The Psychological Meaning of Home for the Migrant Live-in Domestic Workers: Istanbul

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ABSTRACT
Home is a significant domain that affects a person's well-being and psychology. The migration process may lead to psychological pathologies depending on many social-environmental variables, as social segregation, being subject to bias, and moving away from the family. The purpose of this study is to reveal the psychological meaning of home space as the result of interviews made with migrant live-in domestic worker women (MDWW) who spend all their time working in another individual's home in a different cultural environment.

In-depth semi-structured interviews (n= 23) and three focus group meetings were held in Istanbul. The ethnographic research approach was used to seek the meaning of home space based on feelings, perceptions, daily practices, and traumas. Qualitative data, processed within the thematic analysis method, and the participants' discourse were represented under four themes: morale, statement, loyalty, associations.

It was found that MDWW who work and live in a different cultural environment still consider as home their family house in Turkmenistan. Although some MDWW feel as part of the families they work for, they cannot perceive the employer's house as a home due to the lack of homemaking practices.

It is considered that the lack of homemaking practices result in loss of sense of belonging, attachment problems, stress, and feeling of insecurity, leading to traumas in MDWW.
Keywords: Migrants, Domestic Workers, Home, Sense of Belonging, Istanbul

INTRODUCTION
The concept of home is a debate topic in many disciplines that is difficult to interpret. The relationship between the physical space and households should be considered from the perspective of physical, social, psychological, and emotional aspects (Hamzah & Adnan, 2016). Moreover, it is not yet clear how the meaning of home is constructed. The present study aimed to reveal an approach for seeking out the psychological meaning of home for MDWW.

Extant literature suggests that worldwide migrants all face a stressful set of life events, negative emotions (Borra, 2011; Heredia Montesinos et al., 2012; Haller et al., 2015, Lanzara et al., 2019). Psychopathological conditions like anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder are frequently witnessed in different ethnic migrants (Bustamante et al., 2018).

In the last decade, Turkey has become a popular destination for migrants from Turkic Republics. Migrant women are generally employed as live-in domestic workers as these are one of the few freelance employment opportunities that do not require a formal contract (Fernandez & de Regt, 2014), while men are working for daily jobs as unskilled labor. The research excludes migrant male workers and focuses solely on migrant women who work as live-in domestics.

The live-in domestic jobs come with many dilemmas for the workers as the workplace (a hyper-domestic place) is an insufficient place for them to maintain their homemaking practices (Boccagni, 2015). The place is perceived as a workplace by the migrant domestic worker whereas it is a home for the employer, and this creates an awkward housing environment for both and sometimes causes tension to build up (Chiatti et al., 2013). In her study, Bilecen (2017) defines home as an architectural container where social bonds, emotions, and symbolic items intertwine, and homemaking practices are regarded as actions turning a house into a home.

There are similar studies in the literature seeking the meaning of home for MDWW. In Italy, Boccagni (2017) explored the challenges MDWW face when they request any, even minor, changes in their dwelling spaces; and the study provides an approach in the matter of sense of belonging, place attachment, and homemaking practices in the context of the relationships with their employers and workplace circumstances. In South Africa, Bonnin & Dawood (2013) investigated with ethnographic research the boundaries within the home between the MDWW and the employer(s). In Germany, Bilecen (2017) studied the homemaking practices of migrant Turkish women and analyzed physical items and daily routines the women need to feel the working space as their home.

Along with the above-referred studies, the purpose of this study is to identify the psychological meaning of "home" just for MDWW working in someone else's home away from their families. This article begins with a literature review built on the meaning of home and being both a migrant and a domestic worker. After the literature part, the case study is set forth, explaining first the demographical data of the samples and then the data collection method, and finally the participant discourses and analysis. The ethnography method was used to investigate the more profound insights, notions, and perspectives of 23 Turkmenian MDWW's experiences in Istanbul. Semi-structured in-depth interviews (n=23) and three focus group discussions (February 2020; May 2021) were conducted with MDWW through Whatsapp video calls.

Qualitative data, processed by the thematic analysis method were represented under the themes: Morale, Statement, Loyalty, and Associations.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Migrant Domestic Workers
The domestic work (DW) is defined as work carried out for a household(s) (ILO, 2011) and a domestic worker as a person employed to do DW. Domestic workers are generally migrant women employed by individuals who prefer to outsource the 3C chores (cooking, cleaning, and caring) (Parrenas et al., 2020). DW is a female-dominated sector and besides this gender dimension, domestic work is closely tied with international migration (ILO, 2013). Live-in DW were basically preferred by middle-aged migrant women with the expectation of earning a livelihood temporarily in order to economically support their families they left behind in their hometown (Di Rosa et al., 2012).

Starting to live in a new place, which someone else perceives as home, and trying to adapt to employer families' everyday habits requires an unprecedented and expedited adaptation process. What is more is the challenge to attune with the eccentricity, demands, anticipations, and expectations of the employer and there is also the familiarization process both for the employer's family and MDWW (Nakache, 2018).

MDWW are commonly perceived as being vulnerable due to the imbalanced living and working conditions. In Panam's (2004) study in Thailand, it was pointed out that a majority of MDWW experienced verbal and sometimes physical assault. Also, some of them are victims of sexual harassment, varying from unfavorable bodily contact (14%) to rape (1%). MDWW are generally exposed to social and also cultural isolation in

workspaces (Triandafyllidou, 2016) as they depend on their employers for income, sheltering, and migration status (Murphy, 2013).

Cruel working circumstances are the compelling challenges faced by migrant live-in workers. The potential problems encountered in the DW environment were outlined in Yildirim et al.'s (2017) work; long working hours (Tucker and Folkard, 2012), low wages (Tomei, 2011), harassment, violence and deficient job security and health circumspection (Kontos & Bonifacio, 2015). In this regard, it gets tougher to narrow down the job description of the live-in worker and define the employer's private areas (Ireland, 2011). More privatized roles accredited to women in the context of gender (such as cooking, cleaning, elderly caring, babysitting) make it challenging to sustain arms-length relationships due to the nature of these assignments (Toksöz & Unluturk Ulutas, 2011).

At this point, different theories may be developed regarding the interpretation of the house by MDWW as both a workplace and a shelter. Yildirim et al.'s (2017) study pointed out the meaning of the home (also the workplace) as a socially and psychologically constructed place incorporating the emotional bonds between the employer(s) and the MDWW. These bonds also reverberate the power relations inside the home.

Bonnin and Dawood (2013) revealed that the employer has more authority than MDWW with respect to the house both as a dwelling and working space. Also, the study states that the employer, the dominant individual in the relationship, establishes the meaning, accessibility, and utilization of the space. At this point, Sinha et al. (2019) discussed the privacy in this relationship for both parties; since the house is both the workplace and dwelling for MDWW yet it is the most private and intimate space for the employer(s).

The matter of privacy is also discussed by the live-in DW in the study of Erdogdu and Toksoz (2013); they also find it undesirable to live in an employers' dwelling place, and although it resembles a "home-like" setting, it comes with steady disintegration and deprivation of privacy, and from the employer's perception it is an implied but permeative prospect of 'asymmetric familiarity' (Preez et al., 2010; Boccagni, 2017). At this point, the "meaning of home" on MDWW's side surfaces in the sense of their psychological well-being.

Turkmenistan is one of the largest migrant labor sources, about 2 million Turkmenian, equal to 40% of its population. Economic and political conditions in Turkmenistan are the main factors that lead to the high rate of external migration. A significant number of Turkmenian workers migrate abroad to earn and send money to their families. In Turkmenistan, money transferred by migrants to the country has become a major source of revenue, and the total money transferred makes up approximately 25% of the GDP of Turkmenistan (mfa.gov.tr, worldbank.org). Under these circumstances, men and women in Turkmenistan almost feel obligated to migrate to be able to take care of the elderly and the kids back at home. It is clear that poverty is the leading cause of the high rate of migration to Turkey.

The Meaning of Home
The word of house does not have the same meaning as the word of home (Hamzah & Adnan, 2016). The concept of home should be paired with different senses and feelings. Bruner (1987) identifies the home as somewhere that is intimate, forbearing, special, and expected to be secure. Another point of view describes the home as a bond one establishes due to a sentimentally psychological interaction with that place (Gardner, 2020; Kusenbach & Paulsen, 2013; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Boccagni (2017) considers the home as a distinctive source of security, familiarity, and privacy.

Hamzah and Adnan (2016) handled the home concept within two different approaches;

spatial and sociological. In the spatial approach, the home is explained as a place where one establishes bonds (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Dayaratne and Kellett 2007; Easthope, 2014; Elliott et al., 2015). Whereas the sociological approach examines the concept as a specific phenomenon (Elliott and Wadley 2013; Hiscock et al. 2001; Fox O'Mahony, 2013) Furthermore, many researchers have studied place attachment born from the link of an individual to a place (Scannell & Gifford 2010; Dandy et al., 2019; Masterson et al., 2017). Place attachment is an emotional affinity amidst the individual and the surrounding formed by both the sense of belonging and identity components (Masterson et al., 2017). It is evident that place attachment is influenced by what a place means for a people or a group, and these may be collectively called a "sense of place" (Newell & Canessa, 2018).

As stated by Easthope (2004), the concept of home needs to be approached from various aspects of space; emotional, psychological, social, and economic. Also, in her later work, she pointed out that besides the socio-spatial and psycho-spatial dimensions of the home, it is at the same time an "emotional warehouse" (Easthope, 2014). In line with this viewpoint, the home embodies the feelings, perceptions of the person, meaningful, sentimental, and relational bonds that one builds with it (Kasinitz, 2013). The gap between home-making and feel at home is blatantly obvious for the MDWW (King-Dejardin, 2019). Psychology of home focuses on understanding the psychological functions such as home-making practices (Graham et al.,2015). At this point, Bilecen's (2017) study conducted with Turkish migrant women in Germany defines home-making practices as a tool for developing the sense of belonging and attachment to a place.

The concept of home is closely associated with migration and changing dynamics of the sense of belonging, and individual's identity, which are the main factors underlying the place attachment of the migrant (Kohlbacher et al., 2015; Boccagni, 2014). The migration process may lead to major changes in levels of place attachment. Meanwhile, migrants lost their social status abroad, they strain to get better living conditions than they had in their hometown and to inaugurate new meanings, senses, and practices of home space in the process of adaptation to a foreign society (Duyvendak, 2011; Boccagni & Brighenti, 2017).

Congenial assertiveness and associational life in the migrated country, basically arbitrated by trans-ethnic networks, are at the core of MDWW's reinterpretation and testimony of home (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2017). The same situation applies to opportunities to maintain transnational ties with relatives and friends who continue to live in their hometowns. It is particularly stated in Ambrosini and van der Leun's (2015) study focusing on lone migrants in Italy. Ethnic networks and transnational ties, regardless of strong memories attached thereto and the way people use these to identify themselves, do not evoke the notion of home, security, and affinity, as powerful as a physical dwelling place could (Antonsich, 2017).

Such a systematic and pervasive co-presence (Bonizzo & Boccagni, 2014) leads women to miss left-behind families and to yearn places they feel sense of belonging (Bal & Willems, 2014). The feeling of longing and loneliness as a result of immigration may lead to problems in mental health (Bhugra et al., 2011). Thus, migrants can face anxiety and post-traumatic disorders more than others (Tarsitani & Biondi, 2016). Migrant workers are generally preferred in demanding, insecure jobs with no social protection. Further, the discrimination-related risks and competition have aggravated the downturn (Mucci et al., 2019). So much so that a trans-cultural psychosomatic group was formed in Italy to provide health support to immigrants (Griffiths et al., 2017).

RESEARCH DESIGN
Method
A case study was designed following the purpose of this study. In this section, the research

was presented in the context of the method, the discourse of the participants, and analysis of the findings. Turkmenian MDWW were selected as the universe of the field research in Istanbul. The study was conducted with an ethnographic research approach from a cultural viewpoint (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008) to examine MDWW's life within their own environment (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Fetterman, 2010). As the participant discourses are the main source of data in this study, ethnographic research tries to seek a point of view from inside, through the meanings (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and deals with behaviors exhibited in specific social situations and people's understanding and remarks of their experiences (Wilson & Chaddha, 2010).

This study tries to combine the process of participation and observation as an insider while analyzing and presenting it to the outsiders. Participation observations are collected with their own discourses, analyzing the feelings, behaviors, routines, identities, and relations that are valuable while gaining an insider approach. With the wider use of internet technologies, it became possible to carry out ethnographic research in cyberspace (Hine, 2015). As it is in this research that virtual ethnography seeks the participants' social life, home environment, working conditions, and daily routines (Epstein et al., 2013).

This research started with choosing the field of the study. Then participants' observations were collected with in-depth interviews. Notes are taken based on the discourse of MDWW who live with their employer, about their situation in the employer's homes, their feelings, homemaking practices, and their relationship with the employers.

As Wilson and Chadda (2009) presented in their study the debate by Wacquant (2002), Anderson (1999), Duneier (1999), and Newman's (1999), if theory plays an inductive or deductive role in ethnographic research, then the study herein acknowledges that theory may play both an inductive and deductive role at this point. Accordingly, some theoretical concepts were applied to this study; the meaning of home and its implications presented by Hamzah and Adnan (2016), homemaking practices by Bilecen (2017), and migrant workers' psychological health by Mucci et al. (2019).

Sample selection was carried out through the migrant women's network by the snowball method. The raw qualitative data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews (n = 23) and three focus group interviews conducted between February 2020-May 2021 with video calls via Whatsapp. Focus group meetings were chosen to keep the women feeling better within the group due to their presence in Istanbul within their network. During the focus group meetings a broader perspective was provided. An idea expressed by a woman was developed by another one within these interviews.

The interviews took about 3 to 4 hours per participant. Each focus group meeting took about 1 to 2 hours. In-depth interviews have been structured in 4 parts: (1) DW descriptions, (2) home and working conditions, (3) homemaking practices (4) sense of belonging to the domestic space (Figure 1).

TABLE 1. In-depth Interview Questions

- What is your duty in this live-in job?
- How many hours a day do you work?
- Are you satisfied with the living environment you work in? Do you feel comfortable? How about the privacy matter?
- Do you have a space of your own in the house you work and live? Do you have your private bathroom?
- What part of the house is your favorite place to spend time in? Why? What does it mean to you?
- How do you feel about the space you work in? Is it like a home or a working space?
- What are you doing on your off-days? Why?

- Do you feel a sense of belonging to the place you both work and live in?
- Of all the places you live, which one feels like your 'home'?
- Which is the one you developed a sense of belonging?
- How did you choose the co-house in Istanbul? Whom are you staying with? Can you tell us about the population in the co-home? How does this co-home system work?
- Do you feel a sense of belonging to the co-home? Are you satisfied with co-home?
- What do you think about this multiple positioning? Which one of these places really feels like home to you?
- How does this multi-placed situation affect your feelings about the sense of belonging and place attachment?
- Which are the activities you consider as home-making practices?
- How do you feel when you think about your hometown, your co-home, and your working and living environment?

Focus group interview questions were classified into four parts as being migrant, sense of belonging, emotional environment, and networking (Figure 2).

TABLE 2. Focus Group Interview Questions

Part 1 – Being migrant
- Can you tell us about your life in your hometown?
- What was the meaning of home for you when you were living in Turkmenistan?
- How did your life change after migrating?

Part 2 – Sense of Belonging
- Your workplace is also where you live, how does this make you feel?
- Do you think you have privacy in your employer's home?
- Do you feel that you belong to the place you work / co-home (if any)?
- Which activities make you feel like at home?

Part 3 – Emotional Environment
- How do you cope with the emotion of being a migrant?
- How did it make you feel when you made up your mind about living in another country?
- Those who wish to stay in Turkey, what were the reasons behind that, what physical or psychological conditions convinced you?
- How is your relation with your employer?

Part 4 – Networking
- How did you find your network in Turkey?
- How do you balance your emotional relations with your employer?
- Can you tell us about the co-home, the environment, people living there with you?
- Do you trust your network in Istanbul?

This descriptive study was configured to collect data from MDWW about their feelings, perceptions, relations, and attachment to their life in Turkey and to their workplace, which is also their dwelling at the moment. In this study thematic analysis approach was used following the steps of Braun & Clarke (2006); the first step was to transcribe and review data; afterward, the data were reviewed once again in detail, and initial ideas were noted down. In the second step, data were reproduced.

In this study, the discourses of the participants and the analyses were presented under the themes.

After reviewing the themes (morale, statement, loyalty, associations), codes were compiled under each theme, and it was checked whether the themes were coherent with the codes and the entire data. By comparing the analyzed data under the themes with the extant literature and theories, specific inferences are made about the meaning of the home for MDWW in Istanbul.

Results and Discussion
Nevertheless, Turkmenian culture is very close to Turkish culture; all samples were exposed to harsh conditions arising from the cultural differences in Istanbul. The informal work status, low-level income situation adds another dimension of vulnerability along with ethnicity, gender, and poverty challenges faced.

In general, middle-aged people prefer migrating to Turkey to work abroad. While migrant Turkmenian men work in jobs such as car cleaning, fuel pumper, and porter, which do not require much qualification and labor power is very cheap, migrant Turkmenian women generally work in DW such as cooking, cleaning, elderly caring, and babysitting. There is a continuous flow of labor from Turkmenistan to the Turkish informal employment market since 1998.

MDWW underlined that they had no other chance but to leave their children in the care of their female relatives in Turkmenistan to work in Istanbul and earn income to support their children and family back in their hometown economically. MDWW told that they first arrive in the country with tourist visas, but they remain in the country longer than permitted by their visas. They all started working in a freelance DW arranged by their relatives or friends. All the processes regarding arrival, accommodation and recruitment of MDWW are handled within their network who are already living in Turkey.

In addition, live-in domestic work (DW) involves a dilemma arising from the working environment. In this study, the meaning of home for the Turkmenian MDWW is defined from the perspective of morale, statement, loyalty, and associations. Due to the environment of DW, migrant women have to dwell in a house which belongs to another individual or family coming from a different cultural, social, and psychological background. Although in these homes they consider as their workplace, they are treated like members of the employer's family; they do not refer to these houses as their home due to the influencing factors such as lack of homemaking practices, sense of belonging to the place, privacy, and familiarity. Besides, collective houses are common among the Turkmenian migrants living in Istanbul, which is referred to as the co-home model in this study. However, this has not been mentioned in the literature previously as this is the case observed only in Turkey and therefore is considered as a unique finding of this study. Also, discourses of the MDWW reveal that the concept of home for them is still their extended family house in Turkmenistan. Elderly family members in hometown who need intensive care can be considered as a key motivation for returning back to Turkmenistan.
The characteristics of MDWW were presented in Figure 3.

TABLE 3. Characteristics of MDWW

N	Name	Age	Married/ Single	N of Children	N of years in Turkey
1	Mahire	37	M	3	4
2	Inobet	34	S	3	6
3	Nergis	40	S	2	4

4	Nurgul	43	M	3	13
5	Gul	52	M	2	5
6	Gulderen	26	M	2	2
7	Anahan	40	M	4	6
8	Şahsenem	29	S	2	1
9	Pamuk	25	S	0	1
10	İra	36	M	4	4
11	Gul	40	M	1	5
12	Nunu	53	S	2	11
13	Altınay	38	S	2	9
14	Cennet	25	S	0	1
15	Şirin	40	M	3	5
16	Enebike	42	M	4	8
17	Ayna	46	M	3	12
18	Zula	38	S	1	5
19	Zeynep	47	S	3	7
20	Süreyya	23	M	1	1
21	Dilara	25	M	1	3
22	Muhabbet	49	S	3	5
23	Mardone	20	S	0	1

These themes and codes obtained were presented in Figure 4.

TABLE 4. Themes

	Themes	Codes
T1	Morale	Security / insecurity, sense of belonging, over-loaded, loved, yearning, feeling being part of the family, stress.
T2	Statement	Being migrant, illegal employment, lack of privacy
T3	Loyalty	Hometown, lack of belonging
T4	Associations	Networking, co-homes, construction of bonds.

T1. Morale
The house space plays a crucial role in the psychological well-being of the person as it is associated with a sense of belonging and security. Therefore the emotions a person attaches to the house space is essential. For the Turkmenian MDWW, the sample group in this study, the house space is their workplace. Although this sometimes provides great convenience in terms of the daily activities of that person, it comes with psychological difficulties.

The fact that the living and working space of domestic workers is the same due to the nature of domestic work and that space is not a place of their own comes with challenges expressed by these workers, below:
- *When you have to live in the place you work, you continuously have a house chore on your mind, one would be able to relax more if they could leave the workplace at the end of a workday and stop thinking about work (Gul, 52)*
- *A home is a place where one can relax, but we only go to our homes once a week, and that is the only time of the week where we feel comfortable (Anahan, 40).*
- *You live in a room your boss has designed for you with the items she selected, it takes time to adapt. What if the bed is uncomfortable, but that is all you got, and you have*

to sleep there (İra, 36).

Alongside these challenges, there are also advantages of domestic work. These keep the motivation of the workers high. Here are some of these advantages mentioned by these women:

- After work, we go to bed at the place we work in, so we don't have to travel back and forth, and don't have to deal with traffic and take crowded buses to arrive at our workplace. You don't have to wake up early every day and get dressed to go to work. This helps you to get enough sleep (Zula, 38).

- There is no rent to pay, no groceries to buy, and no transportation costs. I can save up all the money I am paid (Zeynep, 47).

- You get to go on holiday with your boss. In winter I went on snow holidays, and in summers I went to a few seaside places. I haven't gone on a holiday ever before. Of course, I didn't get the chance to rest as much, but I still had the opportunity to see different places and stay in hotels I wouldn't even dream of (Süreyya, 23).

- I am always anxious about losing my job, but I don't have to stand the negative attitudes of people I am not closely acquainted with and can easily move to another work (Şahsenem, 29).

Satisfaction with the place one's home and the work one does affects the life quality of an individual (Markoc & Cinar, 2018). If one is satisfied with her dwelling and workspace, this will improve both the sense of belonging and the work performance of that individual. For MDWW who live in the same place they work, the physical conditions of that space and the scope of the chores they do are essential factors for establishing an emotional bond with the place they live in. The working and living conditions of the women have been presented in Figure 5.

TABLE 5. Working and Living Conditions

N	Name	Having a Room	Having own bathroom	Her duty	Daily working hours
1	Mahire	Sleeping with the kid	No	Looking after the children	12
2	Inobet	Sleeping with the kid	No	Looking after the children	12
3	Nergis	Sleeping with the kid	No	Looking after the children	10
4	Nurgul	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking	9
5	Gul	Sleeping with the kids	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	11
6	Gulderen	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	10
7	Anahan	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	12
8	Şahsenem	Living in the depository	No	Cleaning, cooking	8
9	Pamuk	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking	8
10	İra	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, babysitting	10
11	Gul	Yes	Yes	Cleaning	9
12	Nunu	Sleeping with the kid	No	Looking after the children	14
13	Altınay	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	10
14	Cennet	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking	9

15	Şirin	Sleeping with the kid	No	Cleaning, babysitting	10
16	Enebike	Sleeping with the kid	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	12
17	Ayna	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	14
18	Zula	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking	10
19	Zeynep	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking	8
20	Süreyya	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking	13
21	Dilara	Yes	No	Cleaning	9
22	Muhabbet	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking	10
23	Mardone	Yes	No	Cleaning, babysitting	12

Lack of physical attachment is experienced by live-in DW as Boccagni (2015) mentioned. In addition as Chiatti et al. (2013) have stated before, the relationship between the worker and the employer's family gives rise to complex and mixed emotional experiences.

- *With this family that I have been working for over two years now, we gather around the same table for all meals, just like a family. Usually, I am the one who lays the table and serves the food, but the mistress gives me a hand all the time. This makes me feel part of their family (İra, 36).*
- *One of the girl's first words that I am taking care of was 'mommy.' The fact that the family allowed me to feed her strengthened my attachment to the kid (Ayna, 53).*

As the relationship with the household strengthens, the sense of belonging to that place improves, and the emotions and opinions of the individual become more positive. As Newell & Canessa (2018) have revealed in their research, women do not feel comfortable in a dwelling that belongs to someone else because they cannot act the way they want due to the nature of the DW. These psychological components prevent them from building a bond with the employer's house. The sample has trouble embracing the place, which is both a workspace and home for them based on the criteria defined in Bocconi's (2017) research (a distinctive source of security, familiarity, and privacy).

The new conditions of the country MDWW migrate, impacts their adaptation process, cause changes in their lifestyle, and sometimes lead to difficulties in verbal communication. Due to insufficient adaptation to both the new place and the community in general, MDWW are faced with stress-related problems such as poor sleep quality, headaches, and digestive problems, as Lorenza et al., 2019 pointed out in their study. MDWW expressed their stress-related problems as follows:

- *My husband lives in Istanbul as well, and my mother is taking care of the kids, and I can not stop overthinking about them throughout the day. My tummy aches all the time, and I have to take medication for this (Enebike, 42).*
- *Although I have been here in Turkey for around 1,5 years now, I still cannot understand everything they tell me. Sometimes I do something wrong since I misunderstand what my employers say. I question myself all day long, asking whether I got something right or not. This is my first job, and one day a guest visiting the house was annoyed when I misunderstood something she said, and I turned red from embarrassment and could not sleep for two days (Süreyya, 23).*
- *Every time I take a shared taxi in Istanbul, I am always worried if I took the right one; I fear ending up in the wrong place. When coming back after a leave, I feel anxious all the time, thinking if I will be able to find the exact location of the house or get lost on the way. They tell me that I show aggressive behaviors to my family (Dilara, 25).*

The MDWW's feelings towards their hometown, working space, and co-home space are

significant players in their decision to stay or leave that place, which are shared in Figure 6.

TABLE 6. Feelings of Home Space

N	Name	Hometown	Working space	Co-home space	Staying or Leaving Decisions
1	Mahire	Security, Sense of Belonging, Comfortable,	Crowded, over loaded	Comfortable	Leaving
2	Inobet	Feeling loved, comfortable	over loaded	Long sleeping hours, relaxing	Leaving
3	Nergis	The place where I want to die	insecure, earning my life	Can be consider as a breake	Leaving
4	Nurgul	My early memories, missing now	Temporary, insecure	Being with family, the home, my place	Staying
5	Gul	Hometown means my children.	Every time tired of working	Acting free, independent	Leaving
6	Gulderen	My kids	-------	Our own home, feeling protected, relaxing	Leaving
7	Anahan	Waiting for the return	Over loaded	Being with family, feeling loved.	Leaving
8	Sahsenem	My family home	Integrating	Freely acting space	Staying
9	Pamuk	My mom, I am missing her	Insecure but Integrating	An off day stop	Staying
10	Ira	All my family live there, the place where I belong	My family place in Turkey	Coming together with my relatives, cooking, chatting freely	Leaving
11	Gul	Returning as soon as possible	Comfortable and feeling luxury	Family home, missing all week	Leaving
12	Nunu	Missing very much, the smell of the bread my mom cooked.	over loaded	-------	Leaving
13	Altınay	Missing that home	As living in my sister's place	-------	Leaving
14	Cennet	My childhood, my culture, me.	Have to be clean all the time, overloaded, stressed.	Late good mornings. Sleeping well	Staying
15	Sirin	When my boys graduate the place I will turn back.	Being part time mom to the baby boy	An off day	Leaving
16	Enebike	Represents my children. Where I miss very much.	Being part of the family, feeling precious	Space to clean every week	Leaving
17	Ayna	A short time to come together. The place I feel attached despite the 12 years in Turkey	over loaded as a second mother in the family	--------	Leaving
18	Zula	My childhood, long distance relationshio now	A comfortable stop in my journey	--------	Staying

19	Zeynep	Just my mom	Being a part of this family	-------	Staying
20	Süreyya	The place where I was born	Feeling precious,	One day off	Staying
21	Dilara	My family place, where I feel belonging	discriminated	Family home, my own space	Staying
22	Muhabbet	Missing my grandchildren, my family place	Overloaded, and valuable but temporary	My own place that just belongs to me.	Leaving
23	Mardone	Sense of belonging, feeling loved, passion, my fionce.	Source of money	Being free	Leaving

Since it is a shame to live in a rented house in Turkmenistan, everyone feels obliged to buy a property. Thus they come to Turkey as an immigrant, primarily to afford a home. Their dream of returning to their hometown and their families after saving up a certain amount is similar to those revealed by Di Rosa et al. (2012) 's study conducted in Italy. Immigration to Turkey is perceived not as a step in moving to a permanent lifestyle but more like a temporary and compulsory condition. This makes it difficult for women to become attached to this place that is temporary for them. The statements of women regarding their stay in Turkey are given below:

- *My family is back in my hometown, so when my kids serve in the army and come back and find a job, I will go back (Enebike, 42).*
- *To build a house of our own in our hometown, first my husband came here, and then I came by, leaving the kids to my mother. I am planning to go back in 2-3 years. Maybe my husband will continue to work here. As soon as we finish the payments for the house, we will go back. My kids are growing up away from me. I think about them all the time (Gülderen, 26).*
- *We came here together with my husband. We borrowed huge amounts to come here. My mother is taking care of the kids. My husband works in a furniture store. We are working to buy a house, pay our child's tuition, and earn my mother's income. The conditions here are much better. We sometimes cannot even find flour back home. The money we earn here is enough to build a house in Turkmenistan and earn one's living (Dilara, 25).*
- *I am here only for a short time, and I think life here is tough. I have to wear conservative clothes all the time as I draw attention to being a foreigner. After paying our debts, I want to go back to my hometown and get married (Cennet, 25).*

As derived from the focus group interviews (Part 3), women with many years of work experience in Turkey even appear to resist adapting to the living conditions here. The reason for their high commitment to Turkmenian culture is that they come from traditional family structures, and they maintain their communication with the extended family uninterrupted. This situation is an obstacle for the women who try to build new emotional bonds with Turkey. It seems impossible for the women to establish a sense of belonging and attachment to the physical space they live in Turkey as they unconsciously resist adapting to the living conditions. Both the strong family relations with the extended family in the hometown of the worker and the worker's lack of attachment to the physical space in Turkey are the reasons why the migrant women dream of going back to their hometown as soon as possible. Constructing an emotional environment in Turkey seems complicated for most MDWW.

T2. Statement
Most women have a private space of their own, and some share rooms with the kids or live in storage rooms. This, of course, changes the way women perceive the home space. Some MDWW expressed how privacy and constructed bonds play a role in developing place attachment:

- I have my own room and bathroom here. My employers allow me to spend 1-2 hours on my own throughout the day. I either sleep or watch TV during my break. I can take a bath if I like as I have a bath in my room. I brought some artifacts from home here, which remind me who I am, making me feel good. These are a painting by my boy, my books, a blanket my mother made for me… Some furniture was missing in the room when I first arrived here, and my employer told me to choose anything I like online and that she would buy these for me. I picked up the curtains and the rug. I am waiting for a shelf to arrive. I can call it my room now (Zula, 38).

- I go back to my room after clearing the table at night. I make a video call with people from my hometown. During that 4 hours, I feel as if I came back from work and spent time with my family at home. I cannot imagine not having a room of my own. This is like a home of my own inside the main house… (Muhabbet, 49).

- There is a corner in the garden where I go to smoke. I sit there 2-3 times a day having coffee or tea. It feels nice there (Nunu, 53).

Also, some of MDWW expressed their low level of belonging with the lack of private space:

- Home is a place filled with the items one likes and picks for herself. There is nothing I like here. It is very stressful trying to use items of someone else, avoiding any damage. I am expected to take care of, to clean the whole house yet be careful all the time. This build extreme tension on me. Because when you are at home, no one will hold you accountable when the iron breaks but employers ask about this all the time (Ayna, 53).

- Since I am taking care of the baby, I sleep on the bed lying over the floor of the baby's room. I keep my personal belongings in a cabinet in the hall. I use the bathroom to change my clothes. I do not have a moment on my own or any private space in the house. I go to the collective house during my days off. All week I dream of that day when I can sleep on my bed all day long (Inobet, 34).

The fact that the friends and relatives who referred them to the employer increases the chance that MDWWs shall be treated well by the family. Nevertheless, the migrant women also add that if you are not a friend of them (the employer family), you shall never feel really comfortable, which will remind you that it is not your home (as King-Dejardin (2019) set forth). One of them expressed her perception in her own discourse:

- I work in a very upscale house, I have a room and bathroom of my own, but the nature of this work always reminds you that you are living in someone else's house (Zula, 38).

They told about how they hope to own a small place, which belongs only to them:

- I cannot work in an up-tempo work due to my age. I am looking for a day job where I would only need to cook. When I have enough money, I want to start working in a day job and rent a house, even if it is small (Zeynep, 47).

- I work in a three-floor villa, my friends envy the house, but I still would prefer a small house of my own (Cennet, 25).

The sample stated that a home is a place where you feel comfy and do what you like whenever you want (like clothes choice, eating, and drinking). As Easthope (2014) pointed out, migrant live-in worker women do not perceive the home from just socio-spatial and psycho-spatial perspectives, they need to construct emotional bonds with their living space. Moreover, they suffer from being deprived of carrying out home-making practices, as Bilecen (2017) pointed out. Figure 7 lists the actions stated by women when they were asked about home-making practices.

TABLE 7. Home Making Practices

N	Name	Actions
1	Mahire	Drinking Coffee, Laying on your own sofa
2	Inobet	Watching a movie, wearing comfy clothes
3	Nergis	A comfortable bed, silence all night, feeling secure
4	Nurgul	Laying in comfortable clothes, eating and drinking whenever you want whatever you want.
5	Gul	Having drink, watching tv, chatting with my sister, laughing loud.
6	Gulderen	Relaxing with my loved ones, having your private place.
7	Anahan	Watching tv in living room, having a drink at night
8	Sahsenem	Inviting my close friends and family to my place.
9	Pamuk	Watching my favourite tv series, eating chips and, drinking beer with my own cup.
10	Ira	Eating what you want, a comfortabşe sleep all night
11	Gul	Buying favourite foods and drinks and put them to your refrigerator.
12	Nunu	Sleeping comfy as much as you want
13	Altınay	Watching tv with my family, feeling loved.
14	Cennet	Returning home when you want
15	Sirin	Eating dinner with family and watching tv
16	Enebike	Living with your lovely types of furnitures.
17	Ayna	Having a shower when you want, having your own cabinet in the bathroom.
18	Zula	Watching movie every night
19	Zeynep	Cooking what you want in your own kitchen with your own pieces of equipments.
20	Süreyya	Listening music when you want loudly without earphones.
21	Dilara	Eating what you want, having a shower when you want
22	Muhabbet	Eating what you want, laying in the living room watching tv
23	Mardone	Eating what you want around a family table, watching tv all night.

As derived from the focus group interviews (Part 1), the Turkmenian migrants' informal contribution to the unskilled labor market is not entered in official records, although this rate is really high. While both the worker and the employer wish to maintain this win-win relationship because this work environment is informal and illegal, MDWW feel like they are totally ignored in the home space. The poor quality of this informal employment creates stress on MDWW. The existence of Turkmenian migrants in the Turkish labor market has not been recorded officially. Therefore the Turkish state does not take any steps to prepare social policies in this regard even though approximately 2M Turkmenian citizens live in Turkey. Contrary to the situation in Turkey, for example, Italy is already taking steps to provide health support to immigrants (Griffiths et al., 2017). However, preventive strategies need to be taken to improve migrants' mental health and solve housing-related problems, which is another component of this sociological monolith.

T3. Loyalty
The women who are employed in live-in DW in Turkey cannot travel back to their hometown every time they wish to because of the political view in Turkmenistan. The entire sample expressed their longing for their hometown, their families/relatives there,

and their living environment. Although the homeland and the migration countries have similar cultures, the lifestyle and family relationships in Istanbul are different from those in Turkmenistan. This social and cultural stratification is also observed in the use of home space. For example, in Turkmenistan, male and female guests cannot share the same room, and this gender issue comes into play when organizing the home space. It is common for large families to share the same home in Turkmenistan. Turkey's small household size is one of the essential cultural differences experienced in the home space for MDWW. The finding of Masterson et al. (2017) that stated the sense of belonging to the place is associated with identity elements (see Kohlbacher et al. (2015) is valid for MDWW in Istanbul. It is clear to see MDWW's attachment problems from their discourse:

- *Even though we are all Turkish and speak a similar language, each country has its own habits. For example, I like it here, the family I work for allows me to speak with my family all the time, but it is not possible for me to build the same type of attachment here (Muhabbet, 49).*
- *Istanbul is a beautiful city with beautiful streets. I work in a charming home. Unfortunately, I only have my mother and nephews back in my hometown. My brothers and aunts all live here, and during my days off, I visit them, but maybe since I have been here very recently, I did not really adapt yet (Pamuk, 25).*

As Bal and Willems (2014) emphasized, the difficulties brought by a foreign culture increase the longing of women for their country. Almost all of the samples have a close bond with their smartphones. They are in constant communication with their relatives/friends in Turkey and their families in Turkmenistan. The samples stated that their employers had warned them all about this high rate of phone utilization. Nevertheless, they maintain continuous online communication with their social network. They firmly keep abreast of all the developments in their social network both in Turkey and Turkmenistan through the use of social media tools. Although they are physically isolated (Triandafyllidou, 2016) and physically away from their families, they and their families keep tabs on their lives.

- *My family may be concerned, I live in some else's home indeed. Everything is possible… I carry my phone with me all around the house while working, an emergency may come up, who knows (Cennet, 25).*
- *My children are back in my hometown, and I speak with them by video call for 1 hour after they come back from school and 1 hour before they go to bed. I am a mother, I have to speak with them (Mahire, 37).*
- *After the baby, I take care of goes to sleep, I talk with my family, we talk about how their day was… (Şirin, 40).*
- *I call my sister to ask for a recipe during the day, or she calls me, and we talk on a video call while I am working in the kitchen (Şahsenem, 29).*

While this helps them to overcome traumas, it also causes deprivation as they are physically isolated from their families, especially during festival seasons and special days. All these elements foster the women's desire to go back to their country as soon as possible.

Under these conditions, as derived from the focus group interviews (Part 2), it has been observed that most MDWW are not able to develop a sense of belonging or place attachment to these co-homes. At this point, psychological stress-related traumas emerge due to a lack of security and familiarity. MDWW expressed this attachment problem and the disorders that follow:

- *I keep in contact with my family through my phone, but sometimes, when I feel bad, I feel lonely because of the time difference and inability to call them. I do not want them to worry about me either. I prefer to keep things that happened at work to myself. I live in someone else's home and have to cope with this (Altınay, 38).*
- *I am not allowed to make any mistakes since I am an immigrant and powerless*

here. Moreover, my employer immediately pulls a long face. Moreover, this deepens my despair of being away and weak. I usually have a headache when things like that happen. Sometimes I take 2-3 drugs at the same time (Ayna, 53).

-   There may be setbacks, but when I first arrived, I thought they would fire me immediately if I made a mistake. I felt really insecure, and there is no formal contract, how could I feel at ease (Nurgul, 43).

-   My former employer fired me because I burned his shirt while ironing. I was just getting used to the place, but I was suddenly homeless without a job. There is no security, no guarantee that you will keep your job. How could I trust anyone after that? (Anahan, 40).

-   I broke my foot while working, and they took me to a hospital, but since I could no longer work, they asked me to leave within the next 1-2 days. I cried for two weeks and vomited all the time. These really happened to me (Şahsenem, 29).

As satisfaction concerning personal domains such as gender, social status, income level, and living conditions improve, the risk of mental problems decreases. The home environment is an important domain that increases one's quality of life. The family's responsibility left behind in the hometown has a negative effect on MDWW's psychology. Being abroad, away from home and family, increases the stress level of MDWW as they feel insecure and lonely.

T4. Associations

MDWW stated that they would not dare to migrate if they do not have a social network in Turkey. It is observed that once a migration link has been hooked up, it generally continues with friends, relatives, and kin inviting women to migrate, acting as intermediaries in the process and accompanying them through their journey from abroad. So at this point, the association within the Turkmenian community in Turkey gain importance.

This study demonstrates that the inter-country migration, once started, continues for generations. MDWW stated that because of the high poverty rate in Turkmenistan, they want their kids to find a job in Turkey:

-   My son will complete his military service this year. I want him to come here to work. Then we can rent a house, and that would be great for us (İra, 36).

-   My daughter will be coming here at the earliest opportunity, but right now, the borders are closed (Muhabbet, 49).

-   Sometimes, I consider the option of my son and daughter-in-law coming here to work so that I can take care of my grandkids back in our hometown. I think this will be my next step because I am tied (Ayna, 53).

Although the study by Antonsich (2017) demonstrated the loneliness experienced by MDWW in Italy, the situation in Istanbul is the other way around since there is an extensive social network here, and that is both the reason and the consequence of the high rate of migration to Turkey. The women who consider migrating to Turkey contact their social network in Turkey searching for a job, and the network encourages them to make a move. Also, another reason why women decide to migrate to Turkey is the extensive social network in Istanbul. Some MDWW explained how their employers asked them to find kins who would be interested in working in another home for a relative of the employer. As can be clearly seen, relations and networking are significant in the DW environment.

MDWW also find their co-homes with the help of this network. This co-home system strengthens the bond between the relatives and serves as a secure place to withstand the harsh working conditions. However, some MDWW stated that due to lack of security and high circulation in these co-homes, their belongings are used, taken without permission, or stolen. At this point, the lack of physical security and trust problems arise, and the bonds in the Turkmenian community weaken.

In the meantime, while women work in live-in domestic jobs and dwell in the workplace, men need a dwelling to return to every day from work. This necessity causes a few migrant men to come together and rent a collective house referred to as co-home in this study. The women spend their off-days in these co-homes whereas men live there all the time. The women spend approximately 24 hours a week in such homes, but men return to these houses every day to rest and sleep after their day-time work.

As the dwellers in these houses earn low-income, they need to pay low-rents, so co-homes are usually found in low-rent areas of the city. These co-homes are generally situated in the district of Bayrampasa on the European side and the district of Icerenkoy on the Asian side because of the low rental rates and closeness to job opportunities. The co-homes are generally ready-furnished and situated in specific regions for easy access, and the goal is to host as many people as possible to reduce the rent per person. The furnishing quality of the co-homes are usually low and just meet the minimum demands of the dweller. The off-days of the women may vary, and in such a case, they share their beds with another person, which reduces the costs. Minimum 4 migrants come together and rent a co-home to share the rent and other housing expenses such as bills. There is generally a mixed population in these co-homes, men and women live in the same apartment. In some extraordinary cases in Istanbul, up to 12 people may share a co-home. The data about the conditions in these co-houses is presented in Figure 8.

TABLE 8. Conditions in co-houses

N	Name	The location of co-home	N of people in the co-home	Having own room in the co-home	Having own bed
1	Mahire	İçerenköy	6	No	No
2	Inobet	Maltepe	4	No	Yes
3	Nergis	İçerenköy	6	No	No
4	Nurgul	İçerenköy	5	Yes	Yes
5	Gul	Bayrampaşa	6	Yes	Yes
6	Gulderen	Bayrampaşa	6	Yes	No
7	Anahan	Bayrampaşa	6	No	Yes
8	Sahsenem	Bayrampaşa	4	No	Yes
9	Pamuk	İçerenköy	7	No	No
10	Ira	Şirinevler	6	No	Yes
11	Gul	Bayrampaşa	4	Yes	Yes
12	Nunu	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
13	Altınay	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
14	Cennet	İçerenköy	5	.	Yes
15	Sirin	Bayrampaşa	7	No	No
16	Enebike	Şirinevler	6	No	Yes
17	Ayna	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
18	Zula	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
19	Zeynep	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
20	Süreyya	Ümraniye	5	Yes	Yes
21	Dilara	Ümraniye	5	Yes	Yes
22	Muhabbet	İçerenköy	6	Yes	Yes
23	Mardone	İçerenköy	6	Yes	Yes

When MDWW were asked about conditions in the co-homes and how they feel in these places, they made both positive and negative comments:

- I do not go to a co-house during my days off. I walk around all day, get some air and go back to the home I work in. Because I cannot rest in a co-home as you share the house with other people as well. Why would I bother to sleep on another bed if I cannot be alone, without any noise? (Altınay, 38).

- I go directly to a co-home on my off days. We take off the same day with my sister. We go out. We buy foods and drinks we like and chat with others at home. We live there with my relatives. This is my home in Turkey (Anahan, 40).

- Since I sleep with the kids all the time during the week, I feel more comfortable sleeping in the co-home in my own bed. I wake up whenever I want. I buy the foods I like when going to the Co-home, and it is usually something I cannot eat in the house I work. My day off is the only thing I have for myself. I think I would be unhappy and tired all the time if there was not a co-home for me to go (Şirin, 40).

- I and my husband and I share the co-home with my sister and his husband. We pay the rent, and there is one more person who also lives there renting a room. I am happy and comfortable in the house I live in, but co-home is the place I meet with my family. My sister and I go there once a week. My husband and brother-in-law sleep there every night. Since they are a bit messy, we clean the house first. I do not really rest during my off days, but it is the only day that I get to spend with my husband, and this is the house we have in Turkey (Dilara, 25).

- I consider the place I work in as my own place. I visit the co-house on my off days just to see my family. I would not take a day off if my husband and sister did not live in Turkey as well (Süreyya, 23)

One of the main divergences amidst the MDWW is between contracted workers and freelancers. The main reason why MDWW prefers freelancing is that the flexibility allows one to change jobs more quickly to improve their living and working conditions with a higher salary. Freelancing among the MDWW increases in popularity due to its advantages both for the worker and the employer's family. Taking into consideration this freelancing notion, it is easier to understand how the DW labor market works.

Generally, freelancers do not enter into formal employment contracts and therefore do not need a work permit from the Turkish Government. With the lack of a formal contract, the employer can terminate, or the worker may quit the job at any time. Sometimes intermediary companies find MDWW for the families. When that is the case, if the worker quits the job, the agency quickly finds a new one. As Fernandez & de Regt (2014) mentioned in their work, migrant women find this informal work environment attractive. Although the worker and the employer are in a win-win relationship in this type of informal work, sociological and psychological problems may arise due to the nature of this relationship.

Although freelancing seems more beneficial for MDWW because of the strict exit policies, it generally brings a vulnerability to the worker, as Murphy (2013) stated. Nevertheless, both the employer and worker have material benefits in this type of freelance work; the worker has the freedom to change jobs at any time, and the employer is free to lay off the worker whenever she wishes. So it seems that this type of freelance work carries with it social and physical security issues, as Yildirim et al. (2017) has demonstrated. All of the women expressed their fears about getting fired. This unsecured work environment also has difficulties arising from unbalanced power relations (as Bonnin & Dawood (2013) stated) between the worker and the employer.

As derived from the focus group interviews (part 4), maintaining strong ties with the employer family helps MDWW to develop a more secure perception. Also, this base of security improves the motivation and well-being of MDWW. Job satisfaction is a vital

integration tool for MDWW. MDWW, who can build a relational bond with the family and who are satisfied with her work environment, feels she is welcomed in the work environment, and this improves her integration process. This fortifies the physical connection of MDWW with her current environment and prevents any possible traumas.

CONCLUSION

As the meaning of home is a multi-dimensional and difficult notion to reveal, this study strives to seek out the psychological meaning of the home space for the migrant domestic worker women (MDWW) with respect to migration and adaptation period. Three major issue about home for MDWW have been adressed in this study. First one considers home as a physical place to shelter with transnational elements, the second one mentions home as a source of security with social protection and the third one defines home with homemaking practices those place the home context across borders.

By delving into the morale, statement, loyalty, and associations of MDWW based on the qualitative ethnographic data collected it seems that MDWW construct the meaning of home not only as an element of sheltering and dwelling but also by homemaking practices one carries as part of their daily routines as well the items and symbols they love. Thus this ethnographic research contributes to the literature by revealing how MDWW try to construct the meaning of home in a space that belongs to another family in a foreign cultural and social environment.

Although the employer families consider MDWW as family members, MDWW do not describe this place as their family home since they lack a sense of belonging to that place as well as missing out on privacy and familiarity.

MDWW are sometimes faced with abuse, both physical and verbal, and they are frequently recruited for jobs with unhealthy conditions that possibly affect their physical and mental health. Not only do migrants consider it an accomplishment to own a whole house or a part of it, but this also helps them to develop an attachment to a specific place where they feel comfortable and secure.

As a matter of fact, lacking a sense of belonging and place attachment, MDWW are exposed to severe living conditions being both a woman and a migrant and low-income person at the same time. Also, the key concern of this study was to analyze what women face in a foreign country from a gender perspective. It was revealed that worsening social status, segregation, and being away from hometown causes some depressive syndromes. Post-traumatic stress disorders, anxiety, feeling down, anger, and poor sleep quality are widely seen among MDWW due to lack of security, privacy, and a sense of belonging. It seems that MDWW can feel loyalty to a certain space not only through physical sheltering, but also homemaking practices coupled with security.

These depressive syndromes cause low quality of life, exclusion from both the community and the specific place the person lives and works in. This article uncovers the need to examine the psychological construction of home and brings a new perspective to academicians and policymakers in their efforts to find solutions for major social problems.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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TABLES

TABLE 1. In-depth Interview Questions

- What is your duty in this live-in job?
- How many hours a day do you work?
- Are you satisfied with the living environment you work in? Do you feel comfortable? How about the privacy matter?
- Do you have a space of your own in the house you work and live? Do you have your private bathroom?
- What part of the house is your favorite place to spend time in? Why? What does it mean to you?
- How do you feel about the space you work in? Is it like a home or a working space?
- What are you doing on your off-days? Why?
- Do you feel a sense of belonging to the place you both work and live in?
- Of all the places you live, which one feels like your 'home'?
- Which is the one you developed a sense of belonging?
- How did you choose the co-house in Istanbul? Whom are you staying with? Can you tell us about the population in the co-home? How does this co-home system work?
- Do you feel a sense of belonging to the co-home? Are you satisfied with co-home?
- What do you think about this multiple positioning? Which one of these places really feels like home to you?
- How does this multi-placed situation affect your feelings about the sense of belonging and place attachment?
- Which are the activities you consider as home-making practices?
- How do you feel when you think about your hometown, your co-home, and your working and living environment?

TABLE 2. Focus Group Interview Questions

Part 1 – Being migrant
- Can you tell us about your life in your hometown?
- What was the meaning of home for you when you were living in Turkmenistan?
- How did your life change after migrating?

Part 2 – Sense of Belonging
- Your workplace is also where you live, how does this make you feel?
- Do you think you have privacy in your employer's home?
- Do you feel that you belong to the place you work / co-home (if any)?
- Which activities make you feel like at home?

Part 3 – Emotional Environment
- How do you cope with the emotion of being a migrant?
- How did it make you feel when you made up your mind about living in another country?
- Those who wish to stay in Turkey, what were the reasons behind that, what physical or psychological conditions convinced you?
- How is your relation with your employer?

Part 4 – Networking
- How did you find your network in Turkey?
- How do you balance your emotional relations with your employer?
- Can you tell us about the co-home, the environment, people living there with you?
- Do you trust your network in Istanbul?

TABLE 3. Characteristics of MDWW

N	Name	Age	Married/ Single	N of Children	N of years in Turkey
1	Mahire	37	M	3	4
2	Inobet	34	S	3	6
3	Nergis	40	S	2	4
4	Nurgul	43	M	3	13
5	Gul	52	M	2	5
6	Gulderen	26	M	2	2
7	Anahan	40	M	4	6
8	Şahsenem	29	S	2	1
9	Pamuk	25	S	0	1
10	İra	36	M	4	4
11	Gul	40	M	1	5
12	Nunu	53	S	2	11
13	Altınay	38	S	2	9
14	Cennet	25	S	0	1
15	Şirin	40	M	3	5
16	Enebike	42	M	4	8
17	Ayna	46	M	3	12
18	Zula	38	S	1	5
19	Zeynep	47	S	3	7
20	Süreyya	23	M	1	1
21	Dilara	25	M	1	3
22	Muhabbet	49	S	3	5
23	Mardone	20	S	0	1

TABLE 4. Themes

	Themes	Codes
T1	Morale	Security / insecurity, sense of belonging, over-loaded, loved, yearning, feeling being part of the family, stress.
T2	Statement	Being migrant, illegal employment, lack of privacy
T3	Loyalty	Hometown, lack of belonging
T4	Associations	Networking, co-homes, construction of bonds.

TABLE 5. Working and Living Conditions

N	Name	Having a Room	Having own bathroom	Her duty	Daily working hours
1	Mahire	Sleeping with the kid	No	Looking after the children	12
2	Inobet	Sleeping with the kid	No	Looking after the children	12
3	Nergis	Sleeping with the kid	No	Looking after the children	10
4	Nurgul	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking	9

5	Gul	Sleeping with the kids	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	11
6	Gulderen	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	10
7	Anahan	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	12
8	Şahsenem	Living in the depository	No	Cleaning, cooking	8
9	Pamuk	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking	8
10	İra	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, babysitting	10
11	Gul	Yes	Yes	Cleaning	9
12	Nunu	Sleeping with the kid	No	Looking after the children	14
13	Altınay	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	10
14	Cennet	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking	9
15	Şirin	Sleeping with the kid	No	Cleaning, babysitting	10
16	Enebike	Sleeping with the kid	No	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	12
17	Ayna	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking, babysitting	14
18	Zula	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking	10
19	Zeynep	Yes	Yes	Cleaning, cooking	8
20	Süreyya	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking	13
21	Dilara	Yes	No	Cleaning	9
22	Muhabbet	Yes	No	Cleaning, cooking	10
23	Mardone	Yes	No	Cleaning, babysitting	12

TABLE 6. Feelings of Home Space

N	Name	Hometown	Working space	Co-home space	Staying or Leaving Decisions
1	Mahire	Security, Sense of Belonging, Comfortable,	Crowded, over loaded	Comfortable	Leaving
2	Inobet	Feeling loved, comfortable	over loaded	Long sleeping hours, relaxing	Leaving

3	Nergis	The place where I want to die	insecure, earning my life	Can be consider as a breake	Leaving
4	Nurgul	My early memories, missing now	Temporary, insecure	Being with family, the home, my place	Staying
5	Gul	Hometown means my children.	Every time tired of working	Acting free, independent	Leaving
6	Gulder en	My kids	-------	Our own home, feeling protected, relaxing	Leaving
7	Anahan	Waiting for the return	Over loaded	Being with family, feeling loved.	Leaving
8	Sahsen em	My family home	Integrating	Freely acting space	Staying
9	Pamuk	My mom, I am missing her	Insecure but Integrating	An off day stop	Staying
10	Ira	All my family live there, the place where I belong	My family place in Turkey	Coming together with my relatives, cooking, chatting freely	Leaving
11	Gul	Returning as soon as possible	Comfortable and feeling luxury	Family home, missing all week	Leaving
12	Nunu	Missing very much, the smell of the bread my mom cooked.	over loaded	-------	Leaving
13	Altınay	Missing that home	As living in my sister's place	-------	Leaving
14	Cennet	My childhood, my culture, me.	Have to be clean all the time, overloaded, stressed.	Late good mornings. Sleeping well	Staying
15	Sirin	When my boys graduate the place I will turn back.	Being part time mom to the baby boy	An off day	Leaving

16	Enebike	Represents my children. Where I miss very much.	Being part of the family, feeling precious	Space to clean every week	Leaving
17	Ayna	A short time to come together. The place I feel attached despite the 12 years in Turkey	over loaded as a second mother in the family	--------	Leaving
18	Zula	My childhood, long distance relationshio now	A comfortable stop in my journey	--------	Staying
19	Zeynep	Just my mom	Being a part of this family	-------	Staying
20	Süreyya	The place where I was born	Feeling precious,	One day off	Staying
21	Dilara	My family place, where I feel belonging	discriminated	Family home, my own space	Staying
22	Muhabbet	Missing my grandchildren, my family place	Overloaded, and valuable but temporary	My own place that just belongs to me.	Leaving
23	Mardone	Sense of belonging, feeling loved, passion, my fionce.	Source of money	Being free	Leaving

TABLE 7. Home Making Practices

N	Name	Actions
1	Mahire	Drinking Coffee, Laying on your own sofa
2	Inobet	Watching a movie, wearing comfy clothes
3	Nergis	A comfortable bed, silence all night, feeling secure
4	Nurgul	Laying in comfortable clothes, eating and drinking whenever you want whatever you want.
5	Gul	Having drink, watching tv, chatting with my sister, laughing loud.
6	Gulderen	Relaxing with my loved ones, having your private place.
7	Anahan	Watching tv in living room, having a drink at night
8	Sahsenem	Inviting my close friends and family to my place.
9	Pamuk	Watching my favourite tv series, eating chips and, drinking beer with my own cup.
10	Ira	Eating what you want, a comfortabşe sleep all night
11	Gul	Buying favourite foods and drinks and put them to your refrigerator.
12	Nunu	Sleeping comfy as much as you want
13	Altınay	Watching tv with my family, feeling loved.
14	Cennet	Returning home when you want
15	Sirin	Eating dinner with family and watching tv

16	Enebike	Living with your lovely types of furnitures.
17	Ayna	Having a shower when you want, having your own cabinet in the bathroom.
18	Zula	Watching movie every night
19	Zeynep	Cooking what you want in your own kitchen with your own pieces of equipments.
20	Süreyya	Listening music when you want loudly without earphones.
21	Dilara	Eating what you want, having a shower when you want
22	Muhabbet	Eating what you want, laying in the living room watching tv
23	Mardone	Eating what you want around a family table, watching tv all night.

TABLE 8. Conditions in co-houses

N	Name	The location of co-home	N of people in the co-home	Having own room in the co-home	Having own bed
1	Mahire	İçerenköy	6	No	No
2	Inobet	Maltepe	4	No	Yes
3	Nergis	İçerenköy	6	No	No
4	Nurgul	İçerenköy	5	Yes	Yes
5	Gul	Bayrampaşa	6	Yes	Yes
6	Gulderen	Bayrampaşa	6	Yes	No
7	Anahan	Bayrampaşa	6	No	Yes
8	Sahsenem	Bayrampaşa	4	No	Yes
9	Pamuk	İçerenköy	7	No	No
10	Ira	Şirinevler	6	No	Yes
11	Gul	Bayrampaşa	4	Yes	Yes
12	Nunu	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
13	Altınay	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
14	Cennet	İçerenköy	5	.	Yes
15	Sirin	Bayrampaşa	7	No	No
16	Enebike	Şirinevler	6	No	Yes
17	Ayna	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
18	Zula	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
19	Zeynep	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home	No co-home
20	Süreyya	Ümraniye	5	Yes	Yes
21	Dilara	Ümraniye	5	Yes	Yes

| 22 | Muhabbet | İçerenköy | 6 | Yes | Yes |
| 23 | Mardone | İçerenköy | 6 | Yes | Yes |