

Acculturation Strategies of Uzbek Labour Migrants in Istanbul¹

İstanbul'daki Özbek Göçmen İşçilerin Kültürleşme Stratejileri

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Abstract

This research aims to investigate Uzbek labour migrants' experiences in Istanbul within the concept of acculturation. Following the migration and contact with a new society, migrants develop different acculturation strategies. Strategies that migrants choose or are forced to choose are subject to change according to time and category of place (workplace/outside workplace). Acculturation is highly affected by work and life places and can dominate one factor to another. In this research, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with Uzbek labour migrants (n = 12) at their workplaces on the Asian side of Istanbul. Their inside and outside group practices and changes considering time/place differences were investigated. Their developed strategies are discussed considering migration patterns and cultural features. Findings showed that despite having similar cultural and social traditions, Uzbek migrants did not consider being long term or permanent residents in Turkey. This was the most important motivation that influenced their culturalization strategies.

Keywords: Migration, Labour Migrants, Acculturation, Uzbek Migrants, Turkey.

Öz

Bu çalışma İstanbul'daki Özbek göçmen işçilerin deneyimlerini kültürleşme stratejilerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Göçü takiben, farklı kültürleşme modelleri inşa edilmektedir. Bunun sonucunda göçmenlerin seçtiği ya da seçmek zorunda kaldıkları stratejiler zamana ve buldukları mekânın türüne (işyeri/işyeri dışı) göre değişim göstermektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamında, İstanbul Anadolu yakasında 12 Özbek göçmen işçi ile derinlemesine yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Grup içinde ve dışındaki pratikleri ve bunların zaman ve mekâna bağlı değişimi incelenmiştir. Geliştirdikleri stratejiler göç eğilimleri ve kültürel özellikleri dikkate alınarak incelenmiştir. Bulgulara göre benzer kültürel ve sosyal geleneklere sahip olunmasına karşın, Özbek göçmenlerin Türkiye'de uzun dönem ya da daimi ikamet etmeyi değerlendirmemektedir. Bu durum onların kültürleşme stratejilerini etkileyen en önemli motivasyon olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Göçmen İşçiler, Kültürleşme, Özbek Göçmenler, Türkiye.

Introduction

Migration motivations to another country, host societies' views to immigrants, the degree of cultural similarities and differences between host society and immigrants, and the perceptions of immigrants are considered to be the key determinants in migration research. Ultimately, immigrants go for work, shelter or intend to use a destination as a transit. All these factors (motivations, type of migration, host society and experiences of migrants) affect adaptation problems (Bilge Zafer, 2016, p. 76). Regardless of the migration type, migrants have cultural codes and habits with themselves, hence getting used to a new country generally takes some time. Taylor and Finley (2010) address that adaptation to a new culture depends on several variables such as the amount of time individuals spend in new cultures and demographic characteristics of the individual (p. 683). At this point, acculturation embodies an important framework to help discern cultural transition for migrants moving from one cultural context/environment to another in terms of the elements, the processes, and the consequences of migration and cultural transition (Kuo, 2014, p. 17). Uzbek labour migrants in Turkey are expected to go through the same process.

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Uzbek migrants constituted the seventh-largest immigrant group in Turkey in 2018 and the sixth in 2017. According to TurkStat (2018), there were 15.231 Uzbek migrants in Turkey in 2018 and 17.871 in 2017. In terms of gender, the number of female Uzbek migrants were higher than male both in 2017 and 2018 (12.208 and 10.035 consecutively). A higher number of female Uzbek migrants over males might point out to female migrant domestic workers (Akalin, 2007, p. 210).

The Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) 2019 data points out 44.021 Uzbek migrants with residence permits, and 3.039 with work permits in Turkey (DGMM, 2020). Additionally, there were 5.203 irregular Uzbek migrants in 2018 in Turkey and 96 Uzbek migrants also applied for international protection (DGMM, 2018).

Intercultural strategies refer to interrelated forms of ethnic communities in culturally pluralistic societies. This form of relationship is a concern whether minority groups in a society cannot live with their own cultures or whether they will become fully assimilated and become indistinguishable from the dominant society (Adigüzel, 2016). As this process includes changes in the patterns of individuals' behaviours, our study focuses on these changes in the case of Uzbek labour migrant experiences in Istanbul.

Previous research on acculturation and migration inspired our research topic. Some of the selected works are as follows: Berry et. al (2006) analyzed immigrant youth in the context of acculturation, identity, and development; Gans (2007) in relation to mobilities; focusing on the acculturation of Muslim youth in New Zealand by Stuart, Ward, & Adam (2010); acculturation of Muslims in the West by Khawaja (2016); acculturation and expectations between non-western immigrants and ethnic Danes by Kongshøj (2018); migration, acculturation, and group cultural variations by Mesoudi (2018); acculturation process of immigrants in Canada by Alexandrovich (2019); acculturation process among immigrants in Israel by Cohen-Louck and Shechory-Bitton (2019). In respect to labour migrants' acculturation strategies, Taylor and Finley (2010) analyzed guest workers' experiences in the USA.

Concerning the research on labour migrants in Turkey, the Human Development Foundation (INGEV) conducted fieldwork both with labour migrants and their employers in Turkey within the scope of the Protection and Support of Human Rights of (Undocumented) Migrant Workers project (2015). They targeted "circular migrants" who have no plans to stay in Turkey, and plan to return to their home country after earning a certain amount of money. In terms of labour economics, Ekiz Gökmen (2011, 2018) worked on labour migrants in tourism sector in Turkey's southern cities. Her research also partly included Uzbek migrants who work in the tourism sector.

According to Maksakokva (2006), labour migration from Uzbekistan was caused by a range of socio-economic factors and the major push factor is unemployment. Akalin (2014) studied about the female migrant domestic workers in Turkey from a socio-economical perspective. According to Akalin's research, there are certain linguistic adaptation strategies that immigrants can adopt if there is a mention of ethnic language and foreign language. In particular, Uzbek migrants' acculturation strategies have been investigated by Atalay and his colleagues (2018) focusing on permanent Uzbek migrants in Ovakent region. In Ovakent, Uzbeks preferred "multilingualism" which means they used ethnic and foreign languages at the same time.

To this end, our research aims to contribute to the migration studies in Turkey with findings from a small-scale Uzbek labour migrant group. While there is existing research in the field of labour migration, there are still many unknowns about the experiences of these migrants on sociological grounds. Therefore, we addressed to reflect acculturation dynamics from the migrant perspective as well as highlighting differences and similarities between both cultures.

In the following sections, the definitions and strategies of acculturation will be revised briefly. After the explanation of the methodological framework, findings of the fieldwork and acculturation strategies of the migrants will be discussed.

Theoretical Framework on Acculturation

Acculturation studies have been related to immigration studies in the wake of currently increasing migration streams in the world. As Bourghis et al. (1997, p. 369) state, “immigrant acculturation strategies demonstrate related relations and therefore it is need to explain the interactive nature of immigrant and host community relations more clearly”. Berry (2010) says that “Acculturation has become a core issue in managing human relations in culturally diverse societies”. Even though comprehensively described as “the process by which individual’s change, both by being influenced by contact with another culture and by being participants in the general acculturative changes underway in their own culture” in immigration context by Berry (1994, 1997, 2001), there are various definitions of acculturation in the literature. The most applied one is improved by anthropologists “to describe the process of bidirectional change that takes place when two ethnocultural groups come into contact with one another” (Bourghis et al., 1997, p. 269-70). Moreover, Graves (1967) developed the term “psychological acculturation” “to account for changes experienced by an individual whose cultural group is collectively experiencing acculturation” (as cited in Bourghis et al., 1997, p. 7).

Eventually, all these interactions are constituted within a macrosystem. This macrosystem represents the cultural context that influences other systems at play. Regarding immigrants, the macrosystem of the host society is not the only culture that influences adaptation in specific contexts (Salo and Birman, 2015, p.395) and it also adds “the microsystems immigrants participate in vary by culture (Birman and Simon 2014) with some settings being oriented to the host culture, such as the school or workplace, and others to the heritage culture, such as the home” (Salo and Birman, 2015, p. 395).

In this study, John Berry’s (1994, 2001) acculturation strategies model is adopted. Within this model, four types of acculturation strategies are presented: “integration”, “assimilation”, “separation” and “marginalization”. While integration is defined as “the individual maintains his or her cultural identity while at the same time becomes a participant in the host culture”, assimilation is defined as “the individual gives up his or her own cultural identity and becomes absorbed into the host culture”. Separation and marginalization are other strategies. The first one is defined as “the individual maintains his or her own cultural identity and rejects involvement with the host culture” and the second one is as “the individual does not identify with or participate in either his or her own culture or the host culture”.

Methodology

This research employed qualitative methods. Uzbek labour migrants who live and work on the Asian side of Istanbul are selected as the target group. Location is determined according to the preliminary research, observation and visits in the region by the researchers. Research and observations focused on labour migrant-dense areas on the Asian side of Istanbul. The target sample size of this research was 30 participants on the onset. 30 people have been reached, however only 12 of them consented voluntarily to participate. The rest of the group stated concerns about their (work) status, and due to not having work permits they hesitated to contribute. All the participants were informed about the scope and aim of the research.

The in-depth semi-structured interviewing method has been chosen for this research as it enables to address specific dimensions of the research questions while also leaving space for participants to offer new meanings to the topic of research (Galletta, 2013, p. 2). In this context, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 (n=12) Uzbek migrants who live and

work on the Asian side of Istanbul by both researchers. Interviews took place at participants' workplaces during three different time periods in 2017 (July) and 2018 (June, November).

Participants were aged between 19-46. The sectors they worked consisted of the food industry, textile shops and beauty centres. The majority was in the food sector. Detailed information on age and sectors of the participants are given in Table 1. All correspondence was conducted in the Turkish language at their workplaces. In cases the participant's Turkish language level was limited, other Uzbek co-workers with better Turkish language skills provided translation help.

Table 1: Descriptions of the Sample Group

Participant	Sex	Type of Workplace	Age
A	Male	Cafe/Restaurant	20
B	Male	Cafe/Restaurant	19
C	Male	Cafe/Restaurant	23
D	Male	Cafe/Restaurant	46
E	Female	Clothing Shop	32
F	Female	Clothing Shop	36
G	Male	Cafe/Restaurant	24
H	Female	Cafe/Restaurant	40
I	Male	Cafe/Restaurant	27
J	Male	Cafe/Restaurant	23
K	Female	Beauty Center	40
L	Female	Beauty Center	35

Questions were asked to identify their adopted strategies in their workplace/outside workplace and the relations with the home/host society. Researchers did not intervene in the natural flow of the interview in order to maintain the transfer of the participant's story without restriction. Questions are collected under four categories as such: a) Uzbek migrants' relations with the host society, b) Uzbek migrants' relations with their own society in Turkey, c) Uzbek migrants' distance towards the host country's state, and d) Host society's standpoint towards Uzbek migrants in the eye of Uzbek migrants.

The main questions that are asked to the participants are listed as follows:

- a) their reasons for migration,
- b) their occupation in Turkey
- c) their relations with other people including other Uzbeks at work and out of work,
- d) whether they have plans for return,
- e) whether they have friends from the local community,
- f) what they notice as the biggest difference between Turkish and Uzbek cultures.

Interviewees were informed about the purpose of the interviews and their approvals have been received. Note-taking was preferred during the interviews. Voice and video recording were not used in an effort to make participants feel more comfortable sharing their experiences. Interviewees are named alphabetically starting from participant A to participant L in the text.

Data Analysis

The Role of Uzbekistan's Socio-Cultural Characteristics in Respect to Their Acculturation Strategies

This part discusses the factors that affect adaptation of Uzbek migrants' acculturation strategies in Turkish society. These factors can be listed as Uzbek family structures, patriarchal structure of the society and their point of view about religion.

Starting with the family structure of Uzbek families, the factors address as follows: "family life in Uzbekistan is diverse, ranging from families more affected by a modern, late-Soviet or western style worldview to those more dedicated to Uzbek ethnic customs and traditions" (Ilkhamov, 2013, p. 262). However, Uzbek interviewees in our study mainly came from traditional family structures and made statements emphasizing their strong patriarchal life.

North (1990), Scott (1995) and Martin (2004) put forward that family is an institution, and provides structure and guidelines for behaviour, and shapes human interaction between the members. UNICEF's Report on Uzbekistan certifies this view as follows:

"Moral norms: Adults know what is best for their children. A virtuous child is one who obeys without asking questions or speaking her/his mind. Adults deserve to be respected by children and young people... Parents discipline children strictly and not allow them to be spoilt". As UN Committee on the Rights of the Child Consideration of Reports on Uzbekistan states, "The average family size in Uzbekistan is 5.5 persons, attributable to strong traditional methods for the planning and regulation of families, which have militated against the collapse of the family" (UN, 2001, Art. 26).

It was observed in the interviews that migrants who come from traditional and large-sized families aim to "look after their families", "remit", and "take responsibility of the family". When an immigrant returns to his/her home country, families send another family member abroad in order to maintain financial gain. Large-sized families involve a head of the family called "patriarch" (*Reis*) and incomes gained in the host country are sent to *reis* after deducting bills and general needs. In Uzbekistan, family means that more than one adult generation living together. It generally constitutes a single household or extend beyond the composition of more than one household. Our observations are in accord with Ilkhamov's findings:

"One of constituting features of Uzbek families is a united family budget. Even if the family consists of more than one household, its members earning income are expected to contribute to such a united budget, at least for certain spending targets defined as a rule by the family's patriarch, while other family members would benefit from the united budget depending on one's age, situational needs, and financial earning capabilities. Our observations suggest that relationships within extended families are often governed by traditional (read patriarchal) values and norms characteristic of a male-dominated social hierarchy" (Ilkhamov, 2013, p. 264).

Maksakova (2006) states that women are the main caretakers of children and they sometimes have to leave their jobs to be homemakers. As participant A, participant D and participant J stated, the main role of men was bringing home the food. Women are responsible for taking care of children and domestic work (July, 2017, A's Shop; July, 2017, D's Shop; June, 2018, J's Shop). Participant H said that married men do not allow their wives to work in Uzbekistan: "women can work if they divorce or go to another country" (November, 2018, H's Shop). Participant L expressed that "Women are married by their fathers at an early age. It is important to get married there at an early age. If you are late getting married, you are considered as not to be able to get married. That creates pressure on you" (June, 2018, L's Shop). As, participant A and participant C expressed, the youngest male son in the family should stay with

his father and mother. Even he gets married, his wife should stay home with his parents (July, 2017, A&C's Shop).

Characteristics of Uzbek Labour Migrants and Their Migration Reasons

They explained their reasons for coming to Turkey as working and saving money and helping their families financially. They emphasized that they gave more importance to saving money than having leisure time. Most of them had at least one of their family members in Turkey who could help them find a job quickly and provide them temporary housing.

Despite not having a plan to settle in Turkey for the future, their envisaged stay in Turkey may slightly change. For instance, participant A has explained that he had to help his family and save money for his wedding and therefore planned to return to Uzbekistan. (July, 2017, A's Shop). Similarly, in participant D's plans, it was to earn and remit money for his son's wedding.

Participant K explained Uzbek labour migration to Turkey as follows: "As you Turks migrated to Germany to get better financial means and remit to those left behind, that is what we do today" (June, 2018, K's Shop). Similarly, participant J points out that they come to Turkey to gain financial means in order to make a good life for themselves in Uzbekistan: "We are here to reach our goals for future life in Uzbekistan" (June, 2018, J's Shop). Participant I expressed that he was in Istanbul to find a well-paid job and save money to set up his own business in Uzbekistan (June, 2018, I's Shop).

The age range of the males was 19-46 while the age range of females was 32-40. The mean age of men was 26, and the mean age of women was 36.6. One of the main reasons for this difference is that men come to their young age to save money and return to Uzbekistan to form a family. On the other hand, it was difficult to reach out to young Uzbek women because most of them work in the private sector, such as elderly care and households. Their typical salary is stated as between 1550-2400 Turkish Lira (TRY), and average earning is 1875 TRY. They aim to reach 500 US Dollars USD (for 2018-2019) per month both for affording their living expenses and remit to Uzbekistan.

In terms of educational background of the sample group, all the males are high school graduates, and all the females are secondary school graduates. Participant D has come to Turkey after being retired in his home country. Participant A, participant B, and participant C had their first work experience in Turkey. There are no university graduates. As participant G said, "university graduates can find jobs in Uzbekistan with high salaries. Because universities are very expensive even though they are state universities. If you can afford to pay for university, you are likely to find a good job. Therefore, they do not need to go to another country" (November, 2018, G's Shop). High school graduates also work in cafes and restaurants as waiters, barista or cook. Most of the interviewees worked in cafes and restaurants. 4 females were hairdresser and clothing shop workers.

All of them stated that their alternative destination countries beside Turkey were Russia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), South Korea, China, the United States and Israel. The decision is mostly depending on the migrant's financial means. They mostly prefer to go Russia, UAE and China except Turkey to find a better job and save money. Israel is expensive to move for them because they must prove Israeli officers that they have more than ten thousand USD in their bank accounts.

What They Feel Today and Their Relations with Society

In the interviews with the participants, they were first asked what they felt about their present situation and whether they adopted the society and culture. The participants stated that it is different to see a new country in general, especially a seaside country, and they start to like this

atmosphere. Apart from that, they expressed that the Uzbek culture and language were similar to Turkish culture and language, and easy to learn. However, they also pointed out differences. Participant A, for example, said, “there are things I found strange. For example, girls cannot travel comfortably with men in Uzbek culture and daily life. Here we talk more comfortably and wander. It also depends on the county” (July, 2017, A’s Shop). Participant C said: “I got used to here and its culture. If I return, I will miss here. Other than that, we were surprised to see cigarettes in the hands of girls. If a girl smokes in Uzbekistan, they will be divorced and left. I was also surprised by the age of marriage. Moreover, here, girls and boys can walk hand in hand. They cannot walk like this in Uzbekistan, certainly not in daylight. I was surprised to see them walking around here” (July, 2017, C’s Shop). Participant D said that when he first came, he was surprised that women were smoking. Not only for women, but most of the interviewees also stated that they find smoking and being religious controversial (July, 2017, D’s Shop).

All participants similarly stated that their adaptations to the characteristics of the Turkish society has not been a burden for them. They could easily adapt the culture during their experiences at work.

Lives Out of Work

On vacation and off days, they usually stay in private areas and be hesitant to join the community and stay away. One of the main motivations of this choice can be summarized as having a small social network and taking a rest at home on off days due to working busily on six days of the week. It also leads to saving money. Half of the interviewees preferred to work without having off days to earn more money.

Participant C stated that "I sleep on my off day, eat at home or go around a bit" (July, 2017, C’s Shop). Participant D said that he continued to work for two months without permission and that he preferred it. Economic reasons come to the forefront when asked why they do not go out much (July, 2017, D’s Shop). They all said that they came here to work and did not wander to save money. Most of the women stated that they preferred to stay at home and do household chores.

The only participant G stated that he spent leisure time not only with Uzbeks and Turks but also Turkmen (November 2018, G’s Shop). On the other hand, participant E and F said that they preferred to spend their day-off time with Uzbeks (November, 2018, E&F’s Shop).

In terms of the social environment, participant A only has three Turkish friends, while others do not have Turkish and Uzbek friends who they travel with or are in contact with.

Perceptions of the Dominant Group from the Perspectives of Uzbek Labour Migrants and the Distance to the Host State

The interviews point to the fact that there is no hostility or discrimination, considering the positive views towards Central Asia in Turkish society and the fact that the state pays partial attention to the labour migration from the Central Asian Turkic Republics. Participant B said that people fraternized him (July, 2017, B’s Shop). Similarly, participant C said they behaved normally and participant A said they were sincere. Participant D stated that he did not have any problems owing to his physical appearance looking like a Turk (July, 2017, A&C&D’s Shop).

In addition, participant C said that when he first came to work, he thought that bad jobs were given to them because they were foreigners and might be discriminated against. But he did not have such a situation at his current job (July, 2017, C’s Shop). Whereas, all of the female migrants stated that they encountered hard situations regarding their first employers and working conditions.

All participants stated that they were not in contact with any government institutions. Besides, in case officers find them, they (the ones who work without work permits) do not have a fear of being deported so they are already taking the risks.

Participant B stated that: “We even have a police client. I am not afraid of going outside anyway. Deport is deport. There is nothing to do”. Participant C said, “I am a little scared. In the end, I work illegally” (July, 2017, B&C’s Shop). Participant K, on the other hand, stated that he had no fear of being deported because of his residence permit (June, 2018, K’s Shop). Participant D said that he used the argument of having a profession as a city police officer in his home country and believes that it might help him establish a mutual tie (July, 2017, D’s Shop). Other than this, participant E and participant F stated that they were trying to avoid getting face to face with polices (November, 2018, E&F’s Shop).

All participants reported that they all did not think of dual citizenship except for participant C. They do not envisage a long-lasting future in Turkey, and they declare Uzbekistan as their homeland, adding their family and friends are there so they want to live there. Participant C stated that even if he gets married, he can come back to Turkey and attempt to obtain citizenship, but he has not made a final decision yet (July, 2017, C’s Shop). As participant K is married to a Turkish citizen, she stated that she would soon obtain Turkish citizenship.

Acculturation Strategies and Conclusion

Several factors affect acculturation strategies in migrants’ lives. These are a) main features of the origin country and the destination country, b) attitudes of the host society, c) similarities and differences between two cultures, d) migration reasons, e) social support provided to immigrants in the host society, f) immigrants’ positions in the host society (Bilge Zafer, 2016, p. 86-87). In our small-scaled study, two essential factors appeared in determining strategies of Uzbek labour migrants. The first one is their “preference for maintaining their culture and identity”, and the second one is their “preference for establishing relations with the dominant society and other ethnocultural groups”. To avoid generalization due to small-scaled research, we constructed Table 2 to show acculturation strategies of each individual migrant on five grounds.

Table 2: Acculturation Strategies of Uzbek Labour Migrants in Istanbul

	With the Dominant Group When They Arrived	With the Dominant Group Currently (at workplace)	With the Dominant Group Currently (outside workplace)	Their Relations and Solidarity With Other Uzbeks in Istanbul	Their Distance to Turkish Government Institution
A	Separation	Assimilation	Integration	Individualism	Marginalization
B	Separation	Assimilation	Integration	Individualism	Marginalization
C	Separation	Assimilation	Integration	Individualism	Marginalization
D	Separation	Assimilation	Integration	Individualism	Marginalization
E	Separation	Assimilation	Separation	Individualism	Marginalization
F	Separation	Assimilation	Separation	Integration	Marginalization
G	Separation	Integration	Integration	Integration	Marginalization
H	Separation	Integration	Separation	Individualism	Marginalization
I	Separation	Assimilation	Integration	Individualism	Marginalization
J	Marginalization	Assimilation	Separation	Individualism	Marginalization
K	Separation	Integration	Integration	Individualism	Assimilation
L	Separation	Assimilation	Separation	Individualism	Marginalization

Colours	Integration	Assimilation	Separation	Marginalization	Individualism
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Findings of the interviews showed that Uzbek labour migrants were cautious and uncompanionable when they first arrived in Turkey as they were strange to the Turkish culture and society. Turkey has been their first experience abroad except for participant D. They are considered to have adopted the "separation" strategy because of emergent employment reflexes within the first three days and working in jobs that do not require communication with customers. Only participant J chose marginalization strategy because of coming to Turkey alone, having nobody in İstanbul and having a lack of social networks ensured by relatives or earlier Uzbek comers.

However, after getting used to the culture, they began working in jobs that require communicating with people, their strategies have changed. Statements of the participant C, "I am familiar, I can deal with people", and of participant A "the cultures and language seemed similar and took a short time to get used to" (July, 2017, A&C's Shop) demonstrate the examples of this tendency. Some Uzbeks mostly preferred "assimilation" strategy at the workplace to be in harmony with the dominant society. This strategy can be related to their motivation to be accepted in the new society and hence to feel more comfortable at work. As Berry (1997) suggests, it can be an inferred as "minorities" are inevitably (or be in the process of) becoming part of the "mainstream" culture (p. 8). Participants who adapt "integration" strategy at workplaces are the ones who work in ethnic restaurants where traditional food (Central Asian cuisine) is served or the ones who married Turkish nationals. On holidays, if they go out, they have to wander with 2-3 their colleagues and usually spend time in the form of sleeping and sitting at home. Uzbeks who stay in İstanbul more than a year are more eager to spend time with people, including Turkish nationals, yet their main social group consists of Uzbeks.

Findings showed that Uzbek labour migrants' strategies towards other Uzbeks in Turkey could be "separation" as seen in Berry's terminology, and "individualism" in Bourghis's terminology. Individualism in Bourghis's terminology presents a more appropriate model since it is seen as a result of attitudes which are adopted via self-benefits and aims. Integration is due to the variety of people they (participant F and participant G) meet at work and people, including Turks they spend time on off days. Generally, they are not eager to help other Uzbeks in terms of solidarity. Participants from the starting period were mostly not eager to help because newcomers will be a burden for them. While approaching the final date of the research, participants were mostly not eager because of the devaluation of TRY against USD.

Regarding their distance to the state, their answers showed that those who work without work permits abstain from having any contact with the state as they are aware of the fact that they work illegally. Therefore, it presents a model of "marginalization" strategy. Furthermore, the ones with non-slanted eyes benefit from having similar physical appearances with the dominant group when they had to encounter a public officer.

All in all, not having a plan to stay in Turkey permanently (except two interviewees), their need-based target of earning money, Uzbek culture's patriarchal structure and large-sized family type, collecting the money in reis and providing the distribution from him address the role of adopting abovementioned strategies.

This small-scaled research showed that even though looking similar based on sociocultural features, Turkey and Uzbekistan seem to have different daily practices affecting their sociocultural characteristics. Uzbek immigrants tend to see Turkey as a financial gain destination and after accomplishing their goals, they prefer return to their homeland. Experiences of returnees will also draw attention for further research.

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