Determinants of Women's Migration in Turkey

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Women's internal migration in the developing world has been rarely studied before last two decades, mainly due to lack of data and its dynamics different from men's internal migration in general (İlkkaracan and İlkkaracan, 1998). In Turkey, the situation has not been different from the rest of the developing world (Özbay and Yücel, 2001). Women are more likely to move due to marriage and familial reasons (Reed et al, 2010) making it more "associational". Associational migration is a phenomenon related to partner-related reasons and is commonly composed of "marital migration", which makes it have a different context suggested by conventional theories of internal migration (İlkkaracan and İlkkaracan, 1998). Studying women's migration in Turkey is important since the size of women's migration is large enough to affect size, growth rate, structure and composition of the population both in the destination and the origin regions. According to the most recent survey, TDHS-2008 (2008 Turkey Demographic and Health Survey), the most common reason of migration is marriage (41 percent) among ever-married and ever-migrated women.

This paper makes use of migration history data of ever-married women, which were collected for the first time in TDHS-2008. In addition to birth, marriage and working histories, each eligible woman was asked for a history of all her migrations since the age of 12 including the month and year of each in TDHS-2008. Our clean data set includes 7,211 ever-married women. The percentage of ever-married women who migrated at least once since the age of 12 is 58 percent. Weighted number of women who migrated at least once is 4,199; and who migrated at least twice is 1,254.

The aim of this paper is to examine the determinants of internal migration of ever-married women in Turkey. In the study, transitions to first and second migrations will be studied separately because the reasons that underlie the first and the subsequent migrations differ. The method of analyses will be event history analyses, specifically piecewise constant proportional hazard regression model. The process time starts at the age of 12 and continue up

to the date of migration, or for non-migrant women current age of the women at the time of the survey.

To see the impact of push and pull factors related to rural and urban areas on probability to migrate, we will control for type of place of residence of origin and destination categorized as urban and rural. Differentiating between urban and rural residence of origin/destination is crucial since the dynamics and reasons of migrations differentiate across these flows.

Since marital status is expected to be a determinant of migration (Brockerhoff and Eu, 1993), we will use marital status before migration as one of the independent variables of the study. Especially, migration to rural areas is expected to be due to marriage or family reasons among women (Reed et al, 2010).

Although determinants of migration of women may differ from that of men, some common determinants of internal migration for both sexes have been suggested in the literature (Reed et al, 2010). First one is *age*. It is expected that women are more likely to migrate in their twenties to urban areas due to educational and employment opportunities. This pattern which peak in women's twenties is expected to decline steadily at older ages. Migration to rural areas, on the other hand, can increase in older ages since elderly may return to rural areas after retirement (*ibid*). It should be noted that in the context of Turkey, the peak of migration of women may be at earlier ages due to marriage as well. Either variable of *age* or *duration* (since age 12 or since first migration) has to be used in the analysis to prevent multicollinearity. In our main analyses we will use duration; however for easing interpretation age can also be used when discussing the results.

Another determinant of internal migration is *education* (Todaro, 1997). Brockerhoff and Eu (1993) find that education is among the main determinants of female mobility in Africa. Stronger effects of education on migration to urban areas are expected than on moves to rural areas.

Employment is a determinant of internal migration as well, since women may move to seek jobs. Hence unemployed women should be more likely to migrate than employed women (Reed et al, 2010).

Number of living children can also have an effect on the probability of migrating among women. Children can restrict women's mobility due to their schooling or due to simply having a larger household to move (Eryurt, 2010). Moreover migrants can be selected towards having fewer children. Brockerhoff and Eu (1993) found that women with recent births or multiple young children had a tendency to migrate less to urban or rural areas. Therefore it is expected that women with more children will be less likely to migrate (Reed et al, 2010).

Another determinant that can be included in the analysis is *ethnicity* (Brockerhoff and Eu, 1993), which would control for cultural settings to a limited extent.

Hence, in addition to marriage affecting migration of women, we will control for age or duration since age 12, education, employment, number of living children, ethnicity, type of place of residence and region of origin.

To the best of authors' knowledge, no event history analysis on timing and patterns of female migration with specific reference to marriage in Turkey has been carried out. This paper will attempt to fill this gap in the literature by employing event-history analysis to analyze the impact of various motives on first and second migrations of women in Turkey, which will take into account both time varying and time constant variables.

Our preliminary descriptive findings (See Figures in the Appendix) using event-data imply that marriage is the most common reason stated among reasons of migration. Partner-related reasons follow marriage implying associational migration as an important phenomenon among women in Turkey. In last four decades, marriage has been the most common reason of migration in Turkey. During the same period, parent-related migrations declined and partner-related flows increased. For the first migration, marriage is the main reason, whereas personal reasons become influential in subsequent moves among women.

Motivations for migration differ among women: Migrating due to personal reasons is more common among women with higher socioeconomic status. On the other hand marital migration has been more common among women with inferior socioeconomic status in Turkey. Finally, as the number of children the woman has increases; partner-related moves appear to increase as well.

In the light of these preliminary descriptive findings, multivariate results are yet to be seen, which will provide us more concrete and reliable conclusions.

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APPENDIX: DESCRIPTIVE FIGURES

Figure 1. Reasons for all migration movements of ever-married women aged 15-49, TDHS-2008
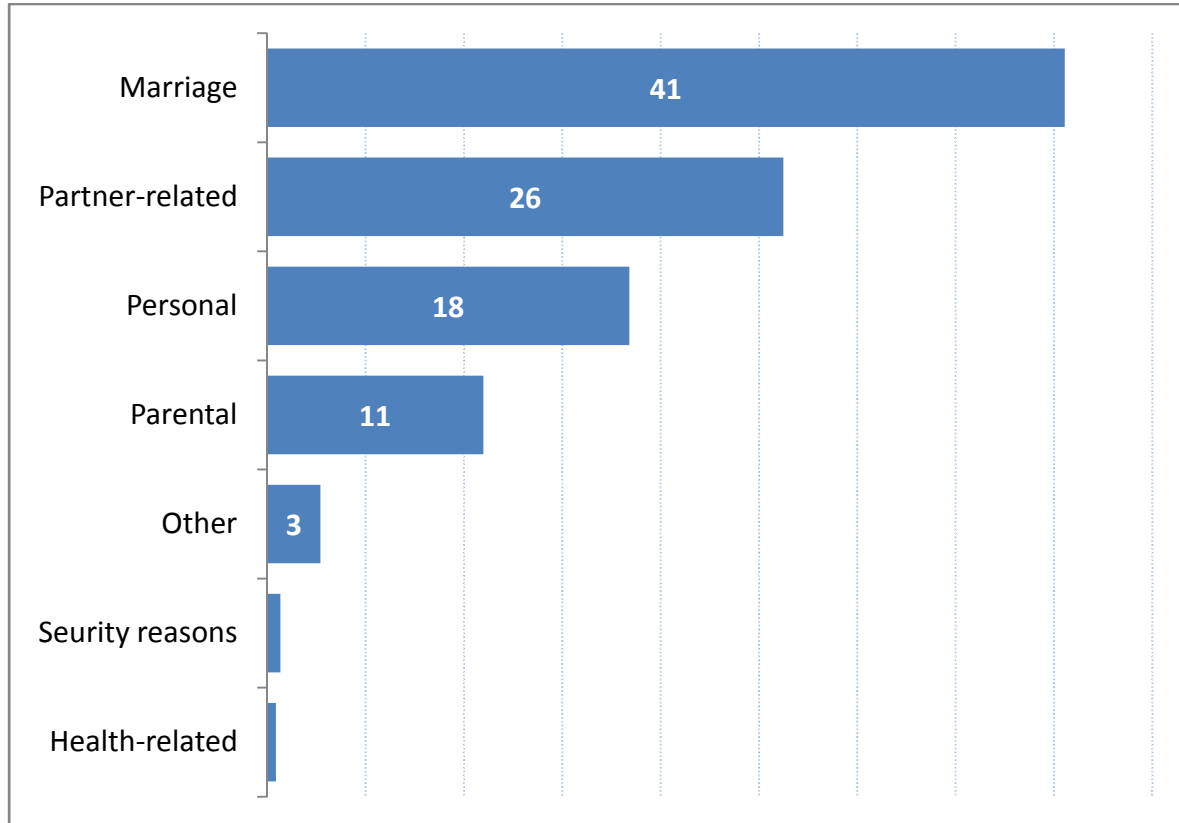

Figure 2. Reasons for migration movements of ever-married women aged 15-49 by 10-year periods, TDHS-2008
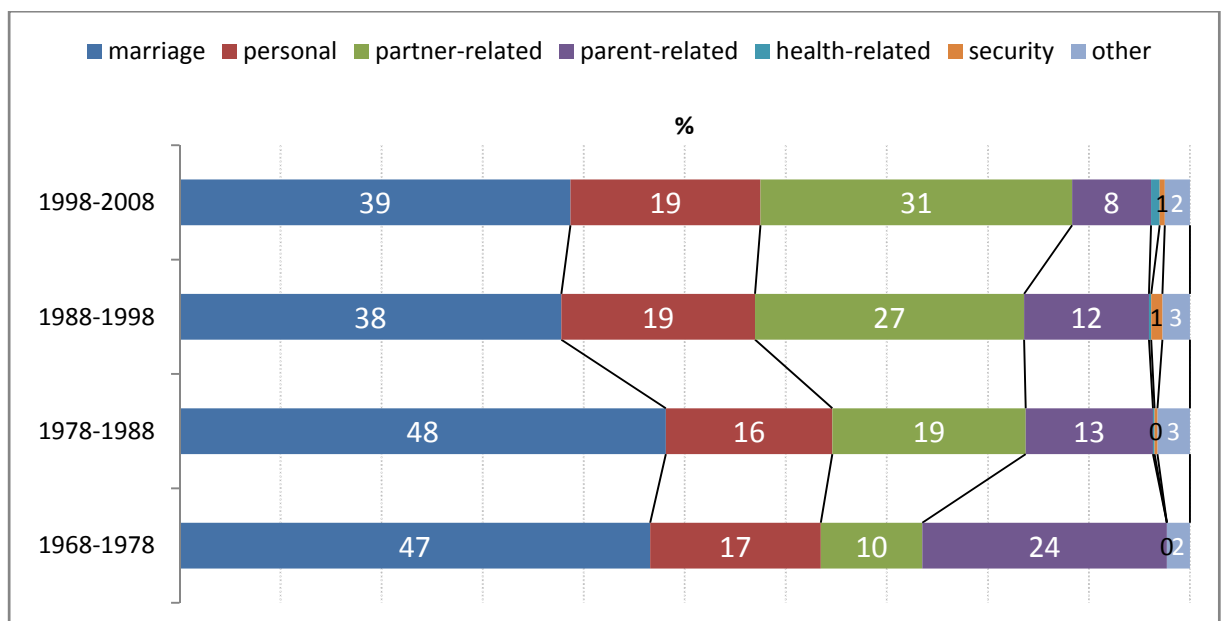
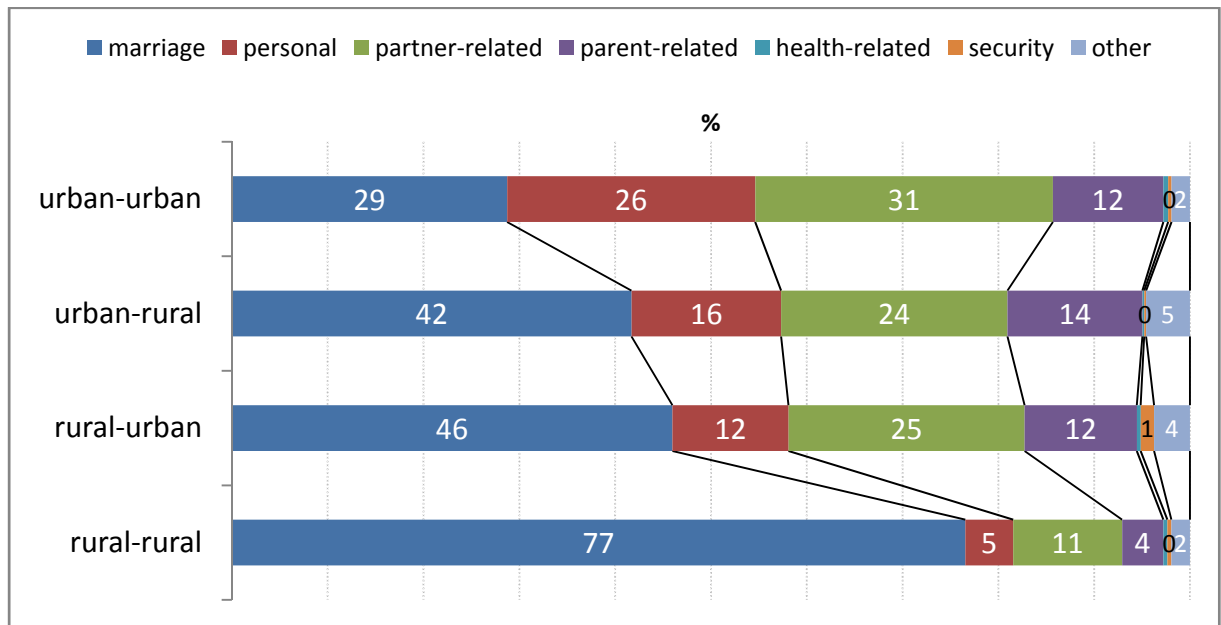**Figure 3. Reasons for migration movements of ever-married women aged 15-49 by types of migration, TDHS-2008**

Legend: marriage · personal · partner-related · parent-related · health-related · security · other

%

Type	marriage	personal	partner-related	parent-related	health/security	other
urban-urban	29	26	31	12	0	2
urban-rural	42	16	24	14	0	5
rural-urban	46	12	25	12	1	4
rural-rural	77	5	11	4	0	2

Figure 4. Reasons for migration ever-married women aged 15-49 by order of migration, TDHS-2008

Legend: marriage · personal · partner-related · parent-related · health-related · security · other

%

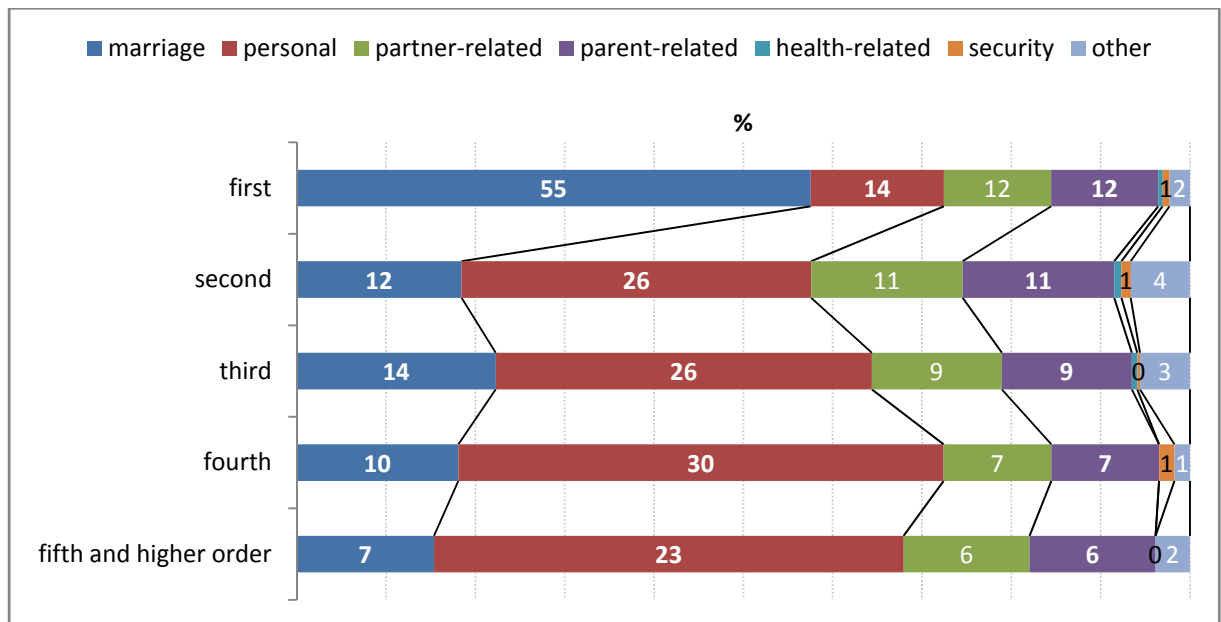| Order	marriage	personal	partner-related	parent-related	health/security	other
first	55	14	12	12	1	2
second	12	26	11	11	1	4
third	14	26	9	9	0	3
fourth	10	30	7	7	1	1
fifth and higher order	7	23	6	6	0	2

Figure 5. Reasons for migration of ever-married women aged 15-49 by region, TDHS-2008
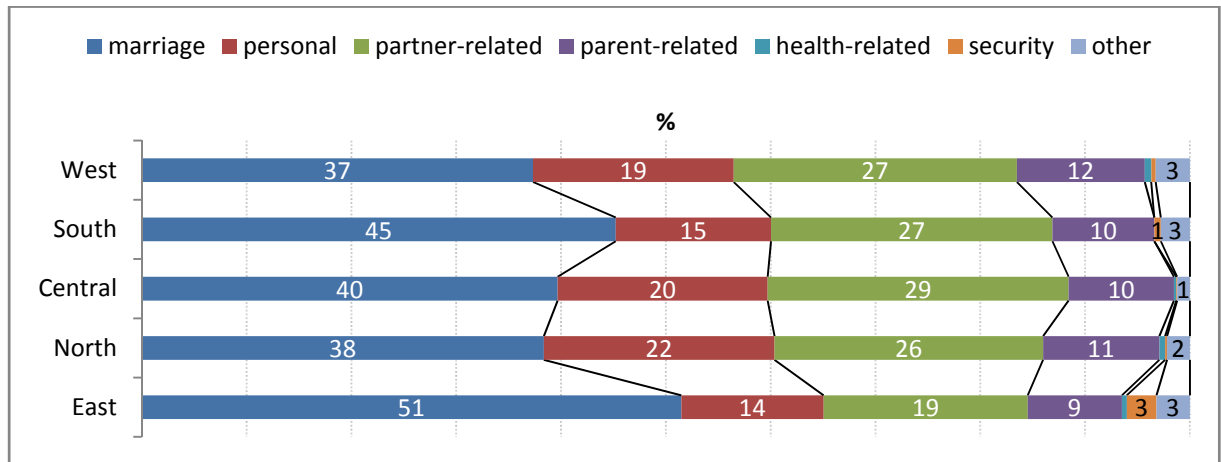

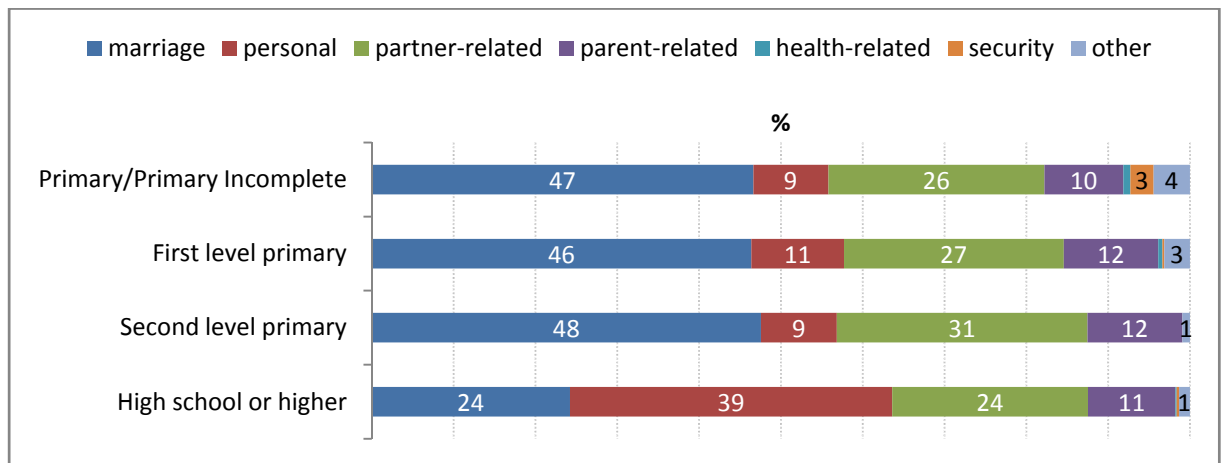**Figure 6. Reasons for migration of ever-married women aged 15-49 by education, TDHS-2008**

Figure 7. Reasons for migration of ever-married women aged 15-49 by household wealth levels, TDHS-2008
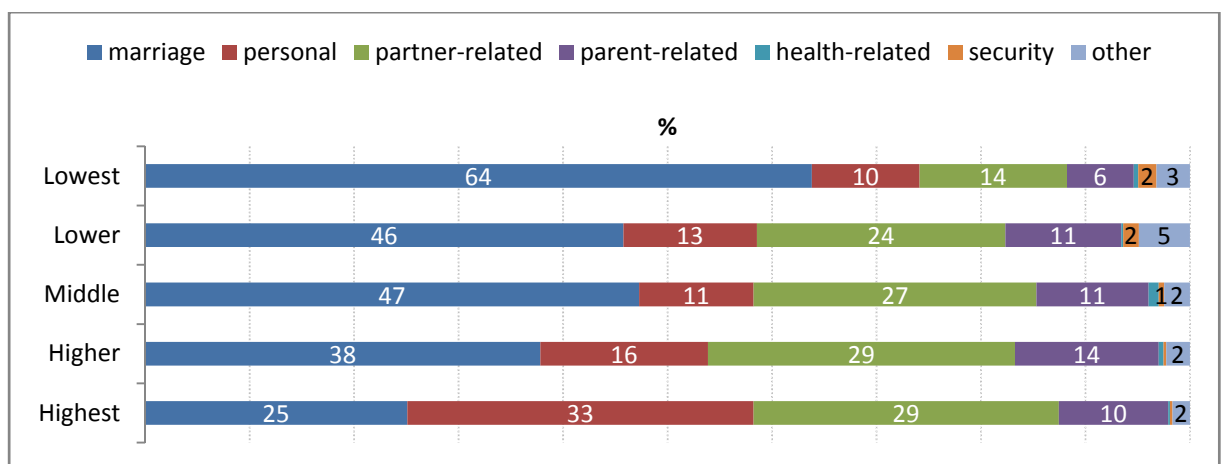
Figure 8. Reasons for migration ever-married women aged 15-49 by employment status, TDHS-2008
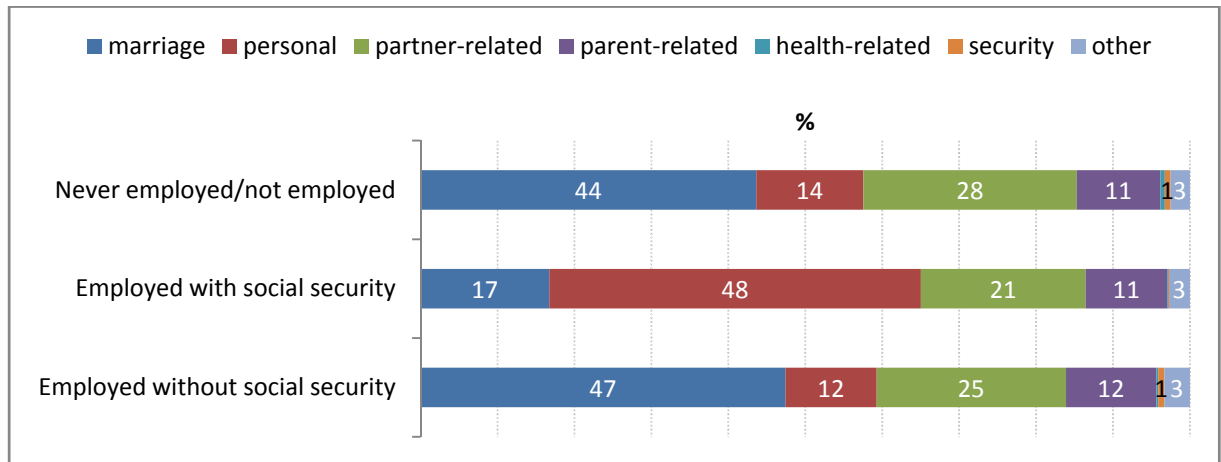

Legend: marriage, personal, partner-related, parent-related, health-related, security, other

	marriage	personal	partner-related	parent-related	health-related	security	other
Never employed/not employed	44	14	28	11		1	3
Employed with social security	17	48	21	11			3
Employed without social security	47	12	25	12		1	3

Figure 9. Reasons for migration of ever-married women aged 15-49 by number of children ever-born, TDHS-2008

Legend: marriage, personal, partner-related, parent-related, health-related, security, other

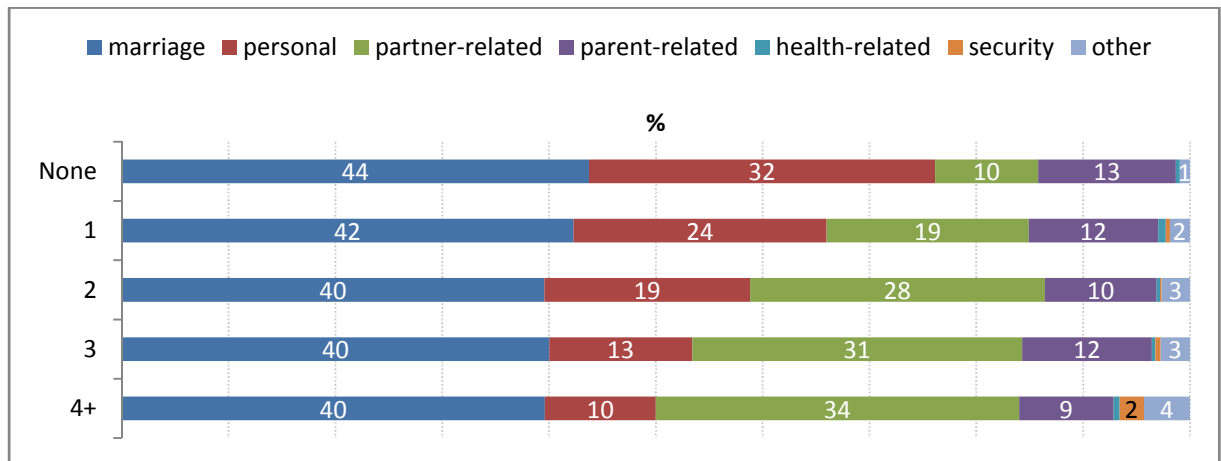|	marriage	personal	partner-related	parent-related	health-related	security	other
None	44	32	10	13			1
1	42	24	19	12			2
2	40	19	28	10			3
3	40	13	31	12			3
4+	40	10	34	9		2	4

Figure 10. Reasons for migration of ever-married women aged 15-49 by ethnicity, TDHS-2008

Legend: marriage, personal, partner-related, parent-related, health-related, security, other

	marriage	personal	partner-related	parent-related	health-related	security	other
Turkish	39	20	27	12			2
Kurdish	50	11	22	8		4	4
Arabic	60	16	22				2
Other	56	15	26				4