



DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

„In search of a different (better?) life”

Mobility Trajectories of Skilled and Unskilled Female Turkish Origin
Returnees from Vienna to Istanbul

Verfasserin

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil.)

Wien, 2012

Studienkennzahl lt.
Studienblatt:

A 307

Studienrichtung lt.
Studienblatt:

Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie

Betreuerin / Betreuer:

Univ-Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çağlar

Acknowledgement

First of all, I wish to thank my supervisor, Univ-Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çağlar, who has supported me during my research and writing process. I also want to thank my family, who enabled me the opportunity to attend university and always encouraged me in my aims.

I am very grateful to my roommates, Katharina, Barbara and Peter, and all my close friends for advising and comforting me during the writing process of this thesis.

I am indebted to my brother Wolfgang, Jelisa Dunbar, Karin Janker and Katharina Wagner, who each read parts of this thesis and provided me with useful comments.

Further, I want to mention my fellow student Lisa Birkner, who always had a sympathetic ear for me when I didn't know how to continue.

Finally, I want to say special thanks to all my interview partners in Austria and Turkey and also to Kanikey Güvenç and her friends, who welcomed me so warmly during my field research in Istanbul.

CONTENT

Register of Illustrations	6
1 INTRODUCTION	7
1.1 Research Context.....	7
1.2 Field Research	12
1.3 Literature Review	13
1.4 Survey.....	16
1.5 Evaluation.....	17
1.6 Reflexive Approach.....	17
1.7 Structure/Composition of Paper	18
2 PART I	19
THEORETICAL PART	19
2.1 Research on Migration – Disciplinary Link to Cultural- and Social Anthropology	19
2.2 Theoretical Basis	20
2.2.1 Motivation for Migration – Point of Departure.....	20
2.2.2 Different Forms of Opportunities – Opportunity Structures	25
2.2.3 Social Mobility	29
2.2.4 Social Networks – Transnational Social Spaces	32
2.3 Research on Migration	34
2.3.1 Review on History of Migration Research in Austria on Turkish Migrants	34
2.3.2 Turkish Women in Migration.....	37
2.3.3 Turkish Women in “Return” Migration	39
2.4 Life Circumstances and Conditions Here and There – Life in Austria and in Turkey	
.....	43
2.4.1 Actual Situation of Turkish (Female) Migrants in Austria	43
2.4.2 Actual Economic (Vocational) Situation in Turkey.....	54
3 PART II	56
EMPIRICAL PART	56
3.1 Research Situation and Interview Analysis.....	57
3.1.1 The Interview Partners	60
3.1.2 Interviews in Austria	60

3.1.3	Interviews in Turkey	61
3.1.4	Expert Interview	64
3.2	How to Analyse	64
3.3	Planning to Go – Comparison of Those Who Want to Migrate	69
3.3.1	Motivation for Migration – Point of Departure	69
3.3.2	The Dream of Drawing	70
3.3.3	The Issue of Being Greeted	74
3.3.4	The Habit of Migration	80
3.3.5	Expectations Made in Austria	84
3.4	Put the Plan into Action – Comparison of Those Who Have Already Emigrated ...	88
3.4.1	Advantage of Social Network and Being in a Bridging Function	88
3.4.2	Prove Being Best – Never Give Up	93
3.4.3	Living an Adventure	100
3.4.4	Escaping the Pressure	104
3.4.5	Realising Expectations in Turkey	107
4	Comparison: What Are the Women Expecting in Istanbul Despite Their Settlement in Vienna – Final Analysis	113
4.1	Comparing the Situations of Skilled and Unskilled Women	113
5	Conclusion	115
6	Interview Glossary	118
7	Bibliography	119
8	Internet sources	125
9	Further Internet sources	125
	Abstract	127
	Zusammenfassung	129
	Curriculum Vitae	131

Register of Illustrations

Figure 1:

Statistik Austria 2011: 47.....p. 48

Figure 2:

Statistik Austria 2011: 51.....p. 49

Figure 3:

Statistik Austria 2011: 51.....p. 49

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Context

Within the different disciplines of social sciences and public media, immigration to Austria is a topic which is dealt with frequently and in a very broad sense. In recent years, surveys of immigration issues have grown in popularity. Despite its long history of immigration, Austria is not acknowledged as an immigration country by politics and in public consciousness (Rassuly-Paleczek 1995: 179). Considering publications and public opinion, emigration from Austria to other countries seems to cause much less interest than immigration to Austria. In my diploma thesis, I want to concentrate on one specific group of emigrants who I believe have been undermined and unvoiced in public space. Therefore, the title of my diploma thesis is called:

“In Terms of a Different (better?) Life: Mobility Trajectories of Skilled and Unskilled Young Female Turkish Origin Returnees from Vienna to Istanbul.”

This diploma thesis explores the emigration plans and its realisation of Turkish women while focusing specifically on the aspect of social mobility. By comparing the dynamics of skilled and unskilled Turkish women, mobility trajectories will be examined.

The expectation of a different or better life can be one factor for mobility which will be examined in this thesis. The spatial movement causes expectations of changing life circumstances and hopes for opportunities. Therefore, I define “better life” as upward social mobility. The different forms of mobility trajectories that emerge for young women of Turkish origin will be examined in relation to the different forms of capital by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1986). Therefore, the question has to be raised, if the forms of capital, influence the decision of moving for the expectation of a better life. Further on, it is necessary thus, to observe whether the different forms of capital have influence on opportunities offered for and used by the women for migration to reach social mobility.

Expectations of a better life can be caused by several reasons and the attempts to fulfil these expectations can also take very different forms. Some of these include change of settlement, moving to another place, and migration to another country. The phenomenon of migration as a strategy to fulfil expectations of a better life is nothing new (Haug 2000). Because of our changing world, alternative migration strategies are being employed, having time and space in mind. In contrast to our former days, multiple reasons now compel different groups of people

from different countries to move and explore the opportunities that different lands offer. Mobility trajectories are influenced by varying factors, which must be discovered in order to understand people's motivation for moving.

Today, one must consider some essential aspects in order to accurately address the topic of migration. This is because migration has to be seen in a broader context today, since the impact of globalisation needs to be considered.

“The changing size, origin, destination and composition of international migration correspond to a broader context of change: that of increasing globalisation in all domains. ... These changes have had far reaching consequences for the mobility of people across borders.”
(Penninx/Spencer/van Hear 2008: 3)

Globalisation and transnationalism are terms which must be defined when talking about migration as these are influencing factors for the decision of migration. As I define “expectations of a better life” as hopes for upward social mobility economic issues and the global market must also be taken into consideration.

Although addressed much later in German speaking regions than in English speaking regions, Social and Cultural Anthropology migration has become an important topic in the last decades (Armbruster 2009: 52). In Germany as well as in Austria, surveys of Turkish migrants have become a broad topic focusing mainly on the so called “guestworkers” and furthermore their descendants.

When looking at literature dealing with migrants of Turkish origin, themes such as integration and belonging are very common. (Rassuly-Paleczek 1995, Strasser 2009)

Although there has been a lot of research conducted in Austria dealing with Turkish migrants and the following generations, surveys of second and third generations¹ tend to focus on aspects of their life in Austria. Most commonly, research is focused on integration problems of these young people and their problems of education within the school system. Research also addresses the topic of unemployment or difficulties when entering the work force (e.g.: Biffl 2004, Boos-Nünning 2006). Unfortunately, there is limited research pertaining to the “returnees” of second and third generations. For that reason I will give an overview of Turkish women in “return” migration in one chapter of this thesis by paying attention to “return” migration in general. It is a necessary excursus in order to understand whether the young women are “return” migrants or emigrants and how they see themselves in terms of their mobility.

¹ Understood here as: second generation – those who were born in Turkey, but grew up in Austria, third generation – those who were born in Austria

The phenomena of more and more young people of Turkish origin leaving Germany after they finished university to go to work “back” in Turkey has only been brought to attention in the last years in Germany (e.g.: Welt.de (1), 8.5.2011). The word back is in quotation marks because these young people grew up in Germany yet choose to move to a country which is familiar to them by stories of their parents. Many Turkish people are familiar with the “home” of their parents because they have relatives there and have also spent holidays there during childhood. The definition problem of “back migration” will be discussed further on in this thesis. However, the relevance of this phenomenon can be seen by several articles published in German newspapers and magazines:

„Man begegnet ihnen überall in Istanbul, den Rückkehrerinnen. ... Und allen ist eines gemein: Die Zeit im Westen gab ihrem Leben eine andere Richtung, gab Kraft und Kompetenz, die Rückkehr in die Türkei nach eigenen Vorstellungen zu gestalten, statt sie zu erdulden.“² (Welt.de (1), 8.5.2011)

Reasons why this is the case are also mentioned:

„Niemand weiß, wieviele Türiinnen aus Deutschland (und anderen europäischen Ländern) zurückgekehrt sind. Es sind viele, und es gibt eine regelrechte Rückkehrerwirtschaft in Istanbul. Deutsche Firmen wie Siemens umwerben Rückkehrer(innen), nicht so sehr wegen der Sprachkenntnisse, sondern wegen der Mentalität – sie denken anders als Türken, die in der Türkei aufgewachsen sind.“³ (Welt.de (1), 8.5.2011)

German research contributions address the pattern of young Turks moving back to Turkey because of better job opportunity (e.g.: Welt.de (2), 8.5.2011). Because this phenomenon has been a reoccurring theme in media, there is evidence that the patterns of these young Turks have made some social impact as well as raising consciousness in our society.

The question which has to be asked is why young people of Turkish origin prefer to live in Turkey after having grown up in Germany (or another European country)? It has to be mentioned, that surveys on Turks in Europe expose varying results of living circumstances for them in different European countries. Although symmetries between the experiences of young Turks, like “socioeconomic disadvantages and the problems associated with growing up in exclusively Turkish neighbourhoods”, are observed in countries like Britain and Germany, the fear of ‘parallel societies’ does not exist in Britain, contrary to Germany. (Austin/Parker 2005: 25)

² “One meets them everywhere in Istanbul, the returnees. ... And all have one in common: The time in the West gave their life another direction, gave power and competence, to create the return to Turkey according to one’s ideas, instead of undergoing them.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

³ “No one knows how many Turks from Germany (and other European countries) returned. They are many, and there is a downright return-economy in Istanbul. German companies like Siemens court returnees, not specially because of their language skills, but because of their mentality – they think different than Turks, who were born in Turkey.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

After finding more and more articles dealing with this topic, I became interested in the Austrian situation and wondered whether this phenomenon of emigration or return migration is also taking place in Austria.

Researches on second and third generations whom plan to move back to Turkey have not yet been conducted. However, scientists in Austria have gathered much research on Turkish origin migrants and their descendants regarding their lifestyles and living circumstances in Austria. Although it is not a completely unrecognised topic in the last few years, Austrian media has yet to publish articles on this topic in the same way German media has. (Wiener Zeitung Online, 14.12.2011).

One could say this is because the situation in Austria is different than in Germany, but after looking at statistics it is clear that emigration from Austria to Turkey is taking place. In Austria, this topic has now become a recent and growing field of interest within the research community (see Statistik Austria).

Questions of why people of Turkish origin decide to migrate to Turkey from Austria have arose because of the many different perspectives offered by recent research. Many descriptions and stories published in the last years are about the living situation for these people within the Austrian society. As a parameter for comparison, German research of this topic should be taken into account and reviewed when considering this topic in Austria (e.g.: Bozkurt 2009).

This topic became of interest to me upon an unexpected conversation with a Turkish man from my hometown. He explained to me the plans of his daughter; to migrate back to Turkey in hopes of a better job and an easier life. Because I found this conversation so interesting, I began my direct approach into this field of research.

I then began to conduct further research on emigration of young people of Turkish origin. Shortly after an encounter with the Turkish man's unskilled daughter, I became curious to compare skilled and unskilled women. My motivation to do so also arose because German media speak mainly about skilled people who emigrate.

Different factors and circumstances compel individuals toward migration and most often it is a decision to improve one owns life-circumstances. As each individual has different priorities and ideals, reasons to migrate vary in different aspects. That is, why I want to answer following question within this research:

“Why do the Turkish origin skilled and unskilled women in Vienna desire to return to Istanbul despite their settlement here?”

By comparing skilled and unskilled Turkish women, the commonalities and differences of their expectations and motivations to emigrate will be explored.

Further, my choice to concentrate on women throughout this research has several reasons. Generally, women have been neglected for a long time within the history of migration studies (Aufhauser 2000: 102). Also, in studies dealing with Turkish migrants in Austria, women have been neglected or only taken into account within the topic of family reunion. Stereotypes of Turkish women within Austrian society reduce them to being housewives and mothers, without acknowledging their struggle for upward social mobility. The aim of this research is to break up these existing stereotypes and present Turkish women through another perspective, so the focus is on the returnee women.

As the research question above shows, my central supposition for doing research on skilled and unskilled young women of Turkish origin is to understand their expectation of a better life by emigration to Turkey.

Two different experiences during my preparation for this research were essential in order to suppose expectations of a better life as the main motivational factor for migration. One had been the personal conversation with the Turkish man whose daughter planned to migrate to Turkey since she hoped for better opportunities and a happier life in Turkey. The other experience had been that I found many articles about Turkish returnees from Germany to Turkey whose arguments had been better opportunities and more chances for their life and career. Therefrom I got interested in the situation in Austria.

My aim is to show the different expectations of a “better life” and to find out what a “better life” means to them. Moreover, how these women put their plans into action is of interest, also the implementation of plans that have worked for those who have already migrated remains a point of interest. The motivation for social mobility is expected to be upward for skilled and unskilled women in terms of “expectation of a better life”. When comparing their plans of emigration and their situation in Austria as well as considering the implementation of their plans to live in Turkey, their expected desire for upward social mobility shall be revealed.

Therefore, the following questions must be considered within this research:

What is the motivating issue for migration?

What are the Turkish women expecting from migration?

If expectation of a “better life” is a reason for migrating, then how do the women define “better life” and what do they mean by that?

How does family and education have an influence on their decision for migration?

Why do the women choose Turkey as their emigration country? Do they see any advantages in comparison to other countries?

In the following chapters I will explain how research was performed in order to discover answers to the above questions.

1.2 Field Research

The research in this diploma thesis was performed in both Vienna and Istanbul. The main research method used for collecting data was interviews. The narrative interviewing approach was chosen because this worked best for gathering information about women's life stories. Like Halbmayer and Salat state in their introduction of qualitative methods in "Sociocultural" Anthropology, the advantages of narrative interviews are as follows (Halbmayer/Salat, 16.12.2011):

„In vertrauter kollegial freundschaftlicher Atmosphäre und mit einem weichen bis neutralen Interviewstil wird versucht, biographische Erzählungen der Befragten anzuregen, wobei der Detaillierungsgrad der Ausführungen vollkommen den interviewten Personen überlassen bleibt.“⁴ (Halbmayer/Salat, 16.12.2011)

After exploring the topic in the beginning, an open formulated entrance question was raised and the interview partners were asked to tell their stories.

As Ellen argues:

“One of the advantages of informal than highly structured interviewing is that further sensitive probing can often produce internal evidence for validation” (Ellen 1980: 235)

As life history can be seen as a “compilation of a text by an informant recording, in his own words or with the help of his own life,” (Ellen 1980: 75) the analysis of biographical life stories is a suitable method for retrieving information about the hopes and expectations of Turkish women - my personal focus within this research.

Six interviews were done in face-to-face conversations. From the beginning of December 2011 to March 2012, the interview partners were met in Vienna. From January 2nd to 9th 2012, field research was done in Istanbul. Four interview partners were met and one expert interview was done at the Oriental-Institute during the sojourn.

⁴ “It is tried in familiar collegial amicable atmosphere and with a soft to neutral still of interview to encourage biographical narratives of the interviewee, whereby level of detail of performance is completely dedicated tot he interviewed person.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

Because I could only spend limited time in Istanbul, and some potential interview partners could not be met personally with during that period, one woman was asked to answer some questions in written form by email. This medium can be seen as another approach of asynchronous partly-structured interview (Halbmayer/Salat, 16.12.2011).

1.3 Literature Review

This thesis's topic of female Turkish origins' expectations of a better life opens a broad field of different approaches which have to be taken into account. Therefore, several literature was reviewed which has to be discussed in advance to describe their relatedness for this thesis and its research.

Main work on migration research was conducted by Six-Hohenbalken and Tošić, who claim anthropology's aim to discover the complexities of migration decisions in "Anthropologie der Migration" (Six-Hohenbalken/ Tošić 2009). In order to reveal these complexities the question of migrants' stories has to be raised for getting access to their decisions for migration.

For this thesis, I then looked for researches on Turkish migrants within Austria, namely Vienna. Ayhan gives a good overview on migration research on Turkish migrants in Europe in "Anthropology of Transnational Space" and defines several stages for Austria too (Ayhan 2002). For the Austrian case Rasuley-Paleczek's work "Turkish Migrants in Austria" (1995) is essential as she reviews the researches on Turkish migrants historically. Further on, focus was directed toward female migrants. In order to gain a broader perspective on this topic and because of richness of material, Turkish migrant literature with case studies from Germany has been taken into account as well. Boos-Nünning describes the contradicting situation of young female Turkish origins, pointing out that they have to face identity crises. These crises are caused by stereotypes of young female Turks as independent victims of patriarch family structures within the majority society which exist next to the expectations of the young women's families (Boos-Nünning/Karakaşoğlu 2006). Within this context the topic of education is crucial in order to understand the women's expectations for their future life and career.

Next to the more general review on migration of female Turkish origins, a literature review on return migration was done. In order to understand whether the young Turkish women see themselves as returnees or not, Gmelch offers an overview in "Return Migration" (1980) by categorising different types of returnees. He mentions objective and subjective criteria which

have to be taken into account for this categorisation. In terms of female Turkish origin returnees, Steinhilber deals with women remigrating from Germany to Turkey (Steinhilber 1994). She also points out the objective and subjective sides of perception when dealing with migration processes of returnees, but states that women of the second generations can not be seen as remigrants, but are emigrants instead. This discussion of definition is very interesting, why Wolbert's research on returnees of female "guestworkers" is also essential (Wolbert 1995). She describes the women's return as a ritual process, which should be considered in this thesis too, even if the women's circumstances have changed today. Therefore literature review was also conducted in terms of life circumstances today in Austria and Turkey, in order to understand the women's decision of migration. Discrimination of women by German society concerning their school education and job career is addressed by Boos-Nünning, who states that contradictory to the existing stereotype, women of Turkish origin are heading for a more modern life being able to combine job and family (Boos-Nünning 2006). For the situation in Austria Herzog-Punzenberger also mentions the topic of school and education. The Austrian school system is highly selective, why especially young people of Turkish origin are disadvantaged which has impact on their occupational career too (Herzog-Punzenberger 2005).

To set these findings in a theoretical framework literature on several concepts were reviewed for this thesis. In order to understand the life situations of the women Bourdieu's concept of the social world is essential. Dealing with the social structures within this social world and the women's positions enables to follow their expectations of a better life. They have to be related to the different forms of available capitals (Bourdieu 1985, 1986, 1989, 2000).

Further on, literature concerning opportunity structures was reviewed. Lin states in "Social Capital" (2001) that choices within social structure are made depending on opportunities and constraints. When dealing with mobility it is of importance to consider opportunity differentials that are given by political, historical and resource variations and their relation to individual experiences of career mobility, as Skvoretz mentions in "The Logic of Opportunity and Mobility" (Skvoretz 1984). These opportunities for movement are opened by occurring events in social life and depend on opportunities of realisation.

Kloosterman and Rath deal with the concept of opportunity structure in terms of immigrant entrepreneurs. Becoming self-employed as immigrant is seen as an option for making a living. This is possible throughout the given opportunity structure in the new place of settlement (Kloosterman/Rath 2003).

These anticipated opportunities can be equated with the hopes for social mobility that arise from people's aspirations for a certain position. Devine states that the opportunities for social mobility are broadened or narrowed by the extent of availability of the different forms of capital (Devine 2004). The influence of the different forms of capital on people's position within society and social space is also addressed by Bourdieu, who relates them to the opportunities opened for people's life expectations (Bourdieu 1986).

Individuals decision for migration also have to be regarded from a broader perspective by considering their social networks they are positioned in and their transnational actions caused throughout migration. Pries argues that transnational communities are built within social fields that go beyond national borders and new pluri-local social spaces emerge by transmigration having influence on social practices, symbolic systems and material culture (Pries 2001). Throughout a global perspective the connection of individuals, networks and institutions which exceed national borders can be understood, as Faist states (Faist 2000).

All of these theoretical approaches are connected in terms of this thesis' topic and function as a framework in order to research the female Turkish origins expectations of a better life by migration.

For the qualitative analysis of this thesis strategies by Wolbert and Bude for qualitative interview analysis were considered. Wolbert's approach of text interpretation as used in her own studies "Migrationsbewältigung" (1984) and Bude's concept of life construction that he uses in "Deutsche Karrieren" (1987) are discussed in the empirical part and used as indication for this thesis' analysis.

In terms of migration research the outlined theoretical approaches and concepts are of main importance for this thesis and the analysis of the empiric data. Contrary, literature on female Turkish migration in Austria is limited and concentrates mainly on disadvantages in education and work when regarding their actual life situation. This thesis is an addition to migration research in Austria in terms of successful female Turkish emigrants therefore.

1.4 Survey

In order to find women who were willing to be interviewed for my diploma thesis, I attempted to get into contact through different ways. First I started to contact Turkish associations in Vienna and also Turkish institutions via email. I also asked personal friends and acquaintances if they knew women of Turkish origin who plan to migrate to Turkey.

Another way was to contact student groups on different online social networks, especially groups funded by the Oriental-Institute and Turcology of the University of Vienna.

Between personal friends, acquaintances, and online social networks, there was quite a lot response compared to contacted associations dealing with migrants of Turkish origin although they could give me further contacts for possible counterparts. All in all, I found three women in Vienna who were willing to be interviewed by me.

I contacted Austrian associations and institutes prior to my journey to Istanbul. The contact with the Austrian Consulate in Istanbul was very helpful as they sent an official letter to all Austrians registered living in Istanbul after my request for information and I received many responses entailing the permission to interview. Four of these people could be met in Istanbul then.

The survey was conducted with a qualitative approach where narrative interviews were performed.

All face-to-face interviews were done in public spaces, such as coffee shops and restaurants. The interviewees were asked to choose places where they wanted to meet for the sake of their own comfort. I started the interview by introducing myself and thanking the women for their time and willingness to provide me with an interview. Then, I gave them a brief overview of the topic of my thesis as all of them had already known the topic through the announcements and inquiries they had responded to.

I asked the women to tell me about their life in Austria and about their emigration plans. In Istanbul I also asked the women to tell me what they think of their decision to migrate to Turkey and how they feel about their current life there.

The form of narrative interviews resulted in very desultory conversations why the interview situations had been very comfortable. By having some entry questions prepared alongside some notes to guide my questions during the interview process, the women were free to speak of their self-contained life stories.

For the woman who could not be met personally I selected questions from previous face-to-face interviews that were suitable to be answered freely. I told her to feel free to answer questions in any length and order that she desired.

1.5 Evaluation

All interviews were recorded during the interview process upon the women's consent. Afterwards, I transcribed the recordings into written format. In combination with the notes taken throughout the interview process, the qualitative material was evaluated by text interpretation as used by Wolbert. Furthermore, the concept of life construction employed by Bude was used for analysing the interviews. A detailed description of both techniques of analysis is given in the empiric part preliminary to the analysis itself.

1.6 Reflexive Approach

My personal approach for the topic came out from my general interest in people of Turkish origin living in Austria, as I felt having little knowledge about one of Austrians biggest migration groups. Motivated of conceiving my own opinion I started of thinking of an appropriate topic for my diploma thesis. At that time I got more aware of the general issue, reading more newspaper articles concerning Turkish people in Austria and having conversations with several people on this topic. I realised a focus on emigration of skilled Turkish origins from Germany to Turkey during online research thus. Thinking back on a personal conversation with a man telling me that his daughter wants to go to Turkey inspired me to do more research on this topic. As this young woman was unskilled and my researches were dominated by stories on skilled emigrants, my supervisor encouraged me to compare skilled and unskilled young women after I had told her my research idea.

During this thesis' survey I tried to be open and flexible, and tried to discern the impressions of the journey to take them into account for this thesis in a reflexive way. The journey to Turkey was a great experience and I tried to have a reflexive approach including my own feelings and thoughts during the research period by writing diary during that time.

1.7 Structure/Composition of Paper

The first part of this thesis is theoretical, structured into two parts. Firstly, I conduct a theoretical framework in that part to explore the appropriate treatment of the empirical material and the following discussion and analysis. I start with Bourdieu's concept of the forms of capital to realise in which social position the women are and what kind of capitals they are available of in terms of their migration decisions and their expectations they have because of these decisions. In the following chapter I focus on the concept of opportunity structures in terms of migration. This is necessary in order to understand what kind of opportunities the women see for themselves in Austria. It has to be asked if there are opportunity structures they would like to access, but don't feel able to access because of their position in Austria, why they hope for them by migrating to Turkey. Social mobility which is related to these opportunity structures is explored then. Since this thesis deals with the expectations of "better life" in terms of upward social mobility it has to be described in detail to understand the women's different appreciations of social mobility. They can be defined in differing ways dependent on what one is expecting in his or her life. Finally, approaches on social networks and transnational social spaces are revealed. They are essential for this thesis as expectations are not only made by individuals, but mostly influenced by social networks they are positioned in. Social networks acting within transnational social spaces has major impact on opportunities opened for migrating people and also on their available capitals. In this thesis it is crucial to understand how the women are influenced by their social networks and in what kind of way they see themselves as transnational actors.

The second part deals with the aspect of research on migration, revealing a review on the history of migration research in Austria with focus on Turkish migrants. This is necessary in so far as to get an overview of researches done by now concerning Turkish migrants in Austria and to provide a background for this thesis' topic. Therefore the following chapter deals with migration researches on Turkish women to see which aspects on this topic have been addressed so far. Further on, an explanation of "return migration" is given in order to understand whether the young women are "return" migrants or emigrants and how they see themselves or in what way their mobility can be seen. One chapter deals with the actual life circumstances for Turkish women in Austria and in Turkey. An idea of the actual circumstances the interviewees are living in is given and opportunities and constraints or advantages and disadvantages in each country can be imagined for them. The empirical part of this thesis contains the presentation of the empirical data that had been selected during the

research. Based on the theoretical foundation exposed in the first part of this thesis the main content of this part are analysis and evaluation of this empirical material.

2 PART I

THEORETICAL PART

2.1 Research on Migration – Disciplinary Link to Cultural- and Social Anthropology

Within Cultural- and Social Anthropology research on migration is a main topic since several decades. Different approaches have been developed which various concentrate on specific aspects of migration.

Generally the research on migration within Cultural- and Social Anthropology deals with surveys of societal handling with “the foreign” and social and cultural ways of contact of immigrated and not-migrated habitants (Six-Hohenbalken/Tošić 2009: 16). Other topics which are also included are analyses of politics of integration and different measures on that. Transnational relationships, global processes and their local impacts, as well as identity and ethnicity are of importance too.

„Questions in the anthropological study of migration are framed by the assumption that outcomes for people who move are shaped by their social, cultural, and gendered locations and that migrants themselves are agents in their behavior, interpreting and constructing within the constraints of structure.” (Brettel/Hollifield 2000: 4)

It is important to take into account that social relations, networks and also family has impact on the decision and processes of migration for each individual person, who decides to migrate (Six-Hohenbalken/Tošić 2009: 20).

It is important to understand the people’s reasons for choosing migration as well as considering aspects of space and time. It is anthropology’s aim to discover complexities behind the decision for migration, therefore different drafts of migration and processes are developed in order to make these complexities visible (Six-Hohenbalken/Tošić 2009: 18).

Migrants therefore have to be seen as “a figure of someone who has made a huge transition in life” and naturally the question of their stories arises when considering migration (Lentin in de Tona 2006: 4).

„Die MigrantInnen wandern in neue soziale und kulturelle Landschaften. ...Indem kulturelle Selbstverständlichkeiten und kollektive Sicherheit verlassen werden, eröffnen sich aber auch Wege der Subjektwerdung. Normative Handlungsmuster werden in Frage gestellt und neue Lebensformen kennengelernt. Aus dieser Perspektive läßt sich die Migration verstehen als Herausforderung und Chance zur persönlichen Entwicklung und innovativen Gestaltung von Lebenswelten.“ (Steinhilber 1994: 14)⁵

In that way, migration has to be seen as a part of life story where people undergo multiple changes and transitions. Even if these transitions make life stories recursive and non-linear they offer a bright perspective on the complexity of life (Lentin in de Tona 2006: 4).

Lentin goes further in saying:

“If you listen well to a life story, to how people narrate, you actually learn a lot about transition, about change, about social reproduction, about political structure, about the relation between the state and the individual, the relation between the genders, social classes and between races or ethnic groups.” (Lentin in de Tona 2006: 4)

The interesting thing lies within exploring what people choose to tell and especially for migration studies in what they tell about their trajectories (Lentin in de Tona 2006: 5).

From the range of different approaches on migration studies and theoretical concepts, those relevant for exploring and researching the topic of this diploma thesis are outlined to understand the theoretical framework for the further survey.

As this thesis is operating with the topic of migration from Austria to Turkey a special focus is given on research to migration, its history and its actual situation in Austria focussing on female migrants of Turkish origin.

2.2 *Theoretical Basis*

2.2.1 Motivation for Migration – Point of Departure

Dealing with the topic of migration raises many questions. Some of the central questions which have to be asked are why people decide to migrate, what enables them to migrate and what they are hoping for through migration. Therefore one has to look at the current situation the people are living in. Their life circumstances need to be observed in order to understand

⁵ “The migrants wander in new social and cultural scapes. ...By leaving cultural obviousness and collective safeness, also open ways of subjectification. Normative action patterns are questioned and new forms of life get to be known. From that perspective migration can be understood as challenge and chance for personal development and innovative creation of lived-in world.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

their position they are occupying within the social field or space they are currently living in, but planning to leave.

Bourdieu's concept of social space and social structure is useful for this thesis to understand the women's positions before they migrate and to observe the interviews of those who have already migrated in terms of their process of "reintegration." His concept of the different forms of capital is essential for this research as the women's expectations can be structured and categorised throughout their varying available capital. By exposing the women's available and desired capital their decisions and expectations of migration become comprehensible.

For researching the social space of people, which is seen as a highly structured reality, different aspects have to be taken into account (Bourdieu 1989: 19).

The social world exists of objective structures, which are independent to an agent's consciousness or will and are described as structuralism (Bourdieu 1989: 14). By these objective structures practices and their representations are guided. The other part of the social world is constructivism, which can be seen as a twofold social genesis. Therein one part is habitus, summed up in short as schemes of perception, thought and action. The other part consists of fields being understood as social structures and groups, called normally social classes. The space of positions of power is called field of power by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1989: 16).

Social structure can be described as a set consisting of social units, also called positions, possessing differential amounts of one or more types of valued resources (Lin 2001: 33). These structures are related to authority in a hierarchical way by influencing the control of different resources and the access to them. Additionally, the structures share certain rules and procedures in the use of resources and are entrusted to occupants or agents, who act on these rules and procedures (Lin 2001: 33). As long as the positions with their embedded resources persist, a specific structure remains (Lin 2001: 33).

The social world has to be seen as a symbolic system too which functions of a symbolic space of lifestyles or status groups can be characterized by different lifestyles.

"Owing the fact that symbolic capital is nothing other than economic or cultural capital when it is known and recognized, when it is known through the categories of perception that it imposes, symbolic relations of power tend to reproduce and to reinforce the power relations that constitute the structure of social space." (Bourdieu 1989: 21)

Consequently, the power relations are also presented in people's minds, namely as categories of perception of these relations (Bourdieu 1985: 729). These categories or distinctions can be seen as symbolic capital thus. It expresses itself in the apprehension of the everyday world as

self-evident that “results from the quasi-perfect coincidence of objective structures and embodied structures.” (Bourdieu 1985: 731)

It has to be considered that resources available are attached to the special positions, but it is the occupant’s position that can change within (Lin 2001: 33). Therefore gaining symbolic capital is probably the most difficult one among all forms of capital, but also, if possessed, the most valuable:

“Once one realized that symbolic capital is always credit, in the widest sense of the word, i.e. a sort of advance which the group alone can grant those who give it the best material and symbolic guarantees, it can be seen that the exhibition of symbolic capital (which is always very expensive in economic terms) is one of the mechanisms which (no doubt universally) make capital go to capital.” (Bourdieu 2000: 181)

Specific effects are caused by economic and symbolic capital accumulated by a group which are always associated with possession of other kinds of capital. Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as capital which is “a transformed and thereby disguised form of physical ‘economic’ capital, produces its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, also it conceals the fact that it originates in ‘material’ forms of capital which are also, in the last analysis, the source of its effects.” (Bourdieu 2000: 183)

Two sides of the social world have to be regarded in order to understand its structure, the objective and the subjective side. The objective side “is socially structured because the properties attributed to agents or institutions present themselves in combinations that have very unequal probabilities” (Bourdieu: 1989: 20)

The structure of the subjective side is given by schemas of perception and appreciation, which express the state of relations of power relations (Bourdieu 1989: 20). Authority is one form of power, it is the control over access to the valued resources and it identifies the relative ranking between any pair of positions (Lin 2001: 33). The hierarchy of structure is dependent on the authority and the differing position the structure entails through that authority (Lin 2001: 33). Space has to be seen as the system of relations and exists of positions of power which construct the field of power (Bourdieu 1989: 16). “These objective relations are the relations between positions occupied within the distributions of the resources which are or may become active, effective,..., in the competition for the appropriation of scarce goods of which this social universe is the site” (Bourdieu 1989: 17)

The complexity of the forms of perception or of construction of social reality emerges throughout the fact that they don’t happen within a social vacuum. They are subjected to structural constraints and cognitive structures are because of their social genesis socially structured themselves. Additionally, the construction of social reality has to be seen in a

broader sense than within an individual enterprise, which could become a collective one too (Bourdieu 1989: 18).

The social space a person is living in underlies a specific structure or hierarchy which is defined by capitals to which a person has access to or can gain access to as Bourdieu describes it:

“The active properties that are selected as principles of construction of the social space are the different kinds of power or capital that are current in the different fields” (Bourdieu 1985: 724)

The range of access of a person to capital represents a power over the field and defines the chances of profit in a given field. Depending in which field a person is operating she or he is using appropriate capital in order to determine their position in social space.

“The agents are distributed in the overall social space, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of capital they possess, and, in the second dimension, according to the structure of their capital, that is the relative weight of the different species of capital, economic and cultural, in the total volume of their assets.” (Bourdieu 1989: 17)

Human capital, which can be summed up in the three components of early ability, qualifications and knowledge acquired through education and skills acquired through training on the job, is invested by an individual like other types of capital too (Blundell et. al: 1999: 2). Because the investments involve an initial cost, the individual hopes to gain return in the future.

Bourdieu called the three types of capital economic, cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1986: 47). Each of these forms used by the agents – as far as they have access to or gain for access – defines the state of power relations they are in and consequently their position within these relations (Bourdieu 1985: 725).

The accumulation of capital, as well in objective form as in internalised form, needs time and effort (Bourdieu 1985; Lin 2001: 3) Capital can cause profits, reproduce itself or even grow and it is a power within objectives which causes inequality of opportunities. The structure of capitals at a certain time equals the structure of social space in a society.

Cultural capital in incorporated form, called “cultivation”, needs time, which has to be invested by the agent himself and cannot be overtaken by someone else. Within that the upbringing of the family has an important aspect and influence. Further, one very important aspect of domestic transmission of cultural capital is seen in educational investment – considering the contribution the educational system makes to the reproduction of the social structure (Bourdieu 1986: 48). Appropriation of cultural capital is primarily dependent from the embodied cultural capital of the whole family that is converted into habitus and cannot be transmitted instantaneously. Habitus implies a “sense of one’s place” and also sense of the place of others, since it produces practices and representations that enable classification.

These practices and representations are perceived as such only by agents who possess the classificatory schemas that are necessary to understand their social meaning. This meaning has to be seen as the inscribed code (Bourdieu 1985: 19).

The time needed to accumulate capital is the most important link between economic and cultural capital. Depending on the different forms of cultural capital within families the time of accumulation process and therefore appropriation is varying. This takes time, as said before. Accumulation of cultural capital can only be a process lasting as much time as the family provides her or him with the free time from economic necessity (Bourdieu 1986: 50).

Cultural capital is transmissible in materiality in an objectified state, which presupposes economic capital. But cultural capital is necessary to appropriate cultural goods symbolically. Cultural capital also exists in institutionalised form, as objectification of cultural capital in form of academic qualifications that are again dependent on the initial economic capital.

Social capital is described as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of mostly institutionalized relationships...or to membership in a group...” (Bourdieu 1986: 51)

As all forms of capital are linked to each other in different ways, depending on the appropriate situation, social capital is also never completely independent of economic and cultural capital, although it is relatively irreducible. The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of network of connections that are able to be mobilized and also on the volume of capital, in each form, possessed in its own right. An unceasing effort of sociability is expected for being able to reproduce social capital in continuing series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed (Bourdieu 1986: 52). Again, economic capital is needed in an indirect form, as time and energy have to be spent, for gaining and keeping social capital. An important addition to social capital was made by Borjas, termed “ethnic capital”, which sees a matter in the ethnic environment people are raised in addition to their parental inputs (d’Addio 2007: 18).

Economic capital, indicated in the above outline, is at the root of all the other types of capital, but the transformed forms of economic capital can never be fully reduced to itself, because the transformation into other forms of capital is necessary to establish their forms of power.

This means that the convertibility of the different types of capital is “the basis of strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital (and its position occupied in social space) by means of the conversions least costly in terms of conversion work and of the losses inherent in the conversion itself (in a given state of the social power relations).” (Bourdieu 1986: 54)

For reproducing capital intergenerational transfer is of intense importance, since parents provide their children with different forms of capital, by financing their education, transmitting wealth and also social resources, like values and beliefs (d'Addio 2007: 15).

Cultural capital can be transmitted across generations, but varying over its components. It can be easily transmitted in its objectified status, but there is no real influence on what the younger individuals learn.

The symbolic structure of social space is also of importance, since symbolic and individual struggles of everyday life as well as collective struggles of political life underlie a specific logic in itself. Every society therefore has to deal with symbolic struggles, like conflicts between symbolic powers, to legitimate divisions, which have to be seen as a power of "world-making" (Bourdieu 1989: 22).

By gathering information about the social space the agents are living in and their capital available within that, we are able to generate a more accurate perspective of the lives they are living. Most likely, if not forced to refuge by external circumstances, migration by one's own choice should be researched in terms of their capitals. On the one hand there is capital available to enable migration, on the other hand there is lack of capital, which is likely desirable to obtain through the migration process.

2.2.2 Different Forms of Opportunities – Opportunity Structures

The specific position a person occupies within social structure, underlying certain rules and procedures give opportunities acted out according to an agent's own interpretation (Lin 2001: 34).

Within social structure an agent is given the chance for different choices:

"Choices are made within such opportunities and constraints, and choices interacting with structural opportunities and constraints can also alter or create structural opportunities and constraints." (Lin 2001: xi)

Lin also states that the choices an individual undertakes are influencing the outcomes of their opportunities. Since equality of opportunity does not imply equality of outcomes but the potential that all have the same outcomes is expected.

In terms of this thesis' topic it is essential to observe the relationship between opportunity and mobility. Opportunity differentials are given by variations of political, historical and resource variations. They have to be observed in relation to an individual's experience of career mobility (Skvoretz 1984: 72). The importance of the concept of opportunity for movement is

logical as “the events which occur in social life depend on the possibilities or opportunities for their realization”. (Skvoretz 1984: 72) All three types of opportunity differentials, positional, historical and resource play a role in determining the opportunity for “(upward) movement an individual faces through his/her career.” (Skvoretz 1984: 81). Therefore, being aware of the opportunities for movement provided by the system an individual is positioned in or moving to is necessary. Concerning vocational issues the opportunity for a better job is dependent on how individuals’ personal resources “‘translate’ into entry and optimal status levels.” (Skorvetz 1984: 77) Also, the mobility process is “driven” by the dissent of these resources and the current status. (ibid.)

However, as stated in the very beginning, migration itself is seen as an opportunity and opportunity structures are influenced by migration, therefore economic and social interactions are not entirely dependent on individual resources. Damelang exposes migration as a societal resource which can lead to the positive processes of economic growth and social openness. This generally means the improvement of opportunity structures (Damelang 2011: 55). High cultural diversity emerging throughout migration offers labour market possibilities of easier access to general information and the opportunity to overcome social barriers and economic growth. The culturally diverse skills set of immigrants compliment by performing different tasks, but also offering different skills to the same task, since different cultural backgrounds are causing various approaches and ideas (Damelang 2011: 55).

Next to these individual forms of opportunity structures the institutional forms offered in societies people are living in, also have to be considered when dealing with migration.

Kloosterman and Rath show this very comprehensible for immigrant entrepreneurs. They deal with immigrants of less developed economies and explore how “they articulate their sets of resources and limitations with the local opportunity structures for businesses in advanced economies.” (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: xvii)

Multinationals tend to specifically target highly skilled immigrants from developed economies who constitute a considerable part of the international migration flows. Unskilled people who mostly migrate from less developed economies thus, face quite different opportunity structures than highly skilled when they start their own business (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: xvii).

Theoretical tools which emerged as crucial for the interpretation and explanation of immigrant entrepreneurs are social capital and class or ethnic resources (ibid.: xviii). Immigrants who were seen as workers for a long time and were depicted as suppliers of cheap low-skilled labours stepped out of this role by becoming self-employed. Throughout that

opportunities like creating their own job and circumvent some barriers they faced during their own job search opened for them (Ibid.: 1). For immigrants from less developed economies Kloosterman and Rath list following aspects they face at the job market:

- Lack or be felt to lack educational qualifications
 - No sufficient access to relevant social networks for transmitting information on vacancies
 - Local employers may simply discriminate against them
- (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: 2)

Different forms of social capital are contributed by immigrant entrepreneurs as they are able to construct bridges to other networks that go beyond their inner circle and are enabled throughout their contact with suppliers and costumers. Therefrom their chances for upward mobility get increased (Ibid.: 2). Operating in a virtual socio-economic space, specific opportunities occur for smaller businesses why it is necessary to take these opportunity structures into account when dealing with the national trend in immigrant entrepreneurship “in order to put the actors in proper perspective”. (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: 5)

Waldinger argues that propensity toward entrepreneurship is required to do well in business. Still, these propensities are of no use for a specific group if there does not exist the niche for small businesses or “if ownership opportunities are hotly contested by natives.” (Waldinger 1989: 50) He states that opportunity structure arguments emphasize the following:

- opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurs are patterned and are mainly found in industries where entry is easy but the risks of failure are severe
 - the potential for immigrant business development is greatest when there are vacant business places to which immigrants can succeed
- (Waldinger 1989: 50)

Kloosterman and Rath’s concept of mixed embeddedness is of main importance thus, as they go beyond the actor’s social embeddedness by taking into account the wider societal context in which immigrant entrepreneurs are starting their business. Therein they put more emphasis on opportunity structures again in Esping-Andersen’s sense of use (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: 8 also see Esping-Andersen 1990, 1998). Esping-Andersen shows how different national institutional frameworks help to create divergent post-industrial employment trajectories and therefore also different opportunity structures for entrepreneurs. “Background institutions” like types of low-value added manufacturing that “have a strong inclination to be in close proximity to large consumer markets” determine the shape of opportunity structure for small businesses. (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: 9) Accessibility for immigrant entrepreneurs and occurrence of openings for small businesses may be regulated thus by formal and informal institutions.

Kloosterman and Rath explain their concept of mixed-embeddedness as follows:

“The mixed-embeddedness approach is intended to take into account the characteristics of the supply of immigrant entrepreneurs, the shape of the opportunity structure, and the institutions mediating between aspiring entrepreneurs and concrete openings to start a business in order to analyse immigrant entrepreneurship in different national contexts.” (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: 9)

Esping-Andersen classifies Austria as among those nations of “corporatist” welfare states where “preservation of status differentials” was predominant and rights attached to class and status (Esping-Andersen 1990: 168). That’s why Haberfellner describes the Austrian system of self-employment as “characterized by restricted access, pushing immigrants into an outsider role”. (Haberfellner 2003: 224) In Austria self-employment seems to be a favourable alternative for immigrants compared to the disadvantages they have to face on the labour market. “The obstructive regulatory framework together with their unfavourable resources concentrate immigrants in disadvantages economic sectors with low entry-barriers but little prospects for a prosperous future.” (Haberfellner 2003: 226)

Kloosterman and Rath argue that the rate of replacement in vacancy chain businesses, which is related to general upward social mobility reasons national differences in the opportunity structure. Further on, opportunity structures are influenced by the institutional framework which regulates the access of immigrants to self-employment in some sectors or also in a wider range of activities (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: 11). They also address Austria’s situation when saying:

“In Austria and Germany, aspiring immigrant entrepreneurs run into difficulties because the corporatist rules and regulations explicitly limit access to self-employment for non-EU immigrants.” (Ibid.: 11)

Nonetheless, immigrants are pushed toward self-employment when the countries of settlement do not recognise their educational qualifications or when their upward mobility on the regular labour-market is blocked because of discrimination (Kloosterman/Rath 2003: 12).

In general this means, that the immigrant population in a country, regarding skills and education, depends on the size of opportunity structure (Ibid.: 13). Therefore the concept of opportunity structure is not only useful for the research of immigrant entrepreneurship, but also for this research in order to understand the opportunity structures accessible in Austria for the women and those hoped for in Turkey.

This research will outline various empirical parts of opportunity structures, such as societal, vocational, familial or individual, that have to be considered in varying ways. Aspects of opportunity structures effect the expectations of opportunities of individuals who have chosen to migrate to other countries. These expectations are also influenced by opportunity structures in one’s country of origin, why they have to be taken into account in this research.

2.2.3 Social Mobility

Social mobility is necessary in order to understand positions people occupy in social space and can be defined in general as follows:

“Social mobility is the movement of individuals, families and groups from one social position to another. The theory of social mobility attempts to explain the frequency of these movements, and the ways people became distributed into various social positions (social selection).“ (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 8.9.2011)

As Bertaux and Thompson put it in “Pathways to social class” social mobility can be researched in terms of people who choose to migrate in search of a better life or to escape of economic trap (Bertaux/Thompson 2009: 1). Each person’s initial situation must be regarded separately to research social mobility and the desires individuals expect to be fulfilled through migration.

Individual’s mobility trajectories therefore have to be observed when dealing with social mobility why mobility strategies play a major role.

Different mobility strategies can be employed to define social mobility where the different kinds of resources are necessary and used in varying forms. Economic resources, which are associated with different classes, shape mobility strategies by forming specific goals and aspirations. Individuals, independent of social class, want to avoid downward mobility, but if opportunities for upward mobility are available these goals and aspirations are wished to be achieved (Devine 2004: 8).

Mobility strategies are most influenced by economic resources which are exclusive goods because they are not owned by others and can be transmitted from one generation to another, in comparison to social and cultural resources (Devine 2004: 5). Next to the importance of economic resources, the importance of education is also mentioned when talking about upward social mobility. For example Fiona Divine says that riskier economic and political climate causes “meritocratic competition for educational credentials to secure entry into high-level jobs.” (Devine 2004: 11) This insecure climate also causes anxiety of downward social mobility for people and families who have access to fewer resources. Still this anxiety cannot be seen as a private problem:

“They are public issues that raise difficult questions about public policy – as to what governments can and cannot do – to create open and meritocratic societies. ... This is why the study of social mobility is so significant.” (Devine 2004: 11)

The available resources have major impact on people’s mobility strategies why it is necessary to question how the different forms of capital influence the decision of moving for the

expectation of a better life. To understand these decisions for mobility a person's social position has to be regarded.

Devine refers to Goldthorpe when saying that "continuities in relative rates of mobility should be understood with reference to the desirability, advantages and barriers associated with different class positions. The relative desirability of different class positions refers to people's preferences and aspirations for certain position." (Devine 2004: 5 see also Goldthorpe)

These positions are formed by availability of economic, cultural and social resources which broaden the opportunities of social mobility while lack of resources narrows opportunities.

Goldthorpe has done essential work regarding social mobility and argues that the relative desirability of different class positions refers to people's preferences and aspirations for certain positions in society. Again, the different forms of resources available play an important role and he differentiates economic resources, cultural resources and social resources (Devine 2004: 5).

Also Bourdieu's concept of the different forms of capital is crucial in terms of people's positions within society and opportunities for life expectations opened by these positions. He distinguishes between economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital that are important to explain people's position in the social space (Bourdieu 1986: 47). In order to reach social mobility the different forms of capital have influence on the opportunities offered for and used by people for migration though. The extent of social mobility depends on the perspective it is viewed from.

In a given society the extent to which individual's social status changes can be researched in terms of life-course (intra-generational) or across generations (intergenerational) (d'Addio 2007: 12). In sociological studies intergenerational mobility is researched across class and occupations, where as economists focus on income or earnings mobility.

Described above, the capital available for agents within social space can be transferred in specific ways, depending on the respective context, in specific ways. The context can be shaped by relations between households, communities and also by the state or the market, which influences the transfers that flow from one institution to another (d'Addio 2007: 13).

Cultural capital, which refers to the forms of knowledge, skills and education, gives individuals a higher status when achieving such aspects. It also causes high expectations, which can be motivation for upward social mobility or at least desire for it (d'Addio 2007: 11).

Economic growth has an impact on intergenerational mobility because productivity growth is a fundamental factor that drives wages and living standards. On average, children tend to be

better off over time than their parents because of the improvements in overall productivity in terms of economic growth. Not only education and economic resources are transmitted across generations, but also values and beliefs, which have an impact on family and work outcomes of children after they grew up.

In order to understand intergenerational mobility, the resources that matter most in shaping an individual's chances for better life and the transmitting channels have to be identified. The size of the transmitted resources, the implications of the transmissions on the individual's life and the society at large have to be considered too. (d'Addio 2007: 14).

Desires of upward social mobility through migration shall be researched within this thesis, why another important aspect regarding social mobility is its link to spatial mobility. Mike Savage argues that there is a link between geographical mobility and social mobility in that terms as those who are best able to move geographically are also most likely to achieve intra-generational social mobility within the course of their working life (Savage 1988: 554).

This assumption requires that different patterns of social mobility must be found in different areas. Although this statement seems to be plausible as geographical mobility for vocational career and therefore probably upward social mobility is a rather common phenomenon in times of globalisation, it should not be generalised. Considering these aspects particularly long distance migration has hardly been noted until now (Savage 1998: 555).

Further Savage argues in his study that social mobility of women is not satisfying (Savage 1988: 554). Silvia Pedraza also deals with the topic of women and migration and the social following consequences. She argues for a development of gendered understanding of "causes, processes and consequences of migration" (Pedraza 1991: 304). One needs to pay attention to the the relationship between women's social position and migration in order to understand the women's lives and to get to know the situation of women as immigrants (Predraza 1991: 304). According to the different variables, as gender, race and social class, and the division of intergenerational and intra-generational social mobility, different strategies of social mobility can be observed. An individual's position within social space has to be seen as the starting point of mobility and the efforts of upward social mobility and the strategies used for it can only be understood by exploring what upward mobility means for each individual in its specific situation.

2.2.4 Social Networks – Transnational Social Spaces

In terms of this thesis's topic social networks and transnational social spaces are essential approaches to understand the lives of the Turkish women and their decision of migration.

Social space is a complex phenomenon and individual's positions within it are dependent on social structures existing in this space. Available opportunities to positions within social space have to be regarded in terms of transnational social spaces, when dealing with international migration, especially when thinking of the globalised world we are living in today. International labour migration caused increasing "intensity and scope of circular flows of persons, goods, information and symbols" and all spheres of life are influenced by "the growing transnationalisation of immigrants' activities." (Cağlar 2001: 607)

Therefore a definition of transnational social spaces could be as follows:

"Transnational social spaces are spatial entities that personal actors have constructed or are in the process of constructing through the plethora of their daily activities and that are often at odds with the territories of sovereign states." (Kleinschmidt 2006: 1)

The globalised perspective in transnational studies perceives migrants as subjects who act socially and politically across borders where opportunities are opened which are effective in a transnational and global way (Strasser 2003: 3ff.).

Transnational communities are built within social fields that go beyond national borders and national societies causing circular migration flows (Pries 2001: 51). New pluri-local social spaces emerge by transmigration influencing social practices, symbolic systems and material culture. Links between the origin region and the receiving region as well as the positioning in between it are characteristic for transnational social spaces (Pries 2001: 51).

The connection of individuals, networks and institutions which exceed national borders and can be informal or highly institutionalised can be understood throughout a global perspective (Faist 2000: 189). The questions of belonging, representation and practices across borders are termed within transnational approaches when looking for identities, practices and social networks within transnational spaces (Strasser 2003: 10).

Migrants are located within varying social indications and positions and live in social relationships across borders that combine at least two different societies within one social field (Strasser 2003: 63).

As Vertovec is formulating it:

"...a look through the [N.B.: transnational] lens shows clearly that many migrants today intensively conduct activities and maintain substantial commitments that link them with significant others (such as kin, co-villagers, political comrades, fellow members of religious groups) who dwell in nation-states other than those in which the migrants themselves reside." (Vertovec 2004: 970f.)

Technologies for communication and travel as well as financial mechanisms are used in new ways. That's why connections are maintained by migrants that could lead to transformations affecting migrants' life and also have impact on societal developments throughout these connections (Vertovec 2004: 971). Transnational practices of migrants impact value systems and also everyday social life therefore, not only for themselves, but also for other people in different regions.

"The dispositions and practices generated by a transnational orientation are not, moreover, evenly spread within a group or family. Yet these are not to be underestimated because such dispositions and practices have substantial impact on individual and family life course and strategies, individuals' sense of self and collective belonging, the ordering of personal and group memories, patterns of consumption, collective sociocultural practices, approaches to child-rearing, and other modes of cultural reproduction. These latter functions particularly concern ways in which the re-orienting of first generation perceptions and points of reference condition or influence that of second and subsequent generations." (Vertovec 2004: 977)

In terms of this thesis it is essential to take these transnational orientations into account as individual's decisions are influenced by local opportunity structures which are determined by social and economic institutions and distributions that are transformed in different geographic regions (Massey 1990: 7). Therefore, migrant networks have impact on "inter-temporal dependencies between individual decision and community contexts." (Massey 1990: 7)

Boyd mentions the importance of family and personal networks in international migration already in the 1980s (Boyd 1989). The migrant streams are stimulated by social networks which are based on family, household, friendship and community ties and relationships (Boyd 1989: 639).

"Networks connect migrants and nonmigrants across time and space. Once begun, migration flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent." (Boyd 1989: 641)

The study of social networks, including families and households, "permits understanding migration as a social product." This can be seen as an outcome of individual decision and economic and political parameters interacting as factors (ibid.: 642). Migration decisions by individuals or groups are embedded within a context provided by structural factors. The existence of social networks and participation within these, influence decisions to migrate. People are connected across space throughout these networks and have access to resources in form of information and assistance (Boyd 1989: 645).

Families within transnational social spaces enable migrants access to material and symbolic goods despite migration, whereas the family enables the opportunity enacting exchange processes that have impact on the family life (Fernández de la Hoz 2004: 9).

The life within a transnational family implicates that family members occupy different roles and differing constructions of identity with specific places of reference. Real places, like region of origin and residence have to be taken into account. Symbolic places, that are the place of living chosen by an individual, have to be considered too. The individuals are identifying with this places' culture and the people living there as well as the institutions existing therein (Fernández de la Hoz 2004: 11).

2.3 *Research on Migration*

2.3.1 Review on History of Migration Research in Austria on Turkish Migrants

Several stages of working-processes since the beginning of the migratory process in the 1960s can be realised within scientific works made on “Euro-Turks”, as people of Turkish origin in Europe are called sometimes (Ayhan 2002: 97). Ayhan identified three stages in the studies on Turkish migrants in Europe.

The first stage concentrated especially on studies about economic issues and statistics regarding figures of immigrating people as well as on aspects of “dreams of return.”⁶ (Ayhan 2002: 97) Demographically homogeneity of the recruited people, who were only seen as temporary workers, can be seen as a reason for this focus (Rasuly-Palczek 1995: 185, Pedraza 1991: 305).

The second stage is marked at that time when recruiting of foreign labour was stopped and family reunion of those who stayed started. Turkish migrants got more visible in public space at that time and studies of Turkish migrants culture increased in general. These researches focused on family aspects as well as integration, assimilation and acculturation, especially because of the need of social services for women and children (Ayhan 2002: 97).⁷

The beginning of the third stage was in the 1990s where approaches of wide diversity dealing with citizenship, discrimination, racism as well as diasporic networks and cultural production were created. As Ayhan mentions on from this third stage all social sciences began to cover the topic of Turkish migrants which had just been covered by economics, psychologists and sociologists before (Ayhan 2002: 98).

⁶ Work was done by Abadan-Unat (1964), Castles and Kosack (1973) and Çağlar (1994)

⁷ Also see works of Abadan-Unat 1985, Nauck 1988, Kağıtçıbaşı 1987)

This beginning phase of Turkish migration studies within social sciences can be described as follows:

“Most of the studies on Turks and Turkish culture in Europe were based on a notion linking ethnicity and culture. This approach mainly rests on the assumption that Turkish migrants carry their own distinct cultural baggages all the way along from home to the country of settlement.” (Ayhan 2002: 98)

These results presented by Ayhan are typically for the situation of German-Turks (Ayhan 2002: 97) why the situation in Austria has to be regarded for this thesis too.

Stated in the introduction, “international migration has become one of the major issues of political and academic discourse during recent decades.” (Strasser/Kroner/Herzog-Punzenberger 2009: 127) The authors accuse Austrian institutions for underdevelopment of this research area although immigration and emigration has long history in Austria. Studies in this field have not been relevant until the 1980s though (Strasser/Kroner/Herzog-Punzenberger 2009: 128). In Austria studies on migration were also first handled by geographers, economics, linguistics and sociologists as well as political scientists and first publications on the topic of “guest workers” released at the beginning of the 1980s.

International comparative works were started after a degradation of legal and social situation of migrants in Austria in the 1990s. The Austrian Forum for Migration Studies (AFM), founded in the mid 1990s, funded a project with thirty researchers who produced a comprehensive overview of the situation of migrants in Austria wherein a small number of anthropologists were involved (Strasser/Kroner/Herzog-Punzenberger 2009: 129). A research programme on this topic was started by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture because of increasing xenophobia and racism against migrants.

“Today, the Austrian landscape of migration studies is increasingly structured beyond the national scope. In particular, Austria’s integration into the European Union in 1995 facilitated activities in the social, political and economic spheres concerning migration.” (Strasser/Kroner/Herzog-Punzenberger 2009: 130)

Throughout that a “migration research community” emerged which was able to establish critical approaches apart from actual political interests in Austria.

It was only in the beginning of the 1990s that the anthropological department in Vienna started supporting topics of migration, cultural diversity and belonging.

Rasuly-Paleczek, being among the first ones, is stating in her paper of 1995 “Turkish migrants in Austria”:

“Extensive studies of migrants were generally not very popular in Austria and started only recently concentrating mainly on inquiries about the housing situation of migrants, their participation in the Austrian labour market, educational problems of the ‘second generation’ and the legal framework of the employment of foreign workers and of immigration in general.” (Rasuly-Paleczek 1995: 177)

In her work Rasuly-Paleczek gives a general overview of the situation of Turkish migrants in Austria from the beginning of the workers recruitment in the 1960s, going on with their life-circumstances and the situation of education for the second generation. Further she gives an insight of the situation of integration of Turkish migrants in the 1990s.

In terms of the “guestworker” phenomenon several studies were published that address economic issues in the beginning, like Parnreiter does in “Migration und Arbeitsteilung.”⁸ He focuses on the economic developments of Austria and the mobilising of workforce from former Yugoslavia and Turkey (Parnreiter 1994). The exhibition “Gastarbajteri” and its publication which gives an overview of the 40 years lasting “guestworker”-history can also be seen as an important contribution to this topic (Gürses/Kogoj/Mattl: 2004).

A major focus in migration research in Austria was then put on integration of Turkish migrants and migration policies. Strasser’s research “Beyond Belonging” (2003) deals with migration politics “from below” addressing sense of belonging, integration and translocal relations within differing political fields. Ulram offers in “Integration in Österreich”⁹ (2009) a survey of attitudes, orientations and experiences of migrants and people of the majority society in the years 2008 and 2009, referring especially on Turkish migrants. The results are contradictory in so far as the majority of the questionnaires with migratory background feel integrated although negative experiences with the majority society are mentioned frequently (Ulram 2009: 5). Questionnaires of the majority society instead, argue that there are already too many migrants in Austria especially referring to the labour market situation (Ibid.: 6).

Further on, publications of the Integrationsfonds Österreich deal with topics on migrants of Turkish origin in Austria. Potkanski offers an overview in “Türkische Migrant/-innen in Österreich”¹⁰ (2010) and further deals with unemployed teenagers of Turkish origin in Vienna (Potkanski/Isler 2010). Within the framework of the ministerial research programme on ‘xenophobia’ a research project by Rasuly-Paleczek and Six-Hohenbalken can be mentioned that focuses on Turkish families in Austria and especially on their situation of living (Six-Hohenbalken 2001). Researches on education and the situation on labour market for descendants of migrants increased in the last years. Herzog-Punzenberger published a first comprehensive overview of second generation’s social mobility in “Schule und Arbeitsmarkt ethnisch segmentiert? Einige Bemerkungen zur 2. Generation im österreichischen Bildungssystem.”¹¹ Next to other articles published on this topic by Herzog-Punzenberger,

⁸ “Migration and labour division”

⁹ “Integration in Austria”

¹⁰ “Turkish Migrants in Austria”

¹¹ „School and job market segmented ethnically? Some remarks on the second generation within Austrian educational system.”

Biffl deals with the situation of migrants' descendants in "Chancen von Jugendlichen Gastarbeiterkindern in Österreich"¹² (2004). Still, quite little is known about the second generation in Austria though and further researches on the actual situation in Austria are needed.

This review shows that after long time of inobservance researches on Turkish migrants in Austria have become of importance covering diverse aspects of social and cultural affairs within anthropological discipline.

2.3.2 Turkish Women in Migration

One reason for my own motivation to concentrate on women within this research has to be seen in the disregarding of Turkish women within migration research. Generally, it is of importance to specify on women within migration as a development of a gendered understanding for causes, processes and consequences of migration is needed (Pedraza 1991: 304).

In the beginning migration research has mainly concentrated on men as they were thought to be a demographically homogenous group of migrants amassing capital who return to their native country then again. Still there has not been taken specific notice on women within diverse studies after family reunion, as women were not seen as the decision makers of migration, but only followers (Pedraza 1991: 304, 305).

Gender-specific aspects only found their way into migration studies very slowly within the last years. First, concentration was given to migrating women as mothers and housewives, mostly regarding to their children's problems of socialisation and within school. Focus was also set on trafficking in women then (Westphal 2004; Aufhauser 2000: 98).

"Paying attention to the relationship between women's social position and migration will help fill the void regarding our knowledge of women as immigrants and contribute to a greater understanding of the lives of women." (Pedraza 1991: 304)

Boos-Nünning and Arat point out, that women have to be seen as actors and victims of migration, because figures show that a lot more than expected were migrating for work on their own (Boos-Nünning/Arat 1998: 293). They also mention that those women who migrated because of family reunion were influenced by migration before as they were those left behind mostly raising children on their own.

¹² "Chances of tennager guestworker children"

For women, migration which has positive and negative effects on their life circumstances is described as more difficult than for men. Reasons for this are seen within social aspects of identity and role models attributed to them in all societies in different ways (Koptagel-İlal 1998: 298). The fact of bad reputation is also referred to women who are single and not under the protection of their families.

Surveys show that women of Turkish origin who migrated to German speaking countries like Germany or Austria are facing difficulties because of stereotypes that exist within the mainstream society. Contradictory images of the self and of the other are present and ascriptions are made about women of Turkish origin by the mainstream society who sees them as members of a minority group (Celik 2003: 35). Concentration on female migrants in the scientific discourse also leads to stereotypes in some way:

“Es etablierte sich im Migrationsdiskurs in Deutschland ein äußerst beharrliches und stereotypes Bild der „fremden Frau“, vor allem bezogen auf die Türkin als „Opfer“ oder „Exotin“.¹³ (Westphal 2004)

Female migrants were compared to the „normal“ (German) female identity with emphasis on their society of origin and the description of difference and foreignness.

Criticism against this general construction of “female Turks” is offered by migrants themselves in the immigration discourse who claim for a differentiated view of life circumstances of Turkish women and men.

Already in the 1990s studies were published that contradicted the stereotype of independent victims of patriarch family structures (Boos-Nünning/Karakaşoğlu 2006: 23).

Problems like identity crisis are revealed in many studies in Germany for girls and young women of Turkish origin. They are caused by contradictory influences of the family and of the Germans society. Wishes of living a self-determined life often lead to conflicts within traditional households (Boos-Nünning 1998: 306).

Boos-Nünning points out that this problem of identity crisis of young women of Turkish origin in Germany has manifested itself within thoughts of the majority society. Additionally, the topic was also handled contradictory in science, which leads to consequences influencing the women’s lives. They face difficulties in everyday life, in school and at workplaces because they are seen as “problem teenagers” (Ibid.: 312; Eberding 1998: 317).

Several studies expose that education is of very high importance for girls of Turkish origin though and that they are more often represented in grammar schools than boys are. Further, it

¹³ “Within migration discourse in Germany an extremely trencious and stereotypic image oft he „foreign woman“ entrenched, especially conserding female Turkish as „victim“ or „exotic“.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

has to be mentioned that girls and young women of Turkish origin are success-oriented and bring high effort contrary to the existing stereotype (Eberding 1988: 318, 321).

Lack of knowledge of those within the majority society who have little or no contact with migrants is named as one reason why this stereotype still exists although it is challenged in several publications. The typical stereotype of the “Turkish headscarf-wearing girl” is limited to one form of identity, that shows them in the role of a victim without chances of further developing (Ibid.: 323).

It should be realised that girls and young women of Turkish origin who have to face discrimination and xenophobia which exacerbates their development and career are between the poles of varying possible identity forms (Ibid. 324). Taking gender, ethnicity and social class into account caused a change of perspective in the last years and biographic migration research helped to get a better insight into migrants’ lives next to existing statistics (Westphal 2004).

2.3.3 Turkish Women in “Return” Migration

In this chapter I give an overview of Turkish women in “return” migration, paying attention to “return” migration in general. This excursus is necessary to get an understanding whether the young women are “return” migrants or emigrants in this thesis. In the empirical part of this work the analysis will show how they see themselves and in what way their mobility has to be understood.

A general definition of “return migrants” was given by Gmelch, saying:

“Following its usage in most of the works reviewed here, return migration is defined as the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle.” (Gmelch 1980: 136)

Gmelch’s article “Return Migration” deals with international return migration which enhances the crossing of cultural boundaries of the returnees. Gmelch gives a typology consisting of three types of return migrants:

- Returnees who intended temporary migration. The time of their return is determined by the objectives they set out to achieve at the time of emigration.
- Returnees who intended permanent migration but were forced to return. Their preference was to remain abroad but because of external factors they were required to return.
- Returnees who intended permanent migration but chose to return. Failure to adjust and/or homesickness led to their decision to return. (Gmelch 1980: 138)

The classification of types of return migrants can not be taken as guaranteed though, as many people who migrate don't have a plan to return, but decide on opportunities given in the host country and probably also opportunities coming up in their country of origin.

"Push" and "pull" factors are named that influence migrants' decisions, like being motivated for return migration by negative, push factors in the host country. Pull factors in the home society are even more influencing for the decision of returning though (Gmelch 1980: 140).

Economic aspects have to be taken into account too, regarding these factors, which are of more importance than sometimes admitted by returnees (Gmelch 1980: 41).

This further leads to an important question necessary to understand how returnees affect the sending society:

"(...) is return migration usually the consequence of a positive or a negative selection process?" (Gmelch 1980: 142)

This means whether people decide to return because they "failed" within the host society or because new chances and opportunities are motivating them for living in their country of origin again.

The success of returning can be observed from an etic and an emic perspective. In an etic way, objective criteria like returnees actual economic and social conditions will be observed in order to pass judgement on their success of adaptation in their country of origin. The emic approach gives a look at the migrants own perception. It is asking for his or her well-being in their country of origin and is interested in their personal adjustment by questioning their satisfaction (Gmelch 1980: 142).

Contrary to the popular belief, returnees often have difficulties in readjusting to the societies of their home countries. This can be reasoned from unrealistic expectations of the home society by return migrants themselves:

"Their memories of home are nostalgic ones, with positive experiences standing out while negative aspects have receded from memory. Home, after all, was the place where the migrants spent the formative years, their youth, a time when they were healthy and relatively free from the annoying responsibilities of adult life. Vacation trips home did little to correct this idealistic image since they were usually made during the summer when the weather was good and the atmosphere festive." (Gmelch 1980: 145)

In fact, after returning, many are unhappily complaining about aspects like efficiency and punctuality because they are used to faster processes in the host society (Gmelch 1980: 143).

Steinhilber is working on the topic of return migration or remigration too. She especially concentrates on Turkish women, who move from Germany to Turkey and defines remigration as follows:

"Remigration begreife ich zum einen als Bestandteil des gesamten Migrationsprozesses etwa in der Form des Rückkehrgedankens als ständiger Begleiter im Anwerbeland und zum anderen

als konkrete Rückkehr ins Herkunftsland als abschließendes Kapitel des Migrationsprozesses.“¹⁴ (Steinhilber 1994: 27)

She points out that sustaining influence is occurred by all experiences made throughout the migration and remigration process next to the mobility experienced by migrants. The processes of migration and remigration are dependent on societal and individual decisions and the single persons have to be seen as objects and subjects of a migration process at the same time (Steinhilber 1994: 28).

Socialisation processes are caused by mobility and context switch, as people will not return as the persons they used to be before migration and will have another way of living after their returning too.

Steinhilber is focussing on two groups of female remigrants to Turkey – the first and second generation – within her survey. She argues that the second generation, those born and raised in Germany who move to Turkey, can not be called “remigrants”, but have to be seen as emigrants (Steinhilber 1994: 28).

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter there are some discrepancies for defining “remigration” for younger people with migratory background moving to their “country of origin.” This will be part of the analysis and will also be discussed in the empirical part. Still, these people are migrating to a country that is not foreign to them, as they know it from family holidays and have imaginations of the life there. In general, they have a very positive picture of the living situation there as they are in a holiday mood during their staying (Steinhilber 1994: 40).

However, moving to the country of origin causes reactions from the individuals themselves as well as from the social surrounding. This is the same for remigrants of the first generation as well as for those of second and third generation, as the cultural living situation might have changed throughout time (Steinhilber 1994: 29). Personality traits and action competences have to be activated by the persons to cope with this passage and have to be researched (Steinhilber 1994: 30). The chance of going to Turkey is seen as a form of individual strategy for the majority of migrants, if they can not manage life in their host country. Their idea of having a better life in Turkey is very often an illusion supported by the experiences made during their holidays there though.

Another approach for return migration is offered by Wolbert, who is working on women of the first generation of “guestworkers” in Germany. They are migrating back, returning forever

¹⁴“ I am understanding remigration on the one hand as part of the whole migration process like in form of the thought of going back as a permanent attendant in the recruiting country and on the other hand as concrete return in country of origin as closing chapter of migration process. “ (translated by Julia Kendler)

to Turkey and their German passport gets invalid after that. Therefore, the remigration of the women is analysed as a ritual process and a form of liminality in Victor Turner's understanding (Wolbert 1995: 35f.). This approach differs in many aspects from this thesis' research topic, but still addresses some important issues which are of relevance for the further work.

Wolbert uses Bourdieu's concept of capital for analysing the women's research process and their living circumstances they are facing after returning which is also of main importance within this research. All remigrating women are within the same social position, for being "guestworkers" of the first generation and face similar conditions within Turkish society after returning (Wolbert 1995: 40). Their processes of reintegration in Turkish society are connected to a change-strategy by using their available resources of different forms of capital. Symbolic capital is of high relevance which is tried to be reached by economic and cultural capital:

"Dieser Zusammenhang macht es wichtig, besonders die Bedeutung von Bildung im Kontext der Rückkehr zu untersuchen und auf die Aktionen und Reaktionen von Remigranten und andere Gruppen in ihrem Bildungsstreben zu achten. Das symbolische Kapital steht für soziales Kapital, es garantiert soziales Kapital und ist darüber in ökonomisches Kapital zurückzuverwandeln. Es wird auch da als legitimes Tauschmittel oder als Kredit akzeptiert, wo materielles Kapital nicht anerkannt wird."¹⁵ (Wolbert 1995: 41)

Symbolic capital provides access to social networks and special contacts which are only available when trust is given as a form of credit. This can not be reached through economic capital. Again, social exchange for establishing oneself within Turkish society is central when dealing with the process of returning (Wolbert 1995: 41).

As mentioned earlier return migrants often don't migrate back to their areas of origin, but move to cities where they want to start self-employed living instead. They want to leave their status of workers in Germany and aim a change of image within Turkish society. They have ambitions of joining the middle class and experiencing upward social mobility in Turkey for occupying new positions in social space with their economic capital acquired in Germany (Cağlar 1995: 313).

Return migration to Turkey shall change the lack of social recognition and symbolic capital in Germany that hinders them in upward social mobility. In Turkey they also face problems being seen as *almançı*¹⁶ there though. Even if they possess economic capital that enables them

¹⁵ "This correlation makes it important, to observe especially the meaning of education within the context of returning and to pay attention to actions and reactions in their aspire to education of remigrants and other groups. The symbolic capital is taken for social capital, it ensures social capital and is above that transformable back into economic capital. It is also accepted as legitimate medium of exchange or as credit, where material capital is not acknowledged." (translated by Julia Kendler)

¹⁶ Almançı means a person of Turkish origin coming from Germany

a living standard of middle class in Turkey they are “deprived of acknowledgement and recognition, i.e. of symbolic capital, but this time in Turkish society” too. (Cağlar 1995: 316) Returning is not an easy process and many different factors have to be taken into account when dealing with it. Situations for people in emigration and immigration countries have to be regarded therefore.

Material and literature about the situation of the former generation in Germany is abundant, but the aim within this thesis is to present young women’s situation returning or emigrating from Austria. Today’s circumstances and actual aspects need to be considered in order to get an appropriate general view of the young women’s mobility trajectories, their expectations and understanding of better life and the challenges they are facing.

2.4 Life Circumstances and Conditions Here and There – Life in Austria and in Turkey

The above given extracts of migrants situations help to get a better understanding of the topic in general and are necessary to follow the stories and circumstances the younger generations are living in, even if these are mostly examples from Germany and also rather historical ones. Present situations in Austria and Turkey for female Turkish origins need to be revealed in order to relate them to the women’s motivations and expectations.

2.4.1 Actual Situation of Turkish (Female) Migrants in Austria

The emigration of skilled people of Turkish origin is described as an economic problem in German media. One argument, which is used in these articles for explaining the emigration of young people of Turkish origin from Germany, is the economic crisis during the last years in Europe. Another argument is the continuing economic growth of Turkey which opens better job opportunities for skilled people (Welt.de Online, 7.5.2011). The loss of well educated people – or the loss of human capital, which can also be called brain drain – is realized in Germany more and more. Turkish enterprises welcome these people and honour their “German” qualities at the same time.

Emigration can also be an attractive option for unskilled people, since they face problems in Germany and also Austria, especially in school and at the job market.

Young women with migratory background are in seen as backwardly and more traditional than German women in everyday understanding (Boos-Nünning 2006). The young women face discrimination in several forms in German society, why they are said to have more contact to Turkish people than to German ones (Fedtke-Ribeiro/Steinbrugger 2006: 47). Young women do not only have to deal with discrimination in everyday life, but also in educational and professional sectors. Language deficits, expected interrupts of the apprenticeship caused by an early marriage or religious aspects are reasons why they are not hired by companies.

Next to the general discrimination against young people with Turkish background in labour market, which is higher than for young people of other origin, other reasons have to be considered. These reasons can be lack of resources, missing support from the parents or unavailable capitals in the host country (Kalter 2006: 145). Additionally, job opportunities are limited because a very high percentage of young people with migratory background leave school without graduating. Boos-Nünning also mentions the selection procedures of companies as another reason (Boos-Nünning 1994: 152, 157).

However, the results of Boos-Nünning's research show that most young women with migratory background head for an image of a more modern woman. They want to combine job and family and live a life which can be classified as a modern life concept (Boos-Nünning 2006).

Several motivating reasons for emigration can be imagined for skilled and unskilled young women of Turkish origin who live in Germany or Austria thus. Other circumstances have to be regarded, next to the economic aspects, lack of job opportunities and difficulties within educational system. Factors like political situations and the surrounding society have to be taken into account as well as desires of life conditions which cannot be achieved in Austria (or another European country).

Although economic reasons may dominate the stories of emigrants of Turkish origin in German newspapers I have to point out that I don't equalize economic security and job chances with the term of "better life" or upward social mobility.

Social mobility correlates with the different available forms of capital and resources and has to be defined by each person individually.

It is necessary to have a look at the Austrian situation for this research as the above mentioned aspects were mainly examples and surveys from Germany.

In order to get a relatively broad picture of the situation of Turkish origin people in Austria I want to split this chapter into three sections oriented by the factors stated. First, I want to give

an overview of education and chances within labour market for young people with migratory background. Second, possible opportunities and limitations in terms of job opportunities will be shown, dwelling on the economic situation of Austria. Third, the political situation has to be taken into account by concentrating on migration politics within Austria.

The education of children and teenagers with migratory background is a topic dealt with frequently in social sciences, but also in public media. School and education have a major impact and are of high importance for the functioning of modern society and for the individual development of a person (Herzog-Punzenberger 2005: 13). Therefore, it has to be taken into account, how migration is handled within school system and how young people are using this system for realising their chances within society.

Herzog-Punzenberger, who has done a lot of research on migrants in Austria and especially on their descendants, underlines the importance of that topic concerning education and work by saying:

“Da es sich bei den zwei größten EinwanderInnengruppen der letzten Jahrzehnte in Österreich um solche handelt, die im untersten Segment der gesellschaftlichen Hierarchie in den Arbeitsmarkt eingestiegen sind, ist es von besonderem Interesse, wie sich die Situation für die Nachkommen dieser Gruppe in Hinblick auf Bildung und Arbeitsmarkt gestaltet.“¹⁷ (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 17)

The concept of social mobility is used to explore structural integration in the way of Hartmut Esser in her survey. Social mobility suits to face up with integration of minorities in a structural way, especially intergenerational¹⁸. The approaches of societal institutions of education and work for members of minority groups have to be described and it has to be asked how the situation changes within and throughout a generation on the different levels of hierarchy (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 17).

Herzog-Punzenberger further states:

“Ausgehend von einem Gerechtigkeitsansatz, der die Widerspiegelung [sic!] der gesellschaftlichen Vielfalt in den gesellschaftlichen Institutionen zum Ziel hat, ist die Frage zu stellen, wie eine Situation drastischer Ungleichheit etwa bezüglich Unterrepräsentation ethnischer Minderheiten in allen prestigeträchtigeren Berufen und Hierarchieebenen, aber auch betreff gender-Zugehörigkeit verändert werden kann.“¹⁹ (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 18)

¹⁷ “As the two biggest immigration groups [NB: Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavic (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 11)] of the last decades in Austria have been such, that entered within the lowest segment of societal hierarchy in labour market, it is of special interest, how the situation of the descendants of this group is constructed in respect of education and labour market.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

¹⁸ Intergenerational social mobility: Comparing social mobility of more generations regarding educational training and vocational positioning (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 18).

¹⁹ “Starting from an approach of justice, which aims the reflection of the societal variety within the societal institutions, the question has to be raised, how a situation of drastic disparity like regarding underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in all prestigious jobs and levels of hierarchy, but can also be changed regarding gender belonging.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

Social groups at the lowest level within societal hierarchy that are hindered from occupational advancement by societal mechanisms are mostly affected. This is shown very clearly for migrants in Austria with Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian background and their descendants (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 18).

The second generation's participation in education which gives insight of their situation within society and the employment market has to be explained to understand intergenerational social mobility. Wallace refers to the concept of social capital in her survey in order to understand how educational graduation is transformed into suitable positions on labour market and to explore the ethnic segmentation within it (Wallace 2007: 2, 17).

Finding one's own position within society and developing self-understanding is shaped by societal structures and is dependent on resources or the different forms of capital each family is available of. Families are also integrated within a network based on kinship, neighbourhood or another criterion though. Young people do not have influence on this positioning of the family, but it has impact on their own self-understanding including their hopes, expectations and experiences within society on from the beginning (Herzog-Punzenberger 2005: 4).

Several researches show that pupils with migratory background face problems and difficulties within Austrian school system.

“With regard to schooling and labor market, it is not only the first generation of the so-called guestworkers who seem to be stuck at low levels of the social hierarchy, but also the second generation. This is especially true for the descendants of Turkish immigrants.” (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003a: 1120)

The highly selective school system, end of compulsory education at the age of 15 in Austrian education system and complicated residence and work permission system are factors that influence the educational and professional careers of Turkish guestworker families (Ibid.: 1120).

“If a primary or secondary school teacher thinks a child has severe problems following the instruction, for other reasons than not understanding German, the child will be moved to a special school. This decision is often taken early in the school career. Once in a special school, the child has almost no chance to get back in the normal educational system again.” (Ibid.: 1128)

Although this is some kind of an extreme situation, it is not a single case. In 2009/2010 9% of all pupils in Austria had migratory background, but in special schools the figure is doubled and amounts to 18% where most of them are of Ex-Yugoslavian or Turkish origin (Statistik Austria 2011: 42).

Turkish children are overrepresented in special schools²⁰ in comparison to Austrian children. This is caused by factors like lacking German skills and lack of parental support in terms of learning for school at home, what leads to differences in school careers for the children (ibid.: 1132).

Several options of choice offer different opportunities within the regular school system though. After primary school one available option is to attend lower secondary school²¹ which lasts four years. After that, pupils can choose to visit polytechnical school or another medium or higher secondary education. Another possibility after primary school is academic secondary school²² which can be continued for further four years to A-levels or one can change to a technical college (Ibid.: 1128).

The number of pupils with foreign mother tongue amounts to 23% in primary school and in lower secondary school 21% for the school year 2009/2010 (Statistik Austria 2011: 42). For academic secondary schools the figures are rising, but still beneath average and amount to 14% for grammar school and 12% for vocational schools with higher education. Another significant aspect is that about 14% of pupils with migratory background leave school before graduating compulsory school (Ibid.).

This means that the educational attainment of people with migratory background differs from mainstream society and they are disproportional located within lowest and highest educated classes. Educational level of the second generation²³ gets closer to that of people without migratory background though. Those graduating vocational or professional schools figures 49% and is close to that of people without migratory background (59%) and much higher than that of first generation (33%) therefore (Ibid.: 46).

²⁰ Sonderschulen

²¹ Hauptschulen

²² Gymnasium

²³ Statistik Austria is not differentiating between second and third generation within this publication.

Indikator 5 Bildungsstand der 25- bis 64-jährigen Bevölkerung 2010 nach Migrationshintergrund

	Bevölkerung insgesamt	Kein Migrationshintergrund	Mit Migrationshintergrund						
			Insgesamt	Erste Generation	Zweite Generation	EU/EWR/Schweiz	Ehem. Jugoslawien (ohne Slowenien)	Türkei	Sonstige Staaten
Insgesamt abs. (in 1.000)	4.617,5	3.686,1	931,4	831,2	100,1	325,7	311,3	141,9	152,5
Pflichtschule	16,2%	12,7%	30,1%	31,2%	21,4%	10,5%	37,4%	66,0%	23,7%
Lehre, BMS	53,8%	58,5%	35,0%	33,3%	49,2%	40,6%	42,8%	24,1%	17,3%
AHS, BHS, Kolleg	15,2%	14,7%	16,9%	17,3%	14,2%	22,7%	14,1%	6,4%	20,3%
Universität, FH, Akademien ¹⁾	14,8%	14,1%	18,0%	18,3%	15,2%	26,3%	5,7%	(3,5%)	38,7%
Männer abs. (in 1.000)	2.297,5	1.854,8	442,7	389,9	52,8	142,8	153,4	75,6	70,9
Pflichtschule	11,7%	8,5%	25,1%	26,2%	16,9%	7,6%	26,9%	59,6%	19,6%
Lehre, BMS	59,6%	63,8%	42,2%	40,8%	53,1%	46,2%	54,9%	30,7%	19,1%
AHS, BHS, Kolleg	14,5%	14,5%	14,5%	14,7%	13,2%	18,4%	12,0%	(7,1%)	20,0%
Universität, FH, Akademien ¹⁾	14,2%	13,2%	18,2%	18,4%	16,8%	27,8%	6,2%	(2,7%)	41,3%
Frauen abs. (in 1.000)	2.320,0	1.831,3	488,6	441,3	47,3	182,8	157,9	66,3	81,6
Pflichtschule	20,7%	17,0%	34,7%	35,5%	26,3%	12,7%	47,6%	73,4%	27,3%
Lehre, BMS	48,0%	53,2%	28,5%	26,7%	45,0%	36,3%	31,0%	16,7%	15,7%
AHS, BHS, Kolleg	15,8%	14,9%	19,1%	19,5%	15,3%	26,0%	16,2%	(5,6%)	20,6%
Universität, FH, Akademien ¹⁾	15,5%	14,9%	17,8%	18,2%	13,4%	25,1%	5,3%	(4,4%)	36,5%

Q.: STATISTIK AUSTRIA, Mikrozensus-Arbeitskräfteerhebung 2010, Jahresdurchschnitt über alle Wochen. – Bevölkerung in Privathaushalten. – 1) Inkl. Universitätslehrgänge.
 – () Werte mit weniger als hochgerechnet 6.000 Personen sind sehr stark zufallsbehaftet und statistisch kaum interpretierbar.

Figure 1: Statistik Austria 2011: 47

This schedule shows the educational level of the 25 to 64 year old population in 2010 listed with focus on migratory background. 73,4% women of Turkish origin graduated compulsory school, 16,7% visited vocational school, 5,6% attended higher secondary schools and 4,6% university or higher academic training, as can be seen in the last lines. An interesting aspect is that figures for vocational school and university attendance are less for men of Turkish origin than that for women, amounting 59,6% for the first and only 2,7% for the second one.

Difference appears within labour participation, where only 41% of Turkish women are taking part in comparison to 68% of female Austrians without migratory background (Ibid.: 50). Again, age and generation factors have to be taken into account. The schedules below show that women of Turkish origin are at the lowest level of labour participation in comparison to other women with migratory background, but the second generation again gets closer to the population without migratory background (Ibid.: 51).

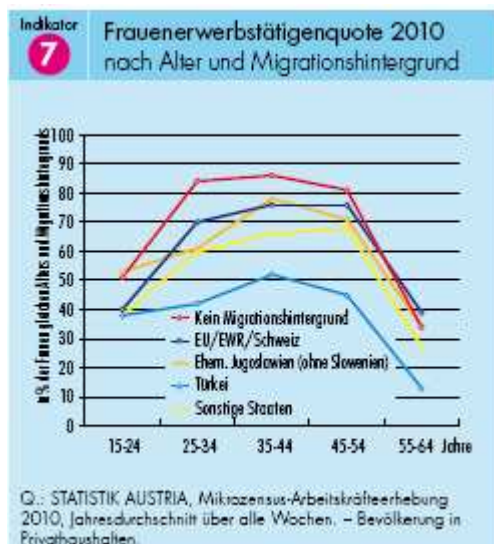


Figure 2: Statistik Austria 2011: 51

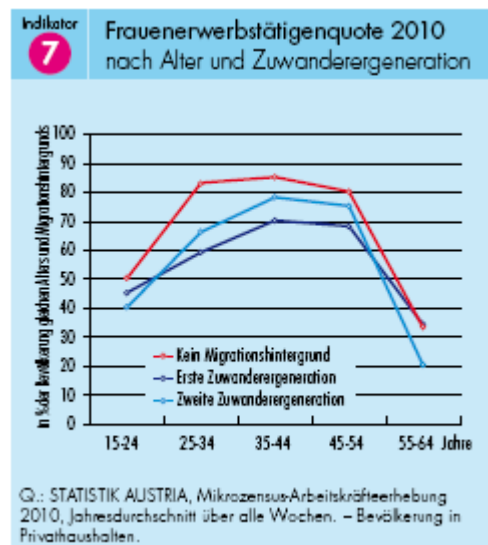


Figure 3: Statistik Austria 2011: 51

In general, second generation is adjusting to majority society in terms of career structure. In comparison to the first generation the labour sector has changed too, as they are mainly working in the sector of production of material goods whereas second generation is mainly represented in trade sector (Ibid.: 54).

In comparison to their parents young people of Turkish origin still did not reach upward social mobility as could be expected, since they are also mostly working as both unskilled and skilled workers (Herzog-Punzenberger 2005: 17). The most successful career for young people of Turkish origin in Austria is that of skilled workers. Again, the situation for women and men has to be distinguished. Three-quarters of female Turkish origin's second generation don't graduate compulsory school and only 15% graduate vocational school. Therefore, the biggest amount of skilled workers is covered by male Turkish origins whereas females start as unskilled workers or work in the household (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003: 34). One reason for not attending higher schools is down to the fact that children shall contribute financial support for their families as soon as possible and therefore start their working life early (Biffl 2004: 43).

Improvement of careers can be observed for the descendants of Turkish immigrants in general, but they still see themselves as those having least chances for opportunity of advancement among other immigration groups. Female Turkish origins specially feel vocationally subjective underprivileged (Appelt 2003: 154). In comparison to other European countries Austria shows big educational deficits and even bigger deficits concerning vocational education (OECD Online, 20.1.2012). Austria and Germany have better results

than other countries in terms of the integration on the labour market of descendants of migrants, but differences appear among higher education:

„Der Abstand zu gleichqualifizierten Personen ohne Migrationshintergrund ist hingegen bei Hoch- und Fachhochschulabsolventen und Absolventen höherer beruflicher Bildung vergleichsweise stark ausgeprägt.“²⁴ (Ibid.)

Austria and Belgium have worse figures and cover exceptional positions in international comparison (Liebig/Widmaier 2009: 23).

Austrian media lays stress on the difficult vocational situation of people with migratory background too. Rather bad chances are pointed up for second generation for entering labour market and people of Turkish origin are positioned at the lower mid-level in Vienna compared to other cities (ORF Online, 29.12.2011). Although Turkish girls have highest educational aspirations among pupils with migratory background, they don't see efforts for their later life through their education as they face discrepancy of fulfilling familial expectations as a woman and reaching occupational advancement at the same time (Presse Online, 13.1.2012).

In comparison to other countries of the European Union people of first generation of Turkish migrants in Austria have a relatively high level of education, despite public view. They are not able to transform it into vocational positions though. That's why their low level on the labour market is seen as a reason for the low position of the second generation in terms of their educational career in European comparison (Der Standard Online, 28.12.2011).

The above exposed educational situation and labour participation of people with migratory background in Austria shows that they partly face problems which start at beginning of their educational career and continue during schooling and working life. It seems necessary to observe reasoning factors for these disadvantages for adolescents with migratory background on the Austrian labour market (Wallace 2007: 3). Therefore, next part concentrates on the economic situation of Austria and focuses on Vienna's labour market. Chances, opportunities and limitations for people of Turkish origin are exposed, especially focussing on women of Turkish origin.

The economic situation of Austria has changed significantly in the last years with big impacts on the labour market. It would go beyond the scope of this thesis to explore the development of the Austrian economic situation in detail, but in the years 2008 and 2009 a big economic slump existed and the following two years a recovery could be registered (BMWFJ 2011: 6). This economic recovery leads to an enhancement of the labour market situation. More and

²⁴ “The gap to equal qualified people without migratory background is by contrast to graduates of colleges or senior technical colleges and graduates of higher vocational education comparatively highly developed.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

better work places are predicted and the number of unemployed shall decrease in 2012 (Ibid.: 67). Since 2000 45% men and 40% women were at least once unemployed. Again the situation for migrants is worse than for people without migratory background. In Vienna 64% men of Turkish origin and 55% women of Turkish origin were unemployed since 2000 (Riesenfelder et al. 2011: 5). The most important working sector for people with migratory background is service industries, as mentioned especially for women within trade sector.

Moluksadat Homayouni describes the situation on the labour market for women in three parts where she sees need for action. One part is the need for improvement of the quality and duration of counselling for unemployed women with migratory background. Another part is the problem of missing child care places which is mostly incompatible with conditions on the labour market. And a third part has to be seen in general motivation for taking up employment. Women with migratory background are specially hit by low wages in their areas of activity which is not motivating. Full-time jobs are most often not possible because of the above mentioned problems of child care places, although women would like to work fulltime. Beyond that appreciation and respect for female employees with migratory background are claimed. Economy should take the variety of qualifications into account and use them in best possible ways (Homayouni 2012: 1, 2).

The study of L&R Sozialforschung shows, that the labour market in Vienna is highly heterogeneous regarding group of origin, differences between men and women and other factors like age, generation and qualifications. General statements are that a lot of potentialities are not used in appropriate way though, like language skills for example. There are still qualitative and quantitative differences on the labour market integration for people with migratory background and people without migratory background (Riesenfelder 2011: 9). Young people are influenced in their educational and vocational decisions by their families as outlined before. The family's status and the social class they are member of, is bequeathed to their children and their social position within society. People with migratory background often take job offers which are provided by accident and often also defined by family networks or directed by other social networks instead of searching long for a special job after school, as a survey of Österreichischer Integrationsfonds²⁵ shows. This strategy is seen as an opportunity to gather experiences while clear expectations of a certain job are missing (Gercek 2011: 30). Transition from school to labour market is difficult for young people in general and although the educational career of people of Turkish origin rises, their entrance into the labour market is related with specific difficulties they have to face.

²⁵ Austrian Integration Fund

Youth unemployment is a topic of high relevance in Austria and especially people with migratory background are affected by that (Wallace 2007: 32). The high number of people with migratory background attending special schools²⁶ has to be taken into account too, as the entrance into the labour market is more difficult for them without having any graduation (Biffl 2004: 43). Significant figures appear regarding working life for young women of Turkish origin differentiating from other migratory groups and majority society. As there is a general drop of training rate for adolescents of Turkish origin Biffl states as follows:

„Das Zurückfallen der Bildungsquote der türkischen Jugendlichen ist auf die Verringerung der Ausbildungsneigung der türkischen Mädchen in den letzten sieben Jahren zurückzuführen. Während 1995 noch 30,5 % der türkischen 15- bis 24-jährigen Frauen eine Schule besuchten – das war ein größerer Anteil als bei türkischen Burschen (24,5 %) –, verringerte sich die Bildungsquote der Türcinnen bis zum Jahr 2002 auf 21,8 % und fiel damit hinter die Quote der türkischen Burschen von 28,8 % zurück.“ (Biffl 2004: 46)²⁷

A high number of girls of Turkish origin stay at home as housewives. Wächter argues on the contrary that girls are more motivated for education than boys are. They are more oriented towards work, but still girls are less unemployed than boys (Wächter Presentation 2007, 16.1.2012). The reason why girls are less unemployed is caused by the fact of not being taken into account of statistics as they are not part of the labour market, but at home instead (Biffl 2004: 54).

In general this shows that the transition from school to work is more difficult for girls with migratory background. They face disadvantages in two ways as there is a difficult employment situation for migrants generally and especially for girls whose choice of employment is gender-specific why the situation gets aggravated (Klaus/Halbwirth 2004: 147). This situation shows that actions are needed to open better options for young people with migratory background within working life in Austria. Political situations and developments are shortly exposed to show opportunities and restrictions for people with migratory background.

Political developments have to be observed critically from a broad societal view concerning integration-politics and immigration politics. In Austria politics experienced a form of neo-nationalism in the 1990s being discriminating and xenophobic in several ways. National tensions arose in 1999 when the FPÖ party²⁸ got highly supported because of their express rejection against immigration which was formulated in their campaign as “Österreich zuerst”

²⁶ Sonderschulen

²⁷ “The backdrop of training rate for Turkish adolescents is affiliated to the diminution of educational propensitiy of Turkish girls in the last seven years. While 1995 still 30,5% of Turkish 15- to 24- year old women attended school – this was a bigger amount than that of Turkish boy (24,5%) - , the training rate of female Turks reduces till the year 2002 to 21,8% and fell behind the rate of Turkish boys of 28,8%.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

²⁸ Freiheitliche Partei Österreich

(Strasser 2009: 26). Likewise incidents as 09/11 had impact on the public image of immigrants, especially affecting Turkish people because of increasing islamophobia (Ibid.: 27, Hafez 2009: 106).

Present developments regarding integration politics and public view on people with migratory background have improved since these days or at least counteractions could be recognised. An integration study shows that 64% of Austrian people understand integration of migrants not as total assimilation, but are expecting an approval of basic principles (Ullram 2009: 5). In general, more than half of the Austrian majority population sees integration not being well qualified and also a half of them think that a big amount of foreigners is not willing to integrate (Ibid.). This study also states that 45% of Muslims with Turkish migratory background in Austria do not agree totally with life style and values of Austrian society. They see themselves deprived by majority society instead. For people of Turkish origin significant figures are outlined:

“So kritisieren 57 Prozent Rassismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit, 46 Prozent fehlende Chancen für Migranten und 53 Prozent (der türkischen Migranten) Benachteiligung von Muslimen durch den österreichischen Staat und beinahe zwei Drittel der „Türken“ geben negative Erfahrungen mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft zu Protokoll.“²⁹ (Ullram 2009: 4)

Austrian integration politic is asked for taking actions considering the improvement of chances in educational and vocational terms. Measures for counteracting against xenophobia by majority society and leading migrants to accept societal and political fundamental values are important too (Ibid.: 7).

Biffl argues for policies of integration politics in Austria that focus on avoiding further exclusion of people with migratory background, especially of Turkish women in terms of education and working life. Particularly those who attend special schools³⁰ need encouragement to enter working life. Young people with migratory background shall be motivated and encouraged to learn exert other jobs than their parents did to open them better employment opportunities as well as higher earned income (Biffl 2004: 54f.).

Dissatisfaction, restrictions of opportunities and difficulties for fulfilling life plans results from an interaction of several factors for people with migratory background as shown in this chapter. The situation in Turkey will be shortly presented in order to understand the expectations and hopes of female Turkish origins migrating to Turkey.

²⁹ „57% criticise racism and xenophobia, 46% lacking chances for migrants and 53% (of Turkish migrants) disadvantages of Muslims by Austrian state and almost two thirds of the „Turks“ go on record as saying negative experiences with the majority society.“ (translated by Julia Kendler)

³⁰ Sonderschulen

2.4.2 Actual Economic (Vocational) Situation in Turkey

Several reasons and motivations are essential when people decide to migrate to another country. Both, the country of emigration and the country of immigration are effecting the decision and next to social factors, as mentioned before, economic aspects have to be taken into account, particularly if motivation for migration is conducted by better job chances or upward social mobility.

Despite the economic crisis in the European Union, Turkey experienced a downright economic boom in the last years. Although migration to European countries at that time is not seen as a potential option (Presse Online, 14.1.2012) emigration to countries which are in an economic uplift – as Turkey – may be a motivating factor for fulfilling expectations of a “better life”. (see also: Youtube, Wirtschaft, 13.1.2012)

From a global perspective Turkey covers an important position and takes a bridging role between the West and the East:

“Die Türkei ist Mitglied der G-20, von Europarat und Islamischer Konferenz sowie von OECD, NATO und OSZE. Sie ist heute eine regionale Wirtschaftsmacht und kann auch politisch-strategisch weder von ihren Nachbarn noch von der EU ignoriert werden.”³¹ (Sukup 2011: 26)

Turkey achieves great economical and social progress after a major crisis in 2001 and since 2002 companies from Germany and other European countries locate affiliated companies there. This economic expansion of Turkey causes prognoses to be one of the ten biggest economies worldwide and its development is seen as generally successful (Ibid.: 30). Austrian companies settle in Turkey too, as in 2011 about 150 settled there and annually about 15 more come additionally. This economic growth leads to an increase of wealth and consumption (Bachler/Müller 2011). Young people of Turkish origin in Europe are attracted by these developments and move to Turkey for work as mentioned in several media articles (e.g.: Pink 2010, 5.1.2012; Trenkamp 2011, 14.1.2012).

The modern metropolis Istanbul is seen as main attraction for young people enabling opportunities for success and career:

“Die meisten Heimkehrer gehen nach Istanbul, wo der Arbeitsmarkt am vielversprechendsten und der Kulturschock am erträglichsten ist.”³² (Steinvorth 2010, 14.1.2012)

³¹ “Turkey is member of G20, of Council of Europe, Islamic Conference as well as OECD, NATO and OSZE. It is a regional economic power and can political-strategic not be ignored by its neighbours neither by European Union.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

³² “Most returnees go to Istanbul, where the labour market is most promising and the culture shock most tolerable.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

Additionally, European companies that settle in Turkey hire people of Turkish origin who migrate “back” to Turkey as they are seen as employees who unify European exactness and Turkish flexibility (Dradio Online, 20.11.2011).

As mentioned at the beginning, many other examples of newspaper articles and online posts exist, whereas especially in Germany the topic of “return migration” of young people of Turkish origin from Europe to Turkey is discussed.

The country’s development offers better chances than Europe and is presented as main reason for migration in media, but also in science as can be seen from Biffl’s statement:

“The numbers and the share of Germans and Austrians in the Turkish population are growing, mostly highly skilled second generation migrants who return to their parents’ home country to take advantage of employment opportunities as Turkey is rapidly restructuring and in need of skilled workers to support the export led growth strategy.” (Biffl 2011: 2)

Conspicuously, emigration of highly skilled people is emphasized (e.g.: Sontheimer 2008, 14.1.2012), but thinking of the before exposed situation of youth unemployment for people with migratory background the economic boom could also be attractive for those at lower education level. On that account I research this phenomenon for skilled and unskilled female Turkish origins from Austria.

3 PART II

EMPIRICAL PART

The first part of this diploma thesis has given a theoretical overview. Theoretical approaches which seem to be relevant to the topic addressed and which were unified throughout research on literature appropriate to the research question have been presented. First concepts and ideas resulting therefrom were also shown before going into the field. Further on, an outline of the initial situation in Austria and Turkey was given in order to depict the circumstances and the present situation where the research took place.

The aim of this research is to get an insight to expectations of skilled and unskilled young women of Turkish origin in terms of their social mobility who plan to migrate or have already migrated from Vienna to Istanbul and therefore gaining knowledge of their mobility trajectories. In some terms the theoretical approach offers information about life circumstances, motivations for change and seemingly attractive opportunities as well as concepts which are necessary in order to understand today's aspects of migration.

The empirical part will show the observation of social mobility via interview analysis and comparison of narratives of skilled and unskilled women of Turkish origin. An interplay of the outline and the results of the interview analysis will result in an integral whole leading to the answers looked for in this research work.

At first, the way of research process will be described and a more concrete description of the analysis used will be exposed. Then, a short description of all interview partners with basic facts about their personal life and the interview situation with each of them follows, as this is important to know before further analysis is carried out. The interviews were conducted in Austria and Turkey and the differentiation between skilled and unskilled women was a criterion influencing the research inherently. Therefore, this distinction needs to be described before as well.

The other chapters of this part are arranged according to the categories and the outcome of the analysis, describing the results of all interviews. Comparison of the analysis results, including the theoretical aspects outlined above and discussing these within the single chapters, will offer the data leading to the final results of this research in the conclusion of this thesis.

3.1 Research Situation and Interview Analysis

Narrative interviews which focus on biographical narrations were used as the main research method. In the first draft of this thesis, other methods were planned as well. They had to be dropped because of different reasons, but in order to ensure openness of this research this also has to be revealed.

Besides the interviews, participant observation was planned, like spending time with the women and accompanying them in their everyday life for getting an impression of their actual living situation and their surroundings. This method would have led to a much broader material of data and would have added another perspective. A simple reason for not doing it has been lack of time and financial resources within this research, wherefore it would not have been possible to observe all interview partners in an equal way. Since completeness of data would not have been ensured, it was tried to get a deeper insight to these aspects during the interviews. Similar to this, the idea of planned group interviews or discussions with relatives, neighbours and friends of the women interviewed had to be dropped. There was not enough time for establishing a foundation of trust between the interview partners, what made it difficult to get access to their social surroundings. This method would have been a good auxiliary, especially for getting information about the perception and recognition of the women, but during interview analysis I realised that the women themselves talked very openly about this aspect. Way more than other people may do, it has to be taken into account and analysed as well that they mentioned it by themselves, although this has to be seen from a critical point of view.

Interview situations varied because of several circumstances during research period, as already mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. All three women interviewed in Austria were met personally in a public café in Vienna and a face-to-face conversation was held lasting between 45 minutes and 1 ½ hours. To ensure that the women would be at a place where they feel comfortable and familiar with, the place to meet was chosen by themselves. In Turkey, there were three interview meetings although at one of them two women were met at the same time. Similar to the situation in Austria, the interviews were face-to-face conversations in a location chosen by the women themselves. One other woman could not be met personally because of lack of time, but she was willing to answer selected questions by email. During analysis, the differing circumstances of the interview situations had to be taken into account. Being aware of the fact that face-to-face conversations offer qualitative data created in an interactive way with the researcher herself, the other interview also forms part of

the analysis as it also gives answers needed for research, even if it contains limited information.

The analysis tool used for interview analysis is based on two methods of surveys which are also dealing with the topic of female Turkish origin migrants and social mobility. Text interpretation as used by Wolbert is one method and the other one is biographical interview analysis by Bude. Both of them will be exemplified more detailed below. These methods were chosen as they seemed to be best-fitting for analysing the narrative biographical interviews in a way to structure their contents in order to get appropriate data for comparing the different types of persons interviewed. The combination of these two qualitative analyses proved to be a fitting toolkit for this research, as the women were split up into groups of those being in Austria and those being in Turkey and also because of the differentiation into groups of skilled and unskilled women.

There has not been used a precise method toolkit for comparison of the results accessed throughout the qualitative content analysis, but ideas of anthropological experiences gathered in “Anthropology by Comparison” were taken into account. Therein it is mentioned that comparison is an anthropological practice used everywhere in anthropology’s differing sub-disciplines (Gingrich, 2002: 1). Firstly, linguistic, cultural and institutional difficulties are talked about and secondly, public responsibility of anthropology today is mentioned (ibid.: 7f.). Being self-reflexive within this research, the fact that comparison is basically rooted in anthropological activities involving cultural translation, the attempt to analyse and represent “human activities and relations in one sociocultural context for audiences in another sociocultural setting” is taken into account from a critical point of view as within this research Austrian and Turkish sociocultural contexts are involved (ibid.: 8). An essential aspect mentioned, which has to be regarded in the analysis as well, are hierarchies of powers which undoubtedly consist within the research and its participants.

Reflexive methodology was tried to be conducted during research, without focussing too much on a special methodology in order to have a free approach to the research field.

“The research process constitutes a (re)construction of the social reality in which researchers both interact with the agents researched and, actively interpreting, continually create images for themselves and for others: images which selectively highlight certain claims as to how conditions and processes - experiences, situations, relations - can be understood, thus supressing alternative interpretations.” (Alnession/Sköldberg, 2000: 6)

Reflexive methodology is essential for conversation analysis too, since it is pointing out three prerequisites which have to be regarded: Structural features are recurring with ordinary conversation and conversation is always context-bound which characterises all interactions

(Alnession/Sköldberg, 2000: 42). To analyse conversations, it is necessary to break them up into segments. One needs to be aware that there is no meaning on its own, but that everything is constructed and that the rhetorician has to be seen embedded within a social and political context (ibid.: 246).

As mentioned in the introduction of this second empirical part of this thesis, it is aimed at reaching an interaction between theoretical approaches presented in the first part and the empirical data showed and analysed in this part, built on the idea that “the researcher allows empirical material to inspire, develop and reshape theoretical ideas” (ibid.: 249).

The interpretation of interviews already starts when first deciding who to ask for giving an interview and also what to ask these persons. One also needs to be aware, when analysing interviews, that the person interviewed also makes interpretations (ibid.: 261f.). The researcher’s presence and the fact that he or she is interviewing a person has already an impact on the content of what they will tell, as they often tell what they think the researcher wants to hear (Bauer/Gaskell, 2000: 6). It is essential to mention the major aim of this survey to get the desired results, which is best described in the following words:

“Although empirical material can not unambiguously verify or falsify theories, it can generate arguments for or against championing of theoretical ideas and particular way of understanding the world. Empirical material is important, but it has to be seen as an expression of negotiable, perspective-dependent interpretations and as conveyed in an ambiguous language.” (Alnession/Sköldberg, 2000: 275)

That needs to be acknowledged for achieving a good research and a “qualitatively new understanding of relevant fragments of social reality” shall be enabled by being aware of the criterion of interpretative richness. (Alnession/Sköldberg, 2000: 279). Throughout the following analysis of informal conversation or at least unstructured narrative interviews, the final goal is to “uncover hidden order of the informal world of everyday life.” (Bauer/Gaskell, 2000: 5)

All of the interviews were carried out in German language as this was the language mostly used for a major time of the women’s lives and necessary aspects of the conversation could have gone lost by calling in an interpreter for Turkish. Some parts of the conversations which are used for demonstration and analysis within the empirical part were translated into English by myself.

3.1.1 The Interview Partners

Some interviews were held face-to-face, others only via email because of time and destination issues, as described in the introduction. In order to get an idea about who is talked about in the following chapters, I want to give a short personal description of each woman, as far as information was available and to be able to distinguish between skilled and unskilled, as well as between those who are planning to migrate and those who have already migrated. In general, there were met two unskilled women and one skilled woman in Austria, one unskilled woman and three skilled ones in Turkey and one further email respond of a semi-skilled woman. These interviews form the research material for this thesis.

3.1.2 Interviews in Austria

All in all, three interviews were conducted in Austria and all of them were face-to-face conversations. In chronological order of the interview taking, I will give a brief introduction to each of them.

Filiz

Filiz was met as first interview partner on 2nd December 2011 in a café in a shopping mall in Vienna. Although she was very busy and stressed as she had started at a new workplace and had moved to Vienna only short time before, it seemed important to her to meet because several dates had been arranged and postponed again till the meeting finally took place. Contact was established by her brother, who I personally know as a former working colleague. Filiz has already experienced migration several times as she was born in East Anatolia and moved to Istanbul with her family at the age of 6. At the age of 8 she came to Austria and grew up in Lower Austria, close to Vienna. She attended primary and compulsory school in Lower Austria. Because of financial problems in her family, she quit school at the age of 15 and started working in the production sector for five years. When she was 20 years old, she travelled to Turkey for the first time again, one year later she married her husband, who came to Austria for studying in 2004 and wants to stay here. She completed a course for hotel and catering assistant and started working at a fast food chain where she aims to become manager wherefore she is already in training there. After reaching this goal, she wants to save some money and go to Turkey in five years.

Yeliz

Yeliz was met on 26th December 2011 in a café near the University of Vienna. She is 26 years old and was born in Vienna. After grammar school she was not sure whether she should study or not, but as her father wanted it, she started studying turcology after she had tried some other subjects at the University of Vienna. She was always thinking of moving to Turkey even as a child, so she plans to finish university in summer 2012 and wants to move to Turkey immediately afterwards. Contact was established through social networks where I posted my announcement for interview partners at the page of the Department for Turcology of the University of Vienna.

Sümeysra

Sümeysra was met on 17th March 2012 at Mariahilferstrasse in Vienna in a café. Contact with her was made by Yeliz, who is a friend of Sümeysra.

She is 29 years old and was born in Austria. After primary school in Vienna she was sent to grammar school in Ankara at the age of 13. After taking the A-levels, she came back to Austria and started studying, but quit because her graduation didn't get acknowledged in Austria. She went back to Turkey again where she took the A-levels for another time to reach a higher score and started studying German philology in Istanbul. After some time, she quit that as well and opened a café with a friend in Kadiköy. They shut it down after about one year and she decided to go back to Austria again. There, she underwent two further trainings for fitness trainer and nutritionist. Sümeysra wants to work in Austria for one or two years to save some money and go back to Turkey afterwards. There, she plans to work as a nutritionist at a hospital or another plan would also be to open a fitness studio in Istanbul.

3.1.3 Interviews in Turkey

In Turkey there were three interview situations, but at two of them, other persons were present as well. During one interview, mother and daughter were interviewed at the same time and at another one, the woman interviewed came together with her Austrian friend, who had migrated with her to Turkey. Furthermore, one woman answered questions only via email as she could not be met personally for time and destination reasons.

Elif and Ayse

Elif and Ayse were met on 3rd January 2012 at Taksim, Istanbul. Elif is Ayse's mother, who came to Austria at the age of 19 to study architecture at the Technical University of Vienna in the 1980s. She met her husband in Vienna, who also came from Turkey for studying in Austria. While she was writing her doctor's thesis, Ayse was born in Vienna. When Ayse was 10 years old, they decided to move back to Turkey. Ayse had been sent to her grandparents and had lived with them in Istanbul one year before Elif and her husband went back. In 2006 Elif and her husband also moved to Istanbul. Elif is now working at a university in Istanbul and Ayse is in the final class at the St. Georgs College, an Austrian school in Istanbul with very high standards.

Fatma

Fatma was met on 7th January 2012 in Kartal, Istanbul in a café of her choice. Fatma was born in Baden near Vienna and grew up there. She also attended elementary school there and went to grammar school in Eisenstadt, after that she went to a school in Vienna with focus on domestic economy and languages for 5 years. Afterwards, she started college near Vienna and graduated as Master for economic counselling, specialising on Marketing and Sales, where all courses were held in English. She was among one of the first groups of this course of studies offered at that college that time. After three years, she graduated as Bachelor and after further two years she made her Master's degree. In the third semester she made an exchange semester in order to experience the Turkish student life at a university in Eskişehir. Before starting the Master's courses she had to do an internship, which she decided to do in Turkey. She got a job in a German steel factory in Istanbul where she stayed for six months. After she had graduated college, she went to Turkey with her family over summer and started looking for jobs in Turkey. As it was not as easy as expected she went back to Austria in September and continued looking for jobs on the Internet. She applied for a job at an Austrian company in Upper Austria, which she got in November 2009. First, she had to pass an apprenticeship at the headquarters which also included training at a subsidiary in Mexico. In September 2010 she started working in the branch office in Istanbul, which had been founded shortly before. Fatma was the first woman engaged in that office and was working as a logistics expert there at the time the interview was taken.

Asina

Asina and her Austrian friend were met on 8th January 2012 in a café in Bostancı. Asina was born in Austria and grew up in Lower Austria near Vienna. At the time of the interview she was 19 years old. She attended vocational school in Wiener Neustadt, Lower Austria, and underwent educational training as an accountant there. Her father wanted her to become a financial accountant, so she could take over his accounting firm one day. With her friend she went on a holiday to Antalya for two weeks in September 2010. During this holiday their wish moving to Turkey intensified and together with her friend they started thinking what they could do to realise their plan. They applied as holiday reps at a German travel company and started working in different hotels in Antalya during summer time. After that, they moved to Istanbul where they could live in the flat of Asina's father. One month later they got a job at a German company in the sales division where they both were still working when the interview was done.

Seher

Seher was the woman who was willing to answer some questions via email. She was born in Turkey and came to Austria at the age of 12 because her father had already lived in Vienna. From that on, she lived for 23 years in Vienna, attended secondary modern school and afterwards vocational school for the retail sector. From 1991 to 2007 she was working at a supermarket, at first as apprentice and afterwards as manager. Although she described her life as economically successful, she wanted to reach more in social terms. During maternity leave from 2006 to 2008 she made a university training for interculturality and communication at community college. In 2007 she resigned from the supermarket and started working as consultant at a women's helpline against male violence while writing her diploma thesis. Afterwards, she started as social consultant at another advisory centre and as a coach at the municipal administration in Vienna. In September 2010 she resigned from both jobs because she decided to live in Turkey. As the decision to move to Turkey was already made in 2005, the whole family could prepare for 5 years before moving there.

3.1.4 Expert Interview

Another interview was conducted with Dr. Barbara Pusch, who studied sociology, turcology, philosophy and ethnology at the University of Vienna, working as research assistant at the Orient-Institut in Istanbul. Acting from 2001 to 2009 as Research Assistant to the Director at the Orient-Institut Istanbul, she additionally lectured part-time at the University of Vienna and collaborated on the project "Cultural Capital during Migration". Since September 2009 she holds a research fellowship at the Orient-Institut Istanbul currently working on various aspects of international migration to Turkey (Orient-Institut Istanbul, 15.12.2011). As she is working on migration to Turkey and one of her last surveys was dealing with emigration of highly skilled people from Germany to Turkey, the conversation was enriching and also important for the reflexive approach as being able to see the topic from another perspective.

3.2 *How to Analyse*

Doing empiric research and analysing interviews is not bound to straight rules and can not be done in a special order. Still, there need to be some points of reference for reading life stories and analysing them with regard to a special context.

One aspect is the decision or the realisation of migration. It is a point of change within a person's life which causes changing life circumstances (Wolbert 1984: 17). Next to the geographical moving, migration also has to be seen as a process of transition within a spatial and cultural scope in which the migrating person adopts a special role within a precise phase of life (ibid.). An individual meets a challenge for him- or herself by migration, as a process of ensuring or changing one's own identity happens (Wolbert 1984: 18). People are facing other demands throughout migration than they have to face in their home country, when accomplishing the demand of the subjective goal in an objective way is a process within social context (Wolbert 1984: 19). The accomplishment, which is happening within that process again and again, is important for the migrating person to realise the sense of migration (Wolbert 1984: 20).

Wolbert distinguishes between subjective, thematic and interpretational relevance. Subjective relevance shows how interpretations and assessments of migrants are dependent on their wishful thinking, what topic they are addressing and what seems interesting or problematic to them considering their life circumstances (Wolbert 1984: 23). Thematic relevance shows how

perceived things are interpreted and how information gets filtered by one's perception. Migrants develop interpretational relevance which is leading one's migration accomplishment and, in further sense, one's acting and criterions for decision-making. It leads to motivation relevance which has to be split up into motives which are rational and motives which are planned or wished for (Wolbert 1984: 25).

Working with a biographical approach means to see everyday activities as basis of investigation (Wolbert 1984: 36). Although influencing factors like the interviewer and the circumstances of the interview situation have to be taken into account too, analysis of life stories makes it possible to see the subjective side of migration accomplishment (Wolbert 1984: 37).

Wolbert states the following about the analysis of life stories:

“Der frei produzierte autobiographische Text ist also dazu geeignet, Erzählungsinhalte, die auf Lebensinhalte schließen lassen und subjektive Phaseneinteilungen zu ermitteln.“ (Wolbert 1984: 39)³³

It is necessary within analysis to be aware of the single stages of narrative. These stages have to be seen as life stages which represent the particular involvement of reality within the points of narrative (Wolbert 1984: 42). Further, it is important to uncover general traits and noticing intervening variables like social or cultural origin. Individual characteristics have to be abstracted and subjective perspectives of migrants implied on objective points of problems within migration accomplishment (Wolbert 1984: 43). Building categories directly on the basis of the gathered material has to be seen as an advantage when dealing with biographical material and handling this in an interpretative way (Wolbert 1984: 44).

As the analysing process of Wolbert seems very clear in her study of “Heiratsmigration”³⁴ I want to explore this more detailed as I also want to follow her strategy within my own interview analysis.

The main research tool is text interpretation, which Wolbert splits up into process analysis and theme analysis of the text. The process analysis is used to decode the subjective interpretations of life process of the people interviewed. Theme analysis, which enables to realise life contents, interpretations, decisions and perceptions of the interview partners is the other step. Then, context analysis follows when life context and research context are taken into account (Wolbert 1984: 45).

³³ „The freely produced autobiographical text is therefore used for ascertaining narrative contents, which are implying on life contents and subjective arrangement of phases.“ (translated by Julia Kendler)

³⁴ “Marriage migration”

Within text analysis a theme analysis is entailed for systematising thematic relevance uncovering features, generalisations and social interpretative patterns as well as motivations (Wolbert 1984: 53ff.).

Process analysis follows then to analyse the structure of the text and its narrative organisation of the life story which is reflecting on its mental organisation. Life phases can be decoded by frequent bounds between different times, and also the way how detailed incidents are described has to be analysed (Wolbert 1984: 58ff.).

Aspects which are connected in real life are split during theme and process analysis, but within generalisation of the results this extended material is excluded and the single elements are considered in their connectedness (Wolbert 1984: 62). For getting a successful and satisfying result, Wolbert states the following about analysis:

“Kriterium für die Korrektheit der Synthese ist, daß [sic!] sie sämtliche Elemente entsprechend ihrer Gewichtung und gemäß der subjektiv-logischen und zeitlichen Bezogenheit aufeinander beinhaltet.“³⁵ (Wolbert 1984: 62)

One has to get closely into all details without losing the entirety when presenting the results for analysing the interviews.

For Wolbert, a narrative interview can not only be seen as a distributor of information, but it has a biographical character which enables insights into meanings that would not have been possible to discover during the situation the narrating happened (Wolbert 1995: 43). The verbal self-representation influenced by today's media has to be considered which gives insight to interpretive patterns, seeing the interview as an action that has to be observed participatory too (Wolbert 1995: 44).

Especially in this research, where expectations of a better life shall be investigated in terms of upward social mobility, it is necessary to realise people's expectations of life within their understanding of lifestyle. That correlates with their interpretations of life valid for them as well as social relationships opened or closed and the amount of income available (Bude 1987: 40). Therefore, it is necessary to analyse how each individual is defining its subjective chances of rising within society, termed here as upward social mobility. (Bude 1987: 32). Each person has its own life construction being confronted with circumstances and happenings that influence one's own life and is answering them with actions and omissions. But life of a person is also governed by rules which one is only seldom aware of, nevertheless the scope of these rules impact the whole life (Bude 1987: 76).

³⁵ “Criterion for the correctness of the synthesis is that the complete elements are contained appropriate to their emphasis and according to the subjective-logical and temporal consecutively relatedness.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

Bude states this as follows:

“Damit sind die Bestimmungen des Begriffs der Lebenskonstruktion gewonnen: Konstruktivität, Regularität und Totalität. Unter einer Lebenskonstruktion soll das tragende Regelgerüst eines individuellen Lebens verstanden werden.“³⁶ (Bude 1987: 76)

The effect of these rules can be understood when differentiating between two modalities of subjective life reality. Bude distinguishes between the hidden intentions, for the subject invisible way of creation of subjective life, and the actual intentions one is having in his or her life (Bude 1987: 76). It is an essential differentiation between sense and intention which can be conveyed to language. Language tells more than one wants to and sense contained in the words said is exceeding the meant intention (Bude 1987: 77). Throughout this differentiation of sense and intention it is possible to research the logic of formation of subjective lifestyles without addressing subjective purposes or plans, but researching life construction in its real meaning of hidden order of individual life's structure (Bude 1987: 77).

In terms of analysing interviews, Bude therefore argues that the art of interpretation lies in uncovering unexpected relations between phenomena (Bude 1987: 104). Similar to his investigation of “Deutsche Karrieren”³⁷, texts about everyday life form the research object. Helping himself and the readers with a musical metaphor, he describes the process of analysis as follows:

“Es gilt, die verborgene Partitur dieses Sprachwerks zu entschlüsseln: welche Grundmelodie zu vernehmen ist, wie sie im Laufe des Gesprächs variiert wird, welche Tonarten angeschlagen werden. Dabei ist auf die Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Äußerungen zu achten: welche Echos, Widersprüche und Überlegungen zwischen ihnen bestehen. Die Interpretation zielt auf eine Hypothese über die Struktur, die aus der Reihung und Verzahnung der Äußerung im Text hervorgeht. Die Arbeit der Sinnrekonstruktion besteht in der Freilegung dieser verborgenen Struktur.“³⁸ (Bude 1987: 104)

Interpreting a text means to research at one passage of the text how coherence and consequence of the text are created.

If a comprehension hypothesis is created for one passage, it has to fit for the whole text. If this is not the case, the reconstruction of sense has to be stopped and a new hypothesis has to be found that applies to the whole text. Nevertheless, there will never be a conclusion of interpretation as stories are also stories of interpretation with unknown ending (Bude 1987:

³⁶ “Therewith determinations of the term life construction are won: constructiveness, regularity and totality. Under life construction the carrying rule framework of an individual life shall be understood.” (translated by Julia Kendler)

³⁷ „German Careers“

³⁸ “One has to decode the hidden score of this literary work: which kind of base melody can be heard, how it is varied during the conversation, what kind of modes are stroke. Thereby it is necessary to pay attention to the relations between the single expressions: what reverberations, contradictions, and dissolves exist between them. The interpretation aims for a hypothesis about the structure, which comes out of the order and interlocking of the expressions within the text. The work of reconstructing sense consists in uncovering this hidden structure.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

105). Against the narrative procedure, which is aiming at genesis of biographical piling up of experiences, the structuralistic hermeneutic used by Bude focuses on the reconstruction of an apprenticed structure of individual life. Structuralistic reading sticks to the text and searches for hidden logic therefore. At each passage, the way how something is said is more important than the array of the things said (Bude 1987: 105f.).

The way Bude is organising his research and analysis has to be outlined in order to understand the strategy which will be used in this research:

At first, one has to realise in detail what the text is about and ask if there are problems of interpretation when having a closer look at the text. Then, the passage has to be tested by different forms of reading, constructing possible contexts which shall help to differentiate the general from the special. Is it possible to understand the expression in a general way or is it only understood from the individuality of this person? The crucial leap for interpretation is made by probing the contexts of individual asymmetry for uncovering the logic of the manifesting individual within that passage (Bude 1987: 106f.). A next step is converging the reconstruction of a developed rule hypothesis of a text passage to the whole text.

Therefore, Bude describes the procedure of interview analysis as follows:

“Die Rekonstruktion der Lebenskonstruktion aus dem Text eines biographischen Interviews beruht also auf zwei methodischen Prinzipien. Das eine ist das strukturalistische Prinzip, welches beinhaltet, daß [sic!] nicht die einzelnen Äußerungen an sich, sondern die Relationen, die zwischen ihnen sich entwickeln, die Lebenskonstruktion der Person zum Ausdruck bringen. Daraus folgt das andere Prinzip des strukturalistischen Falsifikationismus, welches besagt, daß [sic!] die an einer Stelle erschlossene Deutungsregel die Totalität des Textes erfassen muß [sic!]. Das heißt, jede sinnwidrige Stelle falsifiziert die aufgestellte Strukturhypothese über die Lebenskonstruktion der Person, die sich in diesem Text artikuliert.“³⁹ (Bude 1987: 108)

This means for social research that the individual case leads to the social structure because individual behaviour evolves from inner necessity, showing the typical within the individual throughout that logic (Bude 1987: 109).

The basis for interview analysis within this research shall be a combination of the above outlined methods of interview analysis, following the thematic and process-related relevance of Wolbert and also the strategy of life reconstruction of Bude. As this research is differentiating between women who plan to migrate and women who have already migrated, the combination of both strategies is helpful. The women who have already migrated are

³⁹ “The reconstruction of life construction from a text of a biographical interview is therefore based on two methodical principles. One is the structuralistic principle, which contains, that not only expressions by itself, but relations, which are developed between them, are expressing life constructions of the person. From this follows the other principle of structuralist falsificationism, which implies that the uncovered interpretation rule at one passage has to gather the totality of the text. This means that each contrary passage falsifies the developed structure hypothesis about the life construction of a person, which is articulated within that text.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

supposed to have gone through the migratory accomplishment process Wolbert is researching in her study. In general, for the analysis of upward social mobility and “expectations of a better life”, Bude’s approach fits because life reconstructions are necessary in order to understand what the women are aiming for and how their aims have been shaped by their past life.

3.3 Planning to Go – Comparison of Those Who Want to Migrate

The aim of this thesis is to compare the situation of women who decided to move to Turkey to the situation of women who have already migrated to Turkey as outlined in the introduction. The distinction between skilled and unskilled women is made for all women who have been interviewed. The first step therefore is to compare the situation of the women who have been interviewed in Austria, showing similarities and differences of what they are expecting from their planned migration.

Within this research three women could be found, willing to give an interview for explaining their plans of migration to Turkey. Filiz, Yeliz and Sümeyra have all very different life stories, but they have in common that they are planning to migrate to Turkey. The essential questions which have to be raised are why they want to do that, what is motivating them and what they are expecting from migration.

3.3.1 Motivation for Migration – Point of Departure

Deciding to migrate is not a decision made everyday and neither is it a decision happening without any reason. Each of the women is motivated for migration by other reasons which have to be affiliated to their life experiences made in Austria and Turkey and also to their different life circumstances.

Therefore, it is necessary to start with the following three questions to get an idea of their point of departure:

- Why do people decide to migrate? Motivational issues and reasons have to be found out.
- What enables them to migrate? This has to be seen in terms of their current situation and which position they are occupying in the social field as well as the capital they are possessing.

- What are they hoping for and which opportunities do they see for themselves by migrating?

As outlined in the theoretical part, the situation in Austria for people of Turkish origin is often described as rather unsatisfying, especially in terms of education, job market and also political terms, therefore it is essential to find out what kind of change they are hoping for by migration. For better understanding I will first answer these three questions for each woman separately in order to compare the results at the end of this chapter.

3.3.2 The Dream of Drawing

In Filiz's case there are several forms of motivation or reasons why she wants to migrate. In order to find out why she wants to migrate, it is necessary to have a look at her life experiences that influenced her and her perception of life in Austria and Turkey. Generally, there are two aspects appearing several times during the interview, showing her experiences and on the further way her motivation, which are on the one hand negative experiences during her childhood and on the other hand a rather negative attitude towards working life in Austria. In her narratives, she started with her bad experiences in her childhood, after she came to Austria. As she was not born in Austria and moved there at the age of eight, she had to face difficulties in school regarding language problems as she couldn't speak German when she started going to school in Austria. Furthermore, she felt rejected not having the financial means for modern clothes, as she was used to school uniforms in Turkey. In secondary modern school she had the feeling that teachers didn't like them. Using the plural at this point is very interesting as she is seeing herself as part of an unwanted group.

But financial problems are dominating her memories of childhood in Austria:

“...und stell' dir vor, das war auch so blöd irgendwie, weil normalerweise is' Österreich so ein Land. Es wird finanziert, dass du in die Schule gehen kannst, zum Beispiel Familienbeihilfe und so, aber das hat nicht gereicht, weißt du?“ (Filiz, Interview. 2.12.2011)⁴⁰

When Filiz is saying that it was not enough, she is referring to the fact that she and her brother had to quit school for being able to start to work in order to help her father to pay back his credit. This is the main aspect which is on her mind and what she is connecting to her experiences and feelings in Austria:

⁴⁰ „...and imagine, that was also stupid somehow, because normally Austria is such a country. There is financing, so you can go to school, for example child benefit and so, but that was not enough, you know?“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

“...Also in Österreich wars blöd, weil mein Papa hat aah so viel Kredit ghabt und wir haben das einfach, ja der, also wir haben immer finanzielle Probleme ghabt zuerst, weißt du?” (Filiz, Interview. 2.12.2011)⁴¹

This aspect of financial insecurity influences her a lot and is connected to her perception of Austrian life. This explains why she wants to achieve something in Austria first, expecting a lot of opportunities in Turkey when having enough economic capital:

“Und das will ich dann machen, wenn ich wirklich. Ok, jetzt bin ich in Österreich, jetzt denk ich, ok, jetzt muss ich hier etwas erreichen, dass ich dann das alles hab und dann, dass ich dann in Türkei bessere Leben haben kann. Wenn ich jetzt so nach Türkei wieder zurück komme, das bringt mir nichts, weißt du? Dann hab ich noch schöneres Leben, weißt du?” (Filiz, Interview. 2.12.2011)⁴²

This shows that Filiz has aversions to Austria on the one hand because of bad experiences in her childhood and also later when she had to work in order to help her family and on the other hand she is hoping for a better life in Turkey. What she means by better life will be explored at a later stage of the paper, but there still needs to be explained what she is hoping for as this shows the reason why she wants to make headway first in Austria.

Interestingly, Filiz doesn't seem to feel as an Austrian although she has spent more time of her life there and has just started visiting Turkey at the age of 21. Having a look at her position, it gets clearer though because she is within a social network, dominantly Turkish, as she is telling that she has only Turkish friends except of one Austrian friend.

Obviously, she is in a position she doesn't want to be, looking for changes and heading for options. By now, she is not seeing herself in the position of being able to migrate because she wants to achieve a better position at work in Austria before, that's why she also moved to Vienna. She wants to save money first, so that she can afford a flat and other things in Turkey then.

“Ja und jetzt (seufzt) versuch ich es also nach der Schule hab ich jetzt bei McDonalds angefangen. Ich hoffe es wird was, wenn ich mal dort Manag als Managerin anfangen kann, will ich dann also ein bisschen Geld verdienen und so---Ja und dann, wenn es sich nach 5 Jahren oder so. Nach 5 Jahren will ich schon dann zurück nach Türkei.“ #00:08:33-2 (Filiz, Interview. 2.12.2011)⁴³

⁴¹ „Therefore it was stupid in Austria, because my father had aah such a high credit and we simply had to, yes he, well, we always had financial problems first, you know?” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁴² „And that's what I want to do then, when I really. Ok, now I am in Austria, now I think, ok, now I have to achieve something here, so I have everything then and then, that I then have a better life in Turkey. If I go back to Turkey like that, it's pointless for me, you know? Then I have more beautiful life, you know?” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁴³ “Yes and now (sigh) I try it so I started at McDonalds after school now. I hope it will work, when I will be manag starting as a manager there, I want to earn a little bit of money and so....Yes and then, when it will be after 5 years or so. After 5 years I want to go back to Turkey then.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

She sees no possibility for migration in the very near future, but she has set herself a time limit of five years. She is convinced that she can achieve what she wants to as she has already reached a part of her aim by moving to Vienna and working in the position she really wanted. Her husband plays a central role within the social structure, being a motivator for her to gain upward social mobility as he has persuaded her to start further training and stop working in the production sector. Nevertheless, he is also hindering her in her plans as he doesn't want to go back to Turkey. Filiz hopes to be able to convince him, having more options and possibilities in Turkey when they will have enough financial resources.

A main topic in Filiz's interview is economic capital. Her childhood experiences, like migrating because of lack of money and being rejected at school because of financial reasons, influenced her a lot. Her later experiences, like quitting school for working in the production sector in order to help paying back the father's credit, shows correlation to financial insecurity throughout her life as well.

Considering time and space it is a reasonable plan that she wants to amount economic capital in the next five years in Austria, as accumulation of capital needs time and the amounted capital can be transferred in Turkey as it is valued in a higher level and is opening her more possibilities.

Thus, economic aspects are relevant to her, being able to afford a flat in Turkey for instance. Additionally, this also enables her to win some time in order to fulfil her wish for having time to draw what she couldn't have done in her position occupied before in the production sector. Therefore, she wants to escape from this negatively associated time of her life. Another factor is her thinking of identity too. In Austria she doesn't feel being equally treated to an Austrian person when applying for a job for instance, but in Turkey she is arguing that she is able to change her identity as she thinks she could "hide" her Kurdish identity and pretend to be Turkish. Even though she has to change herself for not being rejected, she is convinced of being happier in Istanbul as she points out that one can assimilate everywhere as long as he or she is happy there. Being happy is not coercively correlated to living in Istanbul for her though, but rather being in a surrounding she is feeling comfortable in. She expresses this very clearly when saying:

“Ja, und dann hab ich ma dacht, ok, in Österreich, also in Türk in der Türkei hab ich schon viele Vorteile, weißt du? Und...hab ma dacht, also kauf ich ma eine Wohnung dann hab ich genug Geld und so, weißt du und dann hab ich halt die Leute neben mir, weißt du, was ich wirklich will und so, Verwandte und so, ok meine Eltern werden da bleiben, aber meine Geschwister, aber, ja, wir können uns ja in Österreich auch nicht so öfters sehen, weißt du?“ (Filiz, Interview. 2.12.2011)⁴⁴

⁴⁴ “Yes, and then I was thinking, ok , in Austria, though in Turk in Turkey I have a lot of advantages, you know? And...I was thinking, though I will buy myself a flat and then I will have enough money and so, you know and

One aspect seems to be that she can be within a social network she prefers, which is in her case the family of her husband. One has to consider her connection to her own family again, as she told that she didn't really know her father when she came to Austria as a child and that he could not substitute all her relatives she had to leave in Turkey when she moved to Austria with her mother and her siblings.

Another aspect is that she hopes to escape the feared monotony and boredom of Austrian working life and hopes for other working conditions in Turkey as she is also heading for a better position, like being director of a hotel, pointing out her advantage of speaking more languages or also reaching a higher position at the fast food chain, like starting at its headquarters.

As financial aspects are again of main importance at that point, it is interesting that she adds being able to earn more money than someone who has studied.

She is not only associating economic capital and social capital with a better life in Turkey, but a very important aspect in her narratives is her passion for drawing and arts in general. Drawing seems to be some kind of symbol for her representing something positive in her life. On the one hand, it is a therapeutic tool, helping her to overcome the crisis in her childhood and she is also associating it with positive events like being fourth best at a drawing competition at school. On the other hand, it is a symbol of being in a good position of having time to pursue her favourite hobby as she was not able to do it because she had to start working in the production sector. Therefore she is hoping to fulfil her dreams of doing arts again in Turkey which can be seen as some form of upward social mobility not being in the position of working class then anymore.

Seeing all these possibilities and opportunities for herself, Filiz is also realistic as she knows both people who have returned successfully and others, like her uncle, who had to come back to Austria because of financial aspects. Furthermore, she is also aware of the fact that spending holidays with her husband's family is different from living in Turkey, but nevertheless she is convinced that if others can make it, she can make it too. This means for her to fulfil her dream like many other Turkish origins in Austria have done as well, as she thinks.

Filiz is in a preparing phase of life, as she has an actual plan of realising her migration in 5 years. It is a big challenge for her and definitely a way of changing her identity as she wants

then I have people next to me, you know, I really want to have and so, relatives and so on, ok my parents will stay here, but my siblings, but, yes, we can not see each other that often in Austria neither, you know?" (Translated by Julia Kendler)

to break out from the working class. Her subjective goal representing success and therefore upward social mobility for her seems to be the ability of having time to do arts and being able to draw again.

Seeing it as her obligation to help her family out of the financial crisis in the past, it sparked off a big crisis for herself as she got stuck in the working class. Now, she tries to break out of it and is hoping for change by migrating to Turkey.

3.3.3 The Issue of Being Greeted

Yeliz is at the end of her turcology studies in Vienna and wants to move to Turkey as soon as she has graduated, planning to finish before summer 2012 and to migrate to Turkey during summer. Reading her narratives in order to find out her motivation for migrating to Turkey, she first points out that she is not really sure why she wants to do it, when saying:

„Aber ich bin irgendwie, ich glaub an mich und ich glaub schon, dass ich das schaffe. Ich war früher auch drei Monate halt, ok. Man ist nie zufrieden, ich bin, das heißt jetzt nicht, dass ich Österreich nicht mag, oder Wien nicht mag, aber ich hab sehr viele Freunde in Wien, ich hab in der Türkei nicht so viele Freunde. Aber irgendwie zieht mich irgendwas,...meine Wurzeln oder keine Ahnung.“ (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁴⁵

At another point she is again repeating that she is not sure why she really wants to go there, telling first, that the seaside is giving her a feeling of solving her problems, but then adding:

“(lacht) Also das ist jetzt natürlich kein Grund gleich dort zu leben, aber ich weiß nicht, irgendwas, ich weiß auch selber nicht, was mich dorthin zieht, weil ich hab keinen Freund dort oder so.“ (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁴⁶

Both statements show that she feels insecure in her decision and that she doubts it because she feels comfortable with her social network, having many friends in Vienna. Furthermore, a reason of having a boyfriend in Turkey, like she knows from friends who migrate to Turkey to marry there, is irrelevant to her.

One obvious statement though is that she has dreamed of it since she was a child and that she has always wanted to raise her family in Turkey. One reason for not telling anything about her childhood and for pointing out strongly that she has dreamed of moving to Turkey one day since she was a child might be negative experiences in Austria.

⁴⁵ “But somehow I am, I believe in me and I think that I can make it. In the past I have also been three months, ok. One is never satisfied, I am, it doesn’t mean that I don’t like Austria, or I don’t like Vienna, but I have a lot of friends in Vienna, I don’t have so many friends in Turkey. But somehow something is pulling me there...my roots, or I have no clue.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁴⁶ „(laughing) Well, that’s not a reason to live there of course, but I don’t know, something, I even don’t know it myself, what is pulling me there, because I don’t have a boyfriend there or so.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

By further reading of her narratives, one can see that it's not only her own dream, but that she was motivated by her father too. He is playing a central role in her narratives as she tells that they wanted to go to Turkey together. Her father had already planned going back to Turkey for a longer time as he had bought a piece of land where he wanted to build a house. His death, which had occurred eight months before the interview was taken, represents a big crisis in Yeliz's life. Without him, she now has to face the challenge of emigrating alone, but it seems as if it is her obligation in order to fulfil her father's dream.

„Ja...und nachdem er gestorben ist, wollt ich überhaupt, will ich überhaupt dort sein, weil ich hab das Gefühl, wenn ich dann dort bin, bin ich halt näher zu ihm. Oder bei ihm, keine Ahnung. Obwohl, er eigentlich e gestorben ist, aber, ja (lacht).“ (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁴⁷

The close connection to her father and the crisis following after his death is dominating her narratives, which becomes obvious when she is later saying again:

„Irgendwie will ich dann auch seine Traum erfüllen und...“ (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁴⁸

This shows that her plans of migration are dominated by her father's dreams and that she is willing to fulfil them, although he is not living anymore. Since she is stating in other sections that her father was waiting for her to graduate, so they can migrate together, it could be possible that she even feels guilty for her father being unable to realise his plans anymore. Another motivating reason can also be associated to her family and friends by who Yeliz feels very misunderstood.

„Kann auch leider deswegen keiner nachvollziehen, weil ich halt hier geboren bin. Und meine Wurzeln eigentlich auch da sind, meine Freunde, meine Familie, die sind alle hier, aber ich hab halt immer den Traum ghabt hin zu ziehn und nachdem ich halt Turkologie angefangen hab, hat ja auch viel mit der Türkei zu tun und da kann ich ja auch mehr machen, hab ich mir halt vorgenommen, hinzuziehn, ja.“ (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁴⁹

Next to the aspect that she wants to show her family and friends that she can manage the challenge of emigrating to Turkey although she doesn't feel supported by them, as she also mentions that her sister wants to hinder her in realising her plans too and also people in Turkey are not supporting her because they think she can not live in Turkey as she was not born there, another reason can be seen in the fact that she is mentioning her subject at university as a reason. Although she didn't want to study in the beginning, she was persuaded by her father and started studying psychology. She wasn't satisfied and changed her subject to

⁴⁷ „Yes...and after he had died, I wanted anyway, anyway I want to be there, because I have the feeling, when I am there, I can be closer to him. Or with him, I have no idea, although he has already died, but, yes (laughs).“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁴⁸ „Somehow I want to fulfil his dream then and...“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁴⁹ „Unfortunately that's why no one can understand it, because I was born here (N.B. in Austria). And my roots actually are here, but I always had the dream of moving there and after I started turcology, it has a lot to do with Turkey and there I can also do more, I decided to move there, yes.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

turcology, arguing that this decision has already been connected to her plans of emigrating to Turkey later, gathering cultural knowledge which would be of use to her.

Supported by the fact that two of her friends will also go to Turkey during summer time, she doesn't feel like having to face the challenge of emigration alone, although the two of them don't stay there as she has planned. She adds that it has always been a dream of her best friend, who is going to marry in Turkey, and her to move to Turkey which also makes her feel more save.

Although she points out that she has more friends in Austria than in Turkey in the beginning, Yeliz's current situation and position within her social field is dichotomous.

“Freunde, Freunde von mir machen das, die sagen dann zu mir, nein du schaffst das nicht und was weiß ich was. Ich mach das!” (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁵⁰

And she is also arguing a second time in the conversation:

“Und wenn die Leute schon so blöd herkommen, dann denk ich mir, dann mach ichs erst recht.” (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁵¹

These are very strong words and one can feel how disappointed she is on the one hand of her friends and on the other hand how she feels being put under pressure not to fail or make a mistake by moving to Turkey. This can be seen as lack of social capital feeling misunderstood and rejected by her friends.

In terms of economic capital, she sees herself in a better position as she first wants to live in the family's flat in a smaller city near Istanbul, where she feels comfortable and wants to start looking for a job there. As her family owns this flat, she doesn't have to pay any rent, but she is thinking of looking for a flatmate, as it is a big flat and by letting it, she can get money that she can use for herself. The fact that she didn't want to look for a job when she was in Turkey for holidays, maybe also shows her insecurity and her fear of being rejected as she mentions that it could be hard for her in the beginning to find a job as she was not born in Turkey and people there do realise that. This is interesting in terms of symbolic capital, as she is afraid of not being accepted in Turkey.

Three aspects are dominating Yeliz interview when having a look at what she is really hoping for by migrating to Turkey though:

First of all, she has an idealised picture of Turkey, especially of Istanbul. She is dreaming of having a beautiful life in Turkey, saying:

⁵⁰ „Friends, friends of mine do that, they say to me then, no you will not make it and whatever. I do that!” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁵¹ „And if people come to me stupid like that, I think to myself, I will do it more than ever.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

“Ja mein Traum is ja so, überhaupt hab ich dir gesagt in Istanbul zu leben, is halt. Und wirklich halt unter der Woche arbeiten und am Wochenende kommst, ah gehst halt am Bosphorus halt Frühstückten und was weiß ich hast einen Ausblick aufs Meer.“ (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁵²

This really seems like the description of her ideal imagination of life in Istanbul and it is obvious that she is not used to the city that well, only going there when she has been on holiday in their flat in the smaller city. She adds that she only sees the positive things when she is in Istanbul, explaining that her siblings are always annoyed by trifles they wouldn't mind in Austria. That's why she is convinced of having a more beautiful life in Turkey.

She also hopes to achieve a good occupational position in Turkey. Mentioning several plans, she adds that it is important to be open-minded and flexible in order to reach one's goals. Her studies in Austria and her chosen subject of turcology are a justification for her to get a job in Turkey as she cannot imagine to find any job in Austria that is related to turcology anyway. In terms of occupational position, it is her major goal to work at the University of Istanbul, that's why she plans to start another course of studies there in order to establish contacts.

The question which arises is, why she is not hoping for getting a job at the Austrian university and why she is seeing better chances for that in Turkey? Possible reasons could be that she maybe knows someone at the University of Istanbul or that she is hoping to easier get in contact with someone, but it is obvious that she is not feeling that comfortable at the University of Vienna. Even her intention to quit and go to Turkey without graduating shows that this education doesn't have such a big meaning to her. Only because of her family, who has persuaded her to keep on and finish her diploma thesis, is the reason why she continues.

Yeliz also sees her German skills as a plus, that's why she is planning to do interpretation as a side job, but her main focus is laid on a job at the university. Nevertheless, she also mentions that she wants to found a language institute which maybe represents her flexibility, but also her insecurity. It shows though, that she is definitely heading for upward social mobility as she is also mentioning that she wouldn't go to Turkey if she wasn't hoping for a better job there than she expects in Austria. Without seeing that as a possible option, she could also stay in Austria doing a job as a saleswoman as she is giving as an example.

Yeliz is heading for a good position, explicitly stating that she doesn't want to have any financial problems which can be seen in the following statement too:

⁵² „Yes my dream is so, generally I told you to live in Istanbul, that's it. And really to work during the week and at the weekend you come, ah you go and take breakfast along the Bosphorus and I don't know, the view of the seaside.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

“Solange ich nicht Brot verkaufen muss oder so (lacht) ... Na, soweit wirds nicht kommen. (lacht) ... Ja. Na das könnt ich ma nicht vorstellen. Also so eine einfachen Job, weil da verdienst du wirklich sehr wenig.“ (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁵³

Therefore, financial security is essential to her and for achieving that, she doesn't see any other option than pursuing an academic career. Interestingly, she is referring to one professor of her courses in turcology when she says that shuttle migration is a very popular phenomenon today and that she would also like to have a job where she can work in Turkey and Austria. As an example, she mentions dreaming of doing lectures at universities in both countries.

The third aspect she is hoping for by migrating to Turkey is having a good neighbourhood. This is based on her experiences she made spending time during holiday in the city where her family owns a flat. As she is not feeling foreign there, it is a motivating issue which she is reasoning by the issue of greeting:

“Weil, ich mag diese Nachbarschaft, wenn du dann auf die Straße gehst und jeder grüßt dich. ... Hier, weil im Wohnviertel kennt dich ja fast jeder. Und, wenn ich dann, also wenn ich dann im Urlaub halt im Sommer in der Türkei bin und ich geh dann Brot kaufen und dann grüßt mich wirklich jeder, oder jeder zweite Nachbar halt, das mach ich auch. Und das gefällt mir. Und das, da werd ich mich irgendwie nicht so fremd fühlen. (...) Aber es is wieder so, wo man sich, hier zum Beispiel, ich weiß nicht, ah, wies bei den andern is, bei den Nachbarn. Ich kenn nur zwei Nachbarn aus meiner Wohnnnn... Die andern, die grüßen mich nicht einmal. Ich grüß. Die grüßen nicht einmal zurück. Aber in der Türkei, is es wirklich so, dass die Nachbarn sich gegenseitig besuchen und so. Ich glaub schon, dass auch in Istanbul so ist, ich weiß es nicht, also kenn halt, ich hab keine Freunde, die halt auf der europäischen Seite so richtig leben.. Aber ich denk schon, dass es der Fall ist. Ok, ich muss das jetzt nicht unbedingt haben oder so, aber ... Es ist irgendwie so ein Gefühl, wo man sich dann nicht fremd fühlt. (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁵⁴

This passage is very important, not only because she is explaining it very detailed, but also because it is an essential aspect in terms of symbolic capital. Even in an earlier section she mentioned that it is important what neighbours are thinking of her. As an example she mentions that it is no problem if male friends visit her in Vienna, but she would be afraid of what the neighbours would be thinking of her in Turkey. Again, idealisation of Istanbul is obvious within that phrase too, as she doesn't know how it is to live there.

⁵³ „As long as I don't have to sell bread or something like that (laughing) ... Na, it will not come that far. (laughing) ... Yes. Na, I couldn't imagine that. Such a simple job, because you earn really little there.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁵⁴ „Because, I like that kind of neighbourhood, when you are going onto the street then and everybody is greeting you. ... Here, because in the residential quarter almost everybody knows you. And, then when I am, I mean when I am on holiday in summer in Turkey and I go to buy bread then everybody is really greeting me, or maybe every second neighbour, that's what I am also doing. And I like that. And that, I will not feel so foreign then, somehow. But it's again like that, where you, here (N.B.: Austria) for example, ah, I don't know how it is with the others, with the neighbours. I only know two neighbours from my residential... The other ones, they don't even greet me. I am greeting. They don't even greet back. But in Turkey, it is really like that, that neighbours visit each other and so on. I also think, that it is like that in Istanbul, I don't know it, I don't have friends, who are really living on the European side.. But I definitely think that it is the case. Ok, I don't necessarily need this or so, but ... Somehow, it is a feeling, where one is not feeling foreign anymore.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

An interesting point next to all her hopes for her decision to migrate to Turkey is that she mentions many negative aspects or disadvantages she is aware of or she is seeing for herself when moving to Turkey. She calls this problem “the Turkish system”. This though is necessary to be seen within the context of her father’s death as she was the one who had to manage all bureaucratic issues after her father’s death in Turkey where she experienced a lot of difficulties.

“Ja, also eine kann ich sagen, ich hab gemerkt im Sommer, wie ich, ich war ja wegen Verlassenschaften von meinem Vater dort, dass das System ganz anders ist (lacht) Wenn man irgendwas machen muss, halt zum Notar gehn. Oder was weiß ich was. (...) In der Türkei stirbt jemand, aber du gehst zu einem Mann, der eben Notar arbeitet oder was weiß ich ähm is halt so zum jeweiligen Amt und sagst was ich machen soll, der kennt sich selber nicht aus. Da denkst dir, ok wenn sich diese Person nicht auskennt, also hier weiß jeder was zu tun wäre, wenn jemand stirbt. Aber dort hab ich das so, also ich hab zwei Monate lang gebraucht, bis ich einen Schritt weiter gekommen bin. Also da hab ich wirklich gedacht, das ist ziemlich schwierig. (...) Also es hat mich, ja ich sag, also da hab ich mir gedacht, „Oh Gott, wie mach ich das dann, wenn ich da in der Türkei leben will.“ Also da war ich dann wirklich alleine in der Türkei, sie sind alle dann zurückgefahren und in einer 120m² Wohnung alleine zu bleiben, zwei Wochen lang, also ich hab jeden Tag weinen müssen, ganz alleine. Dann war eben mein Vater, mein Vater war halt gestorben, keiner hat sich darum gekümmert außer mich, außer ich halt, da war ich schon sehr sauer. ... Auf das System dort halt. ... Deswegen...also ich hoffe, ich werd sicher viel zu tun dort ah damit haben, wenn ich dann dort leben werde, aber ich hoffe, dass ich dann nicht so viele Schwierigkeiten haben werde.“ (Yeliz, Interview. 26.12.2011)⁵⁵

The crisis in her life caused by her father’s death is again represented throughout that section and furthermore it shows that she feels like coping with it all alone. Interestingly, she blames the Turkish system for her problems, whereas she is maybe indirectly disappointed that her family left her alone with that burden. Although this experience was hard for her, it also encouraged her of being able to manage other obstacles occurring when she will migrate to Turkey. The status of having Austrian citizenship makes her think positively about migrating, as she will get a “blue card”⁵⁶ and additionally makes her feel secure as she doesn’t lose her right of living in Austria in case she has to go back again. As she knows other people who had tried it but had to go back again, this is on her mind too. Generally, she hopes for starting over in Turkey though, starting a new life.

⁵⁵ “Yes, one thing I can say is, I have realised that summer when I, I have been there because of the legacies of my father, that the system is totally different. (laughing) If you have to do something, for example going to the notary. Or I don’t know, whatever. In Turkey, someone dies, but you go to a man, who is working as notary or I know aahm, to the current department and say what I have to do, he is not well versed himself. Then you think, ok if that person is not well versed, here everybody knows what has to be done, if someone dies. But there I had to, well, it took me two months, until I got one step further. Well, I really thought, that’s quite difficult. (...) Well, it made me, yes I said, well I thought to myself, “Oh God, how will I do it then, when I want to live in Turkey.” So, I had been really alone in Turkey, they had all gone back and to stay alone in a 120m² flat, two weeks, well, I had to cry everyday, all alone. Then my father, my father had died then, nobody cared of that except me, except me, I had been really angry then. ... At that system there. ... That’s why...well, I hope, I will definitely have a lot to do there ah with that, when I am going to live there, but I hope that I will not have so many difficulties then.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁵⁶ Mavi Kart see also: <http://www.deutsch-tuerkische-nachrichten.de/2011/10/231822/gute-nachrichten-fuer-im-ausland-lebende-tuerken/>

3.3.4 The Habit of Migration

In terms of emigration to Turkey, Sümeyra's position is a quite exceptional one, as she has already practiced some kind of shuttle migration between Vienna and Istanbul in her life. She was born in Austria and was sent to school in Ankara at the age of 13, then she also started university in Turkey. In 2001 she came back to Austria as she was not satisfied in Turkey and started studying in Vienna. Because of bureaucratic issues, she quit after one month. From 2005 to 2011 she lived in Istanbul. At the moment the interview was taken she has lived in Vienna again for over one year.

Sümeyra's future plans are to stay in Austria for one or two years and then finally go back to Istanbul where she plans to stay, that's why I also took her as an interview partner into my research.

Sümeyra explains as motivating aspects or reasons why she wants to live in Istanbul instead of Vienna that life is too monotonous for her in Vienna. As she knows both places and is able to make comparisons, contrary to the other two women who only know Istanbul from holiday, her expectations are different. Although she feels more comfortable and safer in Vienna when being outside at night time for instance, she seems bored though. Especially the lack of a good social network is troubling her in Vienna, isolating herself, whereas the situation in Istanbul is a very different one for her:

„Ja wenn du in Istanbul bist, zwei drei Wochen lang oder was weiß ich, kannst du dann nicht mehr zurückkommen, weil das Leben halt einfach so. Also nicht nur partymäßig, die Leute sind auch anders. Und die Kommunikation und so weiter. Seit dem ich in Wien bin, geh ich weder raus, hab auch weder viele Freunde. In Istanbul war das nicht so, kannst dich mit jedem unterhalten und die reden auch mit dir. Bei mir wars hier zum Beispiel sehr schwer, im Kurs zum Beispiel, da waren wir 10 Leute und die haben überhaupt nicht miteinander geredet. Ich bin 9 Stunden lang gesessen und niemand hat miteinander geredet, die waren so komisch drauf, aber ich hab das zum Beispiel dort nie erlebt. Ich hab 1000e Freunde gehabt. Oder wenn du dort im Kaffeehaus sitzt kannst auch mit den anderen irgendwie reden und so und niemand schaut dich dann so an: „Wieso redet sie mit mir?“..“ (Sümeyra, Interview. 17.3.2012)⁵⁷

Communication is a very important issue for her that makes her feel comfortable. Mentioning to have thousands of friends in Istanbul, shows that she focuses on her social network in Turkey, which is of more importance as she is not really looking for one in Austria.

⁵⁷ „Yes, when you are in Istanbul for two, three weeks or whatever, you can't come back anymore, because life is just so. Well not only in terms of party, people are also different. And communication and so on. Since I am in Vienna, I am neither going out, nor do I have a lot of friends. It was not like that in Istanbul, you can talk to everybody and they are talking to you too. For me it was very difficult here for example, at the course for example, we have been ten people and they didn't say anything to each other. I was sitting for nine hours and nobody was talking to each other, they have been so strange, but I have never experienced something like that there for instance. I had thousands of friends. Or when you are sitting in a coffee shop there you can somehow talk with everybody and so on and nobody is looking at you like that: "Why is she talking to me?".. (Translated by Julia Kendler)

Her family is also playing an important role as her father has already gone to Istanbul 6 years ago and her two sisters and her mother also plan to migrate to Istanbul in the near future. Her mother, being half of the year in Austria and the other half of the year in Istanbul, is already practicing shuttle migration. Sümeyra had also lived in Istanbul with her elder sister before, with whom she was also sent to school in Ankara in her childhood. Her sister is also back in Austria again, like Sümeyra herself, but plans to go back to Turkey soon too. Her younger sister is studying in Vienna and plans to migrate to Istanbul after graduating next year. Not only her friends, but also her family as another social network in Turkey is probably another reason why she decided to finally stay in Istanbul then.

In comparison to her friends, who spent their whole life in Austria, she reasons that she is used to live in Turkey, as she lived there during her teenager years. If this hadn't been the case and if she had gone there at an older age, it wouldn't have been like that. Although she regrets that she had to go to school in Turkey, as she and her sister were sent there because of her parents' divorce, she would have preferred doing grammar school in Austria. This, she is convinced, had an impact on the fact that she has not really been able to settle until now.

She also reasons why she always needs change and that she had to take her time to find out what she really wants by trying out several things.

These experiences are shaped by two crises in her life:

„Also ehrlich gesagt wollt ich überhaupt nicht das Gymnasium in Ankara machen, weil ahm meine Eltern haben sich geschieden wie ich 12, 13 war und die Situation hat sich irgendwie so entwickelt, dass ich dann ah dass wir dann nach Ankara gehn mussten, weil die wollten dann einfach nicht, dass wir das alles miterleben und so weiter. Ansonsten war das eigentlich das Problem, dass wir in Ankara die Hauptschule also das Gymnasium machen mussten.“ (Sümeyra, Interview. 17.3.2012)⁵⁸

In Ankara she stayed in a boarding school. As the change from the Austrian to the Turkish school system was very hard for her, she would have preferred to go to school in Austria when thinking back at that time. Later, she had to go through a crisis in terms of education too:

“Ja Pläne. Früher hatte ich überhaupt keine Pläne, da war meine ganze Psyche fertig, ich wusste nicht was ich machen soll. Ich war in Wien und ahhh meine Mutter hat immer gesagt, studier, studier, studier, komm das wird dir helfen und ich hab immer gesagt, "Nein, ich will nicht studieren.", weißt e da war ich auch 18, 19 oder so, dann hab ich mir gedacht, "Genau, warum soll ich nicht studieren, wieso soll ich an der Kassa arbeiten?" Weil ich hab an der Kassa gearbeitet und das war für mich ein Scheißerlebnis.“ (Sümeyra, Interview. 17.3.2012)⁵⁹

⁵⁸ „Well, to be honest, I didn't really want to do grammar school in Ankara, because ahm my parents got divorced when I was 12, 13 and the situation developed like that, that I ah that we had to go to Ankara then, because they simply didn't want that we witness all that and so on. Otherwise it was just the problem that we had to do secondary modern school, well, grammar school in Ankara.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁵⁹ „Yes plans. In former times I have never had any plans, my whole psyche was broken, I didn't know what to do. I have been in Vienna and ahhh my mother always used to say, study, study, study, come on that will help you and I always said, “No, I don't want to study.”, you know I have also been 18, 19 or something like that,

By deciding to start studying because of bad experiences in working life she wanted to “get forward”. Although she started studying in Austria and in Istanbul, she didn’t finish one of her studies. Today she regrets that she could already have graduated in German philology in Istanbul if she had continued.

She sees herself in another position though as she came back to Vienna in order to acquire qualifications. Sümeyra has already successfully completed one course for fitness trainer and another one for nutritionist. The reason for choosing these qualifications is her decision of focussing her attention to her passion for sports for her career. The courses in Austria and her German skills are seen to be advantageous for her life in Istanbul:

„Vor allem ja, ja. Weil dort is es so, die schaun nicht auf dein Gesicht oder was du gelernt hast, die schaun ah die kann Deutsch, kriegst du auch sehr viel Geld, obwohl die andere hat zum Beispiel vier, fünf Jahre studiert und die andere hat gar nichts gemacht, aber kann eine zweite Sprache. Hast ein Vorteil. Und ich wollt auch ein bisschen mein Deutsch verbessern in Wien, dass ich halt auch so ein bisschen österreichische Freunde oder mit denen auch ein bisschen rede und die Sprache, weil nur Türkisch, türkisch, bitte...“ (Sümeyra, Interview. 17.3.2012)⁶⁰

Although she sees an advantage in doing her education in Austria, she is convinced that a major impact for having better chances at the working market in Istanbul is based on the fact that she is able to speak German. This skill is seen as an important capital enabling her to get a position where she is able to earn more money as one could maybe expect because of higher education.

Another aspect she addresses during the interview is that she needs to start somewhere now as she is 29 years old and it has already took enough time to find out what she wants to do in her life but she feels like not having achieved anything until now. Therefore, she hopes to prepare herself in Austria within the next following two years by further education, but also in terms of economic resources, for her later life in Istanbul. There she hopes for several different things, as all of the women interviewed are hoping for.

In the first part of the interview she tells that she is planning to work in a hospital as a nutritionist when she is going back to Istanbul, as she sees advantages because of her education in Austria. Further, this kind of education is not really common in Turkey what

then I thought to myself, “Alright, why shall I not study, why shall I sit at the cash desk?” Because I was working at the cash desk and that was a real shit experience.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁶⁰ „Especially yes, yes. Because there it is like that, they are not looking at your face or what you have learned, they look ah she can speak German, you also get a lot of money, although the other one has maybe studied four or five years and the other one didn’t do anything, but is able to speak a second language. You have an advantage. And I also wanted to improve my German a little bit in Vienna, that I am also a little bit with Austrian friends or talk to them a little bit and the language, because just Turkish, Turkish, come on, please...” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

could be advantageous for her too. Additionally she points out again that her German skills are benefiting for that job.

Later on, she is also talking about other opportunities she sees because of her second qualification as a fitness trainer which she finished in Vienna last year. Sümyera hopes to get self-employed by opening a fitness salon in Istanbul because of her qualifications. Although she wants to be independent and has already made some experiences owning a coffee shop in Istanbul with a friend, she knows the needed economic requirements and also the financial risks. That's why she is aware of not being able to manage this project alone in the beginning, when saying:

“Ich weiß nicht, ah ich ich brauch eine Unterstützung auf jeden Fall mal, schau ma mal ob ich mit mein Vater zam kommen kann und dass er mich unterstützt. Ansonsten, ich glaub nicht, dass ich das alleine machen kann ein so großes Fitnesscenter. Ich bin so klein und ...ja schau ma mal, also das hab ich mal vor in Istanbul. Das is mein Ziel.“ (Sümeýra, Interview. 17.3.2012)⁶¹

Because of financial reasons she cannot imagine opening some kind of store or shop in Vienna, seeing definitely better options for herself in Istanbul reaching the goal of getting self-employed. Concerning the chances she makes out for herself, she is convinced that she is not alone by that way of thinking, when she says:

“Alle haben fast das gleiche Ziel, oder die gleiche Hoffnung.” (Sümeýra, Interview. 17.3.2012)⁶²

Within this context she also mentions that she thinks everybody would go back to Turkey if the financial situation was the same like in Austria. Still, she sees opportunities for herself achieving her aims and being successful in Istanbul, although she is aware of these conditions, probably referring to the welfare system in Austria.

Another interesting aspect of opportunity for Sümeýra is, as she mentions, the possibility of marrying in Turkey. Although she is negating planning this and doesn't have a boyfriend when I asked her during the conversation, it seems to be another aspect she is relating to her age and also to the fact how her surroundings perceive her. Maybe she wants to hint at the aspect of being a woman at an age that is expected to be married.

All in all, Sümeýra is similar to Yeliz, when planning to start over or to finally start somewhere as she called it, still not being quite sure what it would definitely be in the end, but being sure of the fact that she wants to spend her life in Istanbul.

⁶¹ „I don't know, ah I, I need support, definitely, we will see if I can make it together with my father and that he will support me. Otherwise, I don't know if I can do this on my own, such a big fitness centre. I am so small, and...yes, we will see, so that's what I am planning in Istanbul. That's my goal.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁶² „All of them have almost the same goal, or the same hopes.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

3.3.5 Expectations Made in Austria

The first step of this chapter was to show the three interviews made in Austria in detail and to analyse the women's expectations of migrating to Turkey. As demonstrated, each of them has big aims for her life in Turkey.

Filiz is aiming for a job in a higher position than she is holding in Austria. She lacks cultural capital in educational terms as she had to quit school at the age of fifteen in order to help her family to overcome their financial crisis. In her opinion the missing economic capital in her family had influence on her further life as she felt stuck within the working class sector and felt hindered in her educational career therefore. She hopes that the additional qualifications she gathers in Austria before her emigration are helpful to find a better paid job in Istanbul. Saving money before her migration shall be an advantage for her in Istanbul then, as she is convinced that this economic capital is more valuable in Istanbul and offers her more opportunities than she would have in Austria throughout it. Additionally, she hopes to get a better paid job in Istanbul because of her language skills. Seeing them as an important cultural capital she emphasizes that she could even get within a position of higher wages than people who have graduated at university in Turkey. Although Filiz wishes to gain a position as hotel director or manager of a fast-food-chain it had not only been the wish for occupational promotion, but her migration is defined as an opportunity to cover a social position within Turkish society where she can live a lifestyle which enables her the option to follow her passion of arts and drawing again. The importance of drawing and the associations she is having with it in her life are transferred to her life expectations in Turkey. Although the conversation with Filiz is very concentrated on education and working life, which are rather negatively associated, and she has a rather limited perception of Austria in that way, she is afraid of falling into a life of boredom. Seeing symbolic capital as the access to social networks and the ability for social exchange in terms of establishing within Turkish society, as stated above, Filiz, who is heavily influenced by her experiences of working within production sector, aims change throughout a life with her husband's family. She hopes for upward social mobility as they are occupying a differing position within social space than her own family, since her father-in-law is a teacher and her sister-in-law is studying. Therefore, Filiz's resource she is hoping mostly for is time that results from the fact of being within a better social position in Istanbul. In Austria she felt stuck within the position of a worker without seeing opportunities for achieving upward social mobility. Filiz's family is not

supporting her emigration plans, but her husband's family, offers her economic capital in form of a living place when she will emigrate. Her hopes for Turkey are associated with nostalgic pictures thus, especially highlighting to be surrounded by people she really wants to be.

Yeliz is pushed by emotional circumstances as her father's death plays an important role in her decision of migrating to Turkey and further she is heading for an academic career which she could not imagine in Austria. Yeliz's father who wanted her to attend university after she had finished school had mainly influenced her for gaining further cultural capital after school. It had not been of main importance for her as she already wanted to quit her studies, but kept on studying as her family persuaded her to do so. Despite, in order of her migration plans to Istanbul, she is expecting this gained cultural capital as an advantage for her further career in Turkey. The subject of turcology had been chosen by her in terms of these career ideas. In Austria she can not imagine to have any job opportunities with that subject. Next to her academic career plans Yeliz sees her language skills as opportunity for doing a side job as interpreter or teacher at a language school. Generally, Yeliz is not afraid in terms of economic capital though, as her family owns a flat in a small city near Istanbul where she wants to live in the beginning.

Yeliz is incorporated within a good social network and she has many friends and all of her family members are around her in Austria. Her aim of starting over in Turkey is also a strategy or challenge for herself, proving to friends, family and also people in Turkey that she can make it and live a happy and successful life in Turkey. These aspirations have to be seen in the context of symbolic capital. As shown in the first analysis of Yeliz's story a good neighbourhood is very important for her. She misses this in Vienna, but knows it very well from Turkey. Being greeted when she sees her neighbours on the street is what she is correlating most with a good neighbourhood. This aspect has to be correlated with Yeliz's worries of not being accepted in Turkey, because acquaintances and friends from Turkey as well as from Austria don't think that she is capable of living in Turkey. That reasons from the fact that Yeliz was not born and didn't grow up in Turkey what Turkish people also realise. Therefore, it is a symbolic aspect for Yeliz to be greeted by her neighbours which gives her the feeling of being welcome in Turkey. Interestingly, in Yeliz's case these aspirations for symbolic capital have to be seen separated from her plans of the social position she wants to cover throughout her cultural capital. While she hopes for an academic career at the University of Istanbul on the one side she wishes on the other side to get a position where she can lecture in Turkey and doing guest lectures in Austria too. On the one hand she hopes for

upward social mobility in vocational terms to open the opportunity of a transnational life. Shuttle migration would enable her to stay in contact with Austria and her social networks there. On the other hand starting a new phase of her life in Turkey is an opportunity for her to live her father's dream.

Sümeýra is the only one of the three women in Austria who has already made experiences of living in Turkey as a grown-up, as Filiz only lived there for two years as a little child and Yeliz only spent holidays there. Sümeýra never really settled herself there for longer time though, but as she is planning to stay there this time, the term of "returning" would fit in that case. The reason why Sümeýra could never settle in Vienna or Istanbul has to be ascribed to her experiences as a child and teenager. In terms of cultural capital she never managed to fulfil her education career as she has wished for, referring to the aspect of permanent change between Austrian and Turkish education system. Sümeýra decided to start two qualifications of her interest in Austria and hoped at the time of the interview to gather cultural capital of higher acknowledgment throughout that as this would be advantageous for her later life in Istanbul. Similar to Filiz, Sümeýra is also convinced that her language skills will be a useful cultural capital in Istanbul which will offer her the opportunities of a better paid job.

She is convinced that she will be successful opening a fitness centre that she wants to run as her passion is sports although she has already made experiences of being self-employed in Istanbul, by owning a coffee shop which she had to shut down after one year. Still, she is convinced that the money she wants to save in Austria will be economic capital which opens opportunities in Istanbul she can not imagine in Austria. Becoming self-employed can be seen as her symbolic struggle. She hopes for independence throughout that and therefore also hopes for upward social mobility. In Austria Sümeýra could not imagine having the opportunity of self-employment because she lacks economic capital for that and also social capital is influencing her decision. She hopes for economic and social capital throughout the support of her father who is already living in Istanbul.

A central issue for her decision seems to be the fact of enjoying life in Turkey more than in Austria and wanting to escape the boredom and monotony she feels to have in Austria. Sümeýra is not really anchored within a social network favoured by her in Vienna why she lacks social capital there. She mentions that she is isolating herself since she is living in Vienna again and couldn't establish within a social network either. She expresses to have loads of friends in Istanbul which can be seen as a major aspect of motivation for her. Additionally, her father is also living in Istanbul and her sisters and her mother plan to migrate there too.

Sümeýra's ambitions for migration are also caused by the fact of finally starting a new phase of life, as she has reached an age she has to settle and get into a social position she really wants to be. This position can only be reached in Istanbul in her opinion. Interestingly, not only the fact of finally settling and starting a regulated life are of importance for her, but also thoughts of marriage are influencing her decisions for gaining symbolic capital. Although she mentions not having any plans to get married it is expected from a woman of her age. This also shows her concern of how she is perceived by others.

Each of them sees better chances for their intentions in Turkey than in Austria although Filiz and Yeliz know Istanbul only from holidays. All of them are therefore emphasising their German language skills, seeing it as an important capital which is in their opinion highly valued in Turkey. While Yeliz sees it as an option for having a second coverage next to her academic career, Filiz and Sümeýra, both unskilled, see it as a very important resource enabling them a better position with even better payment than people who have studied and graduated from university. Filiz and Sümeýra also have in common that they want to escape from the felt monotony in Austria, whereas Filiz is at that point affected by her vocational experiences and Sümeýra rather influenced by her experiences she made when living in Istanbul. Another thing they have in common is that they think their dream of going back is something almost all Turkish origins in Austria are wishing for.

Contrary, Yeliz is the only one mentioning staying in permanent contact with Austria after her migration as she wishes for a job where she can do shuttle migration.

So far, there can be detected several similarities of what the women in Austria are expecting from their migration to Turkey.

In the next chapter the interviews of those women who have already migrated to Turkey will be analysed which will be followed by a comparison of both "groups" going more into detail of expectations and their realisations then.

3.4 Put the Plan into Action – Comparison of Those Who Have Already Emigrated

The second part of this chapter concentrates on those women who have already migrated and are living in Istanbul now. Four women were met in Istanbul and one other woman was responding by email. Elif and Ayse were met together as they are mother and daughter and their combination of the story told from different perspectives is very interesting. Further on, Fatma and Asina were willing to meet me in Istanbul to give an interview. Seher answered by email, although she only answered preset questions, the most thrilling points shall also be presented here in order to get a broader view of the topic by taking more stories into account. Again, the questions of why they wanted to migrate and what was motivating them and also what they were expecting from migration have to be raised. Additionally, as they all have been living in Istanbul for more than one year and some also for a longer time, it is necessary to find out whether their expectations have come true or not.

3.4.1 Advantage of Social Network and Being in a Bridging Function

Elif and Ayse are mother and daughter and both were met together for an interview in Istanbul. Elif went to Austria in 1986 for studying architecture and planned to go back to Turkey after graduating, which she wanted to do five years later, but her plans changed when she married her husband in 1990 who is also of Turkish origin and studied in Austria. In 1994 their daughter Ayse was born in Austria which also had an impact on their initial plans.

Without any financial support of their parents, Elif and her husband had to work next to studying which prolonged their time at university and after getting a child it took them even longer. After they had paid back their credit to be able to study in Austria, Elif decided to stay at home with Ayse and started writing her PHD. Elif described the time before that as a mixture of student-family-life, which was very hard for her. Especially in comparison to other Turkish migrants in Austria, Elif sees their position as an exceptional one as they didn't get any support of their families and they were alone without a family network in Austria. Summarising that hard life with different jobs, university and child, Elif says:

“Irgendwann haben wir gemerkt, na unter diesen Voraussetzungen kommen wir wirklich nicht weiter hier. Es hat wenig mit Österreich zu tun, es hat sehr viel mit unserer eigentlichen Situation zu tun, dass wir einfach alleine da waren und nicht wie die anderen vielleicht

Gastarbeiterfamilien oder so ähh, die halt einfach irgendwelche Tanten, Onkeln oder Cousinen mit ihnen was weiß ich zur Verfügung hatten.“ (Elif, Interview. 3.1.2012)⁶³

This shows that Elif was missing a social network in Austria, hoping for support, not only in a financial way, but maybe also for managing her student and working life while having a child at the same time.

Lack of social network and also lack of opportunities for social mobility can be seen as motivating reasons for their decision of moving back to Turkey. That's why she explains their decision for migrating back to Turkey as follows:

„Hamma gesagt, na da haben wir bessere Karrierechancen, zumindest haben wir die Familie da und wir haben da eine Wohnung, wo wir keine Miete zahlen müssen. (...) Einiges war halt äh besser für uns öh vernetzt hier waren wir, wir waren besser vernetzt hier, auf jedenfall. Und letztendlich, wenn man den Schlusstrich irgendwie zieht. Wir sind zufrieden. Ahhh. Ist alles so perfekt, da gibts natürlich ähh auch Schwierigkeiten, weil insgesamt mein Erwachsenenleben hab ich in Österreich verbracht.“ (Elif, Interview. 3.1.2012)⁶⁴

External factors like a social network in form of their families and also economic resources like possessing a flat in Istanbul were decisive for their decision to migrate to Turkey.

By referring to the fact that she has spent a major time of her grown-up life in Austria, she points out that she has gained cultural capital in Austria which gives her another view on Turkey and its developments which is connected with opportunities others don't have. Especially for her daughter, Elif sees advantages because of being used to two cultures which opens opportunities to her and puts her into a special position in comparison to her schoolmates.

Both in Austria and in Turkey, Ayse sees herself within a position of bridging function which she ascribes to the above mentioned cultural capital.

“(...) aber was ich irgendwie, was ich, das geht auch hier weiter, dort gabs eben die türkischen Schüler, neben den polnischen Schülern, irgendwie deren Deutsch war nie so gut wie meins und ich war immer so eine Brücke irgendwie. Zwischen eben Österreichern und Ausländern und hier ist es jetzt auch ein bisschen im österreichischen Kolleg ist es ja auch so...keiner weiß so gut, kann so gut Deutsch wie ich und ich bin so ein bisschen zwischen Lehrern und Schülern irgend so etwas wieder..“ (Ayse, Interview. 3.1.2012)⁶⁵

⁶³ “Eventually we realised, no, we can not really progress under these conditions here. It has little to do with Austria, it has more to do with our actual situation, that we were simply alone here and not like others maybe guestworker families or so ähh, who just had any aunts, uncles or cousins with them whatever at disposal.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁶⁴ „We said, well, we have better chances for career, at least we are having family there and a flat, where we don't have to pay rent. (...) Some things were äh better for us öh linked-up we have been here, we were better linked-up here, definitely. And finally, when one is ruling it off somehow. We are satisfied. Ahhh. Everything is perfect that way, there are also ähh difficulties of course, because all in all I spent my grown-up life in Austria.”

⁶⁵ „(...) but what I somehow, what I, it continues here too, there have been the Turkish pupils next to the Polish ones, somehow their German has never been that good like mine and I have always been some kind of bridge. Well, between Austrian and foreigners and here it is quite similar in the Austrian College it is also like that...no one knows that well...is able to speak German like I do and I am in between of teachers and pupils something like that again...” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

Next to the fact that she is in a position of intermediary which enables her to see things from a broader perspective, also other advantages had been considered by Ayse's parents before they decided to migrate to Turkey. As all of them became Austrian citizens in 2003, Ayse has benefits in the Austrian College:

„Wir drei sind schon Staatsbürger und deswegen musste ich diese Aufnahmeprüfung eben nicht machen. Ich wurde gleich ins Österreichische, also in die Österreichische Schule aufgenommen. (...) Und öhhh ja, das ist eben mein Plus auch gewesen, wahrscheinlich wenn das nicht so auch gewesen wär, wärn wir vielleicht nicht, vielleicht entweder früher zurückgekommen oder eben vielleicht nicht, keine Ahnung.“ (Ayse, Interview. 3.1.2012)⁶⁶

And Elif adds:

„Aber sie würd auch die Ausnahme ohne Aufnahmeprüfung eben die Uni besuchen können, das ist alles wirklich Vorteile als Österreicher. Wenn wir keine Österreicher wären, hätte man vielleicht auch anders überlegen können.“ (Elif, Interview. 3.1.2012)⁶⁷

These aspects therefore definitely played a motivating role and influenced their decision of migrating to Turkey.

Elif and her husband planned to move in summer 2005, but couldn't manage it as they had planned because of external factors. Ayse decided at the age of 11 years that she wants to stay with her grandparents in Istanbul for one year. Although she describes this time as a hard one, she doesn't regret it as she couldn't cope with the insecurity, wanting to have a home, a point of reference, which she had decided to be Istanbul.

For Elif and her husband the reasons for migration had been other ones. As mentioned before they didn't have any financial support and also missed a bigger social network in Austria, so Elif is also expressing that it had been rather practical aspects why they decided to migrate, which they are not regretting until now:

„Ja bei uns kann man sagen, es hat sich erfüllt, unsere Erwartungen. Nicht alles, aber vielen hat sich erfüllt. Und ...wir sind zufrieden und es war eigentlich praktische Dinge. Ähm die Gründe waren wirklich praktischer Natur, die uns äh gefehlt sind. Ich meine ich hab Freunde, die halt mehr Unterstützung, finanziell mein ich jetzt auch, von zuhause gehabt haben. Weil die konnten von Anfang an besser etablieren, weil die einfach diese Unterstützung, aus finanzielle Unterstützung gehabt haben. (...) Das ist wirklich was Spezifisches bei uns, warum wir zurückgekehrt sind. Weil wir gemerkt haben, es geht nicht. Und hier gehts wirklich weiter. Ich wollte auf die akademische Richtung schlagen, aber natürlich war ich, weil ich relativ spät angefangen habe, in Österreich ist es auch nicht so einfach, dass man in ein Institut

⁶⁶ „The three of us are already citizens (N.B.: Austrian) and that's why I didn't have to do the entrance examination. I was immediately in the Austrian, I mean accepted in the Austrian school. (...) And öhhh yes, well, that has also been one of my pluses, probably if that had not been like that, we maybe wouldn't, maybe came back either earlier or maybe just not, I don't know.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁶⁷ „But she would also be able to get the exception to visit university without entrance examination, that is really all advantages as Austrian. If we weren't Austrian, one could have thought in another way about it.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

aufgenommen wird und ich war schon 8, 35 Jahre, 36 Jahre alt, glaub ich.“ (Elif, Interview. 3.1.2012)⁶⁸

In Elif's case hopes for better job chances in Istanbul and for upward mobility by gaining a career in the academic sector had been thrilling. Working at a university now, not as tenured professor, but having the possibility to “gather points” as she calls it, she managed to realise her opportunities. Thoughts of having better chances in Istanbul than in Austria were also influenced by her social network in Turkey like family and friends who helped her:

“Das hab ich mir gedacht, weil durch meine Familie oder Umgebung hab ich schon gewusst, es ist zumindest so, wenn ich zum Beispiel in Österreich mit dem Professor von was weiß ich, mit dem Vorstand von diesem und diesem Institut ein Termin möchte, kann ich unter ah diesen Bestimmungen ewig warten, weil er würde vielleicht keine Zeit nehmen. (...) Ich spreche jetzt nicht für alle es gibt solche und solche, aber hier durch meine Kontakte, wenn ich da und dort kratze...ich krieg den Termin, das ist schon mal was und relativ schnell.“ (Elif, Interview. 3.1.2012)⁶⁹

These opportunities, given by the social network she has in Turkey, are offering Elif the chance to proceed faster than she could in Austria. Again she adds that these are advantages given by her specific situation influenced by the fact that they possess a flat in Istanbul and they don't have to pay rent for it. The economic aspects therefore also play an essential role to her and her family. Further, she expresses that she is seeing better chances for career as a woman in Turkey in general, especially when one is mother at the same time. In Austria she even felt in a worse position than others also being foreigners. Although she adds there are not everywhere equal rights in Turkey too, there are not that many differences between men and women like in Austria when one has reached the same level or position. Elif is arguing this with her own experiences by working at a university where more women than men are employed. Even if the payment is not the same of men, she is convinced that there is another form of respect and status compared to Austria.

For both, Elif and Ayse, Austria is not left behind and Elif could imagine being in a position of bridging function like her daughter if she got a job or work within an architectural project of Austria and Turkey. Ayse also wants to do an internship in Austria when she starts

⁶⁸ „Yes, for us, one can say, it got fulfilled, our expectations. Not everything, but most of it got fulfilled. And...we are satisfied and it was actually practical things. Ähm the reasons were really naturally practical, which we äh were missing. I mean, I had friends, who got more support, I also mean financially, from their homes. Because they could establish themselves better on from the beginning, because they had this support, they had financial support. (...) That's really the specific thing with us, why we returned. Because we realised, it's not working. And here (N.B.: in Istanbul) it is really proceeding. I wanted to be on the academic direction, but of course, as I was starting rather late, it's not that easy in Austria to be accepted at a department, and I have already been 8, 35 years, 36 years old, I think.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁶⁹ „I was thinking of that, because throughout my family or surrounding I already knew, it is at least like that, when I want to get an appointment with a professor in Austria from whatever, or the chairman of this and that department, I can wait under these provisions eternally, because he wouldn't take his time for me. (...) I don't talk for all of them it take all sorts, but here throughout my contacts, when I am scratching here and there...I get the appointment, that's already something and relatively fast.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

studying, especially for improving her German as she thinks she is still expressing herself like a child. Generally she is aware of the opportunities given to her throughout her language skills though as she knows German, Turkish and English very well. She plans to study opera why she also wants to do an internship in Austria and therefore German is a benefit for her too. Further, she adds that she can also teach German if she will not be successful in her opera studies. Although Elif says that a basic level of general knowledge at Turkish universities is missing and that she worries throughout her teaching about the level of education, Ayse wants to study in Istanbul and knows that she has opportunities to try it out here and there, meaning Austria and Turkey. These are the advantages of being “quasi-Austrians,” as they call it. Elif and her family had problems with their visa and felt like second class when she was at Austrian departments although she admits that the welfare system had been positive for them, like getting child support, but also in Turkey she says that people perceive them differently:

“Jajaja. Natürlich! E klar, sogar in der Familie. Almanci. Aso. Natürlich. Nana. Des schon. Dass wir anders sind, das lässt man uns schon irgendwie anmerken.“ (Elif, Interview. 3.1.2012)⁷⁰

This is not only because of cultural aspects, but in Turkey and especially within their family they are perceived as not having reached the goal of migration. Elif thinks that the value of money is still more worth than an academic career. That’s why their family sees their back migration not as successful and even make fun of them as they did not return as “rich people”. Therefore, it is even more interesting how she sees her own position, successfully managing her academic career which she couldn’t imagine in Austria that way and being able to achieve more as a woman in Turkey than in Austria.

All in all, one can say that their decision for migrating back was well calculated and caused by different reasons of economic and vocational aspects. They don’t regret their decision and see that they are proceeding in Istanbul whereas they felt stuck in Austria not being able to move on although not everything they had hoped for has come true by now.

⁷⁰ „Yesyesyes. Of course! Logic, even within the family. Almanci. Well. Of course. Nono. Definitely. That we are different, they let show us that always.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

3.4.2 Prove Being Best – Never Give Up

Fatma was born and grew up in a smaller village near Vienna. She was the youngest among three children and the only one of her siblings who had the chance to study at college. By the time of the interview Fatma was living in Istanbul for almost one and a half years.

There are several factors which are crucial for the decision of migrating to Turkey although she starts telling that she has always wanted to live in Istanbul. First of all she mentions, that she never really felt comfortable in Austria and always felt foreign. This is caused by different experiences she made during her childhood and her time as a teenager. In comparison to her brother and her sister she could never build up a social network in Austria as they have done. She causes this on the fact that they are older than her and there were more Turkish children in school at their time since she was the only Turkish girl in her class. Further Fatma only had one Austrian best friend, but admitting that she was never really looking for a big circle of friends and excluded herself from that.

Her intentions of living in Istanbul one day were influenced by negative experiences at school too as she was discriminated in grammar school by her teachers:

„Sag ma so. Uund ahm sie hat gsagt "Fatma, du bist doch eine Türkin oder gö?" hab ich gsagt ja, hats gsagt, ich hätt ma nie gedacht, dass du das beste Zeugnis von der Klasse hast. Hab ich von ihr halt erfahren, dass ich das beste Zeugnis hab. Erstens, aber zweitens also wirklich die Worte. Von ihr, die haben mir so wehgetan, die haben mich so verletzt, gö? (...) Ich hab ma dacht ah ich zeigs ihr weißt ich werd, ich werd auch in Österreich studieren und dann geh ich zrück, hab ich ma dacht. Also dann war ich ma ziemlich sicher, dass ich zrück geh. Und das war erst in der ersten Klasse, in der HBLA, ich mein wie alt bistn da, 14, 15 sowas..und aber es hat ma wirklich sehr weh getan.“ (Fatma, Interview. 7.1.2012)⁷¹

This was not the only time she had to face discrimination, but instead of feeling down, Fatma shows her fighting character, who always tries to prove that she can do it better than other people are expecting of her. In the last two years at grammar school she had to make similar experiences too when they got a new German teacher. Never having a worse mark than C before, she suddenly only got Ds and Es. At that time she started to hate German language and she decided to do an English study at college.

After school she started an international study at college for economic consulting and marketing which was in English. Fatma never really had much contact to her colleagues although she was well integrated as she had also been in school by being class representative

⁷¹ „Let's say it like this. Aaand ahm she said „Fatma, you are Turkish right?“ I said yes and she said, I never thought that you will have the best certificate in class. I experienced from her that I had the best certificate. Firstly, but secondly really that words. From her, they pained so much, they hurt me so much, you know? (...) I thought to myself ah I will show it to her, you know, I will also study in Austria and then I will go back, I thought to my self. From that time on I was rather sure, that I will go back. And that has only been at first class, in HBLA [N.B.: school with focus on domestic economics and languages], I mean how old are you at that time 14, 15, something like that..and it really hurt me a lot.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

and degree course representative as well as always one of the best in class. She causes it on not living at home during her time of studying. Within that time she made her first experiences in Turkey though, already orienting herself on a life in Turkey by using all chances of international experience in her studies to make them in Istanbul.

“Also das St... Das Exchange-Semester war auch für 6 Monate, Praktikum war auch für 6 Monate ahm und ich hab gsagt, ja ich werd sicher mal zrück gehn nach Istanbul, nach dem Studium, weil ich hab da auch sicher bessere Chancen, weil ich eben Deutsch kann, eigentlich kann ich sagen Muttersprache und auch gut Englisch, weil eben mein Studium auf Englisch war und auch auf der HBLA schon immer also Englisch-, Französischunterricht hatte.“
(Fatma, Interview. 7.1.2012)⁷²

Therefore she already spent half a year for exchange semester in her third semester at university, where she got to know student life in Turkey which she was told to be great by her Turkish friends. There she felt experiencing student life for the first time as she was living in a dormitory and made friends. During her master she spent another six months in Istanbul doing an internship in a German steel firm where she stayed at her aunt's place who lives in Istanbul and had returned from Germany.

At that point she realises that her language skills, not only German, but Turkish, English and French are motivating her and giving her hope to have better chances like getting an extraordinary job position.

A last point she mentions as a main reason why she decided to migrate to Turkey had been the fact that her sister who is already over thirty years, has no boyfriend and Fatma was sure about the fact that she doesn't want to have an Austrian boyfriend. Firstly, her parents wouldn't like her to have an Austrian boyfriend and secondly, she is convinced that a relationship between two different cultures can not work, as she has seen it from her cousin who was married to an Austrian woman. As Fatma has special principles and being culturally Turkish oriented it seems to be important to her having a Turkish boyfriend. She doesn't want to stay alone for too long as Turkish women should not be alone after their thirties in her opinion.

This is of course a very interesting factor she mentions and has to be correlated to her worries of perception of her surroundings and further symbolic capital as she is pointing out that she wants a Turkish man who is cultivated and intellectual. By the time of the interview she already had a boyfriend for three months who she got to know throughout work.

⁷² „Well, the st... the exchange-semester had been for 6 months, internship had also been for 6 months ahm and I said, yes I will definitely go back to Istanbul, after studying, because I will have there definitely better chances, because I am able to speak German, well, I can say my mother tongue and also English, because my studies had been in English and also at HBLA always English- and French lectures.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

For Fatma there was no real reason or something special which pulled her to Turkey, but it seems that she was mainly pushed by rather negative experiences in Austria.

Fatma's position in Austria can be seen as one of an exemplary student as she was always heading for good marks and always covered class representative positions. When she came to the point of fulfilling her plans of moving to Turkey she started looking for a job in Istanbul, which came out to be more difficult as she was expecting first.

“(…) ja und in dem Sommer dann eben nachn Studium hab ich ma dacht: "So, Bewerbungen schreiben." (lacht) Hab ich mich also hauptsächlich vom In...also eigentlich nur vom Internet Bewerbung, beworben. Ahm und also es haben mich gerade zwei Firmen eingeladen zu einem Interview, also ich hab wirklich aber hunderte Bewerbungen abgeschickt. Und hab mich auch bemüht wirklich für alle ein, weißt e ein eigenes Motivationsschreiben schreiben und so also ich war die ganze Zeit wirklich daheim und hab nur gschrieben. ...Dann bin ich zu den zwei Firmen gegangen und die haben mir dann eben ein Gehalt angeboten, also sie haben mich zuerst gefragt was ich mir vorstell, hab ich ma dacht, naja wenn ich da jetzt 1000€ verlang, also so um die 2000 Lire also is wirklich meine Untergrenze. Aber sicher die Obergrenze äh von den Firmen hier ja für Neuabsolventen und hab ich gsagt: "Ja 2000 Lira hätt ich ma schon gedacht." und die haben, die haben also die haben eigentlich schon beim Interview, also beim ersten Interview hab ich schon bemerkt ja also das wird nix. Weil die habn schon Kopf geschüttelt, na die haben nicht einmal mit 1500 Lira grechnet, also so um die 600, 700 Euro jetzt, ja? Und ich hab ma dacht aha, naja, is hau haut doch nicht so hin, wie ichs ma vorgstellt hab. Mein Vater hat gsagt, also: "Geh, lass. Find dir eine Arbeit in Österreich." Ich mein um 600, 700 Euro würdest sogar als...ähhh. Arbeiter, genau. Beim Billa oder so arbeiten, genau oder keine Ahnung. ...“ (Fatma, Interview. 7.1.2012)⁷³

This was the first setback for Fatma and she returned with her family to Austria in September where she started to look for a job in Austria. For this Austrian job she was looking for companies, which were searching for people with Turkish skills. She sees her language skills as a good capital to get an exceptional position and being outstanding next to other applicants because of that. This phase of her life was some kind of a crisis for her always being used to be among the best as almost all the others of her college class had got a job at that time. A Croatian friend was in the same position like her, why she argues that the reason might have been that they were both of foreign origin. This can again be correlated to her experiences of discrimination and her feelings of not belonging to Austria. Finally she found two companies in Austria which were of her interest and one of them was even offering a job in Istanbul.

⁷³ „(...) yes and in summer after college I thought to myself: “So, writing applications.” (laughs) So I was mainly from In...well, just applications from internet, applying. Ahm and only two firms invited me for an interview, but I had really sent hundreds of applications. And I really tried for all, you know to write an own motivational letter and so I was really at home all the time and was writing...Then I went to these two firms and they offered me a payment, well they first asked me what I was conceiving, I was thinking, well, when I am demanding €1000, so about 2000 Lire, is really my lower limit. But sure the maximum limit äh of the firms for newly graduates and I said: “Yes I was thinking of 2000 Lire.” And they were, they already have during the interview, well at the first interview I already realised that this will not work. Because they were shaking their heads, no they were not even thinking of 1500 Lira, well something about 600, 700 Euro, yes? And I was thinking, aha, well, is not, not working as I was thinking about it. My father said, well: “Come on, leave it. Find a job in Austria.” I mean, for 600, 700 Euro you could even ...ähhh. Worker, right. Working at Billa or something like that, right, don't know. ...” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

After doing some researches on that company and asking her father and her brother, she realised that it was a well reputed company.

“Und die haben wen, also die Stelle hat geheißen Prozessexpertin, ich hab ma nicht so viel vorstelln können, ich mein was is Prozessexpertin ..und sie haben aber ein Wirtschafts..also ein, sie habn zwar nicht geschriebn Wirtschaftsstudium, weils wahrscheinlich dacht habn, naja in Österreich wirds nicht so viel Türkinnen geben, die jetzt Wirtschaft studieren. Und Deutsch und Englisch können und so. Sie habn nur gschriebn ghabt ein, ein, eine wirtschaftliche Ausbildung. Hab ich ma zuerst dacht, naja bin ich vielleicht ein bissl überqualifiziert für die Stelle oder so? Und dann bin ich hingegangen, hab dann mit drei Leuten Interview ghabt und der eine war Arealsalesmanager von der Türkei.“ (Fatma, Interview. 7.1.2012)⁷⁴

Fatma was very impressed by that company after these interviews. Their conditions were fitting her expectations as they wanted her to do an educational year at the headquarters in Austria and after that she should go to Istanbul as process expert. At the time of Fatma's appliance they founded an affiliate. In the beginning she had to do office work and later it was her task to do enrolments for new colleagues and to be the person staying in contact with Austria. She is responsible for the imported goods from Austria and doing the logistics for that.

Fatma saw this job offer as a good challenge. Although it was not her expertise she was confident of getting the job after the first interview as she was thinking being the best candidate. She got insecure because of economic aspects after her first euphoric moment as she worried of having demanded a too high wage which was not appropriate for the Turkish level. Otherwise she was also thinking that she had applied at an Austrian company which has other standards. She described her second interview as follows:

„(...) ja also jetzt in der engeren Auswahl sind nur mehr drei, vier Leute, dann war der Geschäftsführer von der Türkei auch dort, beim zweiten Interview und der hat mit mir auf Türkisch gredet, dann hat er mich gfragt, also für ihn warn auch Türkischkenntnisse sehr wichtig, weil ich eben auch Kontakt haben werd natürlich mit dem Kunden da in der Türkei, gö? Und er war auch sehr beeindruckt, er hat gemeint, woher ich so gut Türkisch kann, weil die meisten Jugendlichen in Österreich, du merkst es zwar nicht. Aber ich merks und auch andere türkische Leute, sie können nicht so gut Türkisch eigentlich reden. Sie kö, also sie können wie soll ich sagen, sie beherrschen ihre Muttersprache nicht so gut. Deswegen können sie, können sie zum Beispiel auch nicht so gut Deutsch. Weil es heißt ja, wennst die Muttersprache nicht gut kannst, kannst auch eine andere Sprache nicht gut lernen. Und ich hab gsagt, naja wir reden halt daheim immer Türkisch, meine Eltern kommen von Istanbul, das ist zum Beispiel auch ein wichtiger Faktor gewesen, weil die meis, also die meisten Eltern ja von den Jugendlichen in Österreich, die kommen vom Dorf, also die sind gleich vom Dorf in der Türkei, wo sie zum Beispiel noch nie eine andere Stadt in der Türkei gesehen haben, sind gleich nach Wien gezogen, weißt? (...) Und die haben natürlich auch einen bestimmten Akzent dann einen türkischen, und diesen Akzent hab ich nicht, gö? Und das hat der

⁷⁴ „And they were looking for, well the position was called process expert. I couldn't imagine so much about that, I mean, what is a process expert? .. and they wanted an economic...well a, they didn't write economic studies, , because they maybe were thinking well in Austria there will not be so many female Turkish who studied economics. And be able to speak German and English and so on. They have only been writing, a, a, an economic education. I was first thinking, well I am maybe a little bit overqualified for that position and so? And then I went there and had interview with three people and one of them was the areal-sales.manager of Turkey.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

Fatma is referring to her language skills and her exceptional role again, not being typically as other descendants of guestworkers. Further she adds that they were impressed of her English skills too. She was very happy when she got informed being accepted at that company. She then started her education year in Austria in November 2009. In September 2010 she started to work in Istanbul.

Again Fatma faced an exceptional position because she was the first woman in the office in Istanbul. It had been another good experience for her, but she had a hard time in the beginning, missing her family and realising her big decision of living in Istanbul.

It was a hard time, especially because her family had rather been against her decision of moving to Turkey, most of all her elder brother, who worried that she would not find a job with good financial conditions, had not been fond of her idea. Working for an Austrian company caused the financial aspect to be even better as she had hoped for. Now she is one of the best earners in her company, in comparison to her other female colleagues, who started to work there later.

During the conversation the central role of Fatma's father in her life gets clear, as he accompanied her to the job interview and informed himself about the company his daughter would be working for. Fatma wasn't expecting that he would allow her to go to Turkey though, as fathers are normally decision makers in Turkish families and no one really believed she would realize her teenager dreams. Her elder sister had already been fighting a lot to move to Vienna, that's why she was in a more lucky position also thinking that her father was even happy to have an open door to Turkey now with the possibility to visit her whenever he wants. Therefore, they had very high criterions when they were looking for a flat for Fatma. Although her family owns a flat in Istanbul they were looking for a new one as this one would have been too far away from her working place. Fatma's aunt also lives in Istanbul and helped them to find a flat. Because of her, Fatma is convinced that her father is calmed too as he knows there is a social network looking after his daughter and being there for her whenever

⁷⁵ „(...) yes there have only been three, four people in the short list, then the executive manager from Turkey has also been there at the second interview and he talked Turkish with me, then he asked me, well for him Turkish skills have been very important, because I would also be in contact with clients in Turkey of course, you know? And he was also very impressed, he said, why I speak Turkish so well, because most teenagers in Austria, you will not realise that. But I realise that and also other Turkish people, they can not speak that well Turkish. They can, well they can, how shall I say that, they don't master their mother tongue so well. That's why they, they can not talk German that well. Because it's said if you can't master you mother tongue well, you can't learn another language that well. And I said, well we talk Turkish at home, my parents are from Istanbul, that's for instance also an important factor, because most, most parents of the teenagers in Austria are coming from villages, well they are straight from the village in Turkey, where they have for instance never seen another city in Turkey, they moved straight to Vienna, you know? (...) And they have a specific accent of course a Turkish one, and I don't have this accent, right? And the executive manager realised that immediately.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

she needs help. Her father played an essential role for the flat search as he wanted Fatma to live in a residential complex with securities, in order to have a safe neighbourhood when living as single woman on her own. Fatma's external living conditions in Turkey took a very good start therefore. She found a flat that fulfilled her needs and wishes and she found a job she was wishing for too, but nevertheless the first time in Turkey was hard for her:

„Aber ich habs gewagt und bin hier hergekommen, ich habs zeitweise ziemlich bereut muss ich auch sagen. Also es is jetzt mehr als ein Jahr, dass ich da bin (...) Ja. Und ham..weil ich hab natürlich auch Schererein ghabt in der Firma, es hat immer geheißten, ja eben weißt e, ich hab, ich hab da ja erzählt der eine Kollege der mit mir auch mitgezogen is in die, wegen der Arbeit. Der Ufuk, ähm wegen ihm hab ich mich auch nicht so alleine gefühlt, weil zum Beispiel die gesetzlichen Sachen, hab ich alles mit ihm zum Beispiel gemeinsam erledigt am Anfang. Ich bin österreichische Staatsbürgerin und da wars da zum Beispiel nicht so einfach ah weiß ich nicht (...)

Also nix eigentlich, ich werd eigentlich ah als türkischer Staatsbürgerin, außer ein paar Kleinigkeiten, und das warn dann eigentlich keine Kleinigkeiten (lacht), also wir haben schon gestritten auf den Ämtern ja, mit der Kollegin, weil sie sagen, ah also weil sie mir behauptet haben ahhh, wir also unser System erkennt Sie nicht, Sie sind nicht anerkannt als türkische Staatsbürger hier, wir brauchen das und das und das von Ihnen. Und wir waren, also wir beide warn immer auf 1000, ja? Und aber am, am Ende, hammas dann geschafft, dass ma alle Berechtigungen da bekommen haben, auch eben weißt e, so für soziale Sachen. Und ich hab ein bissl ein Nachteil ghabt und da hab ich ma dacht, na oida, ich bin in Österreich Ausländer in äh, komm da her, werd da wie eine Ausländerin behandelt, das gibts nicht, gö? (Lacht) Und ja, aber dann hamma alles erledigt, dann nach einer Zeit war e dann schon wieder alles vergessen.“ (Fatma, Interview. 7.1.2012)⁷⁶

Starting her life in Turkey was not as easy as she had thought, although she was always dreaming of a life there. It was hard for her not to be welcomed in the beginning and felt mistreated in Turkey too because of bureaucratic issues. These were not the only things stressing her in the beginning though, since it was her first professional job after college she also felt under pressure there:

„Aber eben dann so Kleinigkeiten, ja du kommst aus Österreich und ahmm, sie, sie haben gesagt zum Beispiel auch, also i, wie soll ich sagen, ich bin wegen meiner Arbeit, ja? Wegen der Position, wei, bleib ich auch ziemlich oft zwischen ahmm zwischen den, wie soll ich sagen, Regeln von Österreich und den Regeln von unserem Geschäftsführer, ja? Weil die verlangen zum Beispiel, dass ich das und das und das mach in der Logistik, vom System her und dann kommt unser Buchhalter und sagt, na das kannst aber nicht so machen, weil das is nicht gesetzlich erlaubt in der Türkei. Und solche Sachen, weißt? Das war ma dann wirklich schon zu viel, weil die warn dann irgendwie alle gegen mich in der Firma, weils gsagt haben,

⁷⁶ „But I dared it and came here, sometimes I really regret it, I have to say. Well, its now more than one year, that I am here (...) Yes. And because I had problems in the firm of course, it was always said, yes, well you know, I have, I have told you about that one colleague, who also moved here with me, because of work. Ufuk, ähm because of him I didn't feel so alone, because for instance the juridical things, I managed for instance all these things with him together at the beginning. I am Austrian citizen and that's why it was not so easy at the beginning, don't know (...) Well nothing honestly, I am actually treated ah like a Turkish citizen, except of some trifles, and that haven't been trifles then actually (laughs), well, we were fighting at the departments yes, with the colleague, because they say, ah well, because they maintained ahhh, we, well our system is not recognising you, you are not approved as Turkish citizen here, we need this and this and this from you. And we were, well, both of us have always been on 1000, yes? And but at, at the end, we made it, that we got all the warrants, also you know, for social things and so. And I had a little bit disadvantages and that was when I thought to myself, no, I am in Austria foreigner, come here, be treated like a foreigner here, that can't be true, right? (Laughs) And yes, but then we managed everything, and then after some time everything was forgotten again.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

ja, weißt e, du bist auf der Seite von den Österreichern und du willst dich immer nur an den Standards von der Firma und so halten. Und du musst aber, aber gesetzliche Sachen in der Türkei sind viel wichtiger, als unser Sys, als unser, wie soll ich sagen betriebliches System halt. Hab ich gsagt ok gut, ja und das war halt alles so in den ersten zwei, drei Monaten, gö? Dann war wieder alles vergessen und, ja manchmal hab ich mich auch sehr alleine gefühlt, eben meine Eltern kommen zwar, weißt e, ab und zu her, weil mein Vater eigentlich schon in der Pension is.“ (Fatma, Interview. 7.1.2012)⁷⁷

In that case cultural aspects were hindering her in the first stage for having a good start at her working place. Expressing herself as a very correct woman who doesn't want to make any mistakes and likes following the rules as she was taught in Austria during her education time, she faced conflicts at work. It was really hard for her to be blamed by her colleagues for not working with them. After some time she managed to get integrated in the company though and by now she feels happy and satisfied to be there. It is a big challenge for her and she covers an important position too as she mentions following:

„Hab ich mich ziemlich schwer getan. Aber, also jetzt gehts, kann ich sagen, jetzt bin ich ziemlich gut integriert, auch in der Firma. Ah die meisten wissen jetzt auch, dass ich eigentlich eine wichtige Rolle spiel, eine wichtige Position hab, weil ich eben die Schnittstelle bin, also die Hauptschnittstelle zwischen Österreich und Türkei. Und weil wir ja von dort die Ware ja importieren, also ich war, ich bin vielleicht, dass ich auch ein bissl erzähl wa, was ich in mein Job mache. Also ich bin zuständig für den ganzen Import.“ (Fatma, Interview. 7.1.2012)⁷⁸

Fatma's contact to Austria is very important within her work therefore, having a bridging function and seeing herself in an important position which is also acknowledged by her colleagues now, although she says for herself it is more important to establish in Istanbul and get in contact with people there in spite of having much contact to Austrian friends.

By being career oriented she fulfilled her dream and reached her goal of having a good job in Istanbul. Fatma knows she wouldn't have been able to get into that position without the help of her family and especially her siblings who played an important role for that as they were helping her in the beginning of her school days. For that chance she is grateful as they didn't have the chance and she was the only one of them, who could go to college and get into that

⁷⁷ „But, well, some trifles then, yes, you are from Austria and ahmm, they, they said for instance also, well, how shall I say that, I am because of my work, yes? Because of the position, because, I also get very often between the ahmm between the, how shall I say that, rules of Austria and the rules of our executive manager, yes? Because they demand for instance, that I do this and this and that in the logistics department, because of the system and then our accountant is coming and says, no you can't do it like that, because this is not legally allowed in Turkey. And things like that, you know? This has really been too much for me then, because they have all been against me at work, because they said, yes, you know, you are on the Austrians side and you always want to follow the standards of the firm. And you must but, but legal things in Turkey are more important, than our sys, than our, how shall I say it company system. I said, ok, good, yes and that has all been in the first two, three months, right? Then everything was forgotten again and yes, sometimes I really felt very lonely, well my parents come admittedly, you know from time to time here, because my father is already retired.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁷⁸ „I was really having difficulties. But, well, now it's ok, I can say, now I am quite good integrated, also in the firm. Ah most of them know now, that I have a rather important role, an important position, because I am the interface, well the main interface between Austria and Turkey. And because we are importing the goods from there, well, I have been, I am maybe, that I am also explaining a little bit, what I am doing in my job. Well, I am responsible for the whole import.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

position she covers now.

To sum up, she feels happy as she feels more comfortable in Istanbul. She is happy to be with people who belong to her, as she calls it and although she thinks that the Turkish system is chaotic sometimes and things would be easier to manage in Austria she doesn't regret her decision.

3.4.3 Living an Adventure

Asina was the last woman who was met personally in Istanbul for an interview. She came together with her best friend, who is an Austrian girl and emigrated with her to Istanbul. Asina is the youngest among all interview partners, who decided to live on her own in Istanbul.

Several statements show that Asina expected more from life than she was used to in Austria when having a look at the motivating reasons for her decision of living a life in Istanbul. She already mentions at the very beginning of the conversation:

“Also es war, die Menschen waren immer zu kalt, das Land sowieso ist extrem kalt das ist klar, man hat gar kein soziales Leben, finde ich. Also man lebt ein bisschen asozial, wenn du mich fragst, weil du hast echt nichts was du machen kannst.“ (Asina, Interview. 8.1.2012)⁷⁹

Asina missed aspects in her life, like having hobbies and undertaking things within her free time, which were important for her. Additionally, she thinks that Austrian people don't know how to communicate and that their sense of life lies within going to work. Asina had just finished her education, being in vocational school for accountants, but really worried about her future life as she explains not being interested in studying at university. She also mentions that she only made an effort of being good at school to make her father proud of her as he wanted her to overtake his company one day, so she says:

“Wir haben uns, also ich hab mir immer gedacht, während meiner Berufsschulzeit und Lehre, was werde ich nur mein Leben lang machen in Österreich? Ich werde echt, es ist so schade, um meine ganze Jugend und alles, es ist, ich hab mir echt, also litt unter Depressionen, wirklich. Es war so schlimm, und aber mein Vater, er wollte schon immer, dass ich eine Finanzbuchhalterin werde, dass ich mal seine Kanzlei übernehme. (...) Hab ich mir gedacht, na gut dann werde ich eben dafür sorgen, dass mein Papa stolz auf mich wird, ich werde auch mal seine Kanzlei übernehmen. (...) Und da hab ich mir, also in der Berufsschule war ich sehr, sehr gut, ich hab wirklich immer fast nur Einsen gehabt, aber ich hab echt eigentlich nur für meinen Papa gelernt, weil mein Papa das unbedingt wollte und dann hab ich mir gedacht, ja

⁷⁹ „Well, it was, the people have always been so cold, the country has anyway always been so cold, obviously, one has absolutely no social life, I think. Well, one is living some kind of asocial, if you ask me, because there is really absolutely nothing you can do.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

dann möchte ich das auch, weil ich hab sowieso keine eigene Meinung. Weil was soll ich denn für eine Meinung haben?“ (Asina, Interview. 8.1.2012)⁸⁰

This statement shows that she was not happy at all with her life in Austria and didn't see any opportunities or perspectives for her life. She only tried to fulfil her father's wishes instead of looking for her own because of their close relationship.

The first time she realised a chance for changing her life was when Asina and her friend decided to make holiday for two weeks in Antalya. They were asked if they could imagine doing a job as holiday reps by the chief host in the hotel. During the interview Asia expresses that this had been the possibility they have always been waiting for. After their return to Austria; Asina exposed her plans to her parents, whose reactions had been contrary. Her mother, who had always wanted her children to live in Turkey one day, supported her ideas, but her father was totally against it. During our conversation Asina explains more often than once that her father didn't want her to go to Turkey. In detail she describes this as a very hard time for her, especially because she respects her father a lot. That time she really felt that she had to fulfil her plans though, although he wanted to forbid her to emigrate:

“Also ich hab auf jeden Fall sehr viel durchgemacht mit meinem Papa. Er hat uns echt nicht gelassen, dass ich in die Türkei ziehe. Ich hab echt tagelang mit ihm gestritten, nächtelang und ich hab echt, also meine Nerven waren schon sehr kaputt wegen meinem Vater. Er hat das einfach nicht einsehen wollen. Und mein Papa der ist eben, nein, er meint, Österreich ist dein Land, du musst in Österreich bleiben, du bist hier geboren, du bist hier aufgewachsen, du kannst nicht in ein fremdes Land gehen. Ich hab gesagt, Papa das ist kein fremdes Land, ich bin schließlich eine Türkin, ich hab zwar die österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft, auch die türkische, ich ah meine Muttersprache ist auch Deutsch eigentlich, ne? Und ich war ja, also ok ich bin hier aufgewachsen und alles und ich bin hier geboren, aber trotzdem bin ich keine Österreicherin. Es ist ein Grund, aber kein Hindernis. Und ich gehör einfach nicht hier her, das bin nicht ich, ich bin keine Österreicherin, ich gehör einfach nicht in dieses Land, hab ich immer gesagt.“ (Asina, Interview. 8.1.2012)⁸¹

In order to understand Asina's view of her own position and her sense of belonging, this statement is very important. Although she spent her whole life in Austria, being raised here,

⁸⁰ „We had us, well, I have always been thinking, during my time of vocational school and training, what am I going to do all life long in Austria? I will, really, it is such a pity, for my whole youth and everything, it is, I have really, well, was suffering from depressions, really. It was so horrible, and but my father, he always wanted, that I become a financial accountant, so I can overtake his office one day. (...) I thought to myself, ok I will arrange it so, that my daddy will be proud of me, I will overtake his office one day. (...) And I have, well, in vocational school I have been very, very good, I really almost had only As, but I have just learned for my dad, because my dad wanted it so much and then I was thinking by myself, yes then I want that too, because I don't have my own opinion anyway. Because what kind of opinion should I have?“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁸¹ „Well, I was definitely going through a lot with my father. He really didn't let us, that I move to Turkey. I was really quarrelling with him for days, for nights on end and I have really, well my nerves were really broken because of my father. He just didn't want to accept it. And my dad is like, no he means, Austria is your country, you have to stay in Austria, you were born here, you grew up here, you can not go to a foreign country. And I said, dad that's not a foreign country for me, I am Turk at last, I have the Austrian citizenship admittedly, also the Turkish one, I ah my mother tongue is also German, right? And I have been, well, I grew up here and everything I was born here, but still I am not an Austrian. It is a reason, but no barrier. And I simply don't belong here, that's not me, I am not an Austrian, I just don't belong to this country, I always used to say.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

having the Austrian citizenship and seeing German as her mother tongue, she can not imagine spending her life here in a way she wishes to do though.

The family's influence is very interesting in general as Asina mentions at another phase of the conversation that she had always been speaking German to her father, but used to talk Turkish with her mother. This could maybe also explain the differing reactions of both considering Asina's plans of emigration. It was a hard step for her to rebel against her father, but expresses that she had to do it. She told him she was sorry, but as she felt unhappy he had to accept her decision and she was not willing to live her life in order to make other people happy.

Asina and her friend started to realise their plan then and applied at a travel organisation as holiday reps. In order to enclose the conflict with her father and to calm him she was looking for a serious and well reputed organisation. From April to August 2011 they were working in several hotels in Antalya. They changed working place two times because they were not satisfied with the working conditions, but as Asina could build up some good connections to chief hosts and because of her very good German and English skills, she was able to find a hotel where she was able to work under better conditions. It is a way of showing her competencies and capital she sees as outstanding in comparison to other holiday reps by referring to her ability of networking and also her language skills.

In August 2011 Asina's family came to visit her and her friend in the hotel they were working at. Her father, who was not taking her plans serious, told her to come back to Austria with them when they would depart. Although their chief host, who was very fond of the two young women's work, tried to persuade Asina's father by talking to him for several hours and showing him the working place, her father was not convinced and saw that kind of work as asocial. Two days before their departure the girls were faced with a decision by Asina's father, who offered them the option to either come back with them to Austria or to go to Istanbul.

Asina and her friend had planned to go to Istanbul after summer anyway and saw their work as holiday reps only as a sort of adventure for gathering experiences, when she said:

“Und dann eben sind wir nach Istanbul gefahren. Dann hat der Papa gemeint, der Papa hat eine eigene Wohnung in Istanbul, eine sehr schöne und er hat gemeint, auch in einem sehr schönen Ort, er hat gemeint, ihr könnt hier wohnen, aber natürlich müsst ihr mir Miete zahlen,... Weil der Papa, also er braucht unsere Miete überhaupt nicht, aber eben Prinzipsache, na? Und dann hat er gemeint, wenn ihr das so machen könnt, dann könnt ihr ah.. bei mir in der Wohnung wohnen und Miete zahlen, aber ich schau mir euch sowieso an, weil ihr werdet euch sowieso keinen Job finden, hier ist nämlich nicht so asozial wie in Antalya und ihr werdet sowieso schön nach Österreich kommen, na?“ (Asina, Interview. 8.1.2012)⁸²

⁸² “And then we were just driving to Istanbul. Then daddy meant, dad has an own flat in Istanbul, a very beautiful one and he meant, also in a very nice area, he meant, you can live here, but you have to pay rent to me,

In form of a cheap flat Asina's father was offering his capital to them in order to let them try out their plans, although he did not believe that they could manage this on their own. Instead, he hoped they would learn their lesson and come back to Austria after some time again.

Asina, who wanted to give everything to stay in Istanbul, was convinced this would not happen. Already after one month's time she had to overcome a personal crisis though, as she and her friend were running out of money and couldn't find a job, as her father had told her. She feared that she had to give up her dream and would go back to Austria.

They were lucky though as they found a job offer from a German sales company throughout a newspaper advertisement. Both of them are working at the sales department at the time of the interview where they have to sell products to Germany. Asina is very satisfied with that job and the working conditions there as the circumstances seem rather German than Turkish to her regarding working time and holidays as well as payment which is overly high for their position in Turkey. Asina is also planning to take special courses to get into a better position as the company opened a stock department where she wants to start working, having better payment in mind too. All in all she sums up:

“Und jetzt, also, wir haben einen sehr schönen Job, wir haben eine schöne Wohnung, wir sind sehr zufrieden. Wir leben in Istanbul.“ (Asina, Interview. 8.1.2012)⁸³

Despite their surroundings expectations, who were thinking they would come back after two or three months, they fulfilled their plans and managed to find a job. For both of them the migration had been an easy decision in general, as they didn't really left a social network in Austria, except their families, who they can visit whenever they want or the other way round. Asina maintains that she would have migrated alone, but the fact that her best friend moved with her and that they are undergoing this experience together has to be taken into account too.

In Asina's case the matter of living in Turkey is more crucial than any other reason. This is why she decided to migrate to Istanbul as she is sure she could have had a good job as financial accountant in Austria too, but she was bored of that:

“Von mir aus arbeit ich in der Türkei auch als Putzfrau, Hauptsache ich bin in der Türkei. (...) Weil ich kann in Istanbul viel mehr machen, eigentlich. Weil in Istanbul find ich folgendes, wenn du wirklich ein Mundwerk hast...wenn du wirklich reden kannst und positiv bist, eine positive Einstellung hast, wenn du echt gut aussiehst und keine Ahnung, irgendein Mädchen bist, hast überall Chancen. Du musst keine Uniabschlüsse haben. Natürlich, ist es etwas sehr

of course,... Because dad, well, he doesn't need our rent at all, but it is a matter of principle, right? And then he meant, if you can do that, then you can ah.. live in my flat and pay rent, but I will have a look at you anyway, because you will anyway find no job, as it is not so asocial like in Antalya and you will come right back to Austria anyway, right?” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁸³ „And now, well, we have a very nice job, we have a beautiful flat, we are very satisfied. We live in Istanbul.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

gutes, wenn du auf der Uni warst, klar, ich mein gibt's nichts, aber musst gar nicht mal super Sachen in der Hand haben. Hauptsache, die sehen das Licht und wenn die einmal das Licht sehen, die wollen dich sofort. Aber in Österreich, die schauen nicht mal dein Gesicht an, die wollen einfach nur deine Zeugnisse sehen und das gibt's hier in Istanbul nicht, das ist hier nicht so. Wenn die sehen, du hast es wirklich drauf, dann nehmen sie dich.“ (Asina, Interview. 8.1.2012)⁸⁴

Although it had been difficult for her to find a job at the beginning, she is convinced to have enough chances though. Even though she doesn't have a university degree, she mentions at one point of the conversation that one can get everything in Turkey if he or she possess money. Further, she favours the way she is treated as a woman in Turkey, since she likes to be invited when going out with male friends for instance.

It is important for Asina to experience a lot of things in her life so she can tell something to her children in the future. Therefore it is not making any career or because of vocational motivations, but she feared to live a boring life in Austria. Nevertheless she doesn't worry about her occupational options, since she feels like having the options to get a job she wants for being a communicative girl.

3.4.4 Escaping the Pressure

Seher came to Vienna at the age of 12 and stayed there for 23 years. She attended secondary modern school at first and then vocational school for retail sector. Seher was first a trainee at a supermarket and got manager there later. Although she felt successful within her economic life, she was missing social acknowledgment:

“...ich war im Wirtschaftsbereich erfolgreich, jedoch wollte ein Sprung im Sozialbereich,...“
(Seher, Email-Interview. 2.1.2012)⁸⁵

She decided to do further training during her maternity leave thus and made diploma for “Interculturality and Communication”. In Austria Seher had already decided to change her social life and headed for upward social mobility by doing further training and gathering

⁸⁴ „As far as I am concerned, I would also work as cleaner in Turkey, main thing is that I am in Turkey. (...) Because I can do a lot more in Istanbul, actually. Because in Istanbul I think the following, if you have a gift of the gab...if you can really talk and you are positive, have a positive attitude, if you really look good and don't know, be some kind of girl, you have everywhere chances. You don't need university degrees. Of course, it is something good, if you have been at university, sure, there is nothing to say, but you don't need to have super things in hand. Main things, they see the light and if they have seen the light once, they want you immediately. But in Austria, they don't even look at your face, they only want to see your certificates and that's not the way here in Istanbul, it is not like that. When they see, you have something down pat, they take you.” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

⁸⁵ „...I was successful within the economic sector, but I wanted a jump within social sector,...” (Translated by Julia Kendler)

cultural capital in form of education. She was also successful in finding a job then, being social consultant at a women's helpline and also coach at the municipal administration for new immigrants.

This story of success makes one raise the question why Seher decided to migrate to Turkey, which can be answered throughout several reasons that are entailed in her interview.

In terms of belonging Seher argues that she faced many negative experiences in Austria because of being foreigner. She had to cope with racism in general describing it with scornful looks when she was in the metro for instance. This influenced her sense of belonging. Further she had also always difficulties concerning bureaucracy issues. When she had to apply for a visa she felt insulted by clerks and also her children who were born in Vienna and felt themselves as Austrians had to cope with the fact of being treated as foreigners. Seher mentions instead that her roots had always been in Turkey and she feels connected to it as she was born there and spent her childhood there. Two times a year Seher travelled to Turkey, why she had a social network there permanently. That's why she describes to feel more comfortable when she is there in comparison to Austria. Generally, in comparison to Austria people in Turkey seem more human and natural to her and also their values are different. Although she is not explicitly mentioning what kind of values she is referring to it gets clear that she didn't feel to have the acknowledgment for what she had reached in Austria in another passage of the email. She correlates again the missing symbolic capital for her personal social success to her position of being foreigner:

„Was ich bemerkt habe ist, es herrscht eine besondere Hass gegen die Türken, bei Minderheiten ist es nicht so schlimm, die sind ja schließlich so arm, wenn man arm und bedürftig ist, wird man eher ertragen, aber wenn ich auf der gleichen Ebene bin oder höher, ist man nicht mehr so willkommen, besonders bei meinem Aufstieg in die Führungsposition, habe ich das erlebt von den Arbeitskolleginnen...es war dort ein Druck, den ich nicht einfach beschreiben konnte, den wollte ich endlich los werden und neu starten.“ (Seher, Email-Interview. 2.1.2012)⁸⁶

Seher felt lacking symbolic capital because her working surroundings did not acknowledge the position she had reached throughout her own efforts. That's why Seher decided in 2005, together with her family, to go back to Turkey. It was a decision made together and they prepared for it very detailed by planning to migrate in 2010, what they finally did then. They were realistic and gave themselves a "probation year" to figure out whether they can realise their plans even though they had concrete expectations.

⁸⁶ „What I have noticed is, a special hatred is prevailing against Turks, it is not so bad for minorities, who are eventually poor, when one is poor and needy one is rather bared, but when I am at the same level or higher, one is not welcome that much, especially for my promotion into leading position I experienced that from working colleagues...there was some pressure, I couldn't describe, which I wanted to get rid of and start over.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

In terms of economic capital they had saved money since they had finally decided to move to Turkey in 2005. They had enough budgetary to live in Turkey without problems for almost two years. It had been an advantage for them to live in a flat of Seher's mother in the beginning, since they didn't have to pay rent. For later they had planned to build a house a bit outside of the city. Not because of missing capital, but because of other circumstances they decided to change their plans and bought a flat in the city. Otherwise the children would have had a rather dangerous and long way to school and Seher would have had to stay at home as housewife to take care of them. As Seher is not that type of woman, who always wants and needs to work, they changed their mind. Their start in Turkey had been rather good, also being secured by the money they had saved in Austria and being supported by her social network with economic capital in form of the flat where they could stay in the beginning,.

Still, she tells that their migration to Turkey had not been that easy as expected, firstly being disappointed not realising their dream of a house, secondly also because of occupational reasons. Seher herself could find a job as translator for tribunal and lawyers, earning her pocket money, as she calls it. Although she can use her language skills as a form of capital, she doesn't really seem satisfied within that position and sees it just as some kind of employment, but not really as a position she wants to be. Further her husband, who graduated at economic university, hoped to become self-employed in an easier way, what she argues as follows:

“Mein Mann hatte Wirtschaftsuniabschluss, glaubten wir können sofort mit einer Arbeit starten,..., aber es ist nicht so einfach, benötigt viel Kapital und viel Erfahrung, den wir nicht hatten, daher haben wir eine Versicherungsfiliale eröffnet und arbeiten seit Kurzen gemeinsam in einem Büro und werden sehen, was auf uns zukommt.“ (Seher, Email-Interview. 2.1.2012)⁸⁷

Both of them, Seher and her husband, hoped for better occupational opportunities considering their education and their cultural capital inhabited. Nevertheless they managed to become self-employed by founding an own insurance agency to gather the experiences they are missing in Turkish working life. It is a provisional solution as they want to reach more.

All in all, Seher summarises that they are really satisfied now and they don't regret their decision although they had to change some aspects of their initial plans. Nonetheless, she also mentions that she is grateful for the time in Vienna and keeps on visiting her family and friends there as she left her social network behind in Austria. Finally she closes that she is happy for her children too, as they are used to both cultures and are free to choose where they want to live later.

⁸⁷ „My husband had graduated at economic university, we thought we could start immediately with some work,..., but it is not so easy, needs a lot of capital and a lot experience, which we didn't have here, that's why we opened an insurance agency and work in an office together for short time and we will see what will come up to us.“ (Translated by Julia Kendler)

3.4.5 Realising Expectations in Turkey

In the second part of this chapter it has been tried to go more into detail and analyse all interviews done in Turkey with women, who have already been migrated to Istanbul, as it has been done above with the interviews of the women in Austria. A comparison and summary of these women in Turkey will be first done, especially concentrating on their expectations and their realisation in order to get a better overview, before finally comparing both groups of women in the concluding part of this thesis.

During the interviews of all four women, who were met in Istanbul and Seher, who answered preset questions via email it was demonstrated that their decision for migrating to Istanbul had been connected to reasons of life conditions in Austria and aspects they were missing there as well as plans they were hoping to realise in Istanbul. Most expectations had come true although some plans had to be changed though because of specific circumstances that had not been taken into account when they had planned their migration.

Elif and Ayse are mother and daughter, but still their migration to Istanbul has to be seen separated as they had different views on the city itself as well as on their life conditions in Austria. Elif, who had first only planned to go to Vienna for studying and wanted to return to Istanbul after that again, finally spent twenty years in Vienna. She gained cultural capital throughout her university qualification in architecture graduating as PHD. She also states that the time she spent in Austria influenced her insofar as she changed her perception on Turkey and Turkish society, why she sees it more open minded in her opinion in comparison to Turks themselves. The main reasons for her to go back to Turkey again were that she could not realise her academic career plans as she wished to do and missed a supporting social network. Elif admits to have friends in Austria, but lacked social capital in that way that she didn't get support from her family and her social network. She didn't only miss economic support, but also help in order to manage her life of studying, working and raising a child at the same time. Additionally, Elif also lacked social capital by feeling treated like "second class" and discriminated because of her origin especially by clerks in bureaucratic departments. She was convinced that the social capital she owned would be benefiting for her career in Turkey and also for her life circumstances in general even before she had returned to Turkey.

Being supported by a social network in Istanbul enabled her to figure out how her chances for an academic career would be in Istanbul. The fact that she could get support of her family by having a flat in Istanbul where they don't have to pay rent, was economic capital motivating for returning too as she was very focused on financial issues during the whole conversation.

While Elif lacked social capital in Austria she misses symbolic capital in Turkey. The academic career she has achieved had been upward social mobility in her personal opinion, as she didn't see these opportunities of social position for herself in Austria, but this is not acknowledged by her family. She is called *almançı* and seen as a returnee by her social network in Istanbul. The fact that she could not gain economic capital during her time in Austria dwarfs her personal success and minimizes her symbolic capital therefore.

In Ayse's case the situation has to be considered from a teenager perspective. Although she had a lot of friends during her school time in Austria, she lacks social capital because she missed her family correlating it with having a home and a place where she belongs to. That's why she decided then, when the option of going back to Istanbul was granted, to go and live with her grandparents one year before her parents would come to Istanbul too. Therefore, being within another social network can be seen as the main reason to migrate although her parents had also better educational opportunities at a private school in mind, when they were thinking of going back to Istanbul. The cultural capital she had gained in Austria was advantageous for her in Istanbul and put her into a special position in school as she is on the one hand among the best German speakers there and on the other hand acts as an intermediary between teachers and pupils because of that. Therefore it offers her symbolic capital by being respected as a person covering this bridging function. Next to that she also gained symbolic capital in her social network in Istanbul for being more open minded and able to speak more freely about special aspects, like sexuality for instance, despite her friends who grew up in Turkey. Further on, especially in Ayse's case, as she is very young and still in training, the opportunities opened throughout Austrian citizenship in Turkish educational system have to be emphasised when regarding her social position. She is exempted from quite difficult entrance examinations at university for instance why upward social mobility is facilitated for her by gaining cultural capital.

Ayse is totally convinced that migrating had been the best decision as she feels happier with her family there when raising the question if their expectations have come true by their migration to Istanbul. Elif also admits that she wouldn't have had the chances of occupational success she has achieved in Istanbul knowing that she wouldn't have had these opportunities in Vienna anyway even if some things take longer because of Turkish circumstances.

Fatma didn't feel comfortable in Austria and was mainly pushed by negative experiences made during her school time than any other reasons. The fact of living in Istanbul was main motivation instead of opportunities to get a better job than in Austria because she was very successful in what she was doing throughout her educational career. She was convinced that

her cultural capital would be of advantage for her emigration plans, being very talented in languages and very determined in her plans.

Fatma lacked social capital in Austria as she could never really integrate within a matching social network. Although she had gained social capital by being student representative for instance she never managed to make a lot of friends in Austria. She ascribes this to her Turkey orientation on from early age which was also caused by discrimination of teachers at school. Fatma also had to face symbolic struggles at the beginning of her migration to Istanbul when she missed recognition from her working colleagues for her covered position at her working place. She sees herself as an important actor who established the affiliate in Istanbul as she was the first woman trained and hired to ensure a good start for the opening of this company. Her position as interface between Austria and Turkey was realised then. Fatma achieved upward social mobility not only in terms of her occupational position by covering a social position she couldn't conceive in Austria, but also because she is the best earning woman at her working place. This is an additional effort for her as she was worried about financial aspects before her migration. Finally, another aspect for Fatma's migration aspirations had not only been the opportunity to establish within a social network throughout work, but also the opportunity to find a Turkish partner, who enables her gaining further symbolic capital acknowledged especially by her family. This was important for her as she had been afraid of staying alone like her sister.

Asina had also been quite unhappy in Austria, but similar to Fatma, she didn't have any concrete expectations considering occupational career or explicit life plans in Istanbul. The decision had rather been spontaneous, as she had just finished her education and is still of very young age. She is aware of the fact that the cultural capital she inhabits could enable a good job in Austria, but this had no specific importance for her migration to Istanbul as she started a job within another working sector. She is more satisfied to live in Istanbul though and argues that getting a good job in Istanbul it is not a question of one's certificates, but rather a question of appearance as such. Although she is satisfied with her work she still seeks for more in economic terms as she wants to do further qualifications so she can change into another department of her company, with better paid positions.

One also has to take into account that she did not really migrate alone, but realised her plans together with her best friend which is an influencing aspect. Asina lacked symbolic capital in Austria for being seen as too modern, as she calls it, especially by other people of Turkish origin who are living in Austria. Opportunities for another lifestyle were decisive therefore. Asina complains about boredom of Austrian life, correlating it on the one hand with the

domination and high status of working life and on the other hand she missed communication in terms of being socially active by getting to know people. She was hoping for being accepted as the open and communicative person she likes to be why her desires of migration were fulfilled in so far as she had the opportunity in Istanbul to cover a social position in terms of her social network. Gaining social capital had been of main importance for her and upward social mobility could be achieved throughout a satisfying lifestyle in Istanbul. The life in Istanbul is generally much better for her compared to Austria and her expectations had fully come true.

Seher felt discriminated in Austria, not only for being a foreigner, but also because her success and upward mobility was not acknowledged by her working colleagues why she lacked social capital. Achieving a big step in her personal career in Austria was not satisfying her as she did not get the symbolic capital awaited from this movement. Therefore, emigration to Turkey opened her opportunities for both, economic and social satisfaction. When she became a flat-owner she gained symbolic capital and proved economic capital. She further managed to get into an acknowledged social position by becoming self-employed together with her husband. She is not sure what to expect from future as they just started their business, but she generally feels more comfortable in Turkey.

Comparing these results there has to be first differentiated between those who already have been living in Turkey before and those who knew Turkey only from family holidays when comparing the situations of the five women, who already live in Istanbul for some time now. Ayse and Asina moved to Istanbul without any concrete expectations how life would be there. Entering a private school in Istanbul Ayse had to cope with differing requests in school system. Asina who had just finished her education in Austria before made a big step in her life entering working life there. Also Seher moved back without knowing how working life in Turkey would be. Fatma instead, had already gathered experiences of working life in Istanbul before when she did her internship during her studies. The only one who knew life in Turkey longest before her back migration had been Elif, but she had not been working in Turkey before her return either.

Differentiation has to be done in so far that Ayse, Asina and Fatma, who were born in Austria, had spent the majority of their lives in Austria being influenced by its value and education system in terms of cultural capital and the consequential expectations for life in Istanbul. Contrary, Elif and Seher had come to Austria in teenager age, already influenced by Turkish system and lifestyle before.

Considering the time they spent in each of the countries, it is quite interesting to realise therefore that the women have very diverse opinions regarding their social relations and social networks in both of these countries. While Ayse still tries to stay in contact with her former school mates in Austria by travelling to Vienna from now and then, Asina and Fatma don't have any further contacts or social relations despite to their families who are living in Austria. Elif missed support of a social network in Austria on from the beginning and is aware of the benefits she has by the contacts in Istanbul.

One aspect all of the women have in common is their feeling of discrimination in Austria. Ayse and Fatma faced discrimination during their school time being down graded by teachers because of their Turkish origin. Elif and Seher point out on that fact by describing difficulties with bureaucratic issues feeling mistreated by civil servants. Interestingly, Asina is the only one mentioning discrimination of other people of Turkish origin in Austria. Therefore all of them lacked symbolic capital in their opinion, but not all of them could manage the acknowledgement deserved in their mind. Elif misses approval of her family, who doesn't not give an account of her academic career she achieved, but rather let her feel that economic capital is more valuable in their view. Fatma also lacked symbolic capital in the beginning at her working place as the position she covers, was not recognised by her working colleagues at first. Despite that, Asina felt comfortable on from the start by being regarded as a "good girl" in comparison to Austria where people saw her as too modern.

This leads to the aspect of how the women see themselves and what kind of position they think they cover in their new surroundings, where especially Ayse and Fatma see themselves in special positions. Fatma sees herself in a special position at work, ascribing it on her qualifications, her language skills as well as her function of being among those who were responsible for establishing the affiliate in Istanbul. Ayse is also within a special position by attending an Austrian private school in Istanbul benefiting from language skills and Austrian citizenship in general.

Not only for Ayse, but for almost all of the women language skills are of importance, seeing it as an additional capital. Seher benefited from her German skills too, as she worked as translator before she could get self-employed with her husband.

Another aspect that has to be regarded is economic capital. For all women economic capital had been available before their migration to Istanbul as all of them told about the advantage of owning a flat or having a flat provided by their family where they could first live to get their things started in Istanbul. Elif, Ayse and Seher could use their family's flats without bearing any costs. Fatma, whose father also owns a flat in Istanbul, organised herself another flat

which was closer to her working place and Asina also got a flat provided by her father. This aspect is, of main importance, as it has to be seen as a big profit and an influencing factor, a form of securing and facility, for one's decision of migration.

Finally, one point that has to be mentioned too is that all women had been supported in their plans except Fatma and Asina. Fatma's brother was rather against her decision of living in Istanbul mostly worried about financial aspects and that she would not get a well paid job, being equivalent to her qualifications. In Asina's case her family and friends were thinking she wouldn't be able to manage her life on her own in Istanbul and would return within two or three months. Especially because she is still at a very young age and she decided immediately after finishing her education to migrate to Turkey, her family might have worried if she is already prepared for an independent life in another country.

Having now summed up all outcomes of the interviews made with the women in Istanbul similarities appear in some of the cases and other aspects are quite individual. All in all, one can say that mostly all expectations of the women had come true by their emigration to Istanbul. Even if the first start had been more difficult as they might have thought, all of them were happy and satisfied with their decision. The final step of this thesis shall be to compare all interviews, taking the theoretical considerations made in the beginning into account too.

4 Comparison: What Are the Women Expecting in Istanbul Despite Their Settlement in Vienna – Final Analysis

The final analysis entails the comparison of all interviews of skilled and unskilled women of Turkish origin in Austria and Turkey undertaken. In the previous chapters, all interview partners were dedicated to groups of those being interviewed in Vienna and those being interviewed in Istanbul. Their individual situations were presented and compared within these groups. In this final analysis a focus is laid on the distinction of skilled and unskilled informants and all results of the previous chapters will be compared.

4.1 Comparing the Situations of Skilled and Unskilled Women

All single cases of the women who were willing to give an interview for this research have been presented in the above chapters in terms of combining their life stories with the theoretical aspects shown at the beginning of this thesis. The criterion for categorisation was primarily focused on the women's educational attainment, split up in groups of skilled and unskilled interview partners. Being aware of the fact that educational attainment can not be seen as a parameter which allows rash generalisations about these women's expectations of a life in Turkey, there are still noticeable aspects arising when comparing the two groups generated above.

For the unskilled group of women, where Filiz, Sümeyra and Asina are counted among, an outstanding aspect they wish for throughout their migration to Turkey has to be seen in the aspect of a more pleasing lifestyle in general. Although vocational careers are of their interest too they are only insofar of importance as to enable the different lifestyle hoped for. One major strategy for mobility is to escape the boredom of Austrian life. They are convinced to get a good job in Turkey without necessarily having studied or showing good certificates. All three interviewed women correlate this "boredom" with Austrian working standards. They feel like one is only living for going to work and also lack social networks they are associating with the possibility for communication. All three women also agree in terms of economic capital to be better positioned in Istanbul where they see more opportunities for investing their money and affording something. This leads them, to close the circle, to a social position where they can work in a position that enables them to live their lifestyle they wish

for. This is mostly related to working that much in order to cover the costs of living, but having the time for drawing, sports and meeting people instead, as it is in these cases.

In comparison to that, the skilled women who were interviewed, where Yeliz, Elif, Ayse, Fatma and Seher are counted among, put more attention on their occupational opportunities enabled throughout their cultural capital they gained in Austria for their life in Turkey. All of them hope for a position they could not imagine to achieve in Austria, predominantly according to social capital and social networks they miss during their life there. An easier start for life in Turkey is ensured being supported by their social networks. They are driven or motivated by economic capital or economic security allocated from their families, which is similar to the group of unskilled women. The only exception has to be seen in Yeliz's case, who is the only one not having realised her plans of migration yet. Although her family and most of her friends live in Austria, her plans for migration are motivated out of emotional aspects as she wants to fulfil her dead father's dreams by emigrating to Turkey. She is almost the only one among all interview partners planning to live in a transnational way as her social networks are settled in Austria, why she hopes for a job that enables her to travel to Austria regularly.

Summarising the women's mobility trajectories, all of them were influenced in their decision for mobility throughout their available capitals, especially in cultural form gained in Austria and in social form being available in Turkey. Next to that, economic hedge also played an important role for their decision.

It was shown within this thesis that all women see better opportunities by migrating to Turkey in comparison to their life in Austria, regarding the opportunities available throughout migration which are enabled by the available capitals and the opportunity structures in Turkey. Each of them defines these opportunities in consideration to their individual situation. It got obvious, when having the analysis of those women who have already migrated to Turkey in mind, that not all of the women's plans they had hoped for could be fulfilled and that their settling in Istanbul had not been that easy in the beginning. In comparison, the women who still plan to migrate see this from another perspective and want their hopes to be fulfilled. Still, none of them who already accepted the challenge of migration and started of a new life in Istanbul regretted the decision in the long run.

It is necessary, when considering upward social mobility for the women of this research to have a look at their specific opportunities available which are caused throughout their available capitals and resources and lead their desires and hopes for gaining successes in a special position or field. That's why upward social mobility can not be generalised for all

women here, but as tried to be shown always has to be looked at within the context of their individual situation.

5 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis had been to get an insight to expectation of social mobility of skilled and unskilled young women of Turkish origin by migration to Istanbul despite their settlement in Vienna. Therefore, at the beginning of this research following question had been raised:

“Why do the Turkish origin skilled and unskilled women in Vienna desire to return to Istanbul despite their settlement here?”

In order to get answers to this question empirical research had been conducted by interviewing skilled and unskilled women in Austria and Turkey whereby cases could have been observed of women who are still planning their migration to Istanbul and of women who have already settled in Istanbul for a certain time. It had been possible to look on the one hand on the women's life circumstances and social positions in Austria and what they are hoping for by migrating to Istanbul. It was also possible to observe whether the opportunities hoped for or the aroused expectations could have been fulfilled on the other hand.

Hopes and desires are formed by different aspects which are influenced by life conditions a person is at a certain point of his or her life and varying experiences gathered during this persons' whole life. Likewise the decision for migration is one which is not made overnight and arises from particular reasons that could be called push and pull factors. There had not been one specific motive leading the person to her considerations in any of the cases that have been taken into account in this research, but there had always been bunches of motives being crucial for the final decision of migration.

Generally, the decision of migration has to be seen as a point of change within a persons' life that causes changing life circumstances, as Wolbert sees it. It also has to be seen as a challenge within a precise phase of life. These processes always have to be observed within a social context by uncovering the life stages throughout the stages of the analysed narratives that all have a biographical character which gives insights into meanings for each single case. All of the women had in common that they felt disadvantaged or underprivileged in Austria in some way or another. They were not able to live their life as they wished and also were not able to apply their available or gained capitals in a way personally most advantageous for

them. They were missing the opportunity to participate in social networks they preferred which has to be seen as one of the most important opportunity structures all of the women were mentioning to be opened for them in Turkey. In order of dealing with people's expectations it was necessary to ask what kind of experiences they had made so they chose just Istanbul as the place they thought to use their capitals in a way offering more opportunities than in Vienna. While some of the women had already spent part of their life in Turkey, some even in Istanbul, they knew aspects of life there before, even if there had been a long interval before their return. For others the term "return" does not really seem appropriate as they only know life in Turkey from family holidays or shorter periods of stay. Therefore, expectations exist that have to be seen in some cases as illusionary imaginations of life in Istanbul differing from reality as they had or will have to experience.

Nevertheless, I supposed by asking for the women's expectations that their attempts or realisations of migration to Istanbul were motivated by hopes for a better life. The term "better life" is, of course, broadly defined and also dependent on one's individual opinion, but in equalising "better life" with "upward social mobility" in this research, I tried to figure out what this means for the interview partners. Seeing upward social mobility as a strategy of each person to realise his or her expectations of life within their understanding of lifestyle, each case taken into account in this thesis offered different answers related to their individual situation and their personal interpretations of life. What can be said after the analysis of the interviews and the comparison of skilled and unskilled women though is, that especially skilled women hoped for upward social mobility and therefore for a better life by getting a job they could not imagine to achieve in Vienna. Despite that, although social and economical reasons had been of importance for both groups too, as bunches of motives are relevant, the aspect of escaping boredom of Austrian lifestyle and therefore achieving upward social mobility by finding a job in Istanbul that enables them to cover their life costs was dominating for the unskilled women. Additionally, it had been important for them to be given the opportunity for free time where they can exert things they define as important for having a satisfying lifestyle in their opinion. This shows that the aimed opportunity structures in Istanbul are not implicit economically, although they point out better chances for self-employment and the use of their economic capital in a more profitable way. This would not be possible without social capital though. Therefore, opportunity structures have to be considered in social terms, as all of the women desired participation in a social network favoured by them.

Finally, as all life stories are unique it is not possible to make any generalisations or give a concrete answer to what the women are expecting of their migration. Summarising the research above though, it got clear that all of them are hoping for a better life throughout their migration to Turkey and that those who are already living in Istanbul are satisfied with their situation, admitting that they have a better life. Therefore they gained upward social mobility that is also not primarily related to economic success in these cases, but again in social terms and in terms of how they see themselves positioned in Istanbul's social context compared to their position in Vienna.

As resources for this research had been limited in financial and temporal terms, it was not possible to accompany women throughout their whole migration process, starting with their first idea of migration plans and continuing to observe their lives in Istanbul for a specific phase of time. Further another thrilling aspect would have been to accompany the women by doing participant observation over a longer period whereby social surroundings and lifestyle as such could have been researched more detailed. This would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis though, but would be very interesting for further studies.

In conclusion, I hope that the aspirations of this research have been achieved by paradigmatically presenting the life stories of eight women in order to get an insight to expectations of social mobility of skilled and unskilled women migrating from Vienna to Istanbul.

6 Interview Glossary

Filiz	face-to-face interview on 2 nd of December 2011 in Vienna, lasting one hour
Yeliz	face-to-face interview on 26 th of December 2011 in Vienna, lasting 53 minutes
Seher	Email-interview on 2 nd of January 2012
Elif	face-to-face interview on 3 rd of January 2012 in Istanbul, lasting one hour
Ayse	face-to-face interview on 3 rd of January in Istanbul 2012, lasting one hour (together with Elif)
Fatma	face-to-face interview on 7 th of January 2012 in Istanbul, lasting one and a half hours
Asina	face-to-face interview on 8 th of January 2012 in Istanbul (accompanied by her friend), lasting one hour and fifteen minutes
Sümeýra	face-to-face interview on 17 th of March 2012 in Vienna, lasting 55 minutes

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Abstract

There are varying forms to fulfil one's expectations of a better life. One of these forms is migration. This diploma thesis deals with the expectations of a better or different life, whereas the search for upward social mobility and thereby also the mobility strategies and trajectories of skilled and unskilled women of Turkish origin in Austria, who plan to migrate to Turkey or already did so, were investigated. Researches were conducted in Vienna and Istanbul, to expose mobility trajectories of women.

The main research question within this research is, why skilled and unskilled women of Turkish origin desire to return to Istanbul, despite their settlement in Vienna.

To lay the foundation of this research, the forms of capital by Bourdieu are elucidated, which are seen as an essential indication to understand and to explain the motivations for migration. Within this coherence, referred to the research question, the concept of opportunity structure is decisive too, to determine which opportunities present themselves for the women before or throughout migration.

As expectations of a better life are equated with aspiration for upward social mobility within this thesis and hopes for a better social position throughout migration are expected, the theory of social mobility is used too. Further on, it is of main importance to pay attention to the women's social networks, as they have a major impact on the women's expectations and decisions.

To present and analyse the taken interviews within an on-topic context, reviews on the history of Austrian migration research are given, in doing so, especially referring on researches that concentrate on migration of female Turks. As the researched form of migration can be seen as return of the women to their country of origin, insights are also given into return migration.

It is relevant for the research to reveal the life situation for people of Turkish origin in Austria and the common life situation in Turkey, where especially working situation is taken into account too, to be able to reconstruct the women's expectations to the life circumstances.

By interviewing women in Austria and in Turkey it is possible to compare the prior expectations of the women in Austria with the fulfilled hopes of the women in Turkey.

The result of this research is, that there are always bunches of motives decisive to make the final decision for migration.

The desire to migrate was caused by not satisfying circumstances and negative experiences in Austria for the majority of women, independently from their qualifications. Additionally, a

further motive which has to be seen in the feeling of not being able to use the available capital in an advantageous way for their social position in Austria is accurate for all women.

The women's expectations that this is different in Istanbul were caused by gathered life experiences in Turkey in the past for some women and for others only by holiday memories, why illusionary imaginations about a life in Istanbul were mentioned.

The suppositions prior to the research that all women are hoping for a better life can be approved, although the individual interpretations of a better life of each interviewed woman have to be considered. For the skilled women it is really the attempt to gain upward social mobility which is related to their vocational career. For unskilled women the economic security given throughout a job is also of importance and additionally they also expect or have a better vocational position in Istanbul, but the intended capital is free-time. However, the opportunity to participate in a social network that offers them advantageous opportunity structures has to be seen as the main reason for migration for all women.

All informants who were willing to present their mobility trajectories in this research fulfilled their personal expectations and are satisfied with their decision.

Zusammenfassung

Man kann auf viele unterschiedliche Arten versuchen, Erwartungen auf ein besseres Leben zu erfüllen. Migration ist eine dieser Arten. In dieser Diplomarbeit geht es um die Erwartungen auf ein besseres oder anderes Leben, wobei die Suche nach aufsteigender sozialer Mobilität und dadurch auch die Mobilitätsstrategien und –verläufe von qualifizierten und weniger qualifizierten Frauen türkischer Herkunft aus Österreich, die planen in die Türkei zu migrieren oder dies bereits getan haben, untersucht wurden. Dafür wurden Forschungen in Wien und Istanbul durchgeführt, um die Mobilitätsverläufe von Frauen aufzudecken.

Die ausschlaggebende Fragestellung innerhalb dieser Forschung ist, weshalb sich qualifizierte und weniger qualifizierte Frauen türkischer Herkunft, trotz ihrer Niederlassung in Wien, wünschen, nach Istanbul zurück zu kehren.

Um einen theoretischen Grundstock für diese Forschung legen zu können, werden die Kapitalformen von Bourdieu erläutert, welche als essentielle Anhaltspunkte dafür gesehen werden, um die Motivationen zur Migration verstehen und erläutern zu können. Maßgeblich ist in diesem Zusammenhang, bezogen auf die Fragestellung, auch das Konzept der Opportunity Structures, um feststellen zu können, welche Möglichkeiten den Frauen vor beziehungsweise durch die Migration gegeben sind oder sich eröffnen.

Da die Erwartungen auf ein besseres Leben innerhalb dieser Diplomarbeit mit dem Streben nach aufsteigender sozialer Mobilität verbunden sind und die Hoffnung auf eine bessere soziale Positionierung durch die Migration vorausgesetzt wird, wird auch die Theorie der Social Mobility herangezogen. Des Weiteren ist die Beachtung der sozialen Netzwerke der interviewten Frauen von großer Bedeutung, da diese einen großen Einfluss auf die Erwartungen und Entscheidungen der Frauen haben.

Um die durchgeführten Interviews in einem themenbezogenen Kontext darstellen und analysieren zu können, werden Rückblicke auf die Geschichte der österreichischen Migrationsforschung gegeben und dabei vor allem auf die Forschungen, welche sich auf Migration von Türkinnen konzentrieren, Bezug genommen. Da es sich bei der beforschten Migrationsform im Weitesten betrachtet um eine Rückkehr der Frauen in ihr Herkunftsland handelt, werden ebenso die bisherigen Erkenntnisse über Rückkehrmigration einbezogen.

Das Aufzeigen der Lebenssituationen für Personen türkischer Herkunft in Österreich und den jetzigen Lebenssituationen in der Türkei, wobei vor allem auch auf die Arbeitssituationen Rücksicht genommen wird, ist für die Analyse der empirischen Forschung relevant, um die Erwartungen der Frauen im Vergleich zu diesen Lebenssituationen nachvollziehen zu können.

Durch die Befragung von Frauen in Österreich und in der Türkei ist es möglich, die vorausgehenden Erwartungen der Frauen in Österreich mit den erfüllten Hoffnungen der Frauen in der Türkei zu vergleichen.

Als Resultat der Forschung kann festgestellt werden, dass immer ein Bündel an Motiven ausschlaggebend ist, um die endgültige Migration zur Entscheidung tatsächlich zu treffen. Der Wunsch zur Migration wurde bei der Mehrheit der Frauen, unabhängig ihrer Qualifikationen, durch nicht zufrieden stellende Bedingungen und negative Erfahrungen in Österreich hervorgerufen. Zusätzlich ist als ein weiteres Motiv, welches bei allen Frauen zutrifft, das Gefühl, die verfügbaren Kapitalien nur unzureichend vorteilhaft für ihre soziale Position in Österreich nutzen zu können, zu sehen.

Die Erwartungen der Frauen, dass dies in Istanbul anders sein würde, hatten sich bei einigen Frauen dadurch ergeben, dass sie bereits in der Vergangenheit Lebenserfahrung in der Türkei gesammelt hatten, bei anderen bloß durch Urlaubserinnerungen, wodurch auch illusorische Vorstellungen über das Leben in Istanbul erwähnt wurden.

Die Annahme vor der Forschung, dass alle Frauen auf ein besseres Leben hoffen, kann bestätigt werden, wobei die individuellen Interpretationen eines besseren Lebens der einzelnen Interviewpartnerinnen miteinbezogen werden müssen. Für die qualifizierteren Frauen kann dies tatsächlich auf die Absicht zur aufsteigenden sozialen Mobilität gesehen werden, welche vor allem auf den Berufsweg bezogen ist. Für die weniger qualifizierten Frauen ist die ökonomische Sicherheit durch einen Arbeitsplatz ebenso bedeutend und es wird auch eine bessere Position in Istanbul erwartet oder durchgeführt, jedoch wird vor allem die Freizeit als das erstrebenswerte Kapital gesehen. Die Möglichkeit innerhalb eines sozialen Netzwerkes zu partizipieren, welches vorteilhafte *opportunity structures* bietet, muss jedoch als der Hauptgrund der Migration für alle Frauen gesehen werden.

Alle Informantinnen, welche sich innerhalb dieser Forschung bereit erklärten, über ihren Migrationsverläufe zu berichten, konnten ihre persönlichen Erwartungen erfüllen und sind mit ihrer Entscheidung zufrieden.

Curriculum Vitae

Personal Information

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Education

1994-1998	Primary School Hofstetten-Grünau
1998-2006	BRG/BORG St. Pölten, Schulring 16 with focus on music
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Language Competences

English, basic knowledge in Spanish and French

Miscellaneous

Internship at Südwind NÖ, St. Pölten; 240 hours, from September 2008 until June 2009
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