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Introduction

Work, Migrants and Social Integration is an account of the interaction between gender, labour in the ethnic economy and the social integration of migrants into their host society. With particular reference to the Turkish community in Britain, it investigates the relationship between Turkish women's work and their position in British society by focusing on how ethnically based employment affects their capacity to become socially integrated in the dominant society. The material presented here explores how women have been silent contributors to the expanding family-based establishment of the Turkish ethnic economy in Britain. It further shows how women's work in the ethnic economy and their role in social ties and networks on which this economy depends preclude their social integration within the wider society. The agency of women in maintaining community networks and representing ethnic/national identity has been essential in the establishment and success of the Turkish community, which places more emphasis on women's traditional gender roles as mothers and wives.

Sharing the basic premise of Floya Anthias, developed in *Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Migration* (1992), that the use of female kinship labour has even been considered a necessary 'building block' for the development of ethnic minority enterprises in Britain, my argument is that women's work in the Turkish ethnic economy has been central to its development and success, but that this work has resulted in the invisibility of women's economic contributions both to their households and to their community. Although the role and use of female labour has been seen as necessary for the development of ethnic minority enterprises in Britain, gender sensitive research, however, shows that ethnic economies do not necessarily support the professional advancement of women as much as they do for men and can keep them in a

subordinate position, thus preventing their integration into the host society. It is proposed that female immigrant workers are 'generally captive by other relationships than that of a wage' (Panayiotopoulos 1996:455). The predominantly male-controlled, labour-intensive nature of many ethnic economies are marked by 'social structures which give easy access to female labour subordinated to patriarchal control mechanisms' (Phizacklea 1988:22). In this framework, women are seen to be under the control of patriarchal and ethnic ties of their community. Therefore, gender divisions and the family are seen as central in understanding the forms of settlement and the economic and social integration of a migrant group in Europe. Migrants' interaction vis-à-vis the internal cultural and social differentiations within the group and the wider structural, institutional and ideological processes of the country of migration are affected by the very form of gender and family structures (Anthias 1992).

This research presents original findings in a number of ways. The dynamic nature of the relationship between women's work in the ethnic economy and their social integration has rarely been established in the literature. Most of the literature focuses on the social integration of women migrants who came to Western Europe in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and were able to integrate into regulated labour markets (Kontos 2009). However, today we observe a more diversified pattern of migrant women's work, mostly within informal labour markets such as domestic services, sex industries, agriculture and tourism. Therefore, there appears to be a need to investigate the integration of female migrants in the labour market and into their host society as the integration of migrants becomes even more important in the face of a changing economic and social structure in Europe. The empirical sections of this book document the complexities of the relationship between women's labour market position and their social integration in a community in which women represent ethnic and/or national identity and absorb the changing demands of their community with respect to their roles as workers, wives and mothers. These different roles pull and push women in different directions as they strategize their integration and survival in their host society.

Research for the book was conducted through a close examination of a single locality. The impact of the expansion of the Turkish ethnic economy on the role of women in the Turkish community and their social integration is investigated, and the book offers a fresh analysis of the contemporary trends in women, migration and labour in the ethnic economy in Western Europe. The empirical section of the book is based