0.1
Macedonia	2	0.1
China	2	0.1
England	1	0.1
Canada	1	0.1
Kenya	1	0.1
Total	1841	100

Table 8.

Secondary types of crime committed by those illegally employed foreigners in Istanbul during the period of 2004-2007.

Crime types	n	%
Only illegal employment	1342	72.9
Visa violation	423	23
Illegal entrance	34	1.8
Property damage	13	0.7
Intentionally injury	10	0.5
Forgery	7	0.4
Loot	6	0.3
Rape	3	0.2
Robbery	2	0.1
Fraud	1	0.1
Total	1841	100.0

Table 9.

Law enforcement force that arrested illegally employed foreigners in Turkey during the period of 2004-2007.

Law enforcement force	n	%
Police	1278	69.4
Gendarmerie	563	30.6
Total	1841	100.0

Table 10.

Age distribution of foreigners who were illegally employed in Istanbul during the period of 2004-2007.

Age	n	%
Younger than 18	116	6.3
19 - 30	1101	59.8
31 - 40	391	21.2
41 - 50	176	9.6
Older than 50	57	3.1
Total	1841	100.0

juveniles younger than 18 years old were also illegally employed in Istanbul (6.3%).

As seen in the **Table 11**, 82.5% of the participants were illegally employed in the Europa side of Istanbul. Istanbul has a total of thirty-nine districts. Illegal employment is found to be committed in thirty of these districts. Those districts where illegal employment is frequent are Fatih (27%), Büyükçekmece (8.9%) and Çatalca (6.1%).

In terms of gender distribution (**Table 12**), it is found that 61.6% of the participants were male. It is also found that 46.5% of females worked illegally in Fatih. It is followed by Şişli (12.4%) and Kadıköy (8.1%). Males are found to be illegally employed in Fatih (15%), Büyükçekmece (12.3%) and Çatalca (8.9%).

The other interesting finding of the study is that males are much more common than females in regard to the participants: Turkmenistan (71.6%), Azerbaijan (86.5%), Georgia (72.1%), Iran (98%), and Romania (83.3%). On the other hand, females from Ukraina (96.5%) and Russia (96.5%) are much more common. All people from Belarus are found to be females (**Table 13**).

Conclusion

Research suggests that foreign originated people become victims of crime in the countries where they migrate (Barker et al., 2002; Bentley & Page, 2001; Fujii & Mak, 1980; İçli, 2007; Pizam & Mansfeld, 1996; Prideaux, 1994; Tarlow, 2000; Walm-sley et al., 1983). However, the current study has found that 27.1% of 1841 foreign originated people committed crimes against the state or local people in addition to the crime of illegal employment. It clearly shows that migrants are not only victims of criminal behavior but also the agents of criminal behavior.

As stated earlier, the number of people who were illegally employed in Istanbul during the period of 2004-2007 is 1841. In 2007, the crime of illegal employment increased. The basic within the project of KADIM (struggle against off-the book

Table 11.

Areas of illegal employment crime committed by foreign origin people in Istanbul during the period of 2004-2007.

Crime area	n	%
Asia side	324	17.5
Europa side	1518	82.5
Total	1841	100.0
Related district	n	%
Fatih	497	27
Büyüçekmece	163	8.9
Çatalca	113	6.1
Şişli	105	5.7
Eyüp	98	5.3
Kadıköy	96	5.2
Ümraniye	77	4.2
Silivri	68	3.7
Küçükçekmece	61	3.3
Gaziosmanpaşa	58	3.2
Other	505	27.4
Total	1841	100.0

Table 12.

Places of crimes committed by foreign origin people based on gender in Istanbul during the period of 2004-2007.

District/Gender	Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%
Fatih	170	15	327	46.5
Büyüçekmece	140	12.3	23	3.3
Çatalca	101	8.9	12	1.7
Şişli	18	1.6	87	12.4
Eyüp	85	7.5	12	1.7
Kadıköy	39	3.4	57	8.1
Ümraniye	70	6.2	7	1
Silivri	43	3.8	25	3.6
Other	468	41.3	153	21.7
Total	1143	100.0	703	100.0

Table 13.

Gender distribution of foreigners who were illegally employed in Istanbul during the period of 2004-2007.

Country/Gender	Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%
Turkmenistan	327	71.6	130	28.4
Azerbaijan	275	86.5	41	12.9
Georgia	176	72.1	68	27.9
Bulgaria	67	46.9	76	53.1
Ukraina	4	3.5	110	96.5
Russia	4	3.5	109	96.5
Moldovia	44	39.6	66	59.5
Iran	97	98	2	2
Romania	65	83.3	13	16.7
Armenia	47	81	11	19
Belarus	-	-	37	100.0

reason for this increase is thought to be the attempts made employment) to reveal the related cases. Within the KADIM project, Istanbul Governorship coordinates the efforts of security forces, employment inspectors, and other related institutions. Therefore, concrete steps are taken to struggle against illegal employment.

As stated in the literature review, Parekh argues that if there is a workforce supply in a country, migration will fill this gap. However, when this supply is met or employment is limited, migration will stop and those migrants who cannot find a job in the target country will go back to their native country. For the case of İstanbul, it can be suggested that certain job types need cheaper workforce in regard to both gender. Citizens of underdeveloped countries earn less money in their native countries so that job opportunities in other countries attract them. Particularly in İstanbul there is no employment limitation or the end of demand. Therefore, the participants seemed not to go back their own country although they could not find a job. Rather, they illegally worked until they were deported.

It is found that illegal migrants are mostly from Turkmenistan (24.8%), Azerbaijan (17.3%) and Georgia (13.3%). The rates of people from these three countries exceed the half of the total number of participants. The other countries of which people come to Turkey frequently are mostly the former USSR countries or those that have historical ties with Turkey.

At this point it is necessary to take Parsons's theory into account suggesting that inequalities and unbalanced social structure within social system cause to migration and illegal workforce.

In fact, economic unfairness and increasing rates of unemployment in the source countries result from transition economies. Countries of the former USSR have been experiencing very clear political conflicts. Also the people of these countries do not have a uniform tendency in regard to economic systems in that some of them prefer to have western type of economic structure while the others prefer to have Communist economy structure. These facts have led to instable market economy in these countries (Sever & Arslan, 2008). Luckoo and Tzvekova (2002) and Hughes (2002) argue that sixty million people (40% of the total population) experienced serious poverty in Russia in 2000. After the collapse of former political regime in this country after the 1990's, 6.5 million women became unemployed. The other source countries are Ukraina and Moldova. In Moldova, 90% of people earn less than two dollars per day. After the collapse of communism, the income level of Moldova decreased around 70% (Levehenco, 1999; Barrwell et al., 2000). Therefore, the reason for high levels of people (75.5%) who came from Asian countries and were illegally employed in İstanbul seems to be economic problems experienced in source countries. Additionally, following the *differential opportunity theory*, it can be argued that those who feel themselves under-achieved may tend to work in other countries adopting a rational decision-making approach to reach their goals. Therefore, it is possible to state that the foreign originated people who came to Turkey are those who cannot realize their goals and are economically unsuccessful persons. Moreover, following the challenge and response theory, it can be argued that those individuals who cannot enjoy the scarce sources of their own countries challenge this situation and respond it through migration to a country.

Additionally, other researches indicate that illegally employed persons are mostly from neighbor countries or nearby countries

or those countries that experience visa exemption (Hatton & Williamson, 1998; IOM, 2005; Kicinger & Kloc-Nowak, 2008; O'Rourke & Williamson, 2000; Igllicka, 2000; Bartoszewics, 2006; Juhász, 1999; Huguet & Punpuing, 2005; de Regt, 2007) Similarly, those who committed the crime of illegal employment in Turkey are from neighbor countries, or from nearby countries or from those countries that experience visa exemption.

Majority of the foreigners who worked illegally came to Turkey holding visa. It is found that only 1.8% of the participants entered Turkey do not have visa. Although majority of them legally entered Turkey, 23% of the participants violated visa requirement during the period of illegal employment. Thus, they committed two distinct crimes that legally require deportation. By 2007, the rates of both illegal employment and of visa violation significantly increased. Formerly, migrants were going out and coming back as required by visa procedures. Today, they do not do so. In other words, permanent illegal migrants replace the flyer migrants.

Illegally employed foreigners are mostly arrested in police areas (69.4%). It is not surprising in that commercial institutions are basically in these areas. However, as seen in Table 12, in 2007 the rate of arrested foreigners who were illegally employed in gendarme areas increased. The basic reason for this finding seems to be the establishment of production sites in these areas.

59.8% of the participants are in the age range of 19-30. These people who cannot take part in workforce or feel that they could not gain the sufficient reward for their labour in their own countries came to İstanbul to gain the material rewards that are higher on the contrary to those in their country of origin but less than those of local people.

82.5% of the participants committed the crime of illegal employment in the Europa side of İstanbul because this region is much more developed in terms of industry, commerce and working conditions on the contrary to the Anatolian side.

İstanbul has a total of thirty-nine districts. Illegal employment is found to be committed in thirty of these districts. Those districts where illegal employment is frequent are Fatih (27%), Büyükçekmece (8.9%) and Çatalca (6.1%). Fatih is a developed district in terms of entertainment, international commerce, etc., while Büyükçekmece and Çatalca is developed as a site for factories. It seems that workforce demand is met through illegal workers.

46.5% of females worked illegally in Fatih. It is followed by Şişli (12.4%) and Kadıköy (8.1%). Night clubs, entertainment sector as well as international commercial firms are extensive in the districts of Fatih and Şişli. Males are found to be illegally employed in Fatih (15%), Büyükçekmece (12.3%) and Çatalca (8.9%). More than half of the people from twenty-four countries who were arrested due to illegal employment are males (61.6%). As stated in the theory of double labor market, males mostly work in those jobs which require physical power.

Another considerable finding of the study is that males are much more common than females in regard to these countries: Turkmenistan (71.6%), Azerbaijan (86.5%), Georgia (72.1%), Iran (98%), and Romania (83.3%). On the other hand, females from Ukraina (96.5%) and Russia (96.5%) are much more common. All people from Belarus are found to be females. This finding reflects the conclusions of Luckoo and Tzvekova's (2002) and Hughes' (2002) studies in that women experience serious problems in participating in workforce in their countries leading

to migration to Turkey and they tend to work in those jobs that are easy ways to earn money. Those from Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Iran are mostly males and they seem to be employed in difficult jobs in suburbs. Both male and female illegal workers earn less money.

There are three different methods of identifying net migration rate. One of them is estimation that refers to the analysis of the findings of survey questionnaires and of police records. However, it is thought that estimation is very hard to employ. Because all cases of illegal employment occurred in Istanbul during the years of 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007 are included in the study. However, it is not possible to argue that this figure reflects the whole situation. In other words, there may be those who do not have any official record. Therefore, net migration rate can only be an estimation.

In conclusion, both illegal migration and illegal employment are two major problems of current periods of time like it was in the past. Given that the gap between underdeveloped countries and developed countries in terms of living standards and potential opportunities, migration will increase.

It is useful to analyse the conditions of migrants as “pre-migration” and “post-migration” in order to have a complete understanding of the reasons for mobility of people. Therefore, narration of migrants may be helpful. Additionally, description of environmental conditions, social patterns (ethnicity, cultural elements, etc.), socio-economic analyses, violence cases, discrimination practices etc. is also significant. Moreover, the relationship between the reasons for migration and social patterns should be analysed in order to have much more complete understanding of migration and illegal employment.

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