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Agency and Subjectivity in the Life-Stories of Migrant Women from Turkey in Britain and in Germany

Umut Erel

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of The Nottingham Trent University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2002

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Abstract:

This thesis examines the subjectivity and agency of skilled migrant women from Turkey who now live in Germany and Britain. It is based on biographical interviews with 19 first and second generation migrants. I specifically explore how the interviewees exercise agency, narratively in the stories they tell, subjectively in the self-identities and situated knowledges they produce, materially in the ways they act upon their circumstances.

The analytic approach focuses on gender, ethnicity and class as intermeshing social divisions and their articulation in the life-stories. It engages with theoretical debates on gender and migration, citizenship, nationality and the construction of cultural boundaries. The concepts and social realities of nationality, citizenship and racism are cross-nationally contextualised in Britain and Germany.

I explore different sites of agency: first, the tension between family and education in constructing gendered and ethnocised subjectivities. Second, I relate migration and recognition of qualifications in paid work to processes of de-skilling and re-skilling. Third, I explore practices and (re-)conceptualisations of transnational mothering and daughtering and the intergenerational transmission and transformation of ethnic identities. Fourthly, I discuss the participatory aspects of migrant women's citizenship.

I argue for the analytic centrality of migrant women's agency and subjectivity for research on migration, ethnicity and citizenship. I qualify concepts of hybrid and representations of transnational cultural practices and call for centring migrant women as social actors in debates on community, identity, belonging and citizenship. The thesis contributes empirically to a number of under researched fields: skilled female migration, migration from Turkey to Britain, differential racialisation of migrants from Turkey in Britain and Germany, practices of transnational motherhood, participatory aspects of migrant women's citizenship. Theoretically it contributes an intersectional and cross-national analysis of migrant women's situated knowledges to debates on citizenship, the social construction of skill and cultural capital, theories of motherhood and cultural boundaries.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following for intellectual, emotional and material support and encouragement at different stages of this project. Such words of thanks read like standard, and cannot express my gratitude and indebtedness, but mean my heartfelt thanks:

Audrey Ducolombier, Aysel Adigüzel, Barbara Henkes, Chin Li, Elaine Unterhalter, Emma Myatt, Gamal Ibrahim, Helma Lutz, Jessica Jacobs, Jinthana Haritaworn, Karen Embrechts, Kirsten Ullmann, Mandy Walker, Necla Acik, Niloufar Purzand, Nira Yuval-Davis, Soo Davenport, Tamsila Tauqir, Tatiana La Mura Flores, The Gender, Ethnicity and Social Research Discussion Group, Tijen Uguris.
I especially thank Christian Klesse for enduring support, encouragement and fun. Special thanks also to Susanne Schwalgin for supporting the writing up stages with unremitting fervour and for letting me experience a great and sustained intellectual partnership. Special thanks to Can for embueing the very final stages of writing this thesis with soul and encouraging and sustaining me in many ways.

I especially thank my parents for vital encouragement and support.

I thank my supervisors Richard Johnson, Eleonore Kofman and, though for a shorter period, Tracey Skelton, for their commitment, encouragement, stimulation and incredible support on so many different levels, that I cannot start to name them. I am very grateful for all their efforts, without which this thesis would not have been possible.

I thank the Nottingham Trent University for the bursary which enabled me to write this thesis.

Finally, I thank all the women who participated as interviewees in this study and generously shared their life-stories and their time. Without them, truly, this thesis would be nothing.

I dedicate this thesis to my friend Tijen Uguris, for all the great times we have shared and all the shared projects: intellectual, political, emotional and practical were all uniquely intertwined. I will be missing all of these, and we'll all be missing out on her contributions to further research into ethnicity and gender.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Aims of the Thesis

This thesis takes the life-stories of skilled migrant women from Turkey, who now live in Britain and in Germany, as its starting point in order to explore their subjectivity and agency. It focuses on the articulation of intersecting social identities in the life-stories. I examine the role of the country of residence in the constructions of self, a relationship that differs for different generations of migrant women. Moreover, the impact of specific conditions of ethnocisation and citizenship in Britain and in Germany on the women's construction of subjectivity and conditions of agency is discussed.

In exploring subjectivity in relation to different social identities, I use an intersectional perspective - that is I view gender, ethnicity and class as intermeshing social divisions. These social relations and discourses on gendered ethnocisation and class form the conditions of women's lives, but also inform the ways they make sense of their experience. In particular, the thesis examines the different ways in which the interviewees reject, incorporate or otherwise negotiate discourses and practices of gendered ethnocisation. My distinctive aim and emphasis is to explore the ways in which the interviewees exercise agency, narratively in the stories they tell, subjectively in the self-identities they produce, materially in the ways they act upon their circumstances. I am especially interested in how they construct their subjectivities through producing commonalties and differences with others.

In the following I briefly lay out some key features of the thesis and its presentation: my own relationship to the topic and the interviewees; the sense in which the thesis is and is not 'comparative'; the significance of the life-story method; the theoretical and political debates I mainly engage with; and some reasons for organising the thesis thematically in the way it appears.

Auto/Biography and Positionality

This research has developed out of personal and academic experiences and interests. As a second generation migrant from Turkey, I grew up in Germany and moved to Britain in 1995 for postgraduate study. Thus, I share some biographical commonalties with my interviewees. This created particular issues of intersubjectivity for the research process. In research on migration and ethnicity it is still rare that the researcher and interviewees share a number of characteristics, such as being skilled, migrant women from Turkey. On top of that, the exploration of these characteristics also formed the key research issues of this thesis, so that methodology and research questions become complexly intertwined.

Matching interviewer and interviewee in gender and ethnic terms has been advocated to resolve the problems of hierarchy between researcher and subject. However, in this research I have found that even if this matching occurs, assumptions of sameness are de-constructed in the research process and other aspects of power relations may be foregrounded; namely in the definition of what such a shared identity position means or should mean. Thus, while I shared some characteristics, experiences, or subject positions with my interviewees, it was not self-evident that we made sense of them in the same ways. In the interview process, gender, ethnic, professional and class identities were negotiated dialogically with the interview partners, revealing complex and shifting differences and commonalties.

This raises the question of how social, personal and epistemological positioning interrelate. A positivist approach views the researcher as an impartial observer who can record and analyse objectively the data to be theorised. This problematically does not acknowledge the social relations in which the research process is embedded. The professional identity of the researcher should not be seen to eclipse her gendered, ethnic and class identities. Instead, I advocate an approach that recognises the situatedness of knowledges. This required me to be reflexive about the research process at all stages. In the interview process, my interview partners were there to point out our differences and commonalties of experience and meaning. However, during the analysis and presentation of the life-stories I felt I had to pay even more

attention to self-reflexivity. Analysing the life-stories meant bringing out the women's self-presentations without distorting their meaning. This was intertwined with interpreting these self-presentations according to my research interests, which means selecting themes from the life-stories and relating them to my research interests. What I want to know and why, in turn is related to my social positioning: thus, as a research student, this thesis is part of my qualification and an attempt to participate in academic debates. This has influenced my choice of concepts and themes that appear in the life-stories. For example, for some of the interviewees, the concepts of subjectivity and agency, or citizenship seemed rather abstract and they themselves may have preferred a different conceptual frame for their life-stories. Furthermore, it is not just my social positioning, but also my political and intellectual projects that influenced the research interest. A key intellectual and political project for me was to understand and counter social divisions and power relations from an intersectional perspective. Therefore I foreground gender, ethnic and class relations in the life-stories. My interviewees may not all agree with this project, or with how I view the role of gender, ethnicity, class and profession in their life-stories. Thus, while I share some social characteristics with the interviewees, it remains important to be clear about the differentially situated knowledges we produce, both in the life-stories and in this thesis that presents one particular, situated interpretation of them. These knowledges cannot be directly read off the social positions of their bearers, but are also articulated as projects of building 'epistemological communities' (Assiter 1996) that dialogically construct knowledge across different identities and experiences.

My positionality also gave me specific resources that were vital for carrying out this research. Thus, being able to use different languages (here English, Turkish and German) and to switch between them in the interview situation or to access research written in different languages constituted an advantage. Moreover, having lived in Germany and Britain myself gave me a certain familiarity with the discourses and practices relevant for this research. It allowed me to translate between not only languages but also concepts. It required travelling between different systems of meaning and enquiring about the material and institutional constitution of these meanings in Germany and Britain.

Britain and Germany: The Limits of Comparison

The specific conditions that the women find in Germany and Britain differ and give them differential scope for constructing their subjectivity, as well as regulating their agency. This cross-national perspective throws into relief the relation between different migration and citizenship regimes and processes of differential racialisation. While this research design may raise expectations that I explore the differential positioning of ethnic communities in Britain and Germany, this was not my aim. The unit of analysis are the individual migrant women and how they relate to pre-established notions of community and construct their own, alternative notions and practices of community. I do not provide a comparative ethnic minority community study. One problem of community studies is that they tend to assume the membership and boundaries of ethnic minority communities as given. In order to avoid this, I put specific emphasis on the exploration of the boundaries and criteria for group membership that the women elaborate. These can change over the life-course and shift situationally. In order not to foreclose an exploration of these dynamic processes of identification I use the longwinded term 'migrant women from Turkey' or 'of Turkish background' to describe the sample. First, this takes account of the ethnic diversity of the population of Turkey and thus avoids reifying nationalist and Turkish supremacist discourses and practices of the Turkish state. Second, the term can encompass the multiple forms of identification of migrant women in their countries of residence.

Life-Stories

The life-story method is particularly suited to the exploration of migrant women's agency and subjectivity since the interviews provide a rich source for analysing their self presentation, I discuss this in detail in chapter 2. The life-story method allows me to explore in-depth the processual character of giving meaning to one's experiences and positioning the self vis-à-vis different collectivities. The life-story method is useful in understanding the diversity of subject positions migrant women construct for themselves, making visible their situated knowledges. It cannot, however, provide a form of statistical representativeness and is limited in producing systematically

comparative data on the conditions of gendered ethnocisation in Britain and Germany. Rather, the life-stories articulate the interviewees' situated knowledges about themselves and the societies they live in.

These situated knowledges articulate specific intersections of gendered, ethnocised and classed subject positions. But no pre-determined analysis or viewpoints can simply be read off from these subject positions. Instead, the main merit of the life-story method is to highlight how individual and collective histories, structural constraints and opportunities as well as very particular biographical contingencies produce subjectivities and agencies and how individuals exercise agency by re-interpreting and re-working these to articulate new subjectivities. The sample consists of skilled and professional women, a group of migrants which has been neglected in research so far. The concepts of skill and professionality are not givens, but socially constructed and differentiated along gender and ethnic lines, a process which will be discussed in chapter 5.

Contributing to Debates

The thesis benefits from and contributes to several bodies of literature; theoretical and empirical. First, the analytical approach aims at elucidating the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity and class, a marked theme in the sociological and cultural studies literatures, but often approached rather abstractly. Second, it hopes to further the empirical and theoretical study of gender which is of increasing significance for migration studies. It is in this context in part that I argue for the methodological usefulness of a life-story approach in the study of migrant women. This can enhance our understanding of migrant women's agency and correct an imbalance of research on and representation of migrant women that has often contributed to a stereotypical image of them as passively enduring migration. Third, there is an explicitly methodological strand in this thesis which engages with debates on methodology in relation to the life-story method.

I engage with two further areas of debate: fourth, the question of citizenship which is closely related to issue of agency and fifth, the issue of the conceptualisation of

culture which is closely related to the question of subjectivity and identity. These debates are discussed in the next two sections of this introduction.

Debating Citizenship

The interviewees' constructions of commonality and difference negotiate belonging and membership in a community, which are key issues in the contemporary debates on citizenship. In some ways these debates are very near my topic but have also some decisive limits. I look at the concept of citizenship and citizenship practices across various social relations as a key site of migrant women's agency. Theorisations of citizenship tend to neglect migrant women as agentic subjects, instead casting them as passive recipients of social citizenship provisions only. In this thesis I shift the emphasis, using lived experience and political interventions of the interviewees to put both normative and descriptive accounts of citizenship into perspective. Taking the interviewees' narratives as a starting point allows me to question nationalist and multiculturalist notions of belonging. I explore the interviewees' political subjectivities and the identity and community constructions these inform.

Paid work is an important arena of citizenship practices, since most social rights are conferred to migrants on the basis of their labour market participation. Paid work was also a major criterion in selecting my sample. My sample of interviewees consisted of skilled and professional migrant women, a group whose experiences of labour market inclusion are only beginning to be researched. While the vast majority of migrant women in Europe work in unskilled jobs, I have chosen to examine those who have been able to have their skills recognised or to re-skill. These processes are intimately bound up with their exclusion from citizenship rights. Thus, I argue that the recognition of skills can be seen as a neglected aspect of the citizenship debate.

While migrant women are most often conceptualised as outsiders or marginal to the community, my focus on their agency allows to bring out the participatory aspects of their citizenship practices. This aims at making visible the contributions of the women to the societies they live in, as well as the transformative potential of their political subjectivities. By centring migrant women from Turkey as subjects of citizenship, this

thesis challenges the normalisation of dominant gendered, national and ethnic identities as the ideal subjects of citizenship.

Debating Culture

Culture and cultural difference are critical concepts, underlying much of the debates around migration, ethnicity and gender. While static notions of ethnically bounded cultures are used to construct and maintain ethnic and national boundaries, academic debates increasingly use concepts of hybrid, transnational or diasporic cultural forms to de-construct them. Here, I focus on the use of culture in the construction and maintenance of boundaries and hierarchies. While I employ notions of culture as hybrid and changing, I also pay attention to the shortcomings of these concepts. Examining concrete social relations and the ways in which culture is invoked to include and exclude, to legitimise power relations or to render them invisible are key concerns in this thesis. Furthermore, I look at a range of social relations and the aspects of culture in the sense of producing meaning. Studies on hybridity have focused on the analysis of cultural production and youth cultures, and studies on transnationality have focused on the flow of goods or institutionalised cultural practices across national borders, but they have not looked at migrant women's paid work or mothering practices as sites of cultural elaboration. The study of transnational cultures has particularly focused on the transferability of social and cultural capital. While this approach has paid some attention to the dimension of class and education in the constitution of cultural capital, it has not paid enough attention to gender relations as constitutive of cultural capital. Therefore, I explore the role of gender, class, education and ethnicity in the formation of cultural and social capital as they relate to professional mobility. Parent-child relations as sites of cultural hybridity and both products of and productive of transnational cultural forms have only recently come to be noticed. I will explore the particular role of mothering and daughtering practices as sites of producing hybrid identities and transnational cultural practices in this thesis. Here, I argue for an intersectional analysis that does not limit itself to challenging national and ethnic boundaries of culture but includes gender and class relations into the analysis. I believe such an intersectional approach can enhance our understanding of cultural difference and its uses in constructing and challenging power relations.

Key Themes and the Structure of the Thesis

The structure of this thesis is two-fold. First, the overarching theoretical debates will be set out in chapters 2 and 3. In chapter 2 I discuss the life-story method and how I use it to conceptualise subjectivity. In chapter 3 I introduce the key debates on intersectionality, citizenship and culture and agency. Chapter 3 also discusses the empirical and conceptual context of Germany and Britain. These theoretical debates form the framework for analysing the life-stories. In general the thesis uses the situated knowledges articulated in the life-stories to qualify and enhance these theoretical debates.

Second, from chapter 4 onwards, I examine the different sites of agency and subjectivity the interviewees elaborate in their life-stories. Here, I use the experiences of the interviewees in concrete situations to explore what the abstract concepts of subjectivity and agency, citizenship and culture mean in everyday life. I have chosen to present the life-stories not as full biographies, but instead structure the chapters along thematic lines. This allows me to look at the empirical results across different life-stories, and gives access to different ways in which the women articulate their subjectivity and agency in relation to issues of education (chapter 3), paid work (chapter 4), mothering and daughtering (chapter 5) and social, political and cultural activism (chapter 7). However, I will use lengthy quotes and contextualise them with other aspects and stages of the interviewees' life-stories. In this way I try also to preserve something of the integrity of the life-stories as they were told to me while selecting lives and examples particularly appropriate to the theme. In these main empirically-based chapters, it became sometimes necessary to also introduce new bodies of theory specific to the sites (i.e. education, work, mothering and daughtering and activism).

I have chosen the themes because they constitute central sites of the articulation of gendered, ethnocised and class identities, and also these were the themes interviewees elaborated in their life-stories.

Chapter 4 examines how family and education form restricting and enabling sites for the interviewees' construction of agency. Both family and schooling are central sites of producing gendered, ethnocised and class identities. In chapter 5, I examine the occupational trajectories and self presentations of the interviewees. I look at the ways in which gender, ethnicity, class, migration status and specific forms of transnational social and cultural capital influence the interviewees' access to skilled work. Chapter 6 explores migrant women's practices of mothering and daughtering. The first part thematises a subject that has been neglected in research on migrant women, that is their practices of transnational mothering and daughtering. The second part of the chapter examines intergenerational practices of transmitting and transforming ethnic identities. Chapter 7 examines the interviewees' political activism and active dimensions of citizenship. Moreover, I look at their political subjectivities and negotiations of exclusion and belonging. Chapter 8 relates the analysis of the life-stories to theory building and formulates some implications of the findings for the key debates.

Chapter 2: Constructing Meaningful Lives

The life-story method is an interdisciplinary method, being used by historians, sociologists, anthropologists and in cultural studies and is increasingly popular in literary studies. Despite all disciplinary differences, there have been certain assumptions about life-story methods.[1] The first is that it gives an authentic expression to people whose voices have been marginalised. This has been an important emancipatory step in recognising that history and society is also lived and constructed 'from below', not entirely autonomously from official sources and records, but in dialogue with them. Thus, the 'ordinary people' have been elevated into the status of subjects of history, and history in turn has been seen to have been democratised, both in terms of its subjects and topics and in terms of the production of historical documents, i.e. the inclusion of the 'ordinary people's voice' (Thompson 1978).

Stanley (1992) has pointed out that the biographical method is importantly a *telling of auto/biographies.* Writing auto/biography encompasses different moments of ambiguity. The first refers to the issue of fiction versus authenticity. Writing a life is always bound up with a fictionalising of this life. Be it through the allusion to (or use of) different narrative genres into which the life-story is moulded or through the slips of memory, the life 'as it was actually lived' changes in the re-telling. To turn a life into a life-story, moreover, coherence has to be produced, aided by a retrospective sense of direction, development or progression. There is also a moment of fictionalising in selecting and interpreting the events. These 'fictional' moments however are inevitable and irreducible features of life-stories. However pronounced the narrator(s)' desire for authenticity, life itself is not unambiguous and always bound up with our making sense of it. The second moment of ambiguity is the question of what makes a biography an auto-biography. Stanley (1992) has shown how the writing of another persons biography, even when it is based on written sources gives a new twist to the 'auto' in auto/biography. She concedes that the

[1] In the following I use the terms life-story method, and auto/biographical method interchangeably to denote this wide field of study and its varying aspects.

understanding of her subject is mediated through her, Liz Stanley's own biographical experiences. She coined the term 'auto/biography' asserting that the 'I' that speaks or writes is inflected by both the researcher's and the subjects biographies. The field of life writing is thus broadened and Stanley suggests that the distinction between auto-biography, biography and fiction is more usefully viewed as a continuum. Life-stories or life in itself comes to be an epistemological category with specific effects on the inter-subjectivity of the research (Stanley 1992, Erben 1993). The life-story method elicits not only what happened, but also how people experienced events, and how they make sense of them. Thus, life-stories are an important vantage point for exploring the links between subjectivity and social structures.

The assumption that life-story methods elicit an authentic voice has been criticised from different vantage points. One of the criticisms is that the power relation between researcher and researched involves a setting of the agenda by the researcher, most importantly in the process of analysing and interpreting (cf. Gluck & Patai 1991) as well as presenting (Lejeune 1980) the life-story. The other assumption of 'giving a voice' to a marginalised social group was built in part on an essentialist notion of 'one true voice', which simply has to be uncovered, recorded and brought to public attention. This disregards the multiplicity of identities, as well as the fact that each life-story is constructed in particular circumstances: the interviewer-interviewee situation, present conditions which shape the particular relationship to the past and the function of life-stories for the notion of self, all produce particular narratives. Memory and narrative are used for constructing a liveable, meaningful life-story, with the aim of a narrative wholeness of the self, notwithstanding the fact that these biographies are revisable. In this sense, life-stories are an important element in constructing personal identity and its relation to collective identities (cf. Antze and Lambek 1996, Giddens 1991, Plummer 2001). Moreover, it is problematic to assume that identities can simply be made to speak. Although certainly, the process of telling the life and the self is an important way of constructing identity, there are constraints on the type of stories that can be told in specific contexts. Finally, the assumption that there will be a common understanding of the narrator and the audience is problematic, too.

In the following I elaborate some of these issues. I begin with a methodological discussion, introducing ways of interpreting life-stories: that is structural and cultural

readings, focussing on the latter. I discuss how the method relates to oral group cultures, story telling and interpretive communities and the role of notions of the public and the private. Moreover, I relate life-stories to the production of expert knowledges. This raises ontological and epistemological issues on the status of life-stories, relating to individuality and collectivity. I then turn to examine how life-stories, as situated, subjugated knowledges, contribute to our understandings of migrant women's subjectivity and agency. In the second part, I explain the sampling, discuss interviewing as an intersubjective, dynamic process and make explicit my method of analysing the life-stories.

Reading life-stories

Structural and Cultural Readings

Life-stories can be read in various ways. They may be used to provide factual data on events that are not or only partially recorded otherwise. They also provide data on the impact of social structures on people, which is not obvious from looking at structural data itself. These ways of reading life-stories have been termed by the Popular Memory Group (1982) 'structural readings'. Those aspects of a life-story that pertain to the ways in which meaning is constructed, they term 'cultural readings'. These two aspects mutually constitute each other but for the purpose of presentation I shall first discuss structural readings and then turn to cultural readings.

Structural Readings

In this thesis, there are a number of useful structural readings: a key question throughout is how factors of gender, migration and ethnicity influence different areas of experience, such as family relations, access to education and employment, the impact of legal statuses of residence and immigration on welfare and other entitlements, access to political participation. For example, the life-stories reveal effects of immigration legislation on personal lives, which one cannot simply read off the legal or policy texts. Life-stories are more than just illustrations to be added to dry policy texts. They reveal structures of exclusion and resistance that quantitative or more large scale studies render invisible. Moreover they can call into question the

categories of legislation and theorisation based on these as for example the discreteness of statuses of refugees, labour migrants, au pair, marriage migration, student migration, professional or undocumented migration. The life-stories also offer critical insights into assumptions of belonging and identity constitutive for citizenship. Moreover, they can question the assumption still prevalent in much contemporary research that the migration into a Western country and the living conditions female migrants find there constitute their first encounter with modernity and provide an entirely new avenue to emancipation. Instead, they are faced with multiple formations of modernity with contradicting effects of gendered control in both countries. The structures of incorporation into the receiving society may, at least initially, indeed enhance their gendered vulnerabilities. Since life-stories do not narrow down lived experience to one single category or event, they offer a privileged vantage point for understanding and theorising the processual dynamics of migration and the intersectionality of gendered, ethnocised and class structures of power.

An example with respect to the effects of migration regimes can clarify the ways in which a structural and cultural reading of life-stories can contribute to our understanding of women's migration. Nilüfer[2] entered England as an au pair, the only legal category open to her. Her intention was to learn English and eventually join her father in Canada, when he fulfilled the residence requirements entitling him to bring in his dependent daughter on the basis of family reunification. Soon after arriving in England however, she quit the au pair job because she felt 'like a slave'. Technically, she had become an illegal resident. However, she managed to get a false au pair contract from a friend to maintain legal residence. In spite of this legal residence, she did not have the right to take up other employment. She found an undocumented job as a waitress, which did not however financially allow her to realise her aspirations of higher education because of the excessive overseas students fees. Nor could she afford to pay the fees to attend vocational colleges and English language schools, an alternative route to education. The irregularity of her residence and work permit status, as well as the lack of a social network on whose financial, social and emotional support she could rely, put her in a very vulnerable position:

[2] I provide an overview of the interviewees in the appendix.

N: But when I was working in that restaurant there, and I was very desperate as well. I had a relationship with the owner of the restaurant. He was thirty years older than me (laughs).
U: (laughing) Most of your boyfriends were much older, hah?
N: But this one was not boyfriend, this one was mostly- secure my job, secure my place and get more money. So this one was that. (...) Was terrible, it was disgusting.
U: Mhm, yeah.
N: It wasn't anything that I wanted to do because I love to do.

This shows how power relations of gender, class, and migration status rendered Nilüfer vulnerable to sexual and economic exploitation. However, this did not preclude her agency, and she used the limited resources to gain education which she hoped would enable her to 'get out' of this situation. In fact she found the situation of sexual exploitation so unbearable that she quit this job, lost her income and access to education. At another waitressing job, she worked for some months without getting paid. Her illegal residence and the undocumented nature of the work made it impossible for her to take any legal steps to get her wages. At her workplace, Nilüfer met her husband, a man with regular residence status in Britain. Her husband's suspicion that she had married him mainly to obtain a secure residence status was a strain on their relationship. When her husband turned violent the considerations of leaving him or getting divorced for Nilüfer also included the fact that she had not yet got an independent right of residence. In spite of these structural constraints Nilüfer entered higher education and separated from her husband. At the time of interview, she was finishing her degree. Of course, such a limited reading of Nilüfer's life-story only for the effects of economic and legal constraints of migration legislation reduces the complexity of her life-story. However, even this reading of Nilüfer's story gives us factual information on the factors impacting on migrant women's life chances and choices. Moreover, it shows ways in which structural positioning constrained and channelled her agency but did not totally preclude it. In fact, Nilüfer's life-story reveals counter structures to those of immigration control. These structures of undocumented residence arrangements and employment within an ethnic community are highly contradictory: while circumventing the restrictions of the British migration regime, they exploit other power relations such as gender and class.

Lutz and Koser (1998), in formulating a research agenda for the new migration to Europe, state that in particular new migrants face increasing vulnerability, differentiated along lines of gender, ethnicity, class and age: 'Further investigations

also need to take into account the development of new hierarchies outside and within settled immigrant communities.' (Lutz and Koser 1998: 14) I suggest that by employing both structural and cultural readings to migrant women's life-stories we can explore these hierarchical structures within the societies of residence, including ethnic minority communities. A combination of structural and cultural readings (cf. below) can call attention to theoretical blind spots or inadequate conceptualisations of gendered migration experiences by giving access to migrant women's situated personal knowledges. This can connect their every day knowledges and theoretisations with academic ones in the process enhancing both (cf. Popular Memory Group 1982).

As I will elaborate in the next chapter, a dominant paradigm in the research on migrant women to Europe has viewed them as passive victims of processes of dislocation and modernisation through migration as well as of particularly strict patriarchal control by the men of their ethnic group. To redress such representations, I particularly focus on the agency they develop. Biographical methods are particularly useful for this, since 'biography provides the link between the migrant agent and the structure of society.' (Lutz 1995: 314):

> By focussing on immigrant women's accounts, a more dynamic understanding of the mental and emotional changes migrants undergo in the aftermath of their physical move can be obtained. Instead of a "before and after" perception which treats migration as the missing link, the individual is seen as one who has lived through the changes, adapted to them or not, and created strategies of resistance. The life-story includes gains and losses, hopes and betrayals, successes and failures, trials and errors, interpreted and told from the perspective of today. (Lutz 1995: 305)

As Lutz points out, the migration story can be one of liberation and suffering at once (cf. Lutz 1997: 260). To grasp these contradictory aspects, it is essential to include the subjectivity of migrant women into the analysis and focus on the ways they give meaning to their experiences.

Cultural readings

A cultural reading as suggested by the Popular Memory Group (1982) focuses on the way the interviewees give meaning to their experiences. This involves different aspects: on the one hand, there are more or less idiosyncratic meanings created from personal experiences. These are however never independent of social meanings, be it on a smaller scale of family, friends, work place, social or political groups or on a wider scale mediated through 'generalized others' (Plummer 2001: 44). Media, legal and institutional as well as transnational movements' discourses provide frameworks for the telling and interpreting of life-stories. In the following I discuss different ways of cultural reading that can usefully be brought to the life-stories.

Self-Presentation, narrative choices and group culture

Passerini (1987), in her study of Italian workers' lives during the fascist period, draws attention to the fact that identity or actual past behaviour cannot be read off oral biographies in a one to one relationship. She underlines that her interviewees do not adopt a mode of reflective introspection with a developmental perspective. Oral conventions of story telling tend to deploy fixed identities, often expressed through narrative stereotypes, as modes of self presentation. These self presentations reflect cultural figures from popular genres such as songs, or jokes. They also reflect the narrative traditions and conventions shared by smaller groups such as the family, a circle of friends, or a political group (cf. Personal Narrative Group 1991, Popular Memory Group 1982). Passerini (1987) therefore cautions us not to confuse narrative choices of self presentation with ways of life. She exemplifies this with reference to political militants in whose narratives, personal stories are blotted out in favour of political events and collective activism. Moreover, she finds that there is often a gap in their life-stories and they do not mention the period of Italian Fascism, which included difficult and painful experiences for them, except in stereotypical anecdotes. For Passerini, oral autobiographies should be related to the wider oral culture of a particular social strata since life-stories also reveal elements of the oral culture of the social groups to which the narrators belong.

Audiences, Scripts and Shifts in Public/ Private divisions

Passerini's work on group oral culture elucidates the relation of individual's life-stories and social and cultural factors in shaping them. However, by now, the life-story has proliferated within media and has become a major mode of transmission of information of all kinds on a large scale. Be it in the fields of politics, publicity, literature or sport, 'as soon as one switches the button [of the tv or radio] one baths in the intimate, the direct, from man to man (sic!)' (Lejeune 1980:316, my translation from French). This public proliferation of life-stories calls into question the assumptions primarily of classic literary biographies and autobiographies representing an authentic 'I' in the mode of sincere and painful confessional which can only find truthful expression as the outcome of introspection and reflection (cf. Marcus 1994).

Referring to sexual stories, Plummer (1995) has pointed out the relation of wider cultural and social conventions of story telling, experience and collective identities and the role of a public or audience. He argues about the beginning of the gay and lesbian movement, where by telling a coming out story, one addressed a gay and lesbian audience, and became part of this 'story telling community' (Plummer 1995). Thus, the audience was not just important in making formerly tabooised experiences speakable, but also created certain scripts for 'self-stories' (Denzin 1989). These self-stories were enabling and inclusive. On the other hand, these scripts also set limits and rules (e.g. on the unspeakability of continuing heterosexual desire or relationships cf. Stein 1997), and consequently became themselves disciplining and normalising. This is one way in which the telling of stories about the self is truly social. This does not mean, of course, that individuals will not elaborate on these scripts, negotiate, challenge or overthrow them. Moreover, the character of such stories changes with the change of audiences, a story of coming out told to a local gay and lesbian coming out group differs from one told on a tv chat show to large and unknown audiences. While the former had a self-conscious aim of empowering both story tellers and audiences thus identifying as gay, the latter with its voyeuristic elements may be regulated by dis-empowering and pathologising interpretative frameworks of the audiences. In this sense, the character of the experience told changes and with it the political implications of both, the experience and the act of telling the story.

Collins (1997) scrutinised the break down or reversal of the public-private dichotomy in US tv chat shows. She argues that the telling of private and intimate stories on tv

chat shows is part of a wider shift of the value attached to the public and private in the US. Increasing participation of Black people, women and working class people in public domains, exemplified by visibility on mass media, holding posts in the public service or use of public places goes hand in hand with the devaluation of the public domain and a shift of power and status to the private. In this context, tv chat shows which make marginalised and subjected people's experiences publicly visible do not therefore automatically value their experiences more. They may on the contrary contribute to their subjection as objects of curiosity, pity, paternalism and ridicule.

The life-story method thus raises questions not only about the narrators but also about their relation to the audiences they speak to. The emergence of an audience shifts the boundary between the private and the public domains. However, this shift into the public domain does not necessarily re-value marginalised or subjected subjectivities.

An 'Action Model of Story Telling'

Plummer (2001: 42) develops an 'action model of story telling' to account for the different factors influencing a life-story. There are the producers of life-stories, firstly the story tellers, who present their life-stories and ' "explain who they really are" ' (ibid.) to their audience. The '*coaxers, coachers and coercers*' who provoke the telling of the story should also be seen as taking part in the production of the stories. In this thesis, that is me as the interviewer with an open-ended semi-structured interview guideline and my research agenda. The second major group are the readers of stories, 'their line of activity is to consume, to interpret and make sense of all these stories. (...) Reading is a social act that depends on time, place, contexts: so readings change with these.' (Plummer 2001:42) All these are part of the process of 'life-story actions' with the life-story text at its centre, that is however given shifting and changing meaning situationally. These interpretative processes are not only idiosyncratic, although life-stories are often produced and consumed to provide moral guidance about how to live and interpret a model life (cf. Marcus 1994). Instead, there are '*interpretive communities*' who shape the reception and interpretation of these life-stories, and co-'script' the stories:

> Stories do not float around abstractly but are grounded in historically evolving communities, structured through age, class, race, gender.

> There is often an organized pattern behind many of the tales that are heard (which may partly explain why some tales become popular and others do not). (Plummer 2001: 43)

Narrations of self: Colonisation of the Life-World and Empowerment

Here, I shift attention from social movements as audiences and co-authors to institutions and experts as co-determining the narration of self. While the notion of 'story telling communities' emphasises the empowering dimension of telling life-stories or self stories, I think it important to point out that expert knowledges applied to migrant women from Turkey are multiple and do not always have either intentions or effects of empowerment. Thus, a crucial level of discourses enunciating migrating women are legislative: immigration, residence, employment, welfare, sometimes mediated by social work or community service agencies. These expert knowledges often mis-recognise and mis-represent the women's subjectivities, but in any case have discursive and material effects on the women's enunciation (for an excellent discussion of this cf. Gutierrez 1999). It is crucial to recognise these expert knowledges as a powerful intertext in dialogue with which the women's own stories are told. Moreover, these expert knowledges themselves elicit self stories, whose function is often to survey and control the women's legitimity. Thus, Nilüfer pointed out to me that the research interview reminded her of her interview at the Canadian Embassy, when applying for family reunification with her father:

> N: (...) it's too much bureaucracy in the Canadian embassy- so by the time they decided that I can emigrate there - they had my life-story as well there, and the woman said 'write a book' (laughs). I said 'what am I gonna do, I'm waiting'. She said 'write a book' (laughs) (p.22)

Giddens[3] (1991) argues that the generalisation of the life-story method as an everyday epistemology of the self is a response to 'ontological insecurity'. He points out the crucial functions of narrations of self in late modernity as personal strategies for making sense of life, striving to maintain a sense of 'ontological security' (1991:3) despite the general culture of risk, time-space compression and accelerating

[3] While Giddens' (1991) argument is not about academic biographical methods, I read it as about the epistemological and ontological aspects of life-story methods in everyday life. Contending that the difference between everyday and academic knowledges is one of degree rather than essence and that

colonisation of life worlds. These personal projects of self reflexivity are however not one-dimensionally resistant de-colonisations of the life-world, but deeply permeated with regulatory mechanisms. Techniques of self narration and identity formation are informed and elaborated through expert knowledges. Personal strategies of defence from abstract systems are not only individual projects, but are generated by and feed into collective life styles that form the basis of 'life politics'. 'Life politics' holistically engages persons in the negotiation of their life worlds with the abstract systems of late modernity.

Giddens relates the project of self reflexivity to the popularisation of therapeutic modes, be it through self-help guides or the availability of therapeutic discourses in other media. Indeed, this practice was reflected in the interviews, too. Some of the interviewees had experiences with counselling and at times directly stated that the interview situation reminded them of the therapeutic dialogue[4]. Indeed, they used therapeutic explanatory models to frame their experiences. Others referred to self-help or psychological literature to explain some of their experiences.[5] This underlines the interrelatedness and mediation of expert and common sense knowledges in the construction of selfhood. This is an important point at which the highly personal, even intimate can be seen as affected by and affecting structural factors of normalisation and regulation. It was important to point out in the interview situation, that despite commonalties with a therapeutic dialogue, such as intensive listening and non-directive interviewing, my capacities as interviewer and in analysing the material are not therapeutic. I do not have the training or explanatory frameworks of a counsellor. Thus my interpretation of the interview material while referring at times to psychological or psychoanalytical theories, does not attempt to psychoanalyse the life-stories, instead taking up psychological and psychoanalytical theories only in so far as they are reflected in social relations.

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they mutually inform each other, I examine his arguments' implications for the use of academic biographical methods.

[4] These references indicated different meanings, on the one hand, that they found the interview situation useful and helpful to clarify issues for themselves. On the other hand, there were also indications that the interviewees found the interview emotionally exhausting.

[5] Pinar made several references to women's self help literature about relationships and about women's dealing with feelings of anger.

I find some problems of Giddens' theory of self-reflexivity and the ensuing 'life politics' unresolved. The re-appropriation of meaning and identity from abstract systems may be a precondition for challenging class, gendered, racialised and other power relations. However, there is no necessary logic that will lead the empowered subjects to engage in such politics. (Yuval-Davis 1994): 'Subjective feelings of empowerment and autonomy (...) cannot be the full criterion for evaluating the politics of a certain action.' (Yuval-Davis 1994: 186). I am not satisfied by Giddens' suggestion that self-reflexive narratives and 'life politics' recuperate a central problem of subjectivity in late modernity, 'personal meaninglessness' (Giddens 1991:9). Giddens' approach emphasises the adaptation of selves and subjects to dis-embedding circumstances. Instead, I would like to stress that these selves may proceed to challenge these dis-embedding circumstances. Though Giddens' model does not preclude such challenges, his emphasis on coherent self-identity suggests he displaces responsibility onto the self for reconciling in narrative, what is impossible to reconcile materially.

The telling of a life-story, or a self story, is required of people in different contexts of regulation, normalisation and surveillance. For migrants, this practice often entails the implicit demand to justify why they are here, when they are going back, what the basis for their entitlements (e.g. to education, benefits) or participation (in social, political, cultural practices and organisations) is. Thus, the kind of self-reflexive construction of self-identity that is required of them on an everyday basis does not centre on Giddens' assumed question of recuperating personal meaninglessness. Instead, the 'ontological insecurity' can indeed be heightened by the repetitive demand to legitimate their presence, their requests and their right to participate. Another important intertext of expert knowledge for my interviewees were collective writings and theorisations of migrant women, to which they themselves contributed also.[6] This should alert us that the boundary between 'expert knowledges' and self-reflexive constructions of self-identity is multi-directionally permeable.

[6] Thus, Deniz refers to her contribution to a collective piece of writing, a manifesto of the feminist group of women of Turkish background on the situation of second generation migrant girls, Pinar refers to workshops, conferences and lectures she participated in as a speaker and organiser.

Who's speaking?

Understood as a social interaction with different participants, the life-story method raises complex epistemological and ontological questions. While I cannot fully discuss or resolve them here, I would like to make some of these explicit.

Narrative Model and Referentiality

The canonisation of the autobiographical genre projects its origins to practices of introspection and memory developed in the Christian confessional. The canonisation of 'great' biographies and elevation of some autobiographies into the status of seminal texts thus contains specific gendered, racialized and classed evaluations about the form and subject of biography. Referring to Augustine's 'Confessions', Marcus argues:

> (T)he view that Augustine is the founding father of the autobiographical form becomes synonymous with the claim that autobiography is in essence an aspect of Christian Western civilisation, and could only take shape and develop within this context. (...) one might interrogate this critical desire for points of origin and explore how various claims made for specific moments of departure are aligned with other judgements about historical developments (...) perhaps most crucially, with the beliefs about the nature of selfhood and identity. (Marcus 1994:2)

Thus, there is a westocentric claim of authority over the genre of autobiography. This constitutes a westocentrism of the critiques and judgements of all autobiographical forms. This is particularly significant in the context of Orientalist power/knowledge structures. The Orientalist gaze denies the quality of introspection and rationality to Muslims, instead viewing Muslims as overdetermined by 'Oriental fatalism'. That means that Orientalist discourses reify the westocentrism of the autobiographical genre since Muslims are seen as lacking the qualities necessary for true originality and agency (cf. Said 1978), which turns them unsuitable subjects of autobiography.

Autobiography is 'hybrid' (Marcus 1994) as both an *epistemology* of how to 'know' the life and the self and at the same time an *ontology*. It represents, through the life-story, the life itself. The problem immanent in this 'hybridity' is that the evaluation

and judgement of a biography turns into a judgement of the underlying life, so that any hierarchisation and canonisation of auto/biographies can easily slip into a moralistic hierarchisation of life-styles: 'The model (of the) text is thus referred back to the model (of a) life.' (Marcus 1994: 2).

Uniqueness, Individuality and Collectivity

Tracing the development of philosophy and criticism of the autobiographical genre from the 19th century onwards, Marcus (1994) argues that in the 20th century, 'creative' persons' autobiographies have come to be seen as the ideal type of the genre. 'Seminal' autobiographies, therefore are seen to express uniqueness. This is based on assumptions about the 'exemplary' character of both the individuals and their autobiographies (Plummer 2001: 88). Paradoxically this claimed uniqueness is cast to represent a generalised ideal type, supposedly best expressing the historical periods in which they are set.

The gender, class, ethnic and culturally specific assumptions inherent in this are being challenged and de-constructed in other forms of auto/biographies by those excluded from the rank of exemplariness. While this importantly aims at democratising practices of auto/biography, often there is an underlying dichotomisation that views these new voices 'from below' (Plummer 2001: 90) *a priori* as 'collective stories' (ibid.). As Plummer argues,

> more marginal voices (...) speak not just of themselves but of and for 'others' in the world. The autobiographies 'from below' hence work to create a different sense of autobiographical form, one where consciousness of self becomes more of a collective exploration than just a private one. (ibid.)

As Plummer rightly points out, these new voices often self-consciously aim at articulating collective identities and experiences of marginalisation (cf. Kosta 1994). However, there is a danger that this disregards the complexities of subjected people's experiences and their representation. I agree with the necessity of de-constructing de-socialised notions of 'individuality' as particular claims to hegemony of white, European, male, bourgeois subjectivity. However, I think that instead of de-constructing these dominant subject positions the dichotomisation of individuality and

collectivity is often used to simplify the constitution of subjected subjectivities: Lewis argues that class and race have become the binary divide along which the notion of self-knowledge as individual or collective is organised, assuming 'white people having psyches while black people have community' (1995:25). She argues that individuality and collectivity are interconnected. Initially white middle-class feminists

> discovered through a collective process that they are constituted as individual selves and from there celebrate what they deem to be a universal sisterhood, black feminists (people) are denied any such individuality (which the notion of psyche suggests) from which to so "discover" themselves. Those with an "always already" "community" are denied the very element from which such processes of identification are made. (1995: 26).

Thus, the dichotomisation of individuality and collectivity problematically underrates the mutual constitution of processes of individuation and building collectivities.

Lejeune (1980) and Plummer (2001) point out that using several life-stories rather than focusing on the uniqueness of only one life-story can be problematic. They argue that a study of several life-stories, may suggest to the reader that the subjects are devoid of individuality and simply represent one variation in the collective modes of being. In this study I am analysing several life-stories, and am aware of the pitfalls that it may be read as a 'series' and indulge the reader in the impression that a 'typical life' can be deducted from this, thus reducing the individuals' subjectivities and agency (cf. Aldama 1995). Lejeune argues that such 'series' of structurally similar life-stories suggest about their narrators, that their lives constitute an Otherness that fits into stereotypical representations. 'The concrete evidence of repetition that only the juxtaposition of several narratives can give, deprives the reader of the illusion of individuality; it makes him [sic!] envisage individuality itself as a serial fact.' (Lejeune 1980: 310, my translation)

Plummer (2001:97) notes that the increase in public life-stories in various media leads to the loss of its 'aura' (in the Benjaminian sense):

> (...) there is a copying and commodification effect. Mimesis. Cliché. We start to live our lives through the stories of others, repeating and rehearsing others' stories as if they were our own, turning them along

> the way into commodities – literally stories that may be exchanged or sold. (Plummer 2001:100)

To heed these cautions, I abstain from typologising the interviewees' life-stories. This is particularly important against the backdrop of the simplification of migrant women's subjectivities and agency (cf. chapter 3). While their life-stories produce and reflect both individuality and collectivity, they cannot be neatly typologised without reducing their dynamic and processual character. Such reductionist representations of migrant women's lives tend to reproduce Orientalist power/knowledge structures: excesses of meaning, contradictions and dynamic processes of self production in dialogue with a range of others disappear in favour of static, entirely knowable objects of social science.

Therefore, instead of categorising the interviewees' experiences, narratives and the selves produced through these, I aim to uncover different themes in their life-stories and their constitution through different forces and dynamics, fixing and destabilising subject positions which the interviewees claim, negotiate or reject. Thus, I show particular types of stories and sense making. This sense making is not only individual, even if the experiences of the story tellers are, but related back to a number of collectivities. The ways in which the interviewees articulate individuality and collectivity construct both commonalties and differences within and across gendered and ethnocised subjectivities. By avoiding a typologisation of the interviewees and their life-stories, I aim to de-construct the dichotomisation of individual and collective/ mass, an issue with which the interviewees themselves struggle (cf. chapter 7). The subject positions and the discursive repertoires with which they are constructed and interpreted are fluid and open to be used by different social actors. Individuality and collectivity form different legitimations of authenticity; instead of ranking such claims for authenticity, I aim at questioning their bases and dynamics.

Authenticity is always a purposeful construction. Migrant women are minoritised and marginalised in the societies of residence. They are constituted in official and everyday discourses as objects of knowledge and their legitimacy is surveyed. In this context, their speaking position is unstable and in question. The demands of others or the own desire for authenticity then may become a specifically gendered and

ethnocised incitement to fix the self. Constructions of authenticity can turn into means of access or exclusion to ethnically and gender specific subject positions and belonging to communities. Therefore, I think that an exploration of strategies of authentication can elucidate the interviewees' negotiation of racialized and gendered subjection/ subjectification. Constructions of authentic 'Turkish femininity' can be interrogated as to their gendered, political and social projects, bearing in mind that life writing presents us with models of the ideal life (Marcus 1994). In particular the link between mode of address, who is telling whose self and to what purpose, is important in exploring strategies of authentication (cf. Aldama 1995).

Speaking Truth

In the next chapter I discuss 'dominant regimes of representation' (Hall 1990:225) and their problematic positioning of migrant women as objects of knowledge. Here, I would like to point out the significance of autobiographical methods for taking their own self-production and knowledges into account.

Migrant women's knowledges can be described with Foucault as 'subjugated knowledges', that

> have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity. (...) [these] disqualified knowledges (...) which involve what I would call a popular knowledge (*le savoir des gens*) though it is far from being a general commonsense knowledge, but it is on the contrary a particular, local, regional knowledge, a differential knowledge incapable of unanimity and which owes its force only to the harshness with which it is oppressed by everything surrounding it (...) (1980: 82)

Foucault argues that these subjugated knowledges are central to the articulation of a critique of the dominant production of truth and the subject because they can point beyond the limits of truth established by dominant discursive regimes, thus unfolding a transformative power. In this sense, the interviewees' life-stories can produce accounts of their selves alternative to or contesting the ways in which dominant discourses and practices (of citizenship, immigration legislation, public discourses of gendered ethnocisation as well as those of community-leadership) position them (cf.

Mirza 1997, Rassool 1997, Ahmed 1997 for discussions of the complex contesting knowledges produced in Black women's personal narratives).

Here, I provide an example of how subjugated knowledges challenge dominant regimes of representation. The interviewees kept referring to stereotyping discourses on migrant women from Turkey, positioning their own experiences and their interpretation vis-à-vis these. Education was an important part of this stereotyping. Introducing herself and her family Birgül states:

> B: My father is a farmer and my mother was a housewife. But my father was not a very rich farmer, he had a small property. Everyone in the family studied. All the seven girls. Everybody studied with their own efforts. All of them are graduates. I think maybe it was the influence of the older children that we studied, also.
>
> U: Have your parents supported you in that direction?
>
> B: Of course, this question always arises, as if in Turkey girls did not study. My mother and father were not against our studying, it was not a conservative family at all. They had beliefs, but they did not prevent our studying. (p.1)

Birgül identifies my question about parental support of education in her family as reflecting the stereotypical expectation that Turkish parents do not allow their daughters education. By asserting her own experience as valid, she critiques these stereotypes, arguing in detail about the regional, local, religious, economic and gendered as well as idiosyncratic aspects affecting her education. She thus frames her explanation of 'who I really am' to address misrepresentation of Turkish femininity that deny the validity of her experiences and subjectivity.

However, these subjugated knowledges are fragmented and dispersed: 'do they have any force in their fragmented form? Or do they risk to be incorporated into the discourses which disqualified them once they are disinterred?' (Foucault 1980: 86) It is important to keep these questions in mind rather than treating the (self) knowledges produced in the interviews as *a priori* resistant. They can align themselves with different subordinated or dominant discourses and subject positions. This is another argument against employing static typologies of the interviewees.

> For a woman, claiming the truth of her life despite the awareness of other versions of reality that contest this truth often produces both a heightened criticism of officially condoned untruths and a heightened sense of injustice. (...) But it would be shortsighted for us to ignore the

> narrative models of acceptance and conformity, since these, too, must be analyzed, interpreted, and understood. (...) Women's lives are lived within and in tension with systems of domination. Both narratives of acceptance and narratives of rebellion are responses to the system in which they originate and thus reveal its dynamics.' (Personal Narratives Group 1989: 7-8)

For example, I explore what different responses and self-definitions second generation interviewees developed to negotiate their experiences of discrimination in education. These included the reversal of racist ascriptions of Turkishness in their self definitions while partially accepting them for other Turkish people (cf. for a detailed discussion chapter 4). As Collins argues: 'Each individual derives varying amounts of penalty and privilege from the multiple systems of oppression which frame everyone's lives.' (1993: 229). Some of the strategies of self presentation the interviewees employed may have been useful in empowering them as individuals, to gain access to education, job networks, cultural recognition etc. but can be seen as individual strategies that do not challenge other axes of oppression experienced collectively by others. In this thesis, I find it important to recognise and make explicit also those aspects of individual or collective subject positions that ignore or uphold the oppression of others. I discuss these in each chapter on the life-stories.

Ahmed argues that a multiplicity of identifications and meanings are elaborated in autobiographical practices which hold a hermeneutic and transformative potential for Black feminism:

> (...) the autobiographical gesture is structured – either implicitly (in phantasies of individuation) or explicitly (as political strategies of (dis)identification) by the antagonism between different relations of power such as gender, class and race, whereby the subject is assigned into different, divisive and contradictory positions. This assignment is not a fixation, but a story of loss, difference and movement. (Ahmed 1997: 155).

I regard the biographical practice therefore as agentic: in their self production, the interviewees negotiate dominant discourses and through the telling of their life-stories they contribute to building (imagined) communities. Constructions of 'we' and 'I' are shifting in the life-stories, as are the collectivities they refer to. The shifting identity constructions of the interviewees both construct and question collective identities to

varying degrees. The significance of life-story telling is not however limited to the production of new frameworks of meanings. These frameworks of meanings and the challenges to them can be powerful motives for taking action. As the Personal Narratives Group paraphrases Marx: 'Women make their own lives (and life histories), but they do so under conditions not of their own choosing.' (1989:5)

The Interviews

Sampling

The sample is a theoretical sample: the interviewees where chosen for being skilled or professional as well as being useful informants about exercising agency, and presenting a variety of experiences. The interviewees were approached through snowballing and through using my personal contacts in London and Hamburg. Six interviews were conducted in Hamburg and four in London between January 1998 and April 1999, the thesis also uses some material from interviews conducted in Hamburg in 1996.

The sample includes first and second generation migrant women. In London, there were no second generation interviewees. The migration from Turkey to Britain began in significant numbers only in the late 1980s. This meant that second generation migrants were not yet at the age to have significant professional experiences. The generation of migration constitutes differences in terms of socialisation experiences, relation to the countries of residence and Turkey. Despite these differences in their life-course, the interviewees also constructed significant similarities and commonalties across generations of migration.

At the time of interview, none of the women were married; the sample included divorced, single and widowed women, heterosexual and lesbian women.

The cross-cultural character of the study will be discussed in more depth in chapter 3. Germany and Britain were chosen to examine the conditions of differential racialisation that the country of residence provides. The thesis focuses on the German side of the study and uses the British interviews to make a point about the historical

and social specificity of racialised and gendered subjectivity constructions. The structural impact of gendered racialisation can become more clear in a cross cultural perspective in which Turkishness holds very different meanings vis-à-vis the society of residence.

The sampling does not intend to produce a typology of skilled migrant women, and does not aim at statistical representativeness. This is a problematic assumption in particular with reference to marginalised groups, since the notion of representativeness is often imbued with homogenising theoretical assumptions.

Skilled and professional migrant women, particularly those of Turkish background, are an understudied group (Kofman 2000, Kofman et al 2001, Kür• at-Ahlers 1996, Tan and Waldhoff 1996, Rodriguez 1999). Therefore this thesis contributes new empirical ground to the study of migration, ethnicity and gender. However, this study can also help to make more complex our theoretical understanding. It can contribute a perspective of skilled and professional migrant women that questions the social construction of the statuses of skilled, professional and intellectual. Furthermore it contributes an exploration of the role of skilled and professional women as gendered actors in processes of community building. Generally, it hopes to elucidate the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of migrant women's commonalties and differences of class, education, ethnicity and cultural capital. I discuss the notion of professionality in more detail in chapter 5.

Interviewing

The interviews were based on an open-ended, semi-structured interview guideline (cf. Appendix). I began by introducing myself and the research project and explained that I was most interested in learning about what the interviewees themselves considered important, and that they were welcome to introduce those topics they felt I had left out. Moreover, I assured confidentiality and stressed that if there were any issues they did not want to discuss, I would not probe them.

The interviewees chose the locality for interviewing, and most interviews took place in the interviewees' homes, one in my home (Nilüfer) and two at the interviewees' workplace (Ayten and Pakize). The interviews lasted between 1 and a half to 6 hours.

Some of the interviewees were previously known to me, others not. Some researchers claim that a previous relationship with the interviewees is crucial to establish mutual trust (Lejeune 1980, Plummer 2001). While I found that those interviewees who I previously knew were very open with me, I also experienced this with some interviewees that I met for the first time.

Matching of interviewer and interviewee in terms of gender and ethnicity is often discussed as enabling mutual trust and a common understanding of the research questions, as well as breaking down hierarchical boundaries and unequal communicative relations (Rhodes 1994). These are all important points that should however not be taken as indicating that a same-gender, same-ethnicity research relationship automatically leads to non-hierarchical communication and shared meanings. Instead, I agree with Song and Parker (1995) that ethnicity, and in this study also gender, constituted points of reference that were mutually negotiated in the interview situation. Both commonalties and differences were not simply social facts but were negotiated intersubjectively. Gendered life styles, age, generation of migration, motherhood or non-motherhood, as well as ethnically specific resources such as language or knowledge of cultural practices were factors along and across which the interviewees defined themselves situationally as similar or different from me. The same is true for my positioning. Language was an important marker of similarity, difference and willingness to cross boundaries. I emphasised to each interviewee that they could choose the language in which they felt most comfortable and were also welcome to switch (English, German or Turkish). However, retrospectively I noticed that I tended to start off the initial conversation in Turkish with the first generation interviewees and in German with the second generation interviewees. This was based on my assumptions that first, they would be more comfortable in Turkish and second that I had to prove my linguistic competence as a second generation migrant myself and thus signal that I was willing and able to cross any linguistic and generational boundaries. Indeed most first generation interviewees chose Turkish as the interview language, and most second generation interviewees

chose German. Whether in English, German or Turkish, all interviews also included language switching, at times initiated by myself or the interviewees. Sometimes this switching from Turkish into English or German was done by the interviewees to accommodate my own limitations in Turkish, thus signalling a willingness on their part also of crossing boundaries.

The interviews were subsequently transcribed. The system of transcription is not based on linguistic conventions, but instead tries to enhance readability. Since many of the interview quotes had to be translated into English from German or Turkish, I decided that any kind of socio-linguistic analysis would not be possible for me, which is why I opted to only mark pauses with '-', render a loud voice in bold script and render special emphasis in italics. I follow Lejeune's (1980) argument about transcription, that an attempt to render the spoken language into the written word should avoid reifying a voyeuristic gaze. He argues, that where a word by word transcription is not justified through linguistic analysis, it is often used to cement the researcher's claim to scientificity. 'It is thus not a scientific choice of "authenticity", but rather condescending behaviour destined to produce an "anthropological" effect by constructing in the interior of a written system the image (...) of a kind of "savage" state of the language.' (1980:291, my translation from French). He concludes that 'The respect for the other imposes a minimum of adaptation.' (1980:293, my translation from French).

Analysis

In the analysis, I employed what Ifekwunigwe (1997: 134) terms the 'artichoke method', that is reading the transcript carefully several times and noting questions to the text. I analysed the interviews first in terms of how each individual interviewee constructed her life-story, which key themes and key topics emerged, what where the underlying knowledges and how the interviewees presented themselves in the interview situation. Subsequently I looked at how these key themes and topics and self-representations related to the other interviewees' life-stories, as well as to the academic theorisations.

I decided to present the interview material in thematical order rather than presenting full life-stories or fully preserving the narrative sequences. The decision to present the material thematically was due to restrictions of space; a thematic presentation allows me to explore the diversity of experiences in-depth in a relatively smaller space. Yet, this risks de-contextualising the themes from the meanings the interviewees give them in the frame of the life-story. I have attempted to provide such contextualisations in my comments. Moreover, I have attempted to give lengthy quotes, to enable the interviewees' self presentations to be read alongside my interpretations.

Plummer names three major ways in which life-stories can be related to theories:

1. To take a story to challenge some overly general theory;
2. To take a story to illustrate and illuminate some wider theory;
3. To take a story as a way of building up some wider sense of theory. (Plummer 2001:159)

In this thesis, I use life-stories at varying degrees for all the three tasks, using analytic induction.

> In analytic induction certain particular objects are determined by intensive study, and the problem is to define the logical classes which they represent...[it] abstracts from the given concrete cases characters that are essential to it, and generalizes them, presuming that in so far as they are essential, they must be similar in many cases (Znaniecki quoted in Plummer 2001:163)

While the wording of this definition seems old-fashioned, in that it speaks of objects, rather than processes, essential characters rather than social divisions, it nonetheless describes how I have related the interview material with wider theories to illuminate them, widen their scope or to challenge them, as well as to generate new theoretical approaches and fields of investigation.

I have argued for the usefulness of the life-story method for exploring the subjectivities and agency of migrant women in this chapter. Methodological issues about interpretive communities, subjugated knowledges and their tension in constructing the self and narrating agency will be taken up in chapters 4 to 7.

Chapter 3: Situating the Life-stories: Context and theory

This chapter introduces the key concepts used in the thesis. I begin with a brief conceptual and contextual discussion of the constellations of nationalism, race, ethnicity and citizenship in Germany and Britain. This aims at clarifying my approach on the cross-cultural and cross-national character of the research. My aim is to situate the life-stories and make clear the limits and possibilities of my research, rather than providing a comprehensive conceptual and contextual discussion.

Then I situate the research in theoretical terms. I begin by briefly outlining my approach to gender, ethnicity and class as intermeshing social divisions. This will be elaborated throughout the thesis; therefore I restrict myself here to point to the relevant concepts. Second, I briefly discuss issues of gender and migration. Finally I discuss the concept of citizenship and the issues this raises for my research, opening up questions that will be taken up in the following chapters. I briefly discuss the contradictions of hybridity and multi-cultural citizenship and then clarify my approach to citizenship and how the life-stories of the interviewees can elucidate new aspects of this debate. The concepts introduced and issues raised in this chapter will be critically discussed throughout the chapters based on the life-stories.

National Identity, 'Race', Ethnicity and Citizenship in Britain and in Germany

The literature on nationalism and racism in Britain and in Germany initially presents a picture of contrasts (cf. Layton-Henry and Wilpert 1994). Britain and Germany have different histories of nationalism and racism. For British nationalism, the empire has been constitutive; however the 'trauma of de-colonisation' has been excluded from narrations of the nation in the post-colonial period (Smith 1994). The very absence of working through British colonial history is, however, mirrored in the construction of the post-colonial immigrants as the distinctive, racialised Other which marks the

boundaries of post-colonial Britishness (Mirza 1997, Hall 1992, Smith 1995, Ware 1992, Layton-Henry and Wilpert 1994).

For German nationalism, the fascist period constitutes an important point of reference; which is, however, seen as an internal Other. It is a historical phase against which post-war German identity is delimited at all cost. In the historical constitution of German identity, this period which is constructed as a 'gap', determines national identity through the absences and boundaries it imposes. The Holocaust has become the most powerful symbol of German fascism, which is an important historical point of reference for all debates of racism in Germany. The specific ways of the invocation, remembering and forgetting of this event are constitutive of German national identity in the post-war period. Despite the centrality of the remembrance of the Holocaust for a post-war national identity, the official assessment of the Holocaust has also limited and circumscribed debates on racism. Continuities in personal and public histories become unspeakable or trivialised (cf. Räthzel 1994a, 1995, Rommelspacher 1994). The period of fascism serves as an important 'internal Other' vis-à-vis which post-war German identity is constructed. The re-unification of the two Germanies constitutes another point of reference for the construction of 'internal Others'. The differences between East and West Germany have been constructed as dichotomous, hierarchies in public discourses, including gendered imaginations (Räthzel 1995). Despite these internal differences within the construction of Germanness, the boundary with foreigners as external Others remains constitutive[1].

The British colonial legacy and the fact that many Black British people hold formal citizenship have led many authors to see a completely different model of incorporation here, than in Germany or other countries whose colonial history has not been as salient (cf. Rath 1993; Brubaker 1989). Until January 2000 in Germany, the definition of citizenship was purely ethnic: the previous citizenship law, dated from 1913, had based the *right* to German citizenship exclusively on *ius sanguinis*, granting non-residents of German origin the right to citizenship while all non-Germans, even if

[1] The previous Christian Democrat government had declared Germany 'not an immigration country', despite contradicting evidence. The Social Democrat and Green government has begun debating the need for immigration to consolidate the German economy and social security system in 2000. These discourses are contradictory and warrant analysis. However, in my thesis I do not consider them in depth, since the interviews took place before these changes.

resident in Germany did not have any entitlements to naturalisation. Their naturalisation was made contingent on 'German interests' and was seen as an exception. In 1999, the new Social Democrat/ Green government amended the citizenship law against vehement opposition of the conservative Christian Democrat parties and their popular mobilisation. The principle of *ius sanguinis* has been given up in favour of a form of *ius domicilis*: from 1.1.2000, children born in Germany have the right to German citizenship if one of the parents has been living in Germany for 8 years and has secure residence status. While this constitutes an important shift in the symbolic meaning of citizenship, the practical effects of this amendment are limited.[2] First, only a small percentage of migrant residents will be able to benefit. Second, those who decide to take up German citizenship are not entitled to keep their previous citizenship. Therefore, many migrants, particularly from Turkey, so far have not been able or willing to take up German citizenship.

In Britain, on the other hand, most colonial immigrants hold formal citizenship and until 1981, birth on the territory facilitated automatic access to British citizenship (Dummett 1986). This is an important difference to Germany.[3] Together with multi-culturalist policies and institutions, that do not exist in Germany, such as specific anti-discrimination laws, official equal opportunities policies and official multi-culturalist policies in many institutions (cf. Braham, Rattansi, Skellington 1992) this has facilitated the political and social participation of ethnic minorities. These, of course, are important factors for the development of certain forms of agency. Recognition - even if partial - through state institutions has effects on the ways in which ethnic minority people can formulate demands on the state, claim resources, and access decision making. In Germany, these processes almost exclusively operate through German mediators. The '*Ausländerbeirat*' (Foreigner's Council), the only officially legitimated bodies of political representation have only consultative functions, with no part in decision-making. A small number of ethnic minority people who hold German citizenship have very recently begun to access decision-making positions. For these reasons, some authors suggest that both countries represent opposite models of 'ethnic' versus 'multi-cultural' models of incorporation or citizenship (Brubaker

[2] Naturalisation for residents, in particular for people under 23 years of age had been made easier since the nineties. The new citizenship does not constitute a significant improvement in practical terms.

1989, Kofman et al. 20001, Radtke 1994). The British multi-cultural model recognises a certain degree of cultural and ethnic difference. Ethnic community organisations are recognised as representatives of ethnic groups, and thus accorded participation in the formulation of social policy. This has made a difference in the incorporation of migrants, particularly refugees, since these organisations were responsible for their provisions. This has positive effects, such as a greater input of migrants and ethnic minority people into social policy and the formulation of specific social and cultural needs. At the same time, these multi-culturalist policies problematically reify static notions of culture. Moreover, there is a lack of democratic representativeness and accountability of community organisations and their leadership. These factors also often lead to a reification of hierarchies and oppressions of ethnicity, gender and sexuality[4] (cf. Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Kofman et al. 2000, Sahgal and Yuval-Davis 1992). Existing multi-culturalist policies in Britain are, however, modelled on post-colonial 'Black and Asian' migrants and do not sufficiently respond to the needs of migrants from Turkey (cf. Uguris 2001). Moreover, 'Turkish and Kurdish migrants are not represented sufficiently in the workforce of the local councils even in those wards where they form a large minority despite the equal opportunities policies of these authorities' (Uguris 2001: 9). Therefore, the full extent of differential systems of incorporation in Germany and Britain does not manifest itself in the case of migrants from Turkey.

Another important difference is the extent, quality and history of resistance against racism from racialized and ethnocized people. While Britain has a long history of visible resistance against racism, and more recently also of Black feminist resistance against gendered racialisation, in Germany this resistance has been less visible. One reason for this is that post-colonial migrants from Africa, the Caribbean and Asia hold formal citizenship in the UK. They had all formal political rights and did not have to fear deportation for their political actions. This underlines the importance of formal citizenship for migrants' political participation (cf. Kofman et al. 2000, Layton-Henry 1991). Another crucial factor is the history of resistance against racism that has been ongoing since slavery and colonialism. This history is an important symbolic point of

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[3] Although there are also some ideological and practical convergences in the two countries' citizenship legislation, in particular since the erosion of all British citizens' right to settle in the UK (cf. below).
[4] I examine this in more detail in chapter 7.

reference and source of knowledges of resistance against racism. These knowledges do not only belong to Black British people. Thus in the German context many debates of the 1980s in Britain and the USA on political Blackness and Black feminism have been formative for migrants' self representation and organisation.

Despite these differences in the post war period, there are some important similarities in the *framing* of issues of race, ethnicity and racism. In both countries, despite highly complex ethnic and national compositions of both, 'native' and 'immigrant' populations, a binary construction of belonging is dominant. In Britain, this is the Black-White dichotomy and in Germany the German-*Ausländer* dichotomy (for critiques, cf. Aziz 1997, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Radtke 1994). This is despite the fact that in Britain, more than 60% of immigrants are categorised as 'non-visible minorities' (Morris 1997:254). More recently, this imbalance is changing in Britain, in particular with the emergence of widespread and rampant racism against asylum seekers who do not easily fit with the pre-existing notion of Blackness (cf. Kofman et al. 2000: 39, Report of the Commission on the future of Multi-Ethnic Britain 2000). The group of migrants from Turkey in Britain comprises a large proportion of asylum seekers (cf. Küçükcan 1999), and in particular Kurds from Turkey have been targeted by racist press campaigns on asylum seekers (Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain 2000). However, most data collection or theorising on ethnicity does not take so-called 'white' ethnic minorities into account adequately.

Kalpaka & Räthzel (1990) conceptualise racism and nationalism (Räthzel 1995) as forms of hegemonic societalisation. By this, they mean that racism functions as a practice of constructing boundaries of belonging to the German collectivity. At the same time, it is the basis of normalising practices to establish the content of Germanness. The difference of Germanness and '*Ausländer*' is crucial to the construction of the boundaries of Germanness, although both categories are not unitary or homogenous in themselves. In the German context, the external Other or racialised subject takes the form of *Ausländer*. The group of *Ausländer* is diverse with respect to class, ethnicity, legal status and racialisation. Although legally anyone without German citizenship is an *Ausländer*, socially the term coincides with racialisation so that white West-Europeans are only occasionally regarded as *Ausländer* (Forsythe 1989). On the other hand, for example Black Germans may

experience being labelled as *Ausländer*, despite their formal German citizenship and cultural competence (cf. Oguntoye et al. 1992). Among migrants, so-called 'guest-workers' and their children, asylum seekers, refugees, undocumented immigrants, students, business people, etc. are regarded as *Ausländer*. While class, educational status and generation of migration are factors that may qualify the racialisation of an individual *Ausländer* situationally, this does not render the categorisation ineffective for the ethnic collectivities. Different groups of *Ausländer* are differentially hierarchically positioned in different discourses and practices. For example, labour migrants may be seen as more legitimately belonging to a locality than asylum seekers, refugees or undocumented immigrants by Germans, and may indeed participate in local racist practices of exclusion. Despite this 'differential racialization' (Brah 1996) the dichotomization of Germanness and *Ausländer* is effective. The recent emergence in the German media of a new discourse on second or third generation migrants as hyphenated 'Turkish-Germans' (Spiegel, Stern), in my view constitutes a refinement of the category of *Ausländer*, not its dissolution, since the constitutive dichotomising assumption of German-*Ausländer* difference remains intact (cf. Erel 1999).

This dichotomisation is a structural factor in the construction of knowledges on racism: in the German social sciences, the '*Ausländer* research paradigm' (Blaschke 1992) constructs the *Ausländer* as problems for different areas of social policy and social work. Their problems are perceived to be caused by cultural difference, low educational achievements and their traditional family structures which are seen as the main determinants for *Ausländer* women's difficulties. Research has often been directly motivated by social policy issues and has shaped the forms of social policy, which constructed the *Ausländer* as recipients of 'help' and in need of adaptation (cf. Blaschke 1992, Radtke 1994). Research, policy and hegemonic public discourses did not consider structural and institutional racism a relevant issue; indeed, the concept of 'racism' was refuted and instead the problems were attributed to 'hostility to foreigners' (Kalpaka and Räthzel 1990, Lutz 1991, Piper 1998). Therefore, the focus was on promoting 'friendliness to foreigners' as an interpersonal attitude based on the better mutual understanding of each other's culture. State and civil society promoted cultural campaigns to foster such 'foreigner-friendly' attitudes.

In the British context, the race relations paradigm has for a long time dominated in the social sciences and social policy. There was space in the race relations paradigm for structural discrimination to be acknowledged, and racism to be named. However, racism was not recognised as a pervasive phenomenon that structured the whole society and construction of the nation (for a critique, Gilroy 1987). Racism was reduced to economic exploitation and discrimination in education, the labour and housing markets (cf. Rex 1994) and the Black and Asian population constructed as an underclass (e.g. Rex 1988). These discourses promoted similar strategies of mutual understanding and friendliness, to counter racism, as the German 'friendliness to foreigners' (cf. Brah 1996). In Britain, owing also to the interventions of Black and ethnic minority academics and activists, there are more diverse theorisations of and strategies against racism, so that the race relations or multi-culturalist approaches are challenged from a wider range of positions than is the case with the '*Ausländer*' research paradigm in Germany (for critical interventions e.g. Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Brah 1996, CCCS 1982, Gilroy 1987, Miles 1989, Phizacklea and Miles 1980, Phizacklea 1983, Sivanandan 1982)

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Both concepts of 'friendliness to foreigners' and 'good race relations' miss out the complex and shifting hierarchisation of different ethnic groups. Moreover, both accept the categories of 'race' or *Ausländer* as givens, the groups thus designated appear to be unproblematically assignable. The shifts in the construction of ethnic groups, such as the different meanings of the category 'Black' cannot be recognised and accounted for (Anthias 1992). The focus of politics based on these paradigms is the promotion of 'good race relations' or 'friendliness' in the context of Germany. This calls on the Other to integrate, to adapt to the norms of the 'host society', while the dominant populations are called upon to be tolerant. The basic premise of (white) Britishness or Germanness as the national norm is not questioned (Gilroy 1987, Räthzel 1994). Of course, in the British context, there has also developed a strong critique of such approaches (e.g. CCCS 1982, Gilroy 1987, 1987a; Sivanandan 1990). It has been recognised that racism is already inscribed in the equation of nation, ethnicity and race. For racism to be challenged, in both countries, it is also necessary to challenge the construction of whiteness and the homogenisation of both the dominant and the subjected groups (cf. Mirza 1997). Such critical interventions in the German academic

debates unfortunately are marginalised (these include e.g. Jäger 1992, Kalpaka and Räthzel 1990, Leiprecht 1994, Lutz 1991).

Another similarity between the German and British context is the significance of multi-culturalist discourses. Multi-culturalism is far less established formally in German institutions than in Britain; still, it constitutes the hegemonic discursive framework for articulating critiques of racist practices and institutions[5]. Despite its absence from most institutions, multi-culturalism functions as a powerful 'bogey man' for culturalist racist discourses: thus, in 1997, there was a prominent debate in the media on the 'failing of the multi-culturalist society' (Der Spiegel 14.4.1997). In 2000 the debate on a German '*Leitkultur*' (German Leading-Culture) was another prominent attempt to cement the centrality of a culturally and politically homogeneous Germanness. One strand of arguments in these debate is to put the blame for perceived social and moral dis-integration on mis-guided tolerance towards anti-democratic and anti-social behaviours and values of *Ausländer*.[6] In Britain, where multi-culturalist policies are established and institutionalised, similar discourses portraying the white, silent majority as victimised through mis-guided anti-racist multi-culturalist policies are pervasive (cf. Gilroy 1987a, Smith 1995).

One final point of convergence I would like to point out is in the construction of nationals and immigrants through legislation. Germany is often, and rightly so, criticised for its legislation that gives automatic access to citizenship to anyone who can prove German ancestors.[7] This practice of according automatic citizenship to ethnic Germans is in stark contrast to the difficult procedures of acquiring citizenship for other migrants. And despite recent changes, migrants' access to German

[5] Kür• at-Ahlers (1996:114) analyses the shift towards multi-culturalist discourses in the late 1980s Germany as 'semantic shift' that leaves the existing societal structures of exclusion intact. She analyses multi-culturalism as a strategy to culturalise social difference and discrimination, and as argued earlier for the British context states: 'Paradoxically, public-opinion leaders within the Turkish minority readily adopted this concept of cultural segregation since it enhanced their social influence within the Turkish community' (1996: 115).

[6] At the time of writing, in the aftermath on the attacks of 11. September 2001 on the US, political and media debates blended discourses on the threats from political Islam, inadequate integration of foreigners, and politically active foreigners into a persuasive new truth (enshrined in hasty laws) about the need to increase the control and policing of the foreign population.

[7] During the early 1990s, accepted proof of German parentage for many applicants from Eastern Europe has been the membership card of the National Socialist Party of the father or grandfather, while those who had been stripped of German citizenship on racial grounds during the fascist period were often not recognised as German for the purposes of immigration (Wilpert 1993).

citizenship is still conditional (cf. below). In the late 1990s, German authorities' practice of recognising German ancestrage has become more strict. That is in practice, the immigration of German ethnics (Aussiedler) has been reduced. However, the conceptual basis of Germanness remains intact. This ethnic and racist basis for citizenship is not exclusive to Germany. British changes to immigration laws have successively eroded the right of New Commonwealth and Pakistani immigrants to enter the country. The patriality rule that allows full British citizenship, including the right to settle in the UK, only to those with a parent or grandparent born in the UK, has not been formulated on explicitly racist terms. However, the timing of the law (1968) was designed in such a way that the 'vast majority of British citizens, free from immigration control are white people (at a rough estimate, 54 million of a total 57 million)' (Dummett 1986:146).

Comparative or Cross-cultural Research?

In Germany and in Britain migrants from Turkey occupy rather different positions within the hierarchy of sameness and difference that positions ethnocised people in relation to the national community. There are many similarities between the situation of migrant women in both countries. However, such similarities are not self evident but have to be discursively constructed. The commonality of gender and country of origin does not override differences in current living conditions or vice versa. Commonality and difference are never assessments of 'objective', given situations but are constructions which give meaning according to social and political purposes. One of the major pitfalls of comparative research is either to construct ideal typical differences or to render differences invisible. My approach does not attempt to build a comparative framework to measure degrees of difference and sameness between the German and British context. Rather, by using two national contexts, I aim to shed light on the contextual and place specific nature of giving meaning and constructing identities. This also means looking at aspects of identity like 'Turkishness' around which a continuity of identity is organised across contexts and places, borders and boundaries.

While my initial expectation was that the experiences of the interviewees in Britain and Germany would be significantly different, in the course of the study it turned out I was mistaken. The differences between Britain and Germany do not present themselves clearly within the interviewees' life-stories. I will argue below why. A study focussing on communities or community organisations may be able to show such differences more clearly, I believe, since the most striking differences are in the ways in which multi-culturalist or foreigners' policies construct the migrants as a group (cf. above).

Another significant difference is in the history of migration. In Germany, there has been large-scale migration from Turkey since the late 1960s, mostly as guestworkers. It should be pointed out that migrants who entered under the formal label of guestworker had diverse motivations, including political or ethnic persecution. In the 1970s, the entry was mainly through family reunification. In the 1980s, asylum seekers, political activists and from the mid-1980s, Kurdish refugees, constituted other significant groups. The number of Turkish citizens in 1999 was 2,053,564, accounting for 28.8 % of the foreign population (Bundesausländerbeauftragte). This group is ethnically diverse, reflecting the multi-ethnic composition of the population of Turkey (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1998). While they are concentrated in industrial centres, migrants from Turkey live in all areas of the former FRG, in the eastern *Länder*, their number is negligible.

The migration to Britain started in the mid 1960s, as a small number, comprised of students, professionals and workers on the work permit scheme entered (Dokur-Gryskiewicz 1979). By 1974, there were about 4000 migrants from Turkey in London. This continued on a small scale during the 1970s. The military coup in 1980 lead to an increased politically and economically motivated migration to Britain, mainly undocumented. From 1989 onwards, the number of asylum-seekers from Turkey, mostly Kurds, increased significantly. The exact number of migrants from Turkey in Britain is difficult to determine: the Turkish Ministry of Employment and Social Security gives the number of Turkish citizens in Britain as 65,000, this excludes the number of asylum applicants, 13,783 until 1995 (Küçükcan 1999: 62-63). The problem of statistical data is further compounded by the category of the Turkish-speaking community, operative in social policy provisions. This includes

Turkish Cypriots, many of whom, as post-colonial migrants, hold British citizenship. Despite their divergent migration histories, these groups are viewed as one community. Küçükcan estimates the number of Turkish Cypriots and migrants from Turkey in Britain to be 130,000 (1999: 63). From existing data, it is however clear that migrants from Turkey are concentrated in the Greater London area.

Moreover, the economic incorporation of migrants from Turkey differs significantly in Germany and Britain (cf. Kofman et al. 2000). Thus, most migrants from Turkey entered Germany as guestworkers and have been employed in the heavy industries. As these declined, unemployment among Turkish migrants soared, and they have not been sufficiently able to move into other employment (cf. Faist 1995). The number of skilled, white collar or professional workers among Turkish migrants is extremely low, although with increasing numbers of second generation graduates this is clearly changing. Since the 1990s, self-employment is increasing and diversifying (• en and Goldberg 1994, Ausländerbeauftragte 2000). In Britain, in contrast, migrants from Turkey are concentrated in the textile industry, mainly in small ethnic enterprises, in the restaurant industry and self employment in these sectors is another important factor (Kucukcan 1999). This constitutes an important difference. Thus while some of the interviewees in Germany migrated as guestworkers and worked in large scale industries for some years, most of the interviewees in Britain, initially worked in the ethnic textile or restaurant industries. This was often the only employment open to them as they knew little English and had irregular residence or work permits. However, social networks, cultural capital and a regularisation of their legal situation meant that they moved out of these industries (cf. chapter 5). These institutional and economic differences between Britain and Germany can be seen in the interviewees' life-stories.

However, as I focus on skilled and professional migrant women, the similarities in the conditions they lived and worked in were more significant. The period in their life, when they worked as guestworkers or in the ethnic niche economy, as well as issues of residence rights (as undocumented or irregular in Britain, as guestworkers or guestworkers' spouse) most clearly exemplify the different systems of incorporation. However, the current situation of the interviewees, as skilled or professional informed and structured the telling of their stories.

My initial assumption of divergent experiences and narratives was also based on the analysis of the differential salience of Turkish ethnicity in Germany and Britain[8]. While the construction of the notion of *Ausländer* in Germany posits 'Turks' as the most distant ethnic group (Schneider 2001, Wilpert 1993), in Britain, they are largely invisible in public representations of ethnic minorities and are ambiguously positioned as 'invisible ethnic minorities'. Therefore, specifically anti-Turkish racist public discourses are largely absent in Britain[9]. Instead, the categories of Muslim, asylum seeker or refugee indirectly racialise this group. Public representations of migrant women from Turkey differ in both countries. However, the subjective experiences of ethnocisation and racialisation, that is the ways in which the interviewees made sense of their positioning in the society of residence, were similar. The interviews in Britain indicated that despite the absence of public representations of migrants from Turkey in Britain, the interviewees were faced with stereotypical representations of Muslim women and had to position themselves vis-à-vis these. This constitutes an important convergence with the interviewees in Germany. A significant difference was in the extent and frequency of direct racist verbal abuse and violence they encountered. While this was a significant problem in Germany, it did not seem as widespread in Britain. This may be due to the differential construction of 'visibility' in the two national contexts. Other forms of racism, however were faced by interviewees in both countries. The comparison between Germany and Britain was raised by the interviewees, themselves also. Both groups of interviewees concurred in the assumption that racism was more widespread in Germany than in Britain. This echoes public representations in the Turkish language media (available in both countries) as well as those of British or German media. My aim here is not to generate indicators

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[8] For the concept of differential salience of ethnic identity (cf. Frankenberg 1993).

[9] Between 1995 and 2001 I followed the Guardian, the Observer and the Times regularly. This revealed that Turkish or Kurdish people in Britain are rarely mentioned. Turkish or Kurdish people become a topic in the following contexts: an underage British girl marrying a Turkish man in Turkey and converting to Islam, British women being raped on holiday in Turkey, Kurdish protests in Europe and London against the kidnapping of Abdullah Ocalan (PKK Leader), Kurdish and Turkish gangs in London in drug trafficking, Kurdish asylum seekers in Britain, and violence between Turkish and British football fans, both in Britain and Turkey. Although I did not analyse these systematically and in-depth, the discursive repertoires in the media coverage clearly refer to Orientalist representations. Elements of this included: representations as pre-modern and folkloristic, Islam as overdetermining cultural identity and behaviour, political radicalism and a lack of democratic political forms, the image of the (Muslim) terrorist, Oriental despotism, the oppression of women as overdetermined by Islam, nationalist violence, irrationality.

for measuring racism, instead I would like to call attention to the concurring or divergent dynamics of racialisation.

In the following I theoretically locate my arguments, starting with an examination of the stereotypical representations of Muslim women, that the interviewees are faced with. As 'culture' is a key concept in these, I pay particular attention to the ways in which culture is used in the construction of ethnic and national collectivities and processes of identification.

Theorising Boundaries and Cultures

The 'Other Other'

A basic assumption of most research on migrants from Muslim countries, particularly on Turkish migrants in Germany has been that their identity and behavior can mainly be explained on the basis of their culture of origin (Lutz 1992). Women in ethnic majority groups, as well as in ethnic minority groups are regarded as the Other, while maleness is seen as constituting the norm. This has for a long time been replicated within research on migration by ignoring women migrants or by constructing them as the 'Other Other' (Lutz 1992): gender relations and gender roles are conceptualized one-dimensionally as oppressive to women and women are portrayed as passive and victimized. This image is made convincing by a reductionist view of 'Muslim culture' that simply enacts religious and cultural paradigms which are defined in an Orientalist manner by the researchers. This construction of migrant women is relational to the image of the woman national, whose forms of femininity are posited (sometimes tacitly) as the ideal. (Lutz 1992, Anthias 2000).

The underlying concepts of culture, identity and ethnicity are problematic on various levels. Identity is reduced to cultural identity which is collapsed into ethnic identity. Other aspects of identity (e.g. gender, sexual, class, political, etc.) are regarded as negligible. Moreover, this view does not take into account that culture is in its very nature hybrid, constantly changing and subject to political and social processes of signification (Bhabha 1990). The equation of culture and ethnicity makes it

inconceivable that different interest groups within an ethnic group may give different meanings to cultural resources and use them for different ends (Yuval-Davis 1989).

Gender, Nation, Ethnicity

To avoid the traps of these hegemonic representations, I begin by clarifying the terms and concepts used in the thesis. I am arguing from a point of view which regards gender, 'race', ethnicity and class as intermeshing social divisions (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1992, Hill-Collins 1990). My focus is on the interrelated constructions of the interviewees' femininity and ethnicity. I view ethnic and national groups not as inherently distinct. Both national and ethnic projects construct and maintain a collectivity. These collectivities claim to be based on common origin, culture, territory or destiny. Barth (1969) has made the point that ethnic groups are defined by their boundaries and not so much by the cultural contents. He argues that although the contents of a culture changes, the group holding this culture regards itself as continuous. And although in some cases cultural differences within one group are just as, or even more significant as the cultural differences to another group, the boundaries continue to be constructed along ethnic lines. These boundaries, however, are not a given. They have to be actively upheld by specific sets of prescriptions and proscriptions for inter-ethnic contact. These boundaries may be flexible and shifting, still they remain constitutive for the collectivity. 'Although the boundaries are ideological, they involve material practices, and therefore material origins and effects. The boundary is a space for struggle and negotiation.' (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992:4). The same group can be constructed (by its own members or externally) at varying times and in different situations as an ethnic or a national group. Anthias and Yuval-Davis argue that the most significant difference between ethnic and national groups is that the latter claim or struggle for a separate political representation.[10] Throughout the thesis, I use the term nation and national, to point to national projects referencing the nation-state or projects for a nation-state. I use the term ethnicity to refer to both ethnically dominant and subordinated groups within a nation-state. Although usually only ethnic minorities are assumed to

[10] To those denied it, claiming a national identity, in a world organised in nation-states, is of course an important strategy of legitimisation of political self-representation and independence.

have 'ethnicity' I think it important to call attention to the particularity of ethnic majorities, too as one way of de-constructing their normalisation. Processes of boundary construction, inclusion and exclusion are a focus of the thesis. They are closely bound up with racist practices. By racism I mean discourses and practices which exclude and subordinate people who are constructed as a 'race' or ethnic group. Racialisation means the social process by which a group is constructed by means of a biologistic or culturalist[11] language (cf. Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1992). Ethnocisation refers to the social construction of ethnic groups.

Cultural Nationalisation

Cultural forms that exist in a nation state are not automatically national cultures. Instead, certain cultural forms are selected, evaluated in a positive way and claimed for national projects. This takes place on various levels, be it in the frame of far-reaching public institutions such as the education system, media, advertisements, literature or in a more local framework in everyday habits, family life or personal relations, etc.(Johnson 1993: 167). Gender relations are a central element of the 'national culture' and competing versions of this: women's role in ethnic or national projects is often examined only in relation to and depending on men. They are viewed in family metaphors as mothers, sisters or daughters. As mothers and wives women's role as biological and ideological reproducers of the nation or ethnic group and its boundaries is pre-eminent. On another level women and their appropriate (sexual) behavior serve as signifiers of ethnic and national difference. The construction and guarding of the boundaries of ethnic groups is a constitutive element of ethnicity; thus I see the construction of gender roles as central to the construction of ethnicity both, materially and symbolically. Moreover, women are also social actors in their own right in ethnic and national processes (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1989). Despite the assertion of a homogeneous national culture, diverse and even contradictory cultural forms exist and are constructed as representative for the nation by different groups. Political and social groups attempt -with different means and on different levels- to hegemonise

[11] Racism is increasingly legitimised not with reference to biological but naturalised, cultural differences (Yuval-Davis 1997). By 'culturalist' I mean the ascription of a static notion of essentialised cultures to ethnic or national groups, that functions to legitimise racist discourses and practices.

their version of a national culture and to use it for their own interests. In such national cultural projects diversity may well be recognised in some respects. However the unifying element of attempts to construct a national culture is the construction of an external Other against which boundaries are drawn. The transgression of these boundaries, particularly in the form of sexual relations with an Other, is often viewed as treason, in particular for women (cf. Yuval-Davis 1997, Wobbe 1995). Internal differentiations and inequalities are often legitimated and naturalised with reference to the image of the 'national family', using gender and age based hierarchies within the family to naturalise those within the nation, while maintaining the claim to unity and solidarity within the nation and the family (Appiah 1990, McClintock 1993).

National culture itself is represented as being based on a long history, being naturally grown and homogeneous. An important means in this representation is the repeated narration of the nation (Bhabha 1990a). However, in order to produce the nation as homogeneous, the forgetting of disruptions and heterogeneity is as important as remembrance (Anderson 1993)[12]. National culture is represented as whole, spanning high culture and everyday culture, being modern, pure and historically authentic (Bhabha 1990b). Ethnic minorities and their cultural forms are juxtaposed to this as deviant, partial and mostly limited to everyday culture, often as traditional and backward. They do not have a their disposal the cultural authority bestowed by the status of the national. At the same time, their cultural forms are denounced as 'impure' and containing elements of the so-called national majority cultures. Multi-culturalist discourses differ in some respects from this claim to a pure national culture; what they nonetheless share with this is the assumption that cultures are bounded ethnically.

Culture as a means to identification

[12] Both Anderson and Bhabha advocate a constuctionist approach that does not view nations as primordially givens but as historically constructed. Both emphasise that cultural affinity among members of a nation did not pre-exist the nation-state but rather that the creation of cultural norms, in particular with reference to language and narration of history favoured the emergence of a national consciousness.

Nationalisation of culture is closely linked with processes of cultural identification. By identification I mean processes in which subjects form their identities, both personal and in relation to collectivities. This is never simply a 'free choice' but always takes place under conditions in which one is ascribed identities and social positions. These are grounded in material power relations. In so far identification is always a process in which resistances and contradictions are negotiated and struggled over. I advocate a concept of multiple identities, so that people identify in several, sometimes contradictory ways that may be weighted differently depending on the situation.

An important moment in the formation of identification is the recognition of identity through authoritative instances on different levels such as family, school, media, etc. There are different versions of national culture struggling for hegemony, but there are also different identities that articulate in relation to national identity, be they political, professional or subcultural identities. This does not always happen in a nationalist form, it can take place in opposition or as an alternative to national identity or simply in a non-nationalist form. Within the nation state and its institutions, that regulate many areas of life and legitimate or de-legitimate different practices, national identity is not simply one among many.

> National identity is a meta-discourse or grand narrative that regulates or polices other identifications. [...] Discourses of the nation are only one source of recognition, but they have a particular power because often associated with citizenship, law, and legitimised violence. The power of national agencies to recognise citizen is one side of the condensation of powers which is the nation-state. (Johnson 1993: 209)

For ethnocised and racialised people, cultural identity is complicated in a different way since they are not seen as a legitimate part of the nationalised culture in which they live. National institutions of authority do not recognise parts of their cultural identity. Moreover, ethnocised identities can be systematically mis-recognised (cf. Johnson 1993). Hall, writing about the Caribbean history of colonisation and the effects on migrants from the Caribbean, states:

> The ways in which black people, black experiences, were positioned and subject-ed [sic!] in the dominant regimes of representation were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalisation.

> Not only, in Said's 'Orientalist' sense, were we constructed as different and other within the categories of knowledge of the West by those regimes. They had the power to make us see and experience *ourselves* as 'Other'. (Hall 1990: 225).

Such representations are part of a national culture that constructs its dominance (among other things) through the exclusion and mis-recognition of ethnocised and racialised identities. Of course ethnocised people also produce their own representations of themselves that can contribute to an alternative, 'positive' identification. However such 'self-representations' are also contested. They construct specific forms and boundaries of community and prescribe exclusions. As the second generation interviewees pointed out, as young girls or women, they were faced with the threat of exclusion from the Turkish community, when exploring sexuality before or outside marriage, and aspiring to live independently as single women. While some of them felt these transgressions meant that they could not lay claim to identify as 'Turkish' anymore, they subsequently began to question this and construct shared meanings of 'Turkishness' with other second generation women that would better represent themselves and accommodate their gendered choices of life styles. There may be different projects of identity politics which construct divergent notions and ideals of gendered ethnic identities.

Non-national and anti-national cultural practices and identities formed through self-representation are not simply equally valid alternatives to nationalised identities. No one can simply choose identities to fit; instead they are always contested and negotiated.

Theorising Gender and Migration

Research on post-war migration to Western Europe has long constructed the male migrant as the prototype. If women migrants were acknowledged, it was as dependants. The push-pull model that dominated explanations of migration movements for a long time employed a rational choice model of migration as an individual decision for economic betterment. While this underlined the migrants' agency, it did not take sufficient account of structural factors of inequality and

domination, such as colonial and imperialist histories. Moreover, it underplayed the role of the '*mythology of the West*' as well as the continuing relation with the 'homelands' (Anthias 2000). Marxist approaches critically responded to the voluntarism of the push-pull model. They theorised migration not with a view to individual actors, but as an element within the uneven development of capitalism. They argued that migrants formed a subproletariat or class fraction that was used as a reserve army of labour power. While addressing the significance of structural factors, the economism of these approaches neglected the importance of nationalism, racism and discrimination as well as transnational and diasporic forms of identification and agency (Anthias 2000). This neglect has also had impacts on the recognition of the gendered aspects of migration, as Kofman et al. point out:

> The role of agency is particularly vital for a gendered account of migration because it is so often assumed that women simply follow men and that their role in migration is reactive rather than proactive. (Kofman et al. 2000: 23)

Migrant women have been portrayed as victimised on the one hand by the global structures of inequality forcing them to migrate, and on the other hand as women within the particularly oppressive gender relations of their families and wider ethnic communities. These notions of the passive, oppressed migrant woman have dominated much of the research. In the literature on migrant women in Germany, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, images of women of Turkish background came to represent migrant women: 'From the 1970s onwards, a clear tendency towards the orientalization of migrant women can be identified: the debate on "foreign women" (*Ausländerinnen*) became a debate on Turkish women' (Inowlocki and Lutz 2000: 307). The key themes along which research on migrant women from Turkey has been structured for the last three decades have been that of 'the (uncivilized) stranger, the victim of patriarchal honour and being "twice rootless"' (ibid.). The modernity-difference hypothesis (Apitzsch 1996) constructed migrants as backward and in need of catching up with modernity in Europe. In particular migrant women, due to their important role in the family were seen as representing tradition and the more originary type of the culture of origin. Migrant women's commitment to the family was therefore seen as 'a particular obstacle in the process of modernisation' (Aptizsch 1996). This analytically locates migrant women firmly within the domestic sphere,

which is often seen as a privileged site for passing on the 'essence' of an ethnocised or nationalised culture (cf. Yuval-Davis 1997). Portraying migrant women as particularly linked to the family was thus seen as a confirmation of their underachievement of modernity (I discuss these issues in chapter 6). Factors such as the lack of rights to work as legally dependent spouses, formal and informal discrimination in the labour market (cf. Erdem 2000), as well as in civil society (Akashe-Böhme 2000, Rodriguez 1999, Toksöz 1991) were not included into an analysis of migrant women's lives. Assumptions about migrant women's culturally reified passivity and reduction to family life are problematic explanatory frameworks, fostering tautological arguments as well as the reproduction of oppressive truths and social realities through the social policy approaches they inform.

Therefore, a shift in the approaches, methods and theoretical underpinnings of research on migrant women is necessary. Such an approach should not view migrant women just as passively enduring migration (cf. Lutz 1998). To challenge these existing research paradigms and contribute to a growing feminist literature on migration, this thesis focuses on migrant women's agency and subjectivity.

Women's role in decision-making on migration has often been less visible. However they have often played a crucial role in their individual as well as a household's migration decision (cf. Lutz 1998, Phizacklea 1998). Their motivations for migration may differ from those of men. It is particularly important to take the interconnection of economic and non-economic motivations for migration into account since the latter are often central for women. In my sample, among the gender-specific motivations for migration were the financial need to provide for children as single mothers, the wish to escape gendered social control as divorcees, single women or lesbian women, as well as to shift the power balance in or escape from an unsatisfactory marriage (cf. Kofman et al. 2000). The wish to experience and get to know a different society was also an important factor, which is intimately linked with a wish to access different forms of socially recognised gendered life styles and constructions of self.

In the literature on women's migration, the household has constituted a focus of analysis. It is important to recognise, however, that the household is not a

homogeneous unit, but hierarchically organised. Thus, migrant women's role should be examined both with respect to their strategies as part of the household, as well as their strategies of negotiating the power relations within the household (Kofman et al. 2000, Prodolliet 1999).

The institutional regulation of migration is another important factor. Thus, immigration legislation, recruitment contracts and intermediaries play a crucial enabling and constraining role. For women who enter under family reunification legislation, this severely constrains their possibilities to take up work in the first years. Those who enter as tourists, students, au pairs, undocumented or asylum seekers, also face restricted (or illegalised) access to the labour market, and social rights. Often these immigration statuses increase their gendered vulnerability (cf. chapter 5). So that 'being deprived of rights of entry and settlement as well as broader rights of citizenship, are central reasons for the forms of domination faced by migrant men and women' (Anthias 2001: 26).

An important resource in negotiating the structural constraints of migratory regimes are (transnational) social networks that often provide informally the support to migrate and find work (Anthias 2000, Kofman et al. 2000, Faist 1998, Cohen 1997). These social networks are not homogeneous or free of power relations (cf. below). As some of the interviewees who initially worked in the ethnic economy in Britain pointed out, their dependence on these jobs were characterised by extremely low pay, job insecurity, as well as blatant sexist discrimination and abuse. It is therefore important to analyse the diversity of social networks in terms of the different bases for solidarity. Moreover, it is important to analyse the power relations they are imbued with. Thus, migrants who are positioned differentially in terms of ethnicity, gender and class have differential access to the resources of these networks and are also subject to differential social control by these networks (cf. chapter 5).

While the migration of women in earlier flows was hardly recognised, since the 1990s there is a growing recognition of the 'feminization of migration' (Lutz and Koser 1998). Structural factors of the globalisation of economy that deprive many in the countries of emigration of their livelihood as well as increasing demand in the countries of immigration for cheap, flexible, labour that is often viewed as specifically

female (domestic labour, labour in the service industries) continues to fuel migration. While the vast majority of migrant women work in unskilled jobs and in the informal sector, it is important to recognise the diversity of migrant women (Anthias 2000, Kofman et al. 2000). This thesis looks at an under-researched group of migrant women, that is skilled and professional migrant women. As Kofman points out, the literature on migrant women has neglected this group, while the literature on professional migration, itself relatively recent and biased towards the study of transfers of professionals within Transnational Companies focuses on male migrants (Kofman 2000).

As Kofman (2000) points out, this cannot be fully explained by the small numbers of skilled and professional female migrants, particularly since their number has increased significantly since the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, in the UK there was a large number of Commonwealth migrants who arrived as students and subsequently remained. Migrant women particularly contributed to health professions, education and welfare (ibid.) Lutz (1991) points out that in Germany many skilled and professional migrants from Turkey retrained to do social work, since this was one of the few niches for skilled ethnic minorities, the underlying assumption being that they had special skills and proclivity to work with an ethnic clientele. More recently, both the UK and German governments and employers are trying to change immigration policy to attract skilled and professional immigration. This is meant to fill gaps in computing and also welfare sectors (Kofman 2000). This recent development takes place at the same time as both countries heavily police their borders against unwelcome migrants, particularly refugees and asylum seekers. Policy and public discourses strictly distinguish between 'migrants that are useful to us and those that abuse us' ('Ausländer, die uns nützen und die uns ausnützen' as the Bavarian Home Secretary Beckstein put it in 2000). These discourses and arguments can be de-constructed and countered from multiple vantage points. Thus national economies benefit far more from undocumented migrants than the other way around, it has been argued. Moreover, these arguments contradict humanitarian considerations. Another vantage point is, however, to show that the migrant women categorised as skilled migrants on the one hand and asylum seekers, refugees, and labour migrants on the other are not in fact so distinct, but rather that the categories need to be questioned. In this thesis, the interviewees have different levels of qualifications; however, a

common experience is that they have found that their qualifications have not been easily recognised. Factors contributing to this mis-recognition of migrant women's skills and qualifications include: their entry as dependants, refugees, or – in the German case – as guestworkers, restricted or no recognition of their qualifications, as well as interpersonal and institutional discrimination. The widespread view of women migrants as unskilled reifies these factors. For undocumented migrants, particularly in recent migration flows, the situation is exacerbated, and indeed a large proportion of (undocumented) female migrants in domestic or sex work are highly qualified, but are restricted to these gendered and racialized informal sectors of the labour market (cf. Phizacklea 1998, Lutz 2000). This study contributes to the research of skilled professional migrants, thus arguing for a more differentiated picture of female migrants.

Analytically, Kofman et al.. distinguish between three levels in order to characterise contemporary migration:

> (i) the migratory regime that includes the relations between the country of emigration and immigration, the conditions of entry and rights of residence, employment and so on, including the rights of family members; (ii) the migratory institution that includes formal state structures as well as mediators and facilitators, recruitment agencies and informal networks through which individuals and households negotiate migratory regimes; and (iii) individual migrants whose migration choices are conditioned by their own histories, social identities and resources as well as by the broader structural conditions. All three levels are highly gendered. (2000: 32)

The focus of this thesis is on the third level of analysis, namely individual migrant women, and how their experiences and ways of giving meaning to those through narrative relate to the former two levels (cf. chapter 2).

Issues of migration have been taken up with respect to the concept of citizenship, thus exploring how an excluded or marginalised category, migrants, can be included to enhance our understanding both of the processes of migrants' settlement and the structures of citizenship.

Migrant Women and Citizenship

Citizenship is a contested concept, promising equality and inclusion, while it also constructs boundaries and contains inherent exclusions:

> Who can be regarded as a citizen? Which boundaries separate citizens from those partially or wholly excluded from citizenship? Thus citizenship is not only seen as changing and evolving over time, but as a contested concept, which can at any stage of social development be invoked by those excluded, if the rights of citizens come to be seen as merely privileges lacking legitimation. (Bauböck 1991:15)

While it is important to acknowledge the significance of formal citizenship, examining formal citizenship alone is insufficient for making sense of the position of migrant women. Instead, I shall discuss citizenship in its wider meaning, as 'membership in the community' (Marshall 1953). My main concern is with the ways in which communities are defined and negotiated within ethnocised and gendered parameters.

Most debates about both formal and substantial aspects of citizenship are dominated by a dichotomising logic: on the one hand, there are the migrants and their interests, on the other hand, there is the receiving society and its interests. While supporters of an inclusion of migrants may argue, that the receiving societies and the migrants' interests converge in certain respects, the epistemological basis for distinguishing these interest groups on the basis of nationality and/ or ethnicity is taken for granted (cf. Carens 1995). Thus, such accounts weigh up the benefits and costs of immigrants to a society. These benefits include: economic gains, the possibilities for nationals to social mobility, at times even the values of cultural diversity. The costs on the other hand include loss of social or cultural cohesion, growth of unemployment and strains on the welfare system. In these approaches, migrants remain marginal to conceptualisations of citizenship. As for migrant women, academic debates on citizenship tend to exclude migrant women by focusing one-dimensionally on migrants generically defined as male (e.g. Bauböck 1991, Mackert 1999), or by focusing on citizenship of women nationals (e.g. Philipps 1995, Appelt 2000). In this thesis, I take a contrasting epistemological starting point by putting the subjective accounts of women of Turkish background centre stage.

Most theorists agree that citizenship is a status that bestows rights and obligations. At the same time, each system of citizenship also constructs its ideal-typical subject as those who are best able to fulfil their obligations and are presumably thus best equipped to exercise their rights. As Léca points out, 'those individuals who consider their interests as properly served through citizenship are recognized as the best citizens, and those who possess the most "capital" (material, cultural or technological) are recognized as the most competent' (Léca 1992:20)[13]. I would add moreover, that for migrant women, much of their social and cultural capital goes unrecognised by the ethnically dominant society (cf. Lutz 1991, Kofman et al. 2000).

Citizenship is a multidimensional concept and different theorists have pointed out that there are different levels of citizenship (i.e. legal, social, political (Marshall 1953)), different aspects of citizenship: i.e. active/passive and public/private (Turner 1990), as well as different tiers of citizenship (local, regional, national, transnational (Yuval-Davis 1997b). Despite the universalist claims of contemporary European democracies, members of the community are positioned differentially with relation to all of these dimensions of citizenship, according to class, gender, ethnicity, 'race', ability and legal residence status (cf. e.g. feminist review 1997, Bauböck 1994, Soysal 1994).

For different categories of citizens (or denizens[14]), different capacities and statuses vis-à-vis the state and society are prioritised. Soysal (1994) argues with respect to migrants in Europe, that although they may not be formally citizens, they share in the same social rights as full citizens. She views this as an example for the emergence of 'post-national citizenship', which privileges human rights over nationally bounded citizenship rights. While I agree with her normative view that human rights should usefully supersede nationally bounded citizenship rights, I do not see the basis for

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[13] Lister (1990) critiques the concept of 'active citizenship', used in Britain in the 1980s, in a similar vein, arguing that the concept puts the obligations and economic self-reliance of citizens centrestage and at the same time constructs the poor as constituting a 'culture of dependency'. She argues that this glosses over inequalities in access to education, training and good quality jobs. In terms of political and social activity, too there is an inequality in who is constructed as the ideal, active subject and who is constructed as merely a recipient: 'it seems clear that the government regards the poor as the objects, not the subjects, of active citizenship. There is a tacit understanding that while the philanthropy of the middle classes is the hallmark of active citizenship, the campaigning of welfare rights groups and the like constitutes the undesirable face of political activism.' (Lister 1990:19).

such a development put into practice yet. On the one hand, political rights are indispensable to ensure and sustain migrants' status. Political rights are also important for any attempt to transform and redefine the substance and form of rights and obligations, including the rights of denizens. On the other hand, I cannot agree that migrants enjoy social rights to the same degree as full citizens (cf. Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Mackert 1999). Migrants' residence status is still contingent on their employment, political and criminal record. Moreover, while transnational, post-national or supra-national institutions and conventions are concerned with migrants' rights, in practical terms the nation-state remains responsible for their realisation. Furthermore, those countries who have ratified conventions on the rights of migrant workers or refugees tend to be the sending rather than the receiving countries. Migrants' access to transnational or supra-national institutions to claim their rights vis-à-vis the nation state they live in is extremely limited and shaped by their relation to the nation-state of their residence or formal citizenship (Morris 1997, Anthias 1998, 2001, Rogers 2000, Kastoryani 1998, Kofman 1997, Kofman et al. 2000).

Furthermore, the reduction of migrants to bearers of social rights structurally fixes them as recipients of services. First, such a view does not take into account the economic contributions, both through their labour and through their taxes to the society and state system. The unpaid labour of migrant women in the home is not taken into account, nor the caring labour of bringing up children[15]. Secondly, it structurally reifies what Avtar Brah (1996) calls 'minoritisation': the construction of ethnocised or racialised groups as 'minors in tutelage' (1996:187). Thirdly, a reductionist view of migrants' citizenship as primarily social does not take account of migrants' cultural, political and social contributions to civil society. Finally, all of these contributions can only be fully taken into account if we do not collapse national identity and citizenship but instead conceptualise migrants as part of the civil society (cf. Anthias 2000, Bauböck 1991, 1994, Yuval-Davis 1997b).

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[14] Hammar (1989) defines denizens as non-citizen residents, with secure resident rights who have similar rights to work and welfare. I critically examine this claim below.

[15] The transnational aspect of women's unpaid caring labour has rarely been taken into account. Thus, for lack of adequate childcare facilities for mothers working full-time and lack of adequate housing, many migrant women have to rely on childcare in their countries of origin. This 'outsourcing' of caring labour at the same time entails a loss of their entitlements to childbenefits.

In this thesis I focus on two issues, first the construction of communities and second, its implications for conceptualising the women's social participation. For this purpose, I suggest approaching citizenship as a 'set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural)' (Turner 1993: 2) as opposed to legalistic, state centred and static notions of citizenship (cf. Stasiulis and Bakan 1997). Such a view accepts that citizenship is a dynamic processes of inclusion and exclusion taking place across a range of social relations. A broadened notion of citizenship, not entirely contingent on the nation-state in its conception, could also serve the argument to question the exclusivity of the privileges conferred by formal citizenship (cf. Bauböck 1991, 1994).

Reading Citizenship into Life-stories?

There is no self-evident way of engaging the concept of citizenship in the life-stories of migrant women. One problem is that debates on citizenship are wide-ranging, and often centre more on political philosophy than on the experiences the concepts engender or the practices by which the concepts may be challenged. In this section, I engage with debates of multi-cultural citizenship and its focus on the relation between groups, individuals and the state (cf. Van Dyke 1995, Kymlicka 1995, Rex 1994, Radtke 1994).[16] Multi-culturalist views on citizenship discuss group rights as an intermediate level between the individual and the state that can remedy oppression or disadvantage of marginalised groups. Thus, Kymlicka (1995) argues that group rights should protect the cultural difference of ethnic minorities from encroachment of the ethnically and cultural majority.[17] He views different ethnic groups' cultures as changing, but distinct. Culture, in his view is a precondition for exercising freedom of choice, since a cultural framework is necessary to make sense of one's experiences. He views the protection of minority cultures therefore as essential for safeguarding the liberal tenet of freedom of choice, since even if the contents of cultures changes,

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[16] Many thanks and indebtedness goes to Chin Li and Barbara Henkes for clarifying my thoughts on this section in fruitful discussions.

[17] Kymlicka differentiates between three types of group-differentiated rights, which should be accorded situationally:

> '-self-government rights (the delegation of powers to national minorities, often through some form of federalism)
> -polyethnic rights (state support and legal protection for certain practices associated with particular ethnic or religious groups; and
> -special representation rights (guaranteed seats for ethnic or national groups within the central institutions of the larger state)' (Kymlicka 1995: 6-7)

he argues, the concept of (ethnically) separate cultures should be maintained. Critics caution that group rights may lead to the oppression of 'internal minorities' (Green 1995) or individual dissenters (Waldron 1995). Kymlicka integrates these critiques, arguing that cultural group rights are justified in so far as they protect the ethnic minority from the majority, but the majority society should limit its tolerance of practices that place internal restrictions on its members. This raises the issue of what (culturally specific) values of the dominant ethnic group are used to judge practices of minority groups (Yuval-Davis 1997). Moreover, such a static concept of culture as ethnically bounded can be usefully de-constructed through notions of culture as hybrid. Following Bhabha (1990), by hybridity[18] I mean the processual, unfinished and dialogic character of cultural practices and forms. This view on culture as open to interpretation sheds new light on the issue of cultural authenticity and authority in the context of ethnic power relations. Thus, the interpretation of cultural forms is not neutral but often constitutes a struggle for hegemony within and across ethnic groups. So that most often conflicts in the name of cultural authenticity represent conflicts about the authority over such cultural forms and practices. By de-coupling cultural forms and practices from their dominant nationalised meaning and constructing other meanings, ethnocised people can disrupt the normalisation of nationalised cultural forms and practices. Such a disruption, according to Bhabha, also has deeply destabilising effects on dominant identities (Bhabha 1996). Hybridising strategies of destabilising nationalised cultural practices challenge multi-culturalist concepts of cultural mixing. Bhabha (1990) criticises multi-culturalist politics that recognise cultural diversity but seek to control and survey its boundaries. Moreover, multi-culturalist strategies do not question the legitimacy of the power relations between majority and minorities. Multi-culturalisms fix cultural forms and practices to an ethnic group in a 'musee imaginaire', they catalogue, hierarchise and separate these cultural forms from each other (Bhabha 1990:208). A hybrid notion of culture moreover has a destabilising effect on power relations and dominant identities within ethnocised groups. Contrary to multi-cultural modes of recognition and

[18] The term hybridity is problematic as it reifies precisely those connotations that the concept undermines: Thus, the term appears to imply that something new emerges from two previously bounded wholes. This implicitly homogenises and polarises the 'origins' of hybrid cultural forms. Moreover, the term revives the biologistic associations and metaphors and implies a link between cultural and supposedly biological hybridisation, thus carrying forth a heterosexual connotation (cf. Young 1994:27).

authentication, it does not automatically ascribe the most authentic and authoritative voice to religious and patriarchal forces within an ethnic minority.[19]

While most theorists focus on group rights of marginalised, disadvantaged or oppressed groups, Bauböck explicitly argues that in most liberal democracies group rights are already enshrined, however as corporate rights of privileged groups:

> Many collective rights in modern states are in fact corporate rights of socially privileged groups, which reinforce their dominant position in society by institutionalizing them in the political sphere (take as examples the privileged position of dominant religious congregations enshrined in state law, or the special social rights for higher ranking civil servants in many Western states). Alternatively, however, collective rights may also have the opposite effect of compensating for social discrimination. Whether a collective right enhances or diminishes equal citizenship will depend on its contribution to the equalisation of opportunities for social action within a highly unequal structure of class, gender, ethnic and other collective differences (Bauböck 1991: 22).

This argument crucially brings power relations back into discussions of multi-cultural citizenship. Furthermore Kymlicka's argument that culture as such enables agency and choice is put into perspective. A unified and reified notion of ethnically bounded cultures underplays first the significance of social divisions of class, gender, sexuality and others within an ethnic group as constitutive of inequalities. Second, it reduces inequalities to systems of meaning, without taking the material and economic sources of inequality into account. Moreover, it is important to be cautious of the 'nominal or partial recognition of universal human rights and trans-border citizenship rights, [as they, U.E.] have coincided with tightening restrictions on the rights of new immigrants. These tendencies are contradictory and create a dynamic terrain of struggle.' (Bakan and Stasiulis 1997:118). In contrast to Kymlicka's approach which combines communitarian and liberal arguments, Bauböck endorses an egalitarian conception of citizenship. His model of group rights, exceptionally, does not justify the extension of rights to residents through tightening and denying access to newcomers. Instead, it takes inequalities on an international and global scale into account. Bauböck also formulates a normative demand for the establishment of

migration rights, arguing that migrants' rights as individuals to mobility, including that across borders, should be as normatively binding as those of nation-states to limit entry and belonging (for a contrasting view cf. Hailbronner 1989). These aspects are all to often bracketed out of discussions of migrants group rights in favour of a culturalist focus. While debates on multi-cultural citizenship raise the issue of tensions between group rights and individual rights, this rarely takes into account the ways in which individuals construct their own relation to a group, how they position themselves in relation to it and how they view its boundaries.

For the particular group of skilled and professional migrant women who are the subject of this thesis, such debates of citizenship hold very little space. Where participatory aspects of citizenship are discussed, it is often within the frame of multi-cultural citizenship and group rights, assuming a homogeneous group with clear-cut, pre-determined boundaries. The shortcomings of these debates are the ways in which gender and ethnicity are considered either as separate attributes or are simply tacked onto each other (e.g. Kymlicka 1995, Young 1995). The debates on citizenship view women's rights and ethnic minority rights as clearly delimited, and at times in opposition to each other (Kymlicka 1995). Attempts to conceptualise group rights, that is women's rights and ethnic minority cultural rights, often end up essentialising both groups and their interests and 'needs'. The intersection of women's and ethnic minority rights is then retrospectively debated from a supposedly 'neutral' all-knowing liberal authorial point of view. This contributes to making the dominant ethnic group invisible and normalising its standpoint as universal. The dominant ethnic identity is tacitly identified with liberal values thus conflating liberal political and ethnic identification (cf. Yuval-Davis 1997). Crucially this argumentative strategy achieves the construction and maintenance of the myth of objectivity and non-partiality of both liberalism and a Eurocentric perspective. Neither the material, economic, political, institutional nor the discursive power bases of this authorising/ authorial strategy can be questioned from within this epistemological and ontological framework.

Citizenship debates focus on gender mainly in terms of welfare provisions, and posit both ethnic minorities and women as receivers of social citizenship rights rather than examining their participation in shaping citizenship. The interviewees' current

positioning as professional and highly educated women puts them in a privileged position where they do not depend to the same extent on welfare provisions as working class ethnic minority women. Yet, over their life-course, some of them depended on welfare provisions. On the other hand, their active citizenship consists in participating in and changing social structures of their countries of residence. These participatory elements of citizenship are only beginning to receive sociological attention with respect to minority women (Kofman et al. 2000, Lister 1990). The participation of ethnic minority women/ migrant women in shaping the debates and substance of citizenship is barely recognised in citizenship debates, both politically and academically. This is a *structuring absence* that is both a product of and productive of the centrality of the liberal, ethnically neutralised subject position that is authorised in political and academic debates on citizenship. By putting the interviewees life-stories into the debate on citizenship I shift the debate on two different levels:

First, many of the interviewees actively participate in shaping the substance and boundaries of citizenship through their professional activities in an everyday manner. Moreover, through their professional, political and social commitment they participate in policy-making debates. They contribute from within institutionalised and authorised structures (such as local authority consultative committees, professional bodies, etc). These contributions of ethnic minority women are rendered invisible by the discursive construction of a neutral ethnic, gender and class position of the people constituting these bodies. Their presence as ethnic minority or migrant women is discursively effaced. This is based on the construction of middle-class positioning as neutral in terms of gender and ethnicity. When they disrupt such neutralisation-strategies, they are singled out as 'trouble-makers'. Alternatively, they are offered an authorised subject position as an 'ethnic/gender' expert. This is based on an essentialising identity-politics-cum-clientelism-paradigm which allows and 'burdens' (Mercer 1990) migrant intellectuals to speak for 'their' respective ethnic group. This is mirrored in the employment opportunities of migrant women which are often restricted to serve an ethnic minority population clientele (cf. Lutz 1991, Gutierrez

Rodriguez 1999, Bundes*ausländer*beauftragte 2000[20]). The problem with this is the following: the ethnic minority intellectual's remit is reduced to other ethnic minority people. This intellectual segmentation confines them to the margins. On the other hand, the ethnic minority intellectuals themselves may feel compelled to represent the views and issues concerning other ethnic minority people, if they want them to be addressed at all. However, the 'burden of representation' (Mercer 1990) that these intellectuals carry positions them in a political and discursive paradox: on the one hand, it encourages the construction of a constituency, since they have to legitimise their right to speak on behalf of a specified clientele. However such a construction inevitably entails reductionist elements. Especially the wish to speak for those least likely to make their own voices heard, such as migrant women experiencing domestic violence, prevented from seeking professional and legal support through discriminatory immigration law (Pinar's example) fosters the disjunction of the (independent, articulate, empowered) Self and the subject of discourse (dis-empowered, victimised) while at the same time relying on the identification of speaker and subject as a mode of authorisation/ legitimation of representation through the paradigm of shared gender and ethnicity or migrancy.

These problematic aspects of representation, essentialism and legitimity can be reflected and addressed more adequately in the context of the interviewees social and political commitment outside of policy-making structures, that is trying to lobby these policy-making structures from outside. In this arena they may be most productive in shifting the terms, concepts and underlying logic of the citizenship debate. Even if such emergent challenges may get incorporated and significantly re-interpreted once they do become part of the policy-making debate.[21] That means I raise one of the questions Turner identifies as key to analysing citizenship that is in how far the interviewees are part of the 'social forces that create such (citizenship, U. E.) practices' (1993:3). He argues that

[20] This is generally more true in Germany, however the evidence of interviews in Britain suggests a similar tendency.

[21] Pinar gives the example of her participation in a campaign to remove paragraph 19, that prevents women from divorcing since they face deportation. While some German *Länder* have adopted guidelines preventing women who divorce because of domestic violence being deported, she does not find their practical application satisfactory.

> (...) social citizenship is both a condition of social integration by providing normative institutionalized means of social membership, which are based upon legal and other forms of entitlement, and citizenship is also a set of conditions that promotes social conflict and social struggle where the social entitlements are not fulfilled. This ambiguity in the character of citizenship is also reflected in its history either as a form of social incorporation or as a set of conditions for social struggle. (Turner 1993:11-12).

Putting the role of the interviewees as specific or organic migrant women intellectuals[22] in the picture as participants in debates and struggles on citizenship, challenges tacit precepts of the conjunction of identity, authority and citizenship. This contribution to the citizenship debate rests on my analysis of their stories on their social, political and cultural activity, that is the *participatory* dimension.

Secondly, analysing the level of their *experiences* of gendered and racialized inclusion and exclusion allows for a critique of the absences in citizenship debates. This examines the ways in which the interviewees construct communities, identities and collective and individual agency. The link between identity, ethnic group membership, rights and citizenship is crucial in determining the substance and boundaries of citizenship (Anthias 2000, Yuval-Davis 2001, Kofman et al. 2000, Soysal 1994, Holmes and Murray 1999, Isin and Wood 1999). The debate on multi-culturalist citizenship posits the cultural group right of ethnic minorities and women's rights as distinct. It takes essentialised and most culturally distant notions of 'the ethnic community' as the basis for its argument (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1992, Yuval-Davis 1997a). The subject of women it constructs is on the other hand based on white ethnic majority women. Women's role in the ethnic community as symbolic borderguards, reproducing symbolically, biologically and culturally the ethnic community essential to notions of ethnic community. The notion of ethnic community rights thus risks reproducing and reinforcing patriarchal rights over women's (sexual) behaviour within the framework of multi-culturalist democracy.

[22] I am referring here to Foucault's (1980) notion of the 'specific intellectual' as located though her professional position at a crucial point in the articulation of power relations and truth discourses to be used in a subversive or dominant way. I take the notion of 'organic intellectual' as an organiser of (counter-) hegemonic knowledges and activities from Gramsci. While the 'organic intellectual' according to Gramsci is defined with relation to her participatory and mobilising capacity of a social

The interviewees' experiences and agency represent important challenges to essentialised and homogeneous constructions of community and ethnic minority femininity: by choosing to live as single women, to divorce, choosing non-Turkish partners, or living lesbian relationships they do not conform to hegemonic representation of 'Turkish' women's sexual behaviour and status as markers of ethnic difference. By mothering in ways contested by 'the ethnic community', they, at times self-consciously, at times reluctantly, disrupt the naturalisation of the mother as the transmitter of national or ethnic identity. By questioning ethnic identity, engaging in feminist politics, challenging gender and age based hierarchies in 'Turkish/Kurdish' political organisations, challenging ethnic hierarchies and racism within the 'Diaspora'-ethnic community and by building cross-ethnic personal and political networks and identifications, they interrupt the equation of identity and belonging as ethnically bounded.

I will discuss the ways in which the interviewees experiences and practices relate to constructions of citizenship in the chapters on their life-stories. This includes contradictions, since resistance and challenges to some structures of domination may go hand in hand with privilege, acquiescence and participation in other structures of domination. Such contradictions and conflicts between different group identities and the intersection of privilege or oppression as members of different groups, are however not exceptional borderline cases, as the literature on multi-cultural citizenship suggests (e.g. Green 1995, Waldron 1995). Instead, I argue, that these conflicts are central to the social divisions constitutive of communities in general. Thus, the interviewees' experiences of multiple, contradictory communities and their negotiation of these is marginalised in debates of citizenship (for an exception, cf. feminist review 1997). There is a strong case for rectifying this structural marginalisation in the citizenship debate. First, if we accept the theoretical significance of boundary construction and maintenance as central to community building, this should underline the theoretical centrality of challenges and transgression to deepen our understanding of community building. Second, from an empirical point of view, these women as intellectuals are influential and instrumental in constructing communities and forms of agency through their citizenship practices.

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group or movement, Foucault's specific intellectual positions herself vis-à-vis discourses and may or

In this thesis I will examine the interviewees' citizenship practices; however the main focus will be on the ways in which they develop and conceptualise agency. There are several ways in which agency is relevant for my argument. Agency most generally, refers to the exercise of choice under restricted structural and interpersonal circumstances. I also focus on the interviewees' agency in widening their scope for choice. They make choices in their actions, but also in constructing their subjectivities and identities. Thus, they find ways of overcoming obstacles and restrictions, enabling them to make choices and take decisions about education (chapter 4), work and migration (chapter 5), mothering (chapter 6), as well as in political activities (chapter 7). They participate in changing their own lives, a process which is bound up with contradictions. Their lives take place within multiple systems of oppression. However, naming and locating situations and practices of oppression can already be seen as agentic. Moreover, they find ways to counter and resist oppression and victimisation. These analyses and actions are important instances in which they create new subject positions for themselves by refusing or re-interpreting identity ascriptions or inventing new identities for themselves. These processes of negotiating identities are always social and thus bound up with contesting hegemonic projects of community-building, as well as constructing new bases for commonality and community. However, as I pointed out in chapter 2, developing contesting identities and agency is not a uni-linear process. Instead, the interviewees also partake in practices of domination, be it through tacit acceptance and accommodation or through actively aligning themselves with hegemonic projects. Giddens' approach of structuration, taking into account both structural factors and individual and collective agency is useful here (Giddens 1984). As noted earlier, the specific knowledges (academic, political and institutional) which focus on migrant women have constructed them as passive and bracketed out their agency. The methodological approach I have adopted puts their self-production through their life-stories and their knowledges of the societies they live in centrestage. By employing structural and cultural readings of their life stories, I attempt to take seriously their agency, both in materially and discursively positioning and constructing themselves. My notion of agency also refers to exploring their agency as political subjectivity (Voet 1998), as constructing forms of political activity, both

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may not be a leader of 'the masses' (Foucault 1980: 130).

formally and informally. Exploring agency also means examining how the interviewees articulate their agency, that is, how they narrate it in their life-stories.

These issues will be explored in the following chapters based on the life-stories. The next chapter examines how the interviewees present their stories of developing agency in the context of family and education.

Chapter 4: Developing agency: Schooling and Family

This chapter examines how the interviewees conceptualise their agency and subjectivity through the topic of education. The chapter is in two parts, the first looks at the relation between formal education and family for the second generation migrant interviewees. This is a key topic through which they introduce themselves as agentic into the life-stories: taking educational decisions, negotiating institutional and familial expectations and obstacles and positioning themselves vis-à-vis public and more personal meanings of gendered ethnicity. My sample of second generation interviewees is located only in Germany, since the timing of migratory flows from Turkey to Britain made it difficult to find adult second generation interviewees in Britain. The second part looks at the first generation of migrant interviewees. Although education is valued, for most it is not a key site of developing agency. In this part of the chapter I foreground the meaning of barred access to education. This will lead on to the discussion of migration, formal and informal education in the interviewees' working lives in chapter 5.

Second Generation Migrants: Education as a Site of Developing Agency

The topic of education and migrant girls and women has been the focus of a good deal of research, here I briefly point to some of the key themes and problematics the literature suggests. The main thrust of the literature is in explaining the reasons for migrant girls underachievement, the educational disadvantages on the grounds of gender, ethnicity and class or an intersectional analysis of these, and an exploration of how to improve equality of opportunity. In this study, the focus is different. I explore education as one site of developing agency. Moreover, the interviewees' present occupational positioning, is of a higher status than that of the majority of migrant women from Turkey, who are concentrated in unskilled jobs. In this sense, this chapter looks at how education relates to their occupational 'exceptionality'. However, the ascription of an exceptional degree of success is itself a problematic concept, as will be elaborated below.

One key theme in the literature on the education of migrant girls has been that of culture clash, which posits that the girls experience different expectations, and form distinct and clashing identities at home and at school (Otyakmaz 1995, Thornely and Siann 1991, Mirza 1992, Basit 1997, Teunissen 1992). This thesis has trickled down into teacher's attitudes and understandings of their migrant pupils. It offers a particularly potent framework for categorising and dealing with migrant girls in secondary school. Teachers use often stereotypical views of ethnically differentiated attitudes towards (young) female sexuality in the home to explain the young women's overall performance and situation at school (Basit 1997, Mirza 1992). In a review of the literature on explanations of migrant pupils' problems or underachievement at school, Teunissen finds that 'the vast bulk (...) concentrated on learner characteristics as the primary explanatory source of low school results, yet the outcomes of these studies are disappointing. They are often no more than an unsubstantiated catalogue of pathological symptoms' (1992: 97). Basit argues that the thesis of culture clash and female pupils leading a 'dual life' (1997: 429) at home and at school is based on a mis-representation particularly of Muslim family life as oppressive of girls and restricting their freedom. It ethnocises generational and age based differences dichotomously and does not take into account that there are also important areas where parents and daughters share values. The explanatory framework of the culture clash especially fails to take into account positive parental attitudes towards education (Basit 1997, Mirza 1992, Lutz 1990, Bhachu 1991). Moreover, the culture clash thesis reduces to a static power relation what in reality is a dynamism of family values. Among the institutional and structural factors impacting on migrant girls' education, low teacher expectations, poor advice on career options, and the labeling of their aspirations as unrealistic or over-ambitious are significant for the context of this study (Mirza 1992, Thornely and Siann 1991). A further important factor that is little recognised in Germany is the impact of racism as a pervasive phenomenon, as well as of racist incidents (Mirza 1992).

The second generation migrants in this study, who all had an important part of their school education in Germany, share some commonalties. Many of their parents explicitly justified their decision to migrate through the availability of better educational opportunities to their children, especially the daughters in Germany. Thus,

in most families, education was valued and encouraged. In contrast to this familial support, many of the girls came up against formal and informal discrimination at school. This included bullying by pupils and sometimes teachers and being stereotyped as low achievers. This, together with their parents' lack of information about the German educational system meant that they often started their schooling in lower level schools and had to access higher level schools at a later stage against the resistances of their teachers. Only two of the interviewees' families viewed female education as superfluous (Pinar and Meral). What is common to all of them is that they began at a young age to take educational decisions for themselves, against institutional and/ or parental obstacles. Another commonalty is that the higher the level of schools they attended the more they were positioned as 'exceptional' both by German and by Turkish people. An important tension during this time for most of them was that between ethnocised notions of education and sexuality (cf. Lutz 1990). Many of them dealt with this tension by adopting dichotomous ethnocised gender images, that were dominant in public German discourses: they identified more strongly with Germanness, since they felt an identification with Germanness promised them access to education and gender roles that included female independence. They juxtaposed this to Turkishness as embodying restricting gender roles and a bargain between either living sanctioned sexuality in marriage or gaining education and developing an a-sexual gender role. These issues became particularly pertinent as ethnocised measures of female freedom. Thus, the 'German'- identified behaviour of having a boyfriend and going out is posited as representing freedom. At the time the migrant girls accepted this representation, however later on in their lives they challenged the ethnocised dichotomisations inherent in this.

The problematic aspects, of pressure on German girls in their formation as sexual subjects negotiating a notion of Western femininity that necessitates a careful balancing of being involved romantically without spoiling one's reputation and becoming labeled sexually 'loose' is absent from public discussions of ethnocised female sexuality in Germany and was not raised in the interviews, either. In the British literature, in contrast, the pressure to get romantically involved is discussed as one factor preventing in particular working class young women from pursuing education (Tett 2000). And here, the ethnically different gender specific expectations not to get romantically involved at a young age are discussed as a factor enhancing

migrant girls educational opportunities (Basit 1997, Bhachu 1991). The absence of such considerations in the German context can be viewed as a measure of the hegemonic constructions of the normativity of 'German' femininity as an unproblematic ideal representing freedom. An important exception is Lutz's (1990) approach that conceptualises the realisation of sexuality and education, both as different forms of freedom. She conceptualises the normative expectations of parents of Turkish background as that of delaying sexuality for the sake of education and in her study found that most of the girls concurred with this conceptualisation of realising freedom to education temporally before freedom to sexuality.

Except for Canan, all second generation interviewees come from working class families, where the parents had low levels of education. These interviewees were often the first generation in the family to gain higher education. Parental encouragement of the daughters' education was thus, if implicitly, experienced as an expectation of educational success for social mobility. Until recently, a hegemonic research paradigm identified parental attitudes to education as the main obstacle for second generation migrant women's education (cf. Faist 1995). Recent approaches find that despite their high motivation and academic success, migrant girls are not rewarded with the access to vocational training or to jobs matching their achievements and expectations (cf.. Bericht der Ausländerbeauftragten 2000). I also found that for most interviewees, the main obstacles resulted rather from direct and indirect discrimination at school, on the level of personal as well as institutional racism. This remains insufficiently discussed in the literature.[1]

Giving meaning to 'exceptionality': Deniz and Canan

In the following I turn to a figure that nearly all interviewees use in talking about their schooling: 'being an exception'. This notion of exceptionality is related to the small number of girls of Turkish background in Realschule and more so at Gymnasium

[1] Cf. for example Lindo with respect to Turkish migrants in the Netherlands, though recognising the existence of racism in schooling, argues that it does not impact on educational attainment. According to him, the existence of friendships with Dutch makes the difference that enables pupils to 'take extremely insulting confrontations with racism and discrimination in their stride. (...) they did not let such incidents affect their attitude towards Dutch society at large, nor their motivation to continue schooling or their search for a good job' (Lindo 2000: 218). I would argue against this that whether or not a pupil confronts racism successfully, it constitutes an obstacle on the basis of ethnicity. Moreover, as in the examples of racist teacher's ascriptions in my sample, the necessity to resist them constitutes an additional difficulty that non-racialised pupils do not have to overcome.

during the time of their schooling (late 1970s to 1980s)[2]. Moreover, the topos of 'being an exception' negotiates ethnocised gender images that the girls where confronted with at school, through their peers and teachers as well as through friends of Turkish background outside the school environment and their family. In the interviews, this notion is is not uniformly elaborated and interpreted. What is interesting about the notion of being an exception is how it gives meaning to categories of ethnicity and gender, referring to both personal and collective aspects of identification as well as the ways in which self-representation and the positioning through others interrelate. I examine how the notion of 'exceptionality' is differentially articulated in Deniz's and Canan's life-stories.

Deniz

Deniz is a 29 year old student of law. Her father was a skilled worker in a glass factory in Istanbul. He also worked as a taxi driver for some time before migrating to Germany in 1969. The mother, Deniz and her younger sister migrated to and fro before Deniz at the age of 11, after she finished primary school, she joined her family in Germany for good. In S-town, a small town in Northern Germany, her father worked as a skilled worker in a metal factory. Her mother was a housewife and after the children were grown up worked part time and on temporary jobs, such as seasonal work in agriculture. Deniz has two sisters, one of them two years younger, the other one 13 years younger.

Schooling in Turkey

Deniz finished primary school in Turkey. She attended the first two years of school in a small town where she lived with the maternal grandparents and later on in Istanbul

[2] The three tiered school system in Germany separates pupils after primary school according to achievements into 1) Hauptschule – providing a minimum qualification after grade 9; 2) Realschule – providing qualification for vocational training, including white collar jobs after grade 10; 3) Gymnasium – providing qualification enabling higher education.
In Hamburg, where most of the second generation interviewees attended schools, the percentage of girls of Turkish background graduating from Realschule was as follows: 1983: 10,0%; 1984: 12,9%; 1985: 16,6%; 1986: 21,1%. The percentage of girls of Turkish background acquiring Hochschulreife was as follows: 1983: 0,9%; 1984: 1,7%; 1984: 1,6%; 2,8% (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Leitstelle Gleichstellung der Frau, undated: Tabelle 9; Tabelle 11).

with her paternal grandparents. She enjoyed school and has very fond memories of her childhood. Deniz's family had migrated as ethnic Turks from Macedonia to Turkey, and she had experienced discrimination even within the wider family. Thus, the experience of cultural difference for Deniz preceded international migration. However, she stresses that to her the difference she experienced in Turkey was limited to interpersonal discrimination. At school she did not mention her migrant origin in order to avoid discrimination. She recalls the nationalist rituals such as singing the national anthem, swearing an oath on the flag etc. At the time she enjoyed these rituals but retrospectively views them critically as 'real brainwashing' (p.8). At the time her assimilation into a national identification as Turkish seemed unproblematic to Deniz, the most significant differentiation among her peers being that of class. However being a very successful pupil, Deniz gained recognition from both teachers and fellow pupils.

Schooling in Germany: Learning to be 'an exception'

When Deniz arrived in Germany at the age of 11, she repeated the fifth grade in order to learn German. Her parents did not know the German school system so that she was put in the Hauptschule. Although she learned German quickly and found the lessons easy, she was openly discriminated against by her schoolmates. Deniz remembers this time as 'really horrible' (p.3). A sympathetic teacher explained the three tiered school system to Deniz and her parents, and she moved to Realschule on the teacher's recommendation. Despite her good grades at Realschule, her new teacher there tried to discourage her from moving on to the Gymnasium 'You won't get all that many A's at Gymnasium' (p. 20), she said. Nonetheless, Deniz insisted and achieved good results at Gymnasium, too. Deniz was one of only four other migrant pupils at her school which she describes as 'conservative'. Among her neighbours of Turkish background, the possibility of going to Gymnasium was 'unknown', so that her class mates' construction of her as an exception seemed at first appropriate to Deniz herself, too.

> D: I must admit that sometimes I felt I was something special, you know.
>
> U: Yes, yes.

> D: I was recognised and so on, and I believed it myself at the time. Retrospectively of course, the older I got the more I saw through what's happening. And they always said 'I don't mean you' when they spoke about migrants and I was present. When they talked about what disturbed them [about migrants] on the side they mentioned that they didn't mean me, you know. (...) I felt funny, what does this signify that I am supposed to be somehow different, but I really only understood later what they meant. (p.3)

In contrast to her first year at Hauptschule, where she experienced open discrimination, at Gymnasium Deniz felt recognised. However, this was a conditional and partial inclusion[3]. Deniz was accepted only in so far as she could be disassociated from being a migrant. Thus, her German schoolmates' derogatory comments about migrants in general served to emphasise her difference from other migrants and constructed a tenuous commonality between them, through her tacit complicity in differentiating herself from a 'majority of migrants'. This complicity confirmed her position as an accepted member of the school. In contrast to the open hostility she experienced at the Hauptschule, this conditional and partial inclusion can be seen as a more 'educated' way of expressing racism. The small number of Ausländer pupils at the school on the one hand put them into an especially vulnerable position vis-à-vis the German majority. On the other hand, their small number may have eased their conditional acceptance. The construction of a subject position as an exceptional migrant serves to eclipse a solidarity with the 'disturbing' majority of migrants. Of course, should one identify with this disturbing majority, the threat of being treated as a disturbance like them is always implicit in such partial inclusion.

The ascription of being an exceptional migrant that took place in the setting of the school still remains powerful for Deniz. She points out that in various predominantly German settings she continues to be positioned as an exception on the basis of being highly educated. From her present point of view, Deniz problematises this:

> D: Many things that I do are not self understood because I am a migrant woman. Always, since the school I was an exception. To be an *exception*, to be a migrant girl and then to be an exception. Well there is –in inverted commas- a mass, the majority, I don't think this way, it is the view of the others, the migrants, the normal migrants,

[3] Parker (1995: 30) coins the term 'conditional belonging': 'The claim [to Black or Asian British identities, U. E.] is the right to a form of conditional belonging, whereby the qualified sense of attachment is throwing the onus onto the British to change themselves, rather than locating all the "problems" within the new generations of black and Asian young people.' Here, I use the term 'conditional and partial inclusion' to examine the other side of the relationship, that is the admission of the Other into a nationalised collective identity by those who can unproblematically claim to define the conditions for belonging.

and then there are a few exceptions who are not that important, one mentions them in passing (p.2)

The construction of a subject position as an exceptional migrant implicitly presupposes a majority or mass of migrants against the backdrop of which her specialness is made visible. Walkerdine (1997), writing about the representation of the working class as masses, argues that the concept of 'the masses' is an illusion, an imagination and representation of oppressed groups as Other. She argues that the discipline of social psychology was instrumental in linking the image of the masses with that of the mob, an infantilized, psychologically simple and easily swayed force. The task of social psychology, then was to make the masses into individuals, 'a specific form of subject which could not be swayed by the emotional pull of the crowd' (Walkerdine 1997: 16). The different forms of individual versus mass subjectivity, were dichotomized into 'rational/irrational, civilized/uncivilized, democratic/ collective' (1997: 17). Individuals who are socially upward mobile through education can experience feelings of shame and guilt for leaving their family members and others behind. Deniz does not articulate the content of the dichotomy of herself as exception and the mass of migrants. The marker of differentiation she names is education and 'many things I do'. However, the ascription of being an exception can be read as an instance where such feelings of guilt and shame for becoming part of the very group that produces one's family as Other. The problematic enunciation as an exceptional subject that Deniz experiences, ascibes otherness to the 'mass of migrants'; they lack the positive attributes of an educated subjectivity that is admissible in the German, educated context at Gymnasium and at the time of interview, at university. At the same time, it constructs Deniz's subjectivity as only peripheral, not constitutive, of what it means to be a female migrant from Turkey. In Deniz's self presentation, her relational positioning in German society is defined in the dichotomy of these two poles of mass and exception. Deniz's present strategy of identification as a migrant emphasises her solidarity and commonalty with the majority of migrants and refuses to accept the ascription of exceptionality.

Education and Gender Identity

Deniz's parents and especially her mother wanted her and her sister to succeed educationally and encouraged them:

> D: My mother used to say to both of us, 'Don't stay like us, study and make something of yourselves' [in Turkish: 'adam olun' meaning literally 'become a man', U.E.]. This is interesting, also funnily enough you become a man (laughs).
>
> U: Yes.
>
> D: Yes, it was like that. 'Learn a decent profession' and so on. (p.20)

The parents' saw education as a way of ensuring their daughters' independence from a marriage. As Deniz points out, the Turkish linguistic figure 'making something of oneself' is gendered male.[4] The expression of 'becoming a man' reveals the problematic concept of female education as creating an educated identity for women on condition they accept a male identity ascription in the workplace. As Deniz grew older, however, she describes that her achievements at school deteriorated, although she was still 'in the middle ground, actually still a good student, but not among the best.' (p.20) She ascribes this to the problems with her parents during her adolescence. The parental support for education was conditional on proper sexual behaviour, meaning in the first place avoiding sexual or love relationships with boys but maybe as importantly it meant maintaining a good reputation[5].

As many other parents, Deniz's parents for this reason did not want the girls to have contact with their German class mates outside school.

> D: They did not prohibit it, but actually they did prohibit it, you know.
>
> U: (laughs).
>
> D: They didn't say 'No way a German comes into the house' or so, not this way. But well, they did not want us to be spoilt [or contaminated, U.E.], you know. And at school, well that was inevitable, but as far as possible not outside of school, you know. (p.21)

For Deniz, and especially for her sister, it was difficult to balance these ambiguous expectations. The encouragement of education was conditional on a control of their behaviour and movements, which the parents saw at risk of being contaminated with Germanness, which to them signified a sexualised identity.

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[4] Although in Turkey women's participation in the professions is actually very high, the linguistic form expresses the implicitly masculine gendering of professionality and agency, which Deniz problematises (cf. Durakbasa 1998).

Her isolation from German class mates was felt even more acutely since the Turkish adolescent girls in the neighbourhood were working and thus had a different schedule and different interests to hers so that socialising with them was only a limited alternative. This was one more way in which the achievement of higher levels of education put the girls in an 'exceptional' position, it could mean that they felt more isolated than their migrant peers who entered the labour market at an early age.

Deniz developed various strategies to deal with the parental restrictions: Deniz's wish to participate in school trips regularly led to conflicts with her parents. In order to be allowed to participate, the teacher explained them that the trips had an educational purpose and that boys and girls had separate dormitories. However, Deniz also put up a direct struggle with her parents. 'I wanted to participate at all cost, and I went on strike, I did a kind of hunger strike. In the end I could go, but there was always a sense of frustration' (p.22)

Apart from open resistance like the 'hunger strike', secrecy was an important strategy that allowed Deniz to circumvent parental control. Thus, she managed to have a love relationship when she was 16, she met the boy secretly after school or late in the evenings, when her father who worked early shifts was already asleep. However, one day her father saw them walking together.

> D: I somehow thought I haven't got a heart anymore (laughs) shock and everything (...) He stopped and began shouting 'Quick into the house'. It was our street anyway. He began swearing at me. 'You pack your things tomorrow, immediately you go to Turkey'. He parked, got out of the car and somehow he already started beating me with his bag even. 'Have I brought you up for this, to shame me like this'. (p. 31)

This sequence shows that the strategy of secrecy, while enlarging her freedoms was also very risky (cf. Lutz 1990, Otyakmaz 1995). The father's threat of sending her to Turkey shows clearly that his support for her education was conditional on her maintaining the boundary of (sexually) honourable behaviour. However, the threat was not realised which also shows that the normative level need not always be realised, i.e. that the normative and pragmatic levels need not be identical.

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[5] The issue of sexual reputation impacts on girls and young women of different ethnicities, however, the ways in which it sanctions sexual behaviours and reputations is differentiated ethnically.

Finally, through secrecy Deniz managed to continue this love relationship. The strategy of secrecy in circumventing the control of sexuality is recounted by some interviewees. Although it was often successful pragmatically it was accompanied by fear of being found out as well as strong feelings of guilt. Thus, Suzan for example recounts psychosomatic symptoms because she felt forced to lead a double life.

Deniz's story on education relates to the ethnic and gendered identification as experienced in the context of schooling. The significant others in dialogue with whom she developed an identity of being an 'exceptional' Turkish girl gave shifting meanings to 'exceptionality'. Her first experience at a German school confronted her with the German class mates' openly racist exclusion, an experience which she found 'horrible'. At the Realschule and Gymnasium her German classmates conditionally included her into a construction of 'we', but this demanded of her a complicity with the construction of 'disturbing' mass of Turks versus individual exceptions, like herself. In relation to her Turkish peers, Deniz felt the label of exception was adequate, since none of her Turkish peers attended Realschule or Gymnasium. This meant that as she grew older, there were fewer commonalties with her peers of Turkish background who had already entered the labour market and made different experiences. In relation with her parents, Deniz concurred with their wish for her gaining education, however realised the gendered dilemmas of their expectation of academic success as conditional on her maintaining gendered ethnocised boundaries of reputable behaviour. Deniz developped strategies of open and secret resistance against her parents' control. The theme of exceptionality as it was established in Deniz's experience of schooling continues to form an important figure of identification which Deniz continues to negotiate in relation with Germans. She rejects this identification now in favour of a discourse of a common subject position as migrant, articulated through in the early nineties through anti-racist migrants' identity politics. The subject position of migrant articulates an interethnic political identity in resistance against racialisation.

Canan

Canan is a 36 year old property developer, born in Germany. Her father was an entrepreneur who left Turkey for political reasons, and lost his property. After migrating to Germany, the parents were declassed to factory workers. Canan had a lot of support for her education from her parents and also appreciates the emotional, intellectual and financial support of her parents, which she sees as fostering her independence and ambition. She values her parents' tolerant upbringing that encouraged her to choose whatever she liked from two cultures. Canan has a brother who is 16 years older and left the family home when she was very young. Canan spent her childhood and schooling years in a small southern German town with a large population of Turkish background.

Canan strongly develops the theme of being exceptional in her life-story. While she also refers to her exceptional status at Realschule, the meaning of exceptionality is different with regards to her relationship to her parents which additionally put her in an 'exceptional' position vis-à-vis her peers of Turkish background.

Racist Victimisation as a Motivation to Assert Oneself

Canan began her life-story thus:

> C: Well, the discrimination began already in the second grade, when I was 8 or 9 years old, in any case when I started school. And it began with these two girls who beat me up as a dirty Turk, because supposedly I had lice, because there were lice at school. And this was my first experience. Through this I developed my personality, to defend myself for the first time. (p.1)

In recounting this experience as decisive, she does not point out the aspect of her victimisation in her narrative. Instead she focuses on the agency she developed following this incident. '(....) I had to defend or protect myself as a foreigner. Everywhere, it was an exception, also from the personality an exception. Because somehow I made myself stronger.' (p. 2). Canan affirmed the subject position of exceptionality and articulates it as achieving an exceptional personality, which points beyond racist discrimination. This contrasts with Deniz's evaluation of the label of exceptionality as ascribed to her by others, which she felt deprived her of the agency of self definition.

This first incident had long term effects. Although the teacher had not taken her injuries seriously, her jaw and teeth were severely injured, so that she needed repeated surgery and medical care until the age of 19. Moreover, Canan is hard of hearing; in conjunction with this, the injuries contributed to a speech disorder. Despite recognising that in the long term she had 'this burden to carry' (p.6), Canan emphasises her parents' resourceful support. 'My parents tried to lift this burden financially (...) they hired a German teacher for me.' (p.6) So that she could both overcome her speech disorder and improve her German. Additionally this private tuition enhanced Canan's self esteem.

'Taking away the place from German students'

In the fourth grade of primary school, when children are selected for the three tiered school system, Canan encountered discrimination from her teacher who said she was not suited to go to a higher level school 'as a Turkish pupil (...) [she said] I would only be taking away the place from German pupils'. Canan's brother, 'he is a psychologist, got stuck into this, so that it became known in this school that we as Turkish do not remain submissive, but they knew that we can defend ourselves.' (p.6) The teacher's argument does not take into account either Canan's academic achievements or her needs. Instead it privileges nationality as a criterion for access to education. Canan's Turkishness, in the teacher's eyes, disqualifies her from higher level education, since this privilege is reserved for German pupils, expressing a racist exclusion. The strategy that Canan and her family deployed to counter this discrimination is multi-layered. First, the fact that her brother who was not even living in the same town, and not her parents went to see the teacher is significant. He could assert his educated, professional status and thus prove that he as a person from Turkey had achieved what this teacher wanted to withhold from his sister. Second, as a psychologist who did research on young people, he held some authority as an 'expert' which he may have extended to the neighbouring field of education. Third, the brother's reaction was meant to shatter any assumption that 'Turks are subservient' to the teacher's authority. This assertion of Turkishness reaffirms the centrality of ethnicity for Canan's identification vis-à-vis the teacher, as opposed to accepting an exceptional and 'less Turkish' identification as Deniz describes for her interaction

with her class mates. To make it known that 'we can defend ourselves' conflates Turkishness as a collectivity with the family. It emphasises that Canan is not just an individual but that she can draw on her family's support. The emphasis of Turkishness strategically embeds this family as part and representative of a national collectivity. Thus, Canan's brother's intervention is meant to demonstrate the education, professional expertise, family solidarity and spirit of self defence at their disposal as an ethnic or national characteristic.

This intervention was successful, so that Canan was offered access to Realschule and Gymnasium. Although her father would have preferred her to attend Gymnasium she decided to attend Realschule since already at the time she knew she wanted to get a vocational qualification.

'Marking' 'difference'

In Realschule, she was a successful student. However her success constituted an issue of contention. Thus, Canan describes two situations in which her grades were contested and a teacher's conference had to decide upon them. In year five, Canan's grades in German improved with a very supportive teacher who fostered her. However, his colleagues did not accept his marking. 'And therefore, they especially had a conference. (...) Whether they should give me an A in German or not.' Finally the mark was changed to a B. The second incident was with a different German teacher a few years later, when Canan had been marked with an E for the whole term but doubted the validity of this. She took the essays to the liaison teacher who second marked them. Again a teacher's conference had to be convened and in effect accepted the second marking so that she achieved a C.

Both these conferences convened especially for Canan, constituted an exceptional situation. Characteristically, German is the subject in which the marking of her achievements is contested. This subject is thought to be a preserve of German students and migrants' success or failure in this subject are often attributed to ethnicity. Thus, not only the mark was at stake here but also the authority to judge her

competence in a language assumed at the time[6] to be 'foreign' to second generation migrants. While the first time, her competence was contested successfully by the teachers the second time Canan herself used the same procedure to contest an unfair marking. Canan's self-representation as an assertive and ambitious person in this narrative may be seen as a 'doubling'. Taguieff (1987) finds that many antiracist strategies reverse racist discourses. He discusses this in the context of antiracist organisations, not individual antiracist strategies, however criticises these antiracist strategies of reversal for remaining within the same frame of reference as racist discourses. I interpret this as another aspect of the subject position of the exceptional migrant girl:

> C: I have to say that I have often in my life been confronted with discrimination, I know many [Turkish, U.E.] women who have *never* been confronted with that
>
> U: Yes, that's right.
>
> C: Maybe because I always wanted to assert myself, to represent myself as a Turkish girl.
>
> U: Hmm.
>
> C: I have experienced many negative things. And then I have always worked my way up from below again. (11)

While Canan rejects racist ascriptions attached to the subject position of 'the little Turkish girl' as a low achiever, and as passively incapable of defending herself she insisted on presenting herself as a Turkish girl who can assert herself and successfully counteract discrimination. This strategy remains within the frame of reference of racist discourses inasmuch as it does not challenge fixed national or ethnic identities, as opposed to the non-national subject position of 'migrant' that Deniz uses. She claims the subject position of Turkish girl, values it positively and demands recognition for her version of Turkish femininity. By pointing out, that her personality is exceptional, she 'explains' why she thinks she has often encountered discrimination. At the same time, however this construction of her subjectivity tacitly

[6] By now this this may have partially and locally changed since the emergence of the hyphenated identity marker of German-Turks in the late nineties. However, the contention that pupils of Turkish background are low achievers due to language difficulties still remains a powerful topic in discussion both on education and migration. It is remarkable that education policy has not adopted adequately to the multi-linguality of the pupil population despite 30 years experiences, but instead continues to view the pupils and not the educational system as deficitary.

concurs in the construction of other women of Turkish background as passively accepting discrimination.

'My parents were something very special'

Canan's relation to her parents was very close and supportive. She attributes this to their occupational and class status:

> C: This is a very different basis, well, in human terms, my parents used to be entrepreneurs (...) that means liberal minded, tolerant thinking. Well, they think in a very tolerant way, and were very tolerant to me and my brother (...)(p.16)

Especially her father was important to Canan. He encouraged her self esteem and belief that 'you can assert yourself' (p.14). Canan also describes him as a very 'cultured' person who taught her 'a lot about Turkish culture.' Her parents wanted Canan to be educated in both Turkish and German. Thus, during her primary school while she had private tuition in German she also attended Turkish school in the afternoon.

> in the area where I lived with Turks, I only spoke Turkish. And talked to Turkish people, that is Turkish children who didn't even know proper Turkish. In order to prevent this, I should learn proper German, too (p. 5)

Here it is interesting to note the slip of meaning from the knowledge of proper Turkish to proper German. This emphasises the importance Canan and her parents place on standard language. This is one way in which the class difference of her parents' social origin is reproduced in the family's interaction with the neighbouring families. Moreover, by educating Canan at a Turkish school and sharing his knowledge of a class specific 'Turkish culture', he transmitted this class differentiated cultural capital to her, too. So that Canan grew up conscious of class difference as well as national and ethnic difference of 'culture'.

'I was given several cultures. That is, I have the German culture and then the Turkish culture. And they said I should appropriate for my self, what I think is right.' (p.16) The underlying concept of nationally bounded culture is embedded in the common sense knowledge that separates and labels cultural forms along lines of nationality and ethnicity (cf. chapter 3). The approach to synthesise nationalised cultural elements advocated by her parents, as well as the emphasis on her independent choice are very

different from other parent-child relationships of second generation interviewees, where nationalised 'cultural' attributes were clearly polarised. This polarisation constituted a problem for the girls since it sanctioned their behaviour and identifications. Canan's parents did not regulate Canan's behaviour or moral notions of sexuality, along ethnic boundaries, either. She told her parents about 'who is my first boyfriend, and who's in love with who and so on (laughs) (...) We spoke about everything, *no* topic was a taboo at home, *that didn't exist.* (p. 17)

Her parents' tolerant attitude was put into relief by the 'very conservative' (p.18) views of the Turkish people in their environment. They tried to pressurise her and her parents by spreading 'primitive rumours' (p. 61) about Canan, however the family did not react to this mechanism of social control. This can be seen not only as a valuing of individual liberty but also in the context of her parents social origin. So that the respect and reputation the family and Canan had in the neighbourhood was not as crucial to their identity, as the liberal values which Canan attributes to their former life as entrepreneurs.

Some of her peers respected and admired Canan for her liberties, but found it difficult to accept that their own parents would control them more.

> C: For example there was a friend, I used to smoke and she also smoked. And she got caught by her father and he said 'I'm going to kill you' and so on. Then she said 'Before you kill me, I'd rather kill myself'.
>
> U: Huhmm.
>
> C: And that's what she did. But this death, she committed suicide... 'Canan is allowed to smoke, but not me, why' she didn't understand that. And- and- and one cannot- why you, and school trips, and why is she allowed to go on school trips and not me, and ah it is the home, the parents are different.
>
> U: Huhumm. Yes.
>
> C: And I knew that my parents (...) are something special. Therefore I protected them. (p. 62)

The experience of her friend's suicide drastically illustrates to Canan, but also in her life-story, the 'specialness' of her upbringing. This made her value the liberal educational attitude of her parents, but also made her feel responsible for 'protecting' them from gossip: 'of course, I took care that I don't meet anyone when I smoked or so. (...) simply that they don't talk about me.' (p.61) However, what was most

important to Canan was the knowledge that her parents stood behind her regardless of any gossip.

Different interpretations of exceptionality

In both Canan's and Deniz's narrative the theme of 'being an exception' is salient. There are some common interpretations of what the status of being special meant, such as going to Realschule, or for Deniz to Gymnasium, in a predominantly German school environment, where they had to negotiate and challenge teachers' ascriptions and assumptions about being low achievers. However, there are also differences in the meanings of being an exception in Deniz's and Canan's life-stories. While Deniz's parents encouraged her education at Realschule and Gymnasium, which was exceptional for the neighbourhood, they nonetheless expected her to conform to their norms of socialising, that is to avoid friendships with German peers. They wanted to prevent a 'contamination' with perceived 'German' sexualised gender identities. Another important meaning that 'being exceptional' took on for Deniz is related to her conditional acceptance by her German schoolmates. By assigning her the label of an exceptional Turkish girl, they could continue to stereotype and discursively other the 'mass' of migrants, while at the same time admitting Deniz.

Canan presents her schooling as initiating the development of her personality as particularly ambitious and assertive, against the ascribed stereotype of 'the little Turkish girl', implying passive acquiescence. One way of proving her assertiveness was through the affirmation of her Turkishness, for example by gaining a special permission to choose Ottoman history as her examination topic. In contrast to Deniz, Canan's exceptional position extended to her Turkish environment, where she enjoyed most liberties among her peers. This may also be a reason why Canan embraces the label of exceptionality and values it positively: she shared with her parents an educationally higher status and different values from those of their Turkish working class environment. Thus, the notion of exceptionality did not estrange her from her family, like in Deniz's case, where education was a shared aspiration with her parents the practice of which brought her however in conflicts of loyalty in terms of class and ethnicity. Canan's parents aimed at an education that would enable her to appropriate

elements from both German and Turkish culture, moreover, they shared with Canan a relatively higher eductional status to their Turkish peers. This prevented her from dichotomising Turkishness and Germanness, and feeling pressurised to choose either of them, as many other interviewees experienced in their youth, especially relating to parental expectations of ethnocised gender roles. Thus, Canan experienced heterogeneous notions of Turkishness, as the discrepancies between her parents and the Turkish families around them showed. However, her loyalty to her family was reinforced by this.

An important difference in Canan's and Deniz's negotiation of 'exceptionality' is the use of ethnicity or nationality. Throughout the interview Deniz uses the concept of migrant, as an inter-ethnic political identity and questions homogeneous Turkish national identities. In contrast, Canan claims Turkishness for herself and, in a strategy of reversal, imbues it with positive meanings.

In contrast to most of the second generation interviewees Pinar's parents did not want her to access education but instead wanted to prepare her for the life of a married housewife. In the following, I will examine the relation between family and education in Pinar's narrative, focussing on the identificatory moments that family and school held for her. Similar to Canan, Pinar presents her schooling as a time of learning to take decisions on her own, to resist oppression and to develop agency. In contrast to Canan however, Pinar felt the parental home to be mainly restrictive and saw this as a site of oppression. She viewed her school environment as a site of liberation and as enabling. She points out that at school, her achievements were recognised and that she could position herself as a 'passionate intellectual' in her school environment. These are key elements of her self presentation throughout the interview that contribute to the way she presents herself at present, too.

Pinar: Gaining Education as Resistance to Parental Expectations

Pinar is a 34 year old social worker in a managerial position. She was born in rural Turkey. Her father migrated to Germany shortly after she was born; thus she grew up with her mother only until the age of five when the father fetched them to come to Germany. She is the second of five siblings. Her father worked as an unskilled worker at first in factories, than as a postal worker while her mother was a housewife.

When Pinar began primary school, she didn't know German. This, and the racist bullying that she suffered from her peers made her first two years at school very difficult. Moreover her first teacher was very strict and treated her language difficulties as 'stupidity'. Both the teacher and her schoolmates at times openly discriminated against her. One experience that was shared by other interviewees relates to the tradition of painting the hands with henna on festive occasions. Often, the children were punished for this at school as the German teachers and classmates it simply viewed their dyed hands as 'dirt'. Pinar also suffered from school mates' racist bullying. However, in the third grade, Pinar began speaking German fluently so that she could follow the lessons better. She also began defending herself physically against the racist bullying.

Fashioning the Self through Education

A turning point for Pinar was entering secondary school, she emphasises that the meaning of school changed for her: Her ability to speak German and a very supportive teacher spurned her interest in education. The teacher engaged the migrant children's experiences of difference in the classroom, he took their specific situation seriously by talking to them separately and by including the migrant children's experiences into the teaching topics. This contributed to Pinar's change of attitude towards school and this teacher acted as an educational gate-opener for her. By the end of the sixth grade, she came top of the class. This indicates the importance of gaining recognition by the teachers. Pinar felt that his recognition compensated her for her parents' lack of interest in her academic achievements.

Although she got a recommendation for Realschule, her parents, who did not view female education as important, did not want her to attend Realschule. Despite this, Pinar decided to secretly register for and attend Realschule. This is an instance in which Pinar took an important step of decision-making independent of and against the wishes of her parents at a very young age. This act of agency, enabled her to attend Realschule for four years without her parents' knowledge. Their indifference towards her schooling - they never asked about her school reports or got in touch with the teachers - made this possible. However, at the end of year nine they found out accidentally.

> P: And somehow my school report was lying around. And that's when he saw it, it said Realschule not Hauptschule (...). And for this huge lie I got a beating that I haven't forgotten to this day (laughing).
>
> U: Yes.
>
> P: (…) But somehow I continued. But at the time it was like this, that school had actually become my home, you know. It was the area where I had my freedom, where I had ideas, where I could [relax from the things going on at home]. There were always tensions at home. Because the relation between my parents was always classical, my father took it out on my mother, psychologically and physically.
>
> U: Yes, yes.
>
> P: And we were always the mediators [...]. My father attacked my mother and I always hated being at home.
>
> U: Uh-hum, yes.
>
> P: That was somehow a place where anything could happen at anytime. It was enough for my father to be in a bad mood. (...) And, uh, the mother had somehow lost our respect in our eyes, because she had so much to suffer and did not defend herself. And that is what we had been watching for years. (P.13)

This raises the problematic tension between victimisation and agency: Pinar was victimised by the tensions at home as well as being subjected to her father's and mother's beatings, however she was not only a victim but, with regard to her education developed strong agency. As Pheterson argues: '(…) victimization and agency are not mutually exclusive. Women may at times be victimized in their quest for greater agency and at other times be compelled to take transgressive initiative in their attempt to escape constraint.' (1996: 18). This extract also raises issues of the link between family life and school. Pinar's pursuit of education was a resistance against her parents' projected future for her as a housewife. While Pinar herself at the time was dreaming of a love marriage it 'didn't mean that it was an alternative to an independent professional development' (p.15). Her parents' lack of interest in her

education on the one hand hurt her, but she used it for her own ends by circumventing their restrictions to attend Realschule. Pinar re-interpreted her life in the public space of school as her real 'home', where she could be free and relax from the tensions and domestic violence that she experienced in her family-home. This radically puts into question liberal notions of the home as a private place of safety, comfort and relaxation free from intrusion, such as Turner (1990) posits when discussing the private axis of citizenship. As Walby (1994) has pointed out, for women, the home does not always constitute such a sphere of individual freedom. Instead it is the place of their domestic and caring work, and may be the place where their civil citizenship rights to physical integrity can be protected least. When Pinar describes the family home as a place where 'anything could happen at any time', she gives expression to the arbitrariness of domestic violence. The family home was an unsafe place for the children and the mother. Contextualised with debates on citizenship, this radically calls into questions the conceptualisation of the private and the public. Walby qualifies Turner's (1990) notion that the private is a place needing protection from state or public intrusion: 'The male-dominated family household is incompatible with full citizenship. Social citizenship for women is incompatible with and unobtainable under women's confinement to the family and the vagaries of a dependency relationship upon a private patriarch' (Walby 1994:391). The importance of not conceptualising the home or household entirely as a private space, where the state should not interfere become more urgent when considering multiculturalist concepts of the private and the public. Thus, Rex (1994) advocates a

> multicultural society in which there is on the one hand a shared political culture of the public domain and, on the other, a world of private communal cultures. The former will be based upon the notion of equality of opportunity (...), and the latter on the acceptance of the right of seperate communities to speak their own languages, to practice their own religions and to follow their own family practices. (Rex 1994:7)

Such a vision of family practices as a matter of communal rather than state protection and regulation risks enshringing double standards of rights to protection against domestic violence through the state.

By locating her 'real self' in the public space of schooling, Pinar resisted the consequences of domestic violence as controlling her personality (cf. Mama 1993). The deprivation of other forms of agency through domestic violence can render the

imagination an important site of resistance. Christian (1990) argues that domestic violence aims at depriving the victims of their subjectivity. In this situation, to express one's self, even through imagination, means resisting this victimisation. Pinar points out how she and her sisters used to decorate and re-decorate their bedroom over and over again. She felt that having to be at home at the weekends, without the legitimate possibility to go to school, felt like a 'prison', and therefore she felt that decorating the room gave her an opportunity to effect at least a visual change: 'if one can't tear down the walls, one can paint them in new colours' (p. 13). However, Pinar's agency did not remain on the level of imagination and she chose the space of education as the site of fashioning a self outside the direct reach of her parents. In her life-story Pinar presents her successful maintenance of this site of an independent self despite the violent punishment as representative of her ability to overcome obstacles and take decisions independently as well as her perseverance.

In the interview Pinar explains her father's domestic violence by recourse to his problems at the workplace, where the management and colleagues discriminated against him. He shared these experiences of discrimination with the family but justified his suffering for the sake of his family:

> P: I remember that the man always sat at home lonely and read. He never smoked, he never drank he *never* compensated in a different way, he didn't go out, he never met any friends. He *only* was at home and worked.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> P: That was all his life. And somehow I think that his life revolved around us, the reason why he went to Germany was to earn money and to provide for his family.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> P: and he didn't enjoy [living]. My mother for example was very sociable, she always said 'Let's do ...' whatever and he always repressed that in her. [...] 'Where do you want to go, haven't you had enough'. And everything in terms of social life that she had, he always nipped it in the bud, *always*. With sanctions, with beatings, or other things, he didn't talk to her anymore, or he threw her food out or so. He was *very* malicious with her. (p. 15)

While Pinar and her sisters had to mediate between the parents, they did not identify with their mother either. Pinar describes her behaviour as 'being subservient to the stronger one and kicking those below' (p.15). Delineating themselves from the mother, Pinar and her sisters defied the violence to build independent lives. They

oriented themselves towards the outside world, which they identified as German and split off from their experiences of home, which they saw as representing Turkishness.

> P: 'Everything that was going on at home was the roots, but [we] rejected it. That was also the phase when we forgot how to speak Turkish.
>
> U: Yes.
>
> P: Although before that time we spoke Turkish very fluently. (...) But then we only responded in very short sentences and sometimes in German. Always when my mother nagged, we said 'Yes, it's alright.' Or when the father said something 'Yes, daddy.' (...)

Language use is an important way in which resistances can be conveyed covertly. By using a language that was beyond the full grasp of her parents, Pinar and her siblings shifted outside the field of their control. Moreover, the use of language is crucial for creating a sense of self. Thus, using German also implied constructing a self independent of and in opposition to the parents' projections. Despite her parents' prohibitions and punishments, including beatings, Pinar continued to attend Realschule. Moreover by lying to them about her school schedule, she managed to do many other activities outside school.

'We can't keep her from doing what she wants'

When Pinar's older sister left home against the parents wishes without marrying, this was a turning point for Pinar. She began to realise that despite his violence, the father's authority was limited. This realisation and her excellent marks at Realschule reinforced her determination to do her A-levels against the parental wishes.

> P: And I was somehow always waiting and looking for a moment at which he would be at his most peaceful. And then I stood before him, because I couldn't hold back anymore and just shouted it out 'I'll go to Aufbaugymnasium[7], there and there' and then I went straight to my room.
>
> U: Yes.
>
> P: Of course, he went straight after me and shouted and nagged. And the whole thing escalated that he beat me very heavily.
>
> U: Huhumm.

[7] Aufbaugymnasium is a special school for Realschul-graduates to do their A-levels.

P: Because he said 'First you start doing your own thing, making your own decisions, then you start smoking, then you start drinking and then you go prostitute yourselves.'

U: Huhumm, yes.

P: And hum, I think there was nothing that could humiliate me as much as this 'whore', you know. Everything that girls did regardless of any relation to sexuality is being described in this way, anyway. And I don't know, I let it happen because I was programmed to expect that it is going to happen anyway, you know.

U: Huhumm, yes.

P: And at one point you lose any relation to your body. You know it's going to happen, and at one point he will cool down, hum, but I notice it to this day, emotionally. (p.15-16)

This clearly expresses how her father linked any form of female autonomy to sexuality. She also expresses her mechanisms of dealing with the violence: she had accepted the beating as a fact of life and begun to understand its mechanisms, thus making it more predictable. Moreover, she disengaged from her body. At a later point she mentions coming home from her first day at the new school, after escaping from home despite being locked in and guarded by her mother.

P: I got home with the attitude I'll get a beating. (Hhh) And then it happened. And then I went to my room – I don't know, it was so schizophrenic the way I dealt with it, you know. I could leave it behind *immediately* and continue with what I was doing.

U: Huhumm.

P: I started preparing files and notebooks for school, etc. (p.19)

The word schizophrenic captures the coping mechanism of splitting off the corporeal experience of victimisation. The splitting off of the victimised self at least partially allowed Pinar at the time to maintain an independent construction of self. As Walkerdine points out, 'routine humiliation, exploitation and oppression produce circumstances which themselves can be met with complex defences, defences which may indeed be crucial to survival.' (1997: 41) A universalised discourse on psychological development which views splitting as pathological, she argues is not tenable since it does not pay attention to splitting as a sometimes necessary survival strategy. Instead of pathologising the reaction of splitting, therefore it should be contextualised with 'the conditions of survival and oppression' (1997: 37).

Post-structuralist theories of identity often invoke a notion of the self as fragmented and contradictory. This contains liberatory aspects in that it reveals the regulatory discipline involved in constructing a life-story free of contradictions. Such a notion of self as fragmented can moreover de-centre the normalisation of dominantly gendered and ethnocised subjectivities by revealing the narrative effort in the construction of their wholeness. However, a hailing of the self as fragmented risks obscuring the traumatic aspects of fracturing the self as experienced in violent transgressions of corporeal boundaries. Such experiences make the narrative construction of a coherent self more difficult for victims of domestic violence. In contrast to the theoretical notion of fragmented selves, the industry of self-help guides, and other public sources such as consciousness raising groups, counselling, politicised identities as survivors of domestic violence, offer frameworks for enabling the telling of a life-story as whole. Elsewhere in the interview Pinar refers to consciousness raising groups of women of colour, that enabled her to collectively make sense of her experiences of domestic violence. She views this retrospective process as central in allowing her to speak about these experiences, also in the interview situation (cf. chapter 7). At the time however the splitting off of the domestic violence reinforced a notion of her self as dichotomised in gendered ethnocised terms.

Despite the parents' punishments Pinar enjoyed Gymnasium, she felt proud about her academic achievements. Moreover being at Gymnasium enabled her to elaborate an identity as an intellectual. This identification was opposed to the stigmatisations and victimisations she was subjected to in her family. The two worlds of family and school to her thus held very different identificatory moments. Ethnicity was one aspect of this dichotomy and she conflated her family with Turkishness, and rejected any identification or relation with this:

> P: I remember, I felt so great, when we had a free period and I was at a café with my friends, discussing, for me that was- I used to discuss passionately. I felt so- I don't know, I felt so intellectual at the time, you know.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> P: And at the time it really was the case that I had nearly only German friends. And somehow I wasn't prepared to get involved with Turkish people, because I always thought it was this narrow world. (p.20).

This dichotomy of Germanness and Turkishness as holding very different subject positions for her was reified by Pinar's fear that if she told her German friends and

teachers about her problems with her family 'it would be bad for my image' (p.22). Pinar here refers to the widespread discourse of the 'Other Other' that portrays women of Turkish background as objects of either Turkish male violence and oppression or of patronising German 'emancipation'. Neither subject position holds space for her construction of an independent, passionate intellectual. By withholding her experiences of domestic violence, Pinar took control over the image she projected of herself to her friends and teachers at school.

When in her second year at the school, Pinar decided to share her experiences at home to some extent with her friends and with a school employee, she focuses on the consequence, that she was given the opportunity to use the school as an excuse to gain more free time from her parents. This shows how she resolved the tension between a split and contradictory experience of self as both victimised and resourcefully agentic. The element that holds together the story of her contradictory experiences is her emphasis on her resourcefulness, even in sharing experiences of victimisation. In theoretical terms, the tension between a fragmented notion of self and the incitement to construct a coherent self that better fits the demands of a biography to live by is partially resolved by Pinar through centring her agency in the life-story. Thus, she points to the fear of a mis-recognition by her German schoolfriends and teachers, to explain her reluctance to share her experiences with them. In the event of doing so, however, she avoids narrating their reaction in favour of a story about how she used this trust to gain more freedom from her parents.

Beginning to get recognition from the parents

With time, her parents grew to grudgingly accept Pinar's schooling. One reason was that they gained recognition and respect for Pinar's achievements by neighbours and acquaintances. Another factor that reconciled the parents was that Pinar compromised with them and attended a Turkish school run by the consulate. Moreover, Pinar had made friends with some schoolmates of Turkish and Kurdish background. For Pinar, these girls were 'totally different, and their families were different, too.' (p. 32). The parents of one of her friends were divorced and had entered new relationships, they gave her a lot of freedom. Another friend was Kurdish and her parents were left wing

activists, who had fled Turkey after the coup d'etat in 1980. Pinar's parents allowed her to visit these friends. Making friends with these girls from Turkey gave Pinar access to versions of Turkishness which she was curious about and with which she identified more. Her friends were active in Turkish political organisations, and Pinar developed an interest in them, too. She spent a lot of time studying for her A-levels, either at home or with her friends of Turkish background, where she sometimes stayed for two or three days in a row. She says she had 'arranged herself' with the situation (p.33).

> P: And then I think I broke through the whole thing. Beating did not always work- sometimes I would let myself be beaten in advance, and then went on to do what I wanted, you know.
>
> U: Huhumm. Huhumm.
>
> P: Somehow this is a totally crazy game one lets oneself in for. And then I started simply not to come home. I went off, I knew they couldn't do more than beating me. For two days I did what I wanted, came home, it happened, I was beaten but I had also started defending myself, you know. That I would push, or that I pushed my mother or took something out of her hand and threw it away, or broke things.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> P: Hum, well, and then it came to the point when they didn't dare beating me at all. I said 'if you beat me again I'll go'. And that was- that was the weapon number one, you know, that I had discovered. That was [their] greatest fear. *All those years* I *never* guessed that. To loose face in front of the Turkish environment (...). It was possible to blackmail them with this. And although I always said to them I will never allow you to loose face, there were nevertheless moments when I said 'I'll leave' [T]. (p.34)

In this extract, it does not appear as if Pinar simply 'arranged herself' with her parents restrictions. On the contrary, it seems she combined appeasement, negotiation and open resistance. Pinar used the cultural values of her parents, such as the shame related to a young woman leaving the family home and laying herself and the family open to reproaches of having failed the respectability expected of her. Pinar's growing awareness of her parents' vulnerabilities vis-à-vis a wider Turkish social environment also enabled her to realise her own power in relation to them. When she describes her threat of leaving home as 'blackmail', it is important to keep in mind that loosing face in such a situation would of course primarily refer to Pinar. While gaining awareness of her own power was important, through her friends' support she increasingly gained the means to actually stay away from the family home for some time.

When Pinar graduated as the best of her year, her mother's attitude towards her education changed. She regretted having stood in the way of her daughter's education and supported her against the initial resistance of the father to continue her education and study.

In contrast to Canan's and Deniz's life-story, for Pinar the main site of developing agency was the struggle against her family in order to access education. While the topics of conflict around sexuality and freedom of movement are common to most second generation interviewees' life-stories, Pinar's experience of domestic violence made this conflict particularly salient. As opposed to other parents, who encouraged education while maintaining control over the girls' freedom of movement, Pinar had to fight for access to education. This reinforced her splitting off the spheres of home and school. She identified the school as her 'real home' where she had a certain degree of control over her self representation and gained recognition through her academic achievements that she was denied from the parents. The gendered and ethnocised dichotomisation of these spheres led her to reject Turkishness and to refuse to speak Turkish for some time[8]. The contradiction between Pinar's favoured self presentation as an independent intellectual and her victimisation through domestic violence as well as the associated feelings of shame and the fear of being patronised made it difficult for Pinar to bring the spheres of education and home together. In her life-story, she emphasises the aspect of her resourcefulness and agency in circumventing parental control and restrictions as the element that brought these spheres together. Only through accessing other versions of Turkishness and Kurdishness through her friends could she resolve the ethnocisation of the dichotomy between home and school. The social validation and recognition of her academic achievements finally brought her parents around to accepting her wish for education.

[8] This is something I commonly found in other second generation interviewees life-stories. The dichotomisation of Turkishness and Germanness could only be resolved by accessing alternative concepts of Turkish femininity and thus putting the parental notions into perspective.

The First Generation.

Formal and Informal Education in the tension of Work and Schooling: Developing Agency

At first glance it is striking that among the first generation migrant interviewees the theme of schooling is most often treated very briefly. Rosenthal (1995) suggests that the lived experience underlying life-story narratives makes certain experiences more difficult to narrativise in a life-story. Among the criteria she gives for the tellability (Erzählbarkeit) of life-stories, two are particularly relevant for explaining why the first generation interviewees do not elaborate on their schooling[9]. One of the preconditions for giving Gestalt to lived experience through narrativising it in a life-story is a 'biographical need to tell' (1995:99, my translation from German). The second, maybe more relevant precondition is a certain scope in decision making and agency, as well as changes in time and space. For most of the first generation interviewees, their schooling seems to fit into a pattern of 'normality' and thus not worth elaboration:

> Biographical thematisation is 'not provoked by a selfunderstood normality of the life course but through experiences of contingency - by events and acts that call for departmentalising, digesting, normalising' (Kohli in Rosenthal 1995:108-9, my translation from German)

Moreover, those first generation interviewees who perceive their schooling to have followed a 'normal' route have not been in the position of the second generation interviewees, to have to take decisions for themselves. The scope of agency that Rosenthal cites as an important experiential precondition for giving Gestalt to a life-story is reduced.

For the first generation interviewees, whose family backgrounds of class and education were diverse, the meaning of education and access to education differed. Some interviewees from middle class families where female education was supported viewed education up to university level as self understood (Ayla, Ayten, Nilüfer). Here, the meaning of education is rather one of constructing intergenerational

[9] There are some exceptions, which I will discuss in the second part of the chapter.

continuity, between the self and the parents. Ayten also emphasises intergenerational difference by pointing out that she renewed the familial tradition by becoming the first female to study abroad. For Nilüfer, education is one way of constructing commonalty with her father, an academic, from whom she was separated as a teenager. Growing up at first with him in Germany and then Iran, he sent her to join her mother in Istanbul. For her, social differences between her mothers European-oriented upper middle class life and the life she had in Iran as a young political activist were more relevant in terms of a class specific, politicised socialisation than the site of formal education. For others, the family's economic position in conjunction with their attitude towards female education made it impossible to attend school beyond the compulsory five year primary education (Tülay, Selin, Gül). On the other hand, some interviewees from working class families were supported by their parents, especially their mothers, who were housewives and supported their daughters' education as an important asset to enable them economic independence (Dilek, Birgül). Education for both of them meant social upward mobility as well as holding the opportunity to access different gender roles from those in their natal families.

Most first generation migrant interviewees point out their politicisation which took place in this phase of their lives or their experiences of work, which for some started as early as 12 years as the sites where they developed agency. Those who followed a linear educational trajectory spoke about it only briefly. Some even saw questions about their schooling as transposing an Orientalist view on them. Thus, to my question about her schooling Birgül responded: 'Of course, this question arises always, as if in Turkey girls did not study.' (p.1) She complained that Germans assumed she would be from an educated, middle class family and when they learned that she was from a farmers family, assumed she would have had to struggle against their parents for education. Education was most salient in the life-stories of those who did not have access to it.

In the following I will present Selin's struggles for education. Although the context of her upbringing is very different from that of the second generation migrant interviewees, there are also parallels, in that family needs took precedence over Selin's wish for education (cf. Basit 1997, Tett 2000). Moreover, Selin's educational trajectory reveals the articulation of gender, ethnicity and education in the Turkish

context for a Kurdish woman. While her life-story, as all the others, is not meant to be representative, it alerts us to the differentiating category of ethnicity within Turkey and its articulations in the context of international migration.

The significance of education in Selin's life-story is through its lack or absence. This has led her to question the value of education from a perspective that is echoed in Gül's life-story, too: She critiques formal education as a marker of difference, impacting on areas of life beyond formal education and qualification. This contrasts with Pakize's life-story discussed in the next chapter, where informal education and cultural capital have provided an important asset for social mobility.

Selin

Selin is a 36 year old entrepreneur, owning a café in London. She is Zaza Kurdish, and migrated to Britain in 1989. She is the fourth of six children of a well off farmer's family, in a Kurdish village in southern Turkey. In her life-story the quest for respect and recognition is a central theme. This centrally involves a recognition of stigmatised and marginalised identities, like her Kurdishness, her feminist commitment and her lesbian sexuality. This quest has led her to develop herself and look for community against hierarchical structures that she eloquently critiques. Positioning herself within power relations in diverse places and spaces and re-evaluating commonalties and differences in various axes of power relations structures her narrative. She presents herself as multiply discriminated and victimised, but maintaining her agency through being 'continuously involved in struggles' against this victimisation.

Struggles for Education

Selin was a very successful student at primary school and very much wanted to go to middle school, however there was no middle school in the village and it was not common for girl children to go to middle school. The only option was to stay with relatives in a town. So she was sent to stay with her older sister with the promise that she would attend school there. However, it turned out that both her sister and her husband had to work outside the house and Selin, at the age of eleven had to look after the new born baby.

S: And I stayed with them for six years. They had fetched me to send me to school but for six years they didn't send me to school.

U: Hmm.

Selin: Of course, as I grew older, that is as I grew more conscious of myself, you know I always watched the children when they went to school in the big city. I got very sad 'send me [to school] too, send me too!' They didn't send me. I knew their situation, that they couldn't send me and so on. Telling me that they would send me to school was just an excuse to take me with them to the town. And then I resisted a lot. I started to fight with those at home, when I went to the village, 'send me to school'.

U: Hmm.

S: 'If you don't send me to school, I won't look after my sister's children' and so on I said.

U: Hmm.

S: Well, this fight took a long time. Even in my childhood I had this struggle. I used to say to my mother and father 'if you want you can kill me, I won't go to my sister's house. Because if they don't send me to school I won't stay with them.'

Finally, the family sent Selin's younger sister and brother to look after the older sister's children, however since they were too young themselves they could not look after the children and the family begged Selin to go back and promised her that they had enrolled her into school. This time, she had to look after her older brother's children. This older brother knew one of the teachers at school who was Kurdish. Selin recounts that being Kurdish meant she needed a sponsor there to have her enrolled.

Selin: First of all it is a problem to get permission from the family to go to school.

U: Yes.

Selin: Second, to be enrolled at school is another problem.

U: Really?

Selin: Of course, they don't just take you in at school. You must needs have to know someone, and then they take you. That's the way it is.

U: Hmm.

Selin : I continuously not being Turkish [...], that identity was always with me anyway. For that reason, wherever you go, you must definitely find someone [a sponsor, U.E.] for them to accept you. Of course that influences a person's development, prevents it.(p.4)

There are a number of structural factors that influenced Selin's educational trajectory, which I will briefly contextualise. The fact that secondary education is not accessible

from the village is crucial. This is a consequence of uneven development between rural and urban areas in Turkey. This is compounded by racist state policy towards Kurdish areas and villages. The state's development policy can be seen as one of internal colonialism through underdevelopment of the Kurdish areas (Wedel 2000:111). This underdevelopment combines with nationalist ideologies and practices of female education: The Kemalist ideal of the educated, Western-oriented woman as the ideological reproducer of the nation put up to Turkish women constructs Kurdish women as particularly backward.[10]

To Kurdish people, education and access to the public sphere at once hold the threat of discrimination and assimilation as well as opportunities to social mobility and political intervention. This is articulated in nationalist terms by both the Turkish state and Kurdish nationalist movements, who particularly target Kurdish women in their symbolic role for the nation and as reproducers of the ideological collectivity: either to assimilate them into Turkishness through 'civilisatory' national education, or through hailing them as the true bearers of the national Kurdish cultural resources to be protected and thus reify their exclusion from the Turkish dominated public sphere.

In Selin's life-story, this nationalised conflict around female education is not explicit. However, these ideological and economic factors can be argued to have indirectly structured her educational trajectory[11]. The unavailability of secondary education in the village meant that children who want to attend middle school, have to migrate out at the age of eleven, which for girls is more difficult, since they are seen as sexually and morally vulnerable without familial protection and control. This is why they have to stay with relatives. Although Selin could stay with her older sister, her labour power as an unpaid child minder was needed so that she could not go to school. In this instance, her unpaid labour power was used as a familial resource, that did not however, benefit Selin. This is a case in point to challenge a unified notion of the household that disregards the unequal, gender and age hierarchical use and access to

[10] This can even mobilise their identification with a civilising mission to educate girls in the Kurdish areas, which are depicted as backward particularly in their gender relations (ibid.).

[11] One cannot of course, infer lived experience directly from ideological and economic factors, nonetheless, for want of more empirical research on ethnocised educational inequalities in Turkey, they can contextualise Selin's life-story.

resources[12] (Kofman et al 2001: 27). As Hondagneu-Sotelo points out 'The household (...) has its own political economy, in which access to power and other valued resources is distributed along gender and generational lines' (quoted in Kofman et al 2001: 27). Only after a prolonged resistance did Selin manage to get the family's permission to go to school. Like Pinar, Selin threatens her family with disregarding even violence, claiming that even if her father killed her she would not go back to town without being enrolled at school. This alerts us to the desperation of her situation and to the extremely limited scope of agency. She did not have anything else to bargain or threaten her family with but her own physical integrity. Nonetheless, she used this limited scope of agency to gain the family's permission to attend school. This time the institutional discrimination barred her access to schooling because she was Kurdish. The Kurdish teacher, on whose influence they were counting obviously did not have the power or willingness to have her enrolled. As Selin points out, she only made sense of these experiences retrospectively, by analysing her Kurdish identity politically. Her identity as Kurdish and Alevi, and I would add also as a female, crucially circumscribed her access to education with effects on her occupational trajectory. Therefore, Selin's education took place informally through working in different contexts: she worked for her sister as an unpaid childminder in the city and then re-migrated to the village when she was 17.

Re-learning the jobs in the village

She was sent back to the village to support her parents in their farming work after the older siblings had left. On her return, however, she had difficulties in adapting back to

[12] Actually, the unequal control over labour power within the family may become more clear, if we compare this unpaid domestic work with the phenomenon of evlatlik (fictive adoption). Özbay (2000) researched domestic work in Turkey, in particular the institution of evlatl• k, domestic servants which were taken on as young children and treated like members of a household. She conceptualises their role as 'mixtures of slaves, servants and adopted daughters in terms of their position in urban middle class households.' (p.3) She emphasises that their position as 'non-kin members of the household' need not mean they were treated well, but instead reflects that 'maltreatment may well exist aomng the family members as well' (Footnote 3, p. 3). Thus, I would argue that the use of Selin's domestic work can be compared to that of domestic workers. Of course, the crucial difference being that her sister and brother-in-law's household was not middle class. However, the commonality is that (fictive or not) kinship served as a legitimation of the unpaid domestic work. While there are certainly aspects of reciprocity in the relationship, this should not distract from the exploitative and unequal control of resources. Yurtda• (1995) also mentions a case, where the promise of education was used to persuade a girl to agree to become an evlatlik. This promise was not realised, however.

village life after 6 years. She did not know how to do the women's work, because she had not been trained in it, and her parents criticised her for this: "'she is like a man, like a man she doesn't work, she is clumsy'". To escape these criticisms, she began doing what was considered men's work, and gradually learned the 'women's jobs' as well. Through her internal migration, Selin experienced how the value of different skills varies according to place and social situation. Those villagers without the experience of migration, like her mother, could not understand that 'doing the housework in the village is completely different from that in the city', so that her difficulties were compounded by the incomprehension they were met with.

Selin's lack of female-gendered skills was used to gender her 'like a man'. Selin adopted this gendered perception of her herself and tried to gain recognition through doing harder work than any of the other women, thus escaping the surveillance and regulation of her (failed) 'femininity'. This shows the situationally and locally different requirements of 'doing gender'. As Butler (1990) argues for a performative notion of gender in an urban, over-developed context, the fluidity of gendered boundaries and the possibility of subverting them can be seen in this very different context, too. However, the crucial difference to Butler's research is that in Selin's narrative, it is not the gender of the object of sexual desire, that de-stabilises her gender identity, but her relation to the local gendered division of labour[13]. As Hennessy (1995) points out, de-constructivist theories of gender neglect the economic aspects of 'doing gender' and the geographically differential conditions these pose. In this example, work is the determining category along which Selin's gender identity is de-stabilised.

Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1992) argue that gender articulates ethnicity and that gender roles are a central marker of ethnic difference. While Selin's ethnic belonging is not questioned in the village, the gender ascription of being 'like a man' underlines the salience of rural-urban differentiation, testified to by Selin's exclusion from the other villagers who 'looked at [her] as very different' (p.9).

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[13] As Selin, who identifies as lesbian, has told me on another occasion, being a lesbian was such an unexpected concept in the village, that she could freely meet her lover at the time.

Critiquing Education as a marker of difference

Selin at the time valued formal education and had put up a rigorous struggle to access it. Retrospectively however, she points out the contingency of formal education as a privilege on the basis of gender, class, ethnicity and the rural-urban divide. Having been excluded from this privilege, she continues to feel the consequences, for example in still finding it difficult to read newspapers and books, which evokes a feeling of inadequacy. However, she goes further than recognising the discrimination inherent in differential access to education by critically examining the value of the written word, and educational qualifications as powerful tools for reproducing hierarchies. Thus, referring to her experiences in Britain in the Turkish dominated women's movement, where she feels she has been patronised and discriminated against because of her lack of formal education she states:

> S: They were always putting the other women down because of their education… But this is not education or anything, to attend schools within this system is not education, really
>
> U: Mhm (smiles)
>
> Selin: (emphatically) I mean it seriously, a person can develop themselves through reading, of course through reading. But if I went to such and such school of Kemal Atatürk in Turkey under such and such circumstances I studied at university and was educated after Atatürk's principles… I don't call that education or anything, I don't even consider them having graduated from university
>
> U: Mhm, mhm.
>
> Selin: I don't even want to go to that university, why should I go to this Kemalist, to study at Kemal's school
>
> U: Mhm.
>
> Selin: I didn't used to feel that way, I wanted to go and study. But once I know how to read and write, I can read for myself. I will study at life's school, experiencing with people, I can study through living. (44-45)

On the one hand Selin here critiques the Kemalist education system which is very nationalist. Thus, statues of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the founder of the Turkish Republic, in schoolyards underwritten with the words 'Happy those who call themselves Turks' have been attacked by Kurdish schoolchildren. The nationalist, Turkish-supremacist character of the curriculum as well as regular rituals such as the daily singing of the national anthem, the importance of the flag and many more performances of 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995) can be seen as supporting Selin's

argument.[14] Moreover, she critiques the use of education as a distinguishing marker of ethnicity and class. She analyses her experience of being discriminated as uneducated by Turkish feminists as an indirect form of racism[15]. Although she values education and reading as a tool for 'developing oneself', she does not see 'book learning' as a privileged form of knowing and learning. Patricia Hill Collins' concept of 'Black feminist thought'[16], although developed in a different context, seems useful to theorise Selin's view of knowledge, which I include into my notion of informal education. Referring to African American women, Collins points out that they value 'wisdom', that is concrete knowledge based on experience that enables one to survive before 'booklearning'. Booklearning, she argues rather than helping to solve everyday problems and conflicts tends to cover them up and prevents from finding viable solutions (cf. Tett 2000). The second dimension of her epistemology emphasises the importance of dialogue to validate, enhance or put into perspective knowledge by learning form other people's experiences. Thirdly, '(...) the ethic of caring suggests that personal expressiveness, emotions and empathy are central to the knowledge validation process.' (Collins 1993: 215). The last element is personal accountability, in which the integrity of a person and the viability of their claims can be tested and the person made accountable to a community[17].

Bell hooks similarly takes up the relation between education and liberation. She emphasises the double edged character of education. On the one hand it holds potential to elaborate theories and practices of liberation, while on the other hand

[14] Other interviewees, both first and second generation migrants who had part of their schooling in Turkey, also criticise the nationalist character of the Turkish school system. The daily oath may serve as an example here:
'I am Turkish/ I am honest/ I am hardworking/ my principle/ to protect the younger ones/ to respect the elder/ to love my country, my nation/ more than my self./ My ideal/ to rise, to progress/ my existence/ shall be dedicated to the existence of the Turkish nation./ Oh great Atatürk/ who has created our life of today/ I swear/ to continue incessantly/ on this path that you have paved/ according to the ideals that you have created/ following the aims that you have set./ Happy those who can say "I am a Turk"!' (quoted in Kurt 1989: 268, my translation from Turkish)

[15] With Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1992) and Kalpaka & Räthzel (1990) I agree to call actions, structures and discourses racist, if their outcome excludes or subordinates people on the basis of racialisation, even if the intention is not racist.

[16] Hill-Collins' concept of Black feminist thought is related to other, feminist and Afro-Centric epistemologies. Although developed in a specific historical and national context, I think it contains enough elements that can be used in other context when developing and evaluating knowledges. Hill-Collins' emphasis is on the positionality of knowledge and its empowering or disempowering potentials. Her notion of partial knowledges which need to be enhanced through dialogue and exchange with people whose experiences and knowledges give another perspective on interlocking systems of oppression. Therefore, I think it is justified to transpose her epistemological theory to this context.

formal education, particularly for people from marginalised groups holds the potential of assimilation into existing power structures. Selin's critique of education as a marker of class and, indirectly ethnic, difference and its use by feminists whose explicit aim is empowering women to put her down because of her lack of formal education, can be interpreted within Hill-Collins' frame as demanding accountability as well as a critique of privileging booklearning before experiential knowledge. She goes on to critique the knowledge transmitted through formal education, mainly in its nationalist aspects and suggests instead a different form of knowledge, developed through experience and dialogue.

The lack of formal education is a central theme in Selin's life-story, recurring in various contexts: work, migration and political activism (cf. chapter 7). She interprets education as a privilege on the basis of gender, ethnicity, class and the rural-urban divide. She emphasises the aspects of ethnicity and class. Gender remains implicit in her critique. Thus, the familial use of her labour power was initially responsible for barring her access to education. She finally succeeded in her resistance against this, however then came up against institutional discrimination which she did not have the means to counter. Her migrations between village and city articulate different gendered subject positions through work. This experience of difference marked her gender identity ambiguously 'like a man'. While she adapted to the gender specific work in the village with time, the experience of different expectations, gender norms and cultural practices that she acquired in this first migration takes on a crucial meaning for her. Selin views her later experiences of difference through migration and cultural difference as variations of this initial experience of difference and her positioning as 'not fitting in anywhere'. Selin did not fully identify with either the socialisation into village life or city life and differing gender norms. Her resistances as well as the problematisation of her gendered identity positioned Selin as in-between. Maybe this position of in-betweenness and the 'double consciousness' (Gilroy 1993) she developed characterise her self-representation best. This self representation, of course has to be seen as embedded into a retrospective self reflection and should not be read as positing any determinism on the ground of this initial experience. Lutz

[17] While I find Hill-Collins epistemology very useful, I think that it brushes over problematic and conflictual aspects of the notions of community as well as empowerment. For a critique of the notion of empowerment cf. Yuval-Davis 1994. I critically discuss the concept of community in chapters 3 and 4.

(1997) points out that migrants' biographies contain key elements of what has been theorised as the project of 'biographies of choice' (Beck 1996 quoted in Lutz 1998) incited by late modernity. Thus, doubt is a new dimension of a threefold individuation between enabling and enforcement, new freedoms as well as new sources of insecurity. Lutz (1998) argues that migrants have to particularly negotiate 'heteronormous influences' through balancing unforeseen contingencies and risk taking. They cannot rely on preconceived knowledges but construct their biographies far more through

> "trial and error" (...) which is however linked with permanent doubt and increasing differences and dissent. Dual (national) patterns of agency as are often insinuated for migrants fail here. A way out is merely offered by self reflexivity and the ability to endure doubt and integrate it biographically. (Lutz 1998: 322, my translation from German).

A number of other interviewees also experienced internal migrations in their youth, however Selin is the only one giving a particular relevance to this experience, and retrospectively using it to introduce the key theme of negotiating difference and the ambiguity of belonging.

Selin brings this double consciousness to bear on her reflections on formal education, also. On the one hand, Selin's critical view on formal education can be interpreted as a reaction to being denied access to it. On the other hand, it also sheds a particular light on the privilege of education. In a situation where formal education remains a privilege, the view point of those excluded from is valuable in making visible the hierarchies it creates. The privilege of formal education (and its recognition and validation) endows the subject with the capacity to neutralise one's identity as will be argued in the following chapter. Moreover, the recognition and validation of participation in formal education is not limited to the sphere of education. It enables one to access certain forms of cultural and social capital, that can be put to use in terms of networks for migration, job networks, to a certain extent in political groups. Moreover, it can be converted in various ways into access to jobs.

Formal education is not the only way in which social and cultural capital can be acquired. Thus, Tülay and Pakize both view their formal education as insufficient, although Pakize has graduated from highschool, while Tülay only attended primary

school. However, both of them put an emphasis on developing their selves as cultured persons, thus in contrast to Selin not critiquing but validating and assimilating into a specific, urban Turkish middle class ideal of cultural competence. In the next chapter I will argue how that enabled them to access job networks and claim cultural competence in the context of migration.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced some key themes the interviewees used in their stories of becoming agentic subjects. Education and the relation with the family were important sites for the second generation interviewees to negotiate identity ascriptions and self identification in gendered and ethnic terms. The dichotomisation of German and Turkish femininities, both by their German peers, teachers and institutions and their parents, as well as their experiences of discrimination suggested to some interviewees that they were positioned 'exceptionally' as girls of Turkish background in a predominantly German environment. This notion of exceptionality was retrospectively claimed to varying degrees as a positive self-definition or a fragmenting and isolating ascription. Resisting familial restrictions of education was another important site for some interviewees to develop their agency. Pinar's and Selin's stories show that ' "power" and "powerlessness" are complex matters, most certainly not two poles of a dichotomy, and can co-exist in the same piece of behaviour done by the same person at exactly the same time' (Stanley 1987:22). Thus, while struggling for education and succeeding to varying degrees to achieve their families' consent, both interviewees also experienced victimisation. The structural factors impacting on girls' education in Germany and Turkey are different. I argued that education is bound up with specific national projects, such as the Kemalist ideal in Turkey. The uneven development in Turkey, together with institutional and state racist practices reinforce the difficulties of access to education for Kurdish people, in particular women. As Selin's story shows, formal education does not constitute the only valid cultural capital, and she developed a powerful critique of education as a marker of difference.

Chapter 5: Paid Work

This chapter looks at the experiences of paid work outside the home, and also problematises some aspects of the relation between paid and reproductive work. An important aspect are the issues of skilling, de-skilling and re-skilling. The literature on migration has for a long time neglected the category of skilled migrants. Only since the 1980s has a new interest in skilled and professional migration emerged in migration studies. Despite the findings of a wide range of typologies of skilled migrants, much of the research has focused on those working for transnational companies (Kofman 2000, cf. chapter 3). Additionally, the literature on globalisation, transnationality and to some extent that on diaspora has looked at skilled migrants, often casting them as a new type of migrant, intrinsically different from the presumably unskilled post-colonial or guest-worker labour migrant. This chapter challenges the clear cut distinction between the 'global' professional, taken to be emblematic of an unproblematic transnational community on the one hand, and its juxtaposition with the 'ethnic' unskilled worker who is either rooted in her culture of origin or uprooted from it and unable to deal with diversity on the other. I argue that gender and ethnicity articulate the professional developments of migrant women, albeit differentiated according to immigration status, formal and informal qualifications and class positioning. Therefore, I examine three interrelated aspects of working life: (non-) recognition of skills, social and cultural capital and institutional and interpersonal discrimination at work. Instances of these can be found in all life stories in varying forms and degrees. For the sake of clarity, I discuss these issues by presenting a number of life stories and focusing on one of these aspects in each section. This chapter focuses on the first generation of migrant women, looking only briefly at the contrasting and common experiences of second generation migrant women. This is because only few of them had longstanding experience of working in their professions, since many had only recently or not yet finished their training or studies.

I begin with discussing the notion of professionality and then turn to the constitution of social and cultural capital in the context of migration. The next section focuses on the recognition or non-recognition of skills of migrant women. I contrast two life stories with very different occupational trajectories, credentials and transnationally

validated qualifications, as well as different residence and work permit status. Second, I focus on cultural and social capital as ethnically specific although differentiated resources for social mobility. Third, I look at experiences of racism and sexism within the state regulation of third country nationals as well as in the workplace.

The notions of skill and professionality

I begin by examining the notion of professionality and its underlying gendered, ethnocised and class-specific divisions. Thus, 'profession' has been defined through the use of skills based on theoretical knowledge, institutionalised education and training and ensuring of competence through examinations, a code of conduct, performance of services that are for the public good and organisation in a professional association (Millerson 1964). My sample consists of skilled and professional women with different degrees of professionalisation. Not all of the interviewees have participated in formal education and training for their current occupations, but they have all passed some form of professional examination at different levels of educational institutions. Thus, many have studied at university, some holding postgraduate degrees, while some have qualified at polytechnics or vocational colleges. For the purposes of this study I also include self-employed women, since their occupation requires skills that are rarely taken into account in studies on migrant women from Turkey (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1995).

The high degree of organisation and regulation of professions, both through professional associations and the state not only functions to establish a standard of quality of service delivery, but also as a mechanism of social closure and professional protectionism. Witz (1992) analyses how during the 19th century credentialism made the profession of doctor a male prerequisite through restricting women's access. When women were admitted to medical occupations, formal and informal discrimination led to their concentration in nursing and midwifery, which are accorded lower status and pay. 'The generic concept of profession is also a gendered one. It takes the successful professional projects of class-privileged, male actors at a particular point in history to be the paradigmatic case of profession' (Witz 1992: 64). To avoid this androcentric bias, she suggests abandoning a generic notion of

profession in favour of studying concrete 'professional projects', i.e. projects of occupational groups to achieve professional closure through credentialist and/or legalist tactics. This seems a useful approach for dealing with the diversity of occupations in this study. Moreover, it usefully questions and avoids reified boundaries of professionality, such as that of 'semi-professions' (Etzioni 1969), a category with the two defining features of being located in bureaucratic institutions and being staffed predominantly female. This notion of semi-profession has been criticised for its tautologically gender based definition (Parkin 1979 quoted in Witz 1992: 61) as well as its failure to theorise women's professional projects. Witz argues that the capacity to succeed in professional projects is gendered, since credentialist tactics depend on the mobilisation of educational institutions and resources, and legalistic tactics on access to the state. Witz writes about Britain in the 19th and early 20th century. Since then women's position in the public sphere has been strengthened and they have gained better access to the state. Nevertheless, gender inequalities in these areas persist and shape professional life. Ethnocised women, in particular if they are third country nationals, do not have an adequate representation in the public sphere and highly limited access to the state (cf. chapter 3).

In Germany, where vocational and professional training are highly regulated (cf. Faist 1995) the non-recognition of qualifications acquired abroad forms a formal barrier for migrants to enter skilled or professional jobs. In some professions, even if the qualification is recognised, a specific 'professional permit' is required of migrants. Moreover, many migrants are excluded from self-employment on the basis of their residence status[1]. In general the labour market legislation discriminates against third country nationals, i.e. non-European Union citizens, through the 'opposability for market reasons' (in German: 'Inländerprimat') provision (cf. Rodriguez Gutierrez 1999: 81; Kofman et al 2001). This means that according to the labour market developments, in Germany, first Germans, then EU citizens have to be given priority over third country nationals with job vacancies. This decision can be enforced by the job centre. This provision is also valid in Britain. However, vocational and

[1] Only migrants with an 'Aufenthaltsberechtingung' which can be acquired after a minimum of 8 years of regular residence are entitled to unrestricted self-employment. All other non-Germans have to apply for a special permit which has to be examined by different professional institutions and the immigration office (Auslanderbehörde) (Alberts: forthcoming).

professional training are less formalised and 'on the job training' is more common than in Germany. Moreover, the recognition of formal qualifications acquired in Turkey is more common. With respect to my interviewees, the most important obstacles in the initial phase of working in Britain were their irregular residence status and the fact some of them did not have formal qualifications for their jobs. Another important obstacle was the overseas student status, which means that only after three years of being a regular resident in Britain could they study and pay the same fees as homestudents.

Migration and (transnational) social and cultural capital

The notions of cultural and social capital, implicitly or explicitly, play an important role in debates on the social mobility of immigrants, individually and collectively. Thus culturalist approaches explain educational success or failure of migrants with recourse to the appropriateness of their cultural capital. Educational success or failure is then in turn used to explain the group's or individual's economic position. These culturalist arguments are often invoked to 'blame the victim' for their economic or educational failure, and avoids examining the structures of the society of residence (Vermeulen 2000).

Schiller et al (1992) in their suggestion of a transnational framework for the study of migration suggest viewing migrants as participants in two societies, within a globalising capitalist system. They attempt to redress nationally bounded approaches, as well as the economistic focus of world systems theory, suggesting instead focusing on migrants' social relationships and positionings as 'fluid and dynamic' (1992:8): 'A transnational perspective on ethnicity must be developed that includes an examination of culture and agency within this expanded social field' (1992:17). They argue that one of the ways in which migrants use these new spaces of agency is by translating 'the economic and social position gained in one political setting into political, social and economic capital in another' (1992:12). However, they caution against cultural reductionism, too, arguing that culture and cultural capital are always negotiated in struggles over hegemony. In a system of nation-states, these forms of cultural capital always risk being appropriated into nationalised versions of culture. In contrast to

Schiller et al's (1992) suggestion, not all theories of transnationalism or diaspora use the concept of cultural capital as contested and dynamic. Instead, ethnicity is often reified as the determining basis for social solidarity, without taking intra-ethnic divisions and differentiated cultural capital into account (cf. Anthias 1999). Thus, Cohen argues that for diasporas '(t)he combination of cosmopolitanism and ethnic collectivism is an important constituent in successful business ventures.' (171) In his view, a strong identity, an advantageous occupational profile and a passion for knowledge are the prerequisites for a successful diaspora. Such a strong identity, he argues, fosters co-ethnic solidarity which can be used in the increasingly globalising world to their economic advantage. Therefore, diasporic migrants have advantageous positions

> irrespective of whether they are competing for professional advantage or in the unskilled labour market – after all, waiters or prostitutes who can address international customers in their own languages are likely to have a distinct advantage over their competitors. (169)

Considering the experiences of undocumented migrants or others in the low and unskilled labour market, this sounds almost cynical: their 'distinct advantage' most often consists of access to insecure and badly paid jobs, often including patron-client relationships that make unionisation or democracy at the workplace difficult and moreover often make women vulnerable to sexist harassment.

Faist (1998) argues that transnational social spaces can particularly benefit migrants' economic development if their social capital is mobilised across national boundaries. This social capital consists of reciprocity of patterns of social exchange (among which that of marriage, kinship based labour power and investment networks) and reciprocity as a social norm as well as solidarity (1998:218). To exemplify his argument, he compares migrants from two different villages from Turkey in Germany. He argues that solidarity, reciprocity and the ability to make links with other Turkish migrants who where not co-villagers meant that the Alihan villagers 'more successfully exploited the new opportunities of transnational social spaces offered to them than those migrants from Yeniköy who kept close ties to their kinship group only.' (Faist 1998:228). He observes that the Alihan villagers' economic success, linked with the immobility of the women left behind in the village led to a

cementation of gender roles however. Although Faist's approach is more empirically grounded than Cohen's and takes into account diverse categories of migrants, it contains some problems. First of all, it takes the male migration experiences as normative, and ignores women as actors in their own right. The model mentions ethnic differences and conflicts of Kurdish and Turkish migrants, but does not sufficiently analyse their impact on the formation of differential social capital and its economic convertibility.

Nee and Sanders (2001) argue that the human-cultural capital of migrants, individually and collectively, is key in explaining economic incorporation into the country of residence. They argue that the unit of analysis should be the family as the prime site of constitution and transmission of cultural capital. While they typologise single young men's migration or sojourning, they fail to account for the migration of single women. Moreover, they view the family as an egalitarian unit in which cultural and social capital are produced and shared. This problematically neglects gendered and age specific power relationships and differential control over familial resources (cf. discussion of Selin in chapter 4). Their model of immigrant incorporation underlines the 'supply side' of immigrant labour to explain the significance of immigrants' social and cultural capital. However, one problem is that their measures of cultural capital are static and do not question the differential validation of cultural capital. Instead, they uncritically assume the notion of 'human-cultural capital that is fungible in the host society' (Nee and Sanders 2001: 386) as a heuristic device. As Werbner (2000) argues, however, cultural capital takes on different culturally and context specific meanings. She argues against an ethnocentric use of the concept since first, it does not sufficiently take the value systems of the migrants themselves into account and second, therefore produces and reifies an ethnocentric notion of success. Moreover, assuming that there is a neutral and objective type of cultural capital fungible in the host society, conceals both open and subtle mechanisms of legal, institutional and informal de-valuation of migrants' skills and qualifications (cf. Kofman et al. 2001). Nee and Sanders (2001) argue that for those with already existing fungible human-cultural capital, social capital is not significant to enable their insertion into the mainstream economy, while those with no or little fungible capital have to rely on family solidarity, or if single on the ethnic community's solidarity.

In the following I qualify these arguments by examining how these processes work for women as social actors, rather than viewing them as constituting the social capital to be used as a resource. I argue that a more refined and dynamic notion of cultural capital should be employed, examining the different social groups constituting different versions of ethnically specific cultural capital. Moreover, ethnically specific social capital should not be viewed as a unitary category, but instead includes moments of solidarity, as well as unequal control and denial of resources. Furthermore I question the clear cut boundaries of skilled or professional and other forms of migration. The assumption that transnationally validated qualifications do not mobilise ethnically specific social networks, I argue, can only be upheld within a narrow framework that separates paid and unpaid labour.

Bourdieu's framework of social and cultural capital

Here, I use the notions of cultural and social capital as elaborated by Bourdieu (1986, 1997), however critically examining his framework. This section does not attempt to discuss his framework exhaustively, instead suggesting some ways in which an adjusted notion of social and cultural capital is useful in understanding the relation between the social, cultural and working life of migrant women. Taking the individual women rather than a preconceived group as the unit of analysis enables me to examine in detail the transformative and processual nature of cultural and social capital. Moreover, the experiences of my interviewees show how women migrants who at times have transgressed gendered norms, do not fit into a priori notions of cultural or social capital but rather have participated in creating new categories of recognition. This can then serve to refine discussions of concepts such as hybridity, and issues related to citizenship such as representation and recognition .

Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu appears in three states: embodied, institutionalised and objectified, of which only the former two are of interest here. In the embodied state 'cultivation, *Bildung*' is incorporated. The notion of embodiment is maybe best expressed in the concept of habitus, which includes a way of bodily comportment and speaking as markers of distinction. This implies an investment of

time and 'work on oneself (self-improvement), an effort that presupposes a personal cost' (1986: 244). Cultural capital includes both formal education but maybe more importantly informal education transmitted through the family, in which sense it has a quality of inheritance. Other sources of cultural capital can be political parties, social movements, cultural groups, etc.

> Because the social conditions of its transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital it is predisposed to (...) be unrecognized as capital and recognised as legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition (...) (1986:245)

This presentation of embodied cultural capital as simple professional or cultural competence, I think, is particularly salient in the context of migration, where the migrant by virtue of her ethnicity is constructed as less competent over the nationalised cultural resources of the society of residence. In its institutionalised state, cultural capital consists of formal institutionalised qualifications which are 'formally independent of the person of their bearer'. (1986: 248)

Social capital consists of a 'durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (1986: 248). Social capital is not a given, but requires a constant effort of institution:

> the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term (...) (1986:249)

This effort need not be consciously aimed at deriving benefits and includes affective elements such as friendship, gratitude, respect etc. In Bourdieu's argument, social and cultural capital can be converted into economic capital, e.g. through advantageous access to the labour market which is of concern in this chapter.[2]

Bourdieu's analysis is specific to a historical and geographical context, and moreover uses men's experience as generic. Therefore, I cannot simply transpose it to the context of my research. However, his thinking is useful in understanding the relation

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[2] Social and cultural capital cannot always be neatly delineated, especially in my argument here they mutually reinforce each other.

between the social, cultural and professional trajectories of the interviewees. One of the problems with Bourdieu's multi-layered analysis of the relation between cultural, social and economic capital and professional status seems to me the fixedness of the categories and the way they are constructed via eliciting the statistical distribution of certain cultural practices and consumption of cultural products (Bourdieu 1997). While this is very useful in building even a very sophisticated, flexible and multidimensional model, it does not account for the agency of individuals and the different, also idiosyncratic meanings they attach to cultural practices. In this research, however, I focus on these socially embedded, individual trajectories and processes of giving meaning. Moreover, although referring to gender and ethnic differences in passing, Bourdieu's model is based on a nationally closed cultural universe. The experiences of ethnic minorities are mentioned only in so far as their opportunities are curtailed through a cultural, social and economic system that is organised in a national and class-hierarchical manner. The fact that my research takes place at the conjuncture of different class, social and especially nationally and ethnically bounded systems and that the interviewees navigate the boundaries and transgress them complicates the levels of analysis enormously. Thus, the practice of reading a specific newspaper or journal cannot only be seen as relational to class and cultural boundaries but also to ethnic and national ones. Moreover, the interviewees are positioned not only vis-à-vis the national formation of their country of residence, but also vis-à-vis the different sections of the ethnic minority population and the country of origin. My data can neither account for, nor attempt to classify cultural practices and their performance through individuals and social groups in this multiply ethnically and nationally bounded context. Instead, I restrict myself to suggesting different ways in which the interviewees produce their selves as cultural and professional agents within this web of relations. Rather than taking the meaning and status of certain cultural practices for granted, I explore the meaning given to them in their narratives. The social evaluations of these practices as high or low culture, legitimate or nouvel arrivée are at times explicit, at times implicit. Rather than classifying cultural and social practices, my aim is to show the processual, negotiated trajectory with an emphasis on movement within and across classifications. Therefore, I focus on uncovering the boundaries of such cultural and social groups rather than fixing their cultural or social contents.

Recognition of Skills and Self-Presentation

In the following I argue that social and cultural capital on the one hand, and institutional structures, such as immigration legislation and (mis-)recognition of professional qualifications in the countries of immigration on the other hand form the restrictive and enabling framework for the women's professional development. The literature on professional migrants focuses on male migrants whose qualifications are transnationally validated. Despite recognising the plurality of professional and migration trajectories, the literature uses the experiences of transnational company employees as a prototype (cf. Kofman 2000). Against this backdrop as well as the current debate on recruiting professional migrants both in Britain and Germany at the moment, I think it important to highlight the obstacles to recognising the skills and qualifications of migrants already resident in the countries. The topical debates on recruiting skilled and professional migrants to sectors such as IT in Germany and health professionals in Britain bracket out the fact that many migrants who are not recruited as professionals but enter under different categories such as family reunion or formation, refugees, students or undocumented migrants, are skilled or professional (Kofman et al 2001). Often the migration legislation and/or professional closure mechanisms lead to a de-skilling of migrants. If their skills and qualifications are not recognised, the labour market in the country of residence leads them to re-skill in different professions. Thus in Germany, most social workers of Turkish background had academic qualifications in other fields, but could not find employment in those (Lutz 1991).

Nâlan: Undocumented = Unskilled?

Nâlan comes from an educated middle class family in Istanbul. Her professional and educational aspirations in her youth were determined by two important factors in her life. The first is the early loss of both her parents, which traumatised her intensely so that her brothers, with whom she grew up, did not push her towards academic achievements. The second factor influencing her professional trajectory was her involvement in political groups, which meant that political activity was 'the most important thing' in her life at the time. This political involvement formed her own

value system and Nâlan ruled out occupations she had previously considered attractive, such as acting, as 'a bourgeois thing' (p.1).

After graduating from high school she enrolled in vocational courses in computing which where at the time very novel and immediately found employment. Thus, she learned a skill that enabled her to work in an expanding area, with little competition:

> N: At the time computers were very new. In Turkey there was only one [big international company]. (...) Of course it was very easy to find work at the time, you could get into any company that you applied for. Very few people had computing skills. At the time there were still these small cards. (...) It was probably around 1973. (p.2)

Although she only had a vocational qualification, the specific conditions of supply and demand for her novel skills, her on-the-job training and increasing experience provided her with job security and good working conditions.

Initially, Nâlan did not want to get married, since she was politically opposed to the institution of marriage. However, familial pressures and social control finally convinced her and her boyfriend to marry as a 'formality'. She continued working and was the breadwinner in the family, since her husband was still finishing his studies. This continued after the arrival of their child.

> Umut: How could you do it, both working and...
>
> N: I worked, of course [my husbands'] parents looked after the child. 40 days after [the birth] I went back to work. For Turkish standards my work was very good. But despite this, women's rights were very bad. You had to go back to work after 40 days, there was no maternity leave. Or you had to quit work and I didn't want to do that. It was as if I was going to give up my independence.' (p.3-4)

Nâlan's independence was however also curtailed since she depended on her in-laws for childcare. This provided her in-laws with a lever for social control. The 1980 military coup had a significant effect on her life since her political activism was criminalised. In this situation, having a child helped her to keep busy and gave them 'the appearance of a normal family'. During her husband's military service, Nâlan started to get involved with the new women's movement which was the only progressive oppositional movement allowed to organise at the time.

De-skilling as an Undocumented Migrant

When she divorced from her husband, Nâlan experienced increasing social control through her brothers and her freedom of movement was restricted. Moreover, she worried about the future of her childcare arrangement with her in-laws. Her activism in the women's movement, as well as contacts through her old political organisation, gave her an opportunity to make connections with individuals in England. When a close friend of hers in England suggested migrating, she left her son in the care of the in-laws and migrated to England. She saw the migration as an opportunity to escape the social control of her family, economic dependence on them as well as the stigmatization of the status of divorcee. Despite the support of her friend, with whom she lived at first, she experienced the initial period in England as very difficult. Especially her lack of English made her feel very vulnerable.

Nâlan wanted learn English but at the same time needed to earn money so as not be a burden on her friend. Another Turkish friend, from her former political organisation, 'took her by the hand'. She introduced her to a Turkish-owned textile factory as a finisher.

> N: I started work the next morning at 8, looking forward to earning money and being able to find a flat of my own. But then I realised the bad working conditions, very unhealthy, the building was damp, no health and safety regulations were in place. We worked till ten at night, around four in the afternoon my feet began hurting very badly.

She worked in this factory for nearly a year. The humiliating treatment of the workers was most difficult for her. She gives the example of a relative of the owner also working in the factory:

> N: He was a real macho, always looking at the women from behind, at their bum and everything, disgusting. And I was working, putting something on the shoulders of the garments (...). I had the things in a box. He passed and dropped the box. He didn't even say sorry or anything, he didn't have any manners at all. And he told me to pick them up. I looked at him and in that moment I would have liked to hit him on the head. But I didn't have anywhere else to go, I depended on this job.

Because of her irregular immigration status, as an undocumented migrant, her lack of English language knowledge and formal professional qualifications Nâlan experienced a sharp de-skilling. She felt caught in a vicious circle: the bad pay necessitated long working hours which made it impossible for her to attend language classes. Thus, her transnational social networks through her political organisation and

the women's movement were essential in enabling her migration and giving her access to ethnically specific job networks. These jobs in Turkish owned textile factories did not necessitate knowing English or having residence and work permits. On the other hand, being dependent on the ethnic community's economic, Nâlan could not realize her professional skills. The textile factory as an economic niche for migrant newcomers to Britain has a long tradition, thus Jewish immigrants at the beginning of the century, later on different Asian communities and more recently also the Turkish-speaking community occupied this niche. As Nâlan's and others' testimony shows, the benefit of an ethnic economic niche is very ambiguous for the workers. Unsafe and unhealthy working conditions, little job security, working regulation or workers' organization are often the trade-offs for being able to work in an undocumented or semi-documented way. Moreover, sexist harrassment is commonplace (cf. also Anthias 1992).

After a year her boyfriend, a computer specialist from Turkey, joined her, experiencing the same problems. 'In the first time you have only one choice and that is working in a factory, you cannot even work in a restaurant if you don't know English. Because you don't know the language it's very difficult.' This ethnic economic niche, either in the textile factories or in restaurants has been a source of employment for many new migrants, especially if they are undocumented (cf. expert interviews, Anthias 1992, Kofman et al 2001). Apart from Derya., who migrated as a student with a bursary, the British interviewees, despite being qualified or skilled had to fall back on this source of employment as a result of their residence status and initial lack of language knowledge.

Living with her boyfriend allowed Nâlan to share the expenses and enabled her to quit the factory.

> N: We had rented a flat together [...] and I started to go to school and worked in a café. At that time I didn't have problems with Immigration, after three months I got a residence permit, at the time it was easier I guess. [...] When that happened I tried to bring my son over. I researched a bit and they told me you have to pay taxes, [...] that's why I went to work in a hotel, which was the easiest work to get. [...] I started to work as a chambermaid, to clean the rooms, change the bedding. I worked there for a year, then U• ur came. That was a very hard work, also. For five years I was there, everyday I changed the bedding, it was a very hard work (...) they treated you very badly, not the workers but the guests. Very, very weird things, in general at a five star hotel it was men on their own who came on business trips. They left pornographic pictures in the bed, you open the bed and you find these pornographic magazines. Because they're paying too much money

U: They think they've got the right to humiliate people.

N: Humiliate the people [origin. English] Macho people. (p.8)

Thus, Nâlan moved out of the ethnic economy and into taxed work in order to be able to bring over her son. However the necessity to prove sufficient earnings in order to be entitled to family reunification, made her accept unskilled work that she could get as soon as possible. This work in the lowest ranks of the hotel industry again made her vulnerable to sexist harassment.

Going into social work

When her son arrived, she had to change her working hours and therefore jobs several times, finally working at a restaurant, where she gained more practice and confidence speaking English.

N: Once I had more confidence in myself, I started looking for other work. I started working as a sessional play worker. I also thought it had the advantage of having childcare included. I got the job through the job centre, and then went on to work at a girls' project. During that time I thought, while I am doing this work I might as well get a qualification.
U: Was it easy for you to get into that kind of work, that girls' project....
N: Well, to tell the truth, I told them a lie to get the job. I told them I had worked in a kinder garden in Turkey a friend of mine in Turkey (...) wrote me a reference. Because actually working with children is not that difficult.
U: Of course.
N: Of course I had also started to get involved in (...) political movements here. Asylum, work, ...I had started to work as a community activist. Well you learn some things in the political movement. I had learned a bit of jargon, I saw a lot of my friends [doing social work] (...) When I went for the job interview I had asked a friend of mine what they are likely to ask, how are they likely to put the questions, what kind of questions should I expect. She gave me a general idea, they'll ask this and this, you should answer like this.

Nâlan's improved English might have been instrumental in enabling her to look for other work. However it is also crucial that she was freed from the pressures of having to earn a steady income in order to enable her son's immigration. Moreover, at the time she was living with her partner, on whose financial resources she could fall back in case the sessional play work did not meet her and her son's economic needs. The economic security of single mothers in a gender and ethnically segregated labour market is very unstable. Nâlan's heterosexual relationship during a crucial period provided her with the economic security to re-skill (this has been borne out in the life stories of Oya and Nilüfer, too).

Nâlan was active in migrants' and refugee issues as well as in feminist movements. She was involved in organising Turkish-speaking women in campaigns against violence against women. Thus, in Gramsci's sense she was an 'organic intellectual' (1971:9) articulating feminist ideas in the intersection of ethnicity and migration experiences, trying to hegemonise a feminist consciousness within the context of migrant women from Turkey in Britain. These activities were outside of her working life. However her political networks and her activism provided her with the skills, social and cultural capital to succeed in the job interview. That is, the 'jargon' that she had acquired in her community activism enabled her to understand and reciprocate the interviewers' communication. Her social networks with other activists who where involved in professional social work enabled her to gain an inside view on the formal and informal mechanisms of access and closure. The need for a reference can be seen as an instance of formal professional closure. Here, again, Nâlan's social capital in Turkey, enabled her to surmount this difficulty.

Nâlan enjoyed her new job and after four years applied for a job in a project for Turkish girls. This raises another important issue of social and cultural capital. While migrant women's educational or professional qualifications are often not recognised by formal institutions or informally, their linguistic and cultural competencies are beginning to be valued in social work contexts, thus creating a new, ethnocised and gendered professional niche (Lutz 1991). The problematic positioning of migrant women in social work professions working for an ethnic clientele has been pointed out by Lutz (1991): often, their qualifications get underestimated and only their linguistic qualifications are recognised, moreover, they are in a problematic position of mediator vis-à-vis the ethnic community they are supposed to represent: they are confronted with differential expectations on the basis of their group membership both by the institutions they work for and the clients.

As Nâlan gained experience of working with young people, her interested in social work grew and she started a university course in social work. She also felt that in this way she wanted to make up for not having had the opportunity to study in Turkey. During her studies, her field of interest shifted more specifically to women's projects. She did her practical training and later voluntary work in projects for battered women

and now works in a women's refuge, also serving migrant women. She enjoys her work and sees it as politically and socially important. However, she also finds that it is very stressful emotionally and that a lot of overtime is required. The fact that she identifies with the women's experiences makes it even more difficult to construct and maintain a professional distance. At the moment, Nâlan feels that her social life is not centred around the Turkish community since she stopped being an activist. She feels that 'I'm better without them' since her values and notions clash with those held by many other people from Turkey. Her main contact with Turkish people nowadays consists of her working life. Nâlan explains the fact that she stopped being an activist with the decline of the women's movement in general and the ethnically organised gorups in particular. While this is of course an important factor, I would also like to point to a critical view of the ability to convert the social and cultural capital of activism into professional qualifications. As an organic intellectual and community activist, she campaigned against violence against women. Her subsequent professional position as social worker and specific intellectual enables her to take up these issues in an institutional context and to use her expertise, as a specific intellectual in the service of battered women. On the other hand, this move from activism to professional social worker shifts the parameters of social action. While Nalan's aims may remain emancipatory, her professional role puts her in the role of service provider and the battered women in that of clients.

The importance of Nalan's social networks can be underlined through a contrast with Nilüfer's lifestory. Nilüfer migrated to Britain at the age of 22 as an au pair. However she soon turned into an undocumented migrant since she found her working conditions unbearable and quit the job. Nilüfer's lack of previous contacts in Britain, and her dependence on the ethnic niche economy was enhanced by her vulnerability as a young single woman (cf. chapter 2).

Ayla: Neutrality through professionality?

Ayla is a scientist, working in an international research institute in a big German city. She comes from an urban middle class background that encouraged education and female employment. During her studies in England, she met her future husband,

whom she joined and married in England in 1974 to do her PhD there. In 1978 they had a son. When she got divorced in 1982, she moved with her son to Sweden to do work in a research project. Soon she realised that she could not take care of her son as a single working mother and sent him to Istanbul, where he lived with her parents until he finished primary school. In 1984, she got a job offer in her current workplace and moved to Germany. At the time of the interview she had been living there for 12 years. She was thinking of moving to Turkey after her son finished school (1997) because her son was planning to study in England and her boyfriend lived in Turkey. In 1999, she worked in Turkey and also in a part-time capacity in Germany, as had been her ideal solution in 1996.

Education and migration

Ayla was born and brought up in Istanbul. Her mother played an important part in Ayla's educational decisions. She provided a role model for a successful woman in a scientific academic profession. Here it is important to note, that in Turkey there is a high proportion of women in academic posts throughout the disciplines and hierarchies. While this can be seen as a measure of gender equality in the academic labour market, and of the success of the modernisation of gender relations from above (Kandiyoti 1989), it can also be noted that academic employment is financially a far less attractive option than employment in the private sector. This may be a reason contributing to the prevalence of women in academic posts.

Although there was not unanimous support for female education and employment in her family, Ayla's identification with the maternal family enables her to construct for herself a cross-generational norm of female education and independence.

Among the normative expectation with regards to education was going abroad to do her PhD. These normative expectations, of course, do not only depend on the familial attitude to education, but also on the financial capacities of the family. In her third year of studies, she did a research practice in England, where she met her future husband. Ayla makes clear that her decision to migrate to England was on the one

hand related to her marriage to an English man, on the other hand she considered going abroad for postgraduate study 'natural'.

> A: So it was the normal thing to do let's say as a general life experience that you would go somewhere else and live there, at least for a while and I guess because I had already got married (...) I thought I - that would be a long term let's say. Probably I knew that I was going to stay I didn't have going back to Turkey in my mind immediately.

Another interviewee from a comparable socio-economic background and age, Ayten, constructed going abroad as a rebellion against the gendered norms of her family, in which for generations only the men had gone abroad. To her, going abroad meant an adventure and a search for her individuality, rather than an accepted step in the professional and life education. This is one example for how migration takes on different meanings in specific biographical narratives. The interviewee can use reflections on cross-generational comparisons to differentiate the self and their own decisions, or to integrate the self into the family history with a discourse of normality.

Reflections on being a woman in the world of research

To contextualise Ayla's narrative, it is important to explain some distinctive features of the interview situation. The interview took place at her workplace, and during the interview, Ayla was conducting an experiment, which from time to time interrupted our talk. Ayla chose this setting for the interview and it may have contributed to the stress she put on the aspect of professionality in her self-presentation. To my introductory explanations on the research 'What does it mean to be a woman from Turkey here (...)' (p.1) Ayla responded by separating out 'First of all what does it mean to live in Germany and to work in Germany as a woman' (p1). This corresponds to an add-on approach to ethnicity and gender, not as articulating each other, but rather as two separate particularities. She emphasised that she has not encountered any difficulty in her field of work, i.e. 'I don't encounter anything special let's say.' (p.1). Ayla juxtaposes being treated 'special' as a woman and being treated like everybody else throughout the interview, thus she conceptualises being a woman as a particularistic subject position as opposed to a universalised, 'professional' subject position. In order to explain why she thinks she has not encountered any gender specific difficulties or discrimination, Ayla points out, that

> A: I live and *work* in a special environment because the institution that I work is an international organisation. So it is really very little German. So it doesn't have German characteristics as such.
>
> U: Hmm, yeah, yes.
>
> A: And the environment outside the work is also very heterogeneous, I have a lot of friends from different countries. So it is not a pure German environment, let's say it's a mixed environment, ha.
>
> U: Ok. Yeah.
>
> A: in that sense, I have a very special case.
>
> U: Hmm.
>
> A: I don't have any problems. But I never had any problems in my working life because I was a woman.' (p.1)

This extract demonstrates that while she does not think she receives *special* treatment, she attributes this to her exceptional positioning within an international research organisation and to her exceptional social environment. Here, the specialness and exceptionality is given a positive meaning.

Despite this, Ayla recalls her job interview, where her ability to do hands-on technical work was questioned, thus challenging her professional authority on the basis of gender. Ayla singles out this moment in her career as 'the only time I had a comment because I was a *woman.*' This suggests on the one hand that it was a memorable experience because it could have had a deep impact on her future professional life. On the other hand, by pointing out the singularity of the event, Ayla constructs the remainder of her working life as free of gendered restrictions, and ideally as ungendered (see below). This way of constructing discrimination as an isolated and exceptional event is a recurring topic:

> A: I just finished my PhD and I was pregnant and I thought I would never be able to get a job being a pregnant woman. But he gave me the job, he was a very sympathetic person, again I've been very lucky (laughing).
>
> U: Yes (laughing)
>
> A: He liked women anyway (laughing), so now (smiling) that was the nice thing, so being a woman I never had a problem. But in the research world also I guess these special organisations are *different.*' (p.2)

Here, again, the topic of having special experiences re-appears. Conscious of discrimination of pregnant women in the labour market, she describes her superior as 'a very sympathetic person'. This is certainly a realistic evaluation of the prevalence

of sexist employment practices. However, I still find it noteworthy that this sexist discrimination is normalised to the extent that a non-sexist superior and a non-sexist employment practice is seen as personal luck rather than simply a just and deserved outcome of her qualifications. Another, positive meaning of being special as a woman emerges through the fact that her male superior liked women. In fact, at a later point, Ayla remarks, that 'I always saw being a woman from all the advantageous sides (...)' (p.22).

Maybe my research interest suggested to Ayla that I expected her to explain or justify why she has not had any difficulties. It is possible that Ayla therefore keeps pointing out the exceptional status of her experiences. I cannot disentangle the interview dynamics from dominant discourses. However in effect, the juxtaposition of particularistic and universal subject positions produces a paradox that Ayla tries to explain:

> A: Maybe the other thing I was thinking the other day was I never pushed so hard for a position.
>
> U: Hmm.
>
> A: I'm quite successful in what I do but I'm not interested so much into becoming a group leader or the [boss] of this and that.
>
> U: Hmm.
>
> (...)
>
> A: So that's the reason why- they never wanted to oppress me or anything
>
> U: Yes, yes.
>
> A: Either because they didn't see any *danger* in me, ha. It was clear that I was not going to push to become the boss there. So maybe that was also advantageous what made life easier for *me*. I'm thinking. (p.2-3)

Despite subscribing to an ungendered professional ideal, she points out her career strategy as non-threatening to her colleagues and superiors, because she did not aim for leadership positions. This has two implications: on the one hand, it means that one is responsible for the oppression one experiences because of being too pushy. On the other hand, as Ayla points out herself, there is a fine line between aiming for a higher position and wanting to do good and interesting work. It requires (gender-)specific emotional and self-representational work, not to seem threatening. Moreover, not

pushing for higher positions can be seen as a female career strategy, thus contradicting the ideal of ungendered professional identities.

Mothering responsibilities

The experience of mothering is one important point where Ayla's gender and professional identities conflicted. In retrospect Ayla wishes she had taken time out from work to look after her son during his first years. When her son was born, Ayla brought a live-in childminder from Turkey. This enabled Ayla to go back to work immediately. Despite having a trustworthy childminder, recruited by her mother in Turkey, Ayla felt guilty for not looking after her son herself. However, she was concerned about her prospects of future employment.
Although she was not ambitious to gain a high position, she was ambitious to do interesting work. This differentiation however has its own pitfalls. As Ayla points out, to be given interesting work one has to be seen to be good at it, which means holding a good position. And good positions are rarely available part-time which would have given her more time with her son. This vicious circle does not allow for outside responsibilities to take priority over professional commitment even for a limited period.

The feeling of not being able to fulfil the roles of mothering and worker satisfactorily has been analysed as due to the fact that these roles have been constructed as mutually exclusive and gendered (even if implicitly so (Woollet 1991)). The role of the worker has been constructed as male, and does not make allowances for family or other care responsibilities. Fulltime work, the ability to work overtime and flexible hours implicitly construct the ideal worker as male without family responsibilities.

Ayla does not take into account these structural issues when she insists, she has 'never had bad experiences because she is a woman'. However, she may not conceptualise these experiences as being related to work at all, but rather as related to motherhood (and thus to being a woman). This would correspond to a notion that Ayla puts forward at the end of the interview:

> A: (...) you know, at least during my career I tried to forget that I was a woman, I tried to forget that I was Turkish- as far as the career is concerned now, and I tried ...The main point was the work. (p.54)

This notion confirms the universality of an ungendered, unethnocised subject as the professional subject, whereas the particularities of being a woman or being Turkish are constructed as 'disturbances' of that professional subjectivity. This confirms Witz's (1992) assertion that professionality has been constructed with a male ideal type as its measure and the gendered division of labour and its ascription to private and public spheres of responsibility firmly assumed in its construction of professional subjectivity. This is a perspective that does not take into account the interrelatedness of identities, and their location in social relations. Thus, the lack of caring responsibility of male workers is only possible by delegating it to others, mainly women. This caring responsibility includes the physical and emotional reproduction of the male worker himself. So, unlike Ayla, I interpret her experiences in her working life as structured through gender specific experiences. From a perspective which takes structural gender discrimination into account, I arrive at very different conclusions than Ayla, who uses a universalist ideal of ungendered, unethnocised professional subjects.

When Ayla divorced from her husband, she migrated for another job to Sweden and did not take her childminder with her. Despite the availability of a kindergarten place, she could not take care of him alone, since her job required her to travel regularly. Therefore, she sent her son to her parents in Istanbul until he finished primary school. By that time she was working and living in Germany. The separation from her son was a very painful experience for her. This instance shows the importance of caring networks for facilitating women's migration (cf. Hochschild 2000): The availability of a live-in childminder at first was crucial in enabling Ayla to continue working. This childminder was the daughter of her mother's domestic worker and actually herself still a child at 13 years. The mutual familial bonds between Ayla's and her childminder's family allowed Ayla to find affordable, reliable full-time childcare with the additional advantage, that she could teach her son Turkish. Thus, Ayla's class positioning and her transnational ethnic resources in this instance facilitated her professional trajectory.

Is a Transnational Professional Identity unethnocised?

To examine Ayla's professional life in terms of her positioning as an intellectual, it is striking that she sees herself as very individualistic and aloof. She feels her only participation in German society is through her son who is at a German school. Because of her 'selfish' interest in his education, she takes part in parents' activities at the school. Ayla points out that she is an individualist and that the high standard of living in Germany for her makes it easy to live in such an individualist way.

She does not feel part of a community of migrants from Turkey, since she identifies most strongly with her profession and educational status and does not bridge the educational gap between herself and the majority of working class migrants.

> A: And I've always been very happy to say I'm Turkish. That is also something, but I - say I see common things among people on a let's say a professional basis as much as on a national basis.
>
> U: Yes, all right.
>
> A: I would have a hum to a British physicist or biophysicists as much as I would have to a Turkish physicist or biophysicist. But may- not maybe, I'm sure, I would have less of a contact to a Turkish factory worker.
>
> U: Of course, yes.
>
> A: because of the way we are. (p.42)

On the one hand, this underlines Ayla's privileging of her professional over her national identity. On the other hand, it also shows the implicitly class-based distinction between herself and other migrants from Turkey in Germany. Ayla's justification of this distance as 'because of the way we are' may be seen here as a naturalisation of class based habitus. Thus, she sees her social and cultural capital as enabling her to build cross-national and cross-ethnic relations, but not across class and educational boundaries. This is thrown into relief considering that Ayla does not 'somehow (...) so much believe in say a spirit of Turkish community here as such.' (p.41). She argues against the construction of a Turkish community in Germany because she sees it as defensively trying to prove themselves vis-à-vis Europeans. On the one hand this can be interpreted as an assertion of individuality that cannot be subsumed under the stereotypical and homogeneous representation of Turkishness prevalent in Germany. Moreover, I read this as an intervention against nationalist Turkish identity constructions that try to establish Turkishness as an all-embracing

identity that has to be saved from European racism. As Yesilgöz (1993) points out, this is a state-sponsored discourse and serves the double purpose of decrying European racism against Turks to strengthen nationalist positions of Turkishness and at the same time deflect attention from Turkish racist projects, notably the war against Kurdish people. At another point in the interview Ayla refers to discourses of Turkishness who always see themselves in the position of victims of the West and blame the West for any problems in Turkey. Ayla identifies herself far more as a transnational person for whom such identifications are 'unnecessary'. Thus, she uses class differentiation and her privileging of a cross-national professional identity to undermine the homogenising project of nationalism. Instead, she 'always see[s] people who have left their country and live in another place like bridges. Between their countries and these countries.' (p.42). Ayla realises this by organising an exchange program with Turkish universities to provide work practice at her research institute. Ayla articulates her professional and classed identity as transnational, opposing nationalist identifications.

I would like to insert Foucault's notion of the specific intellectual here. He views a specific intellectual as a professional whose expertise positions her in a 'local form of power' and who is strategically implicated in ambiguous relations to 'the interests of State or Capital' (131). He proposes the professional scientist as the epitome of the specific intellectual: the scientist participates in truth production of far reaching social and political significance. Foucault argues that with growing professional responsibility, the specific intellectual's political role becomes more important, since she can use her knowledge 'in the service of the State or against it' (Foucault 1980: 129).

In Ayla's case, the question is not so much whether she articulates her expertise 'in the service of the State or against it' (Foucault 1980: 129). Rather, she positions herself as part of a transnational, supra-state discourse of globalising professionals. In this sense, Ayla's individualistic conceptualisation of social relations may indeed be seen as organically articulating the awareness of a transnational elite. However, while Ayla suggests that this particular consciousness is ungendered and unethnocised, I would like to point out that, this construction of ethnic and gender neutrality depends on a gender and ethnic specific division of labour. Thus, Ayla's ethnically specific

transnational networks enabled her to find a childminder a crucial precondition for her ability to work full time and become a transnational professional.[3]

Contrasting Ayla's and Nalan's migration and professional trajectories, I have shown the importance of recognition of skills and qualifications for the professional trajectories of individual women migrants. Migration status is a crucial variable here, enabling or preventing language acquisition, transfer of skills, re-skilling or further qualification. Ayla's professional networks and Nalan's ethnic networks were important in their migrations and also professionally. At first sight this supports a dichotomised view of ethnically specific localised unskilled migrants' identities versus transnational highly skilled migrants with no strong ties to ethnic communities (e.g. Cohen 1997, Leca 1992). However, I suggest to take a closer look at the diverse articulations of ethnically specific cultural and social capital. Some of the issues of mothering, working and migrating were shared by Ayla and Nalan. Both relied on transnational, ethnically specific caring networks to enable their work and migration as single mothers, although their resources were differentiated along lines of class. Instead of viewing class privilege as ethnically neutral, I suggest to include the privileged access to ethnically specific networks and resources into the analysis. In the following I would like to illustrate and analyse the multiplicity of ethnically specific cultural and social networks and their differential impact on working lives.

Social and Cultural Capital: Differentiations within the Migrant population

The ability of migrant women to gain access to professional and self employed work depends not only on their ability to navigate and negotiate institutions and social networks of the ethnically dominant population, i.e. British or German. There are also

[3] In her study on female top managers in Turkey, Kabasakal (1998) finds that they are mostly married with children, to men from upper strata. Marriage provides them with additional status as opposed to being a single woman and cheap domestic labour enables them to combine motherhood, marriage and very time-consuming work. 'Yet, top women still feel the urge to maintain low visibility, and they avoid public appearances, a "too feminine" appearance and controversial ideas.' (237) These strategies seem very similar to Ayla's professional strategy. Of course, Ayla is not a top manager and her migration and divorce constitute importantly different conditions for her professional development.

powerful differentiations and closure mechanisms at force within the migrant population. To exemplify my argument, in the following I will examine the role of intersecting social divisions in the negotiation of social and cultural capital in Pakize's migration and professional trajectories.

Pakize: 'It was always like this, my friendships were always good'

Pakize is a 60 year old migrant from Istanbul, she has two grown up children who both live in Turkey. She migrated to Germany in 1969 and has been working as a factory worker for three years, then as an employee at an insurance company and for ten years she has been working as a nursery nurse in a bi-lingual kindergarten.

Pakize grew up in Istanbul as the only child of a civil servant and a housewife. At the age of 14, 15 she began courting with a man, whom she married soon after graduating from a girls' institute. She describes this institute as preparing girls for a middle class marriage, like a 'finishing school'[4]. Her husband was a pilot. Soon after the marriage, Pakize had two children. However she did not get along with her husband and they separated. Pakize was not prepared for this situation of having to look after herself and her children economically.

> P: Well, in Turkey at that time when you got married.... First your parents take care of you, then you get married and your husband....well, I never lost a thought on money or worried about earning a living.(p.1)

She had no choice but to live with her mother-in-law, who looked after the children while she worked as a laboratory assistant. Her decision to separate from her husband led to a de-classing of Pakize, and severe financial difficulties and debt. Moreover, it made her dependent on her mother-in-law for childcare. She remembers the attitude at the time towards women who lived alone:

> P: 'Are you going to be a bad person, what are you going to do on your own. The men...' that thought came to mind immediately. Now that has changed, women who divorce can live by themselves. When I separated, I lived with my mother-in-law. Everybody laughed at me, but what could I do? (p.15)

[4] She graduated from a girls' institute, which Arat (1998) characterises as 'finishing schools. The '(...) girls' institutes tended to attract students from the upper socio-economic strata. The education offered at these schools failed to offer employment opportunities and seemed "somewhat of a luxury" to low-income families'. (163)

The cultural capital she 'inherited' from her parents and her gender specific schooling prepared her for an appropriate marriage, not for the conversion into privileged access to the labour market. When Pakize transgressed the specific gendered middle class norms of her family it undermined her class-specific, and urban status expectations. This instance complicates the notion of social and cultural capital, by introducing the differentiating category of gender. On the other hand, gender cannot be assumed to have the same impact on every professional trajectory[5].

Ambiguous effects of migration

Migration offered a way out of this situation of conflicting expectations and realities. When a friend suggested migration to Germany, however, Pakize feared a loss of status:

> P: Going to work in Germany was seen as something very lowly at the time.
>
> U: What time was that?
>
> P: '69. They said, well only very simple people go there. So then I secretly went to the workers' recruitment office and got the formalities done.

The problem that Pakize shared the economic position of other guest-worker migrants to Germany, but felt herself to be socially and culturally different is raised several times in her narrative.

This is reflected in her description of the difficulties she experienced during the first period in Germany: the dirt and inconvenience of the long train journey are not described in terms of insufficient hygienic provisions and constrictions of physical space (cf. Jamin 1998a), but in terms of 'all kinds of people'(2) she travelled with. This remark links the 'dirt' and 'smells' of the train journey to the 'kind of people' she travelled with, i.e. 'simple people'. In other narratives of these train journeys, the

[5] Thus, the orientation towards female education and employment of the particular family or the woman is an important factor. Thus, some of my interviewees, although their mother's were housewives, have been brought up by their families to value education as a way to economic and social independence. Others have pursued education against their parental preference (cf. chapter 4).

company of the fellow travellers is often described as an important source of consolation (ibid.).[6]

At another point in the interview, when asked whether she experienced discrimination as a woman, she generally declines having experienced any discrimination. However, she singles out the period in her life, when she lived in the hostel as a stigmatised situation:

> P: When I went to Munich at the time and stayed in the hostel, the women who lived there were not well regarded by (...) Turkish men. Not the Germans, the Germans also came, but they (...) did not think of anything bad when they saw a large number of women living in one place. But the Turkish men said 'they are you know what' [i.e. prostitutes, U. E.] The way they looked at us...Then one time we were at a restaurant and shared a table with some Germans by accident, people we didn't know. (...) a group of Turks got up [and asked us] "Are you Turkish?" When we said "We are Turkish" they told us not to talk to the Germans, not to sit at their table. We said don't interfere with us, we are grown up people, we have children and everything. "No, come with us" Well, we got a cab and went home, we neither went with the Germans, anyway that would have been unthinkable, (...) Well, the Turks have this idea of claiming you as their property "Don't go with anyone else, but with me, yes". This type of small thing I experienced in Munich. And that's because of where I stayed because you stay at a hostel. But after that it didn't happen. (...) I didn't experience anything [bad, U. E.] because of being a woman. (p.18)

Interestingly, this example of harassment does not take place in the hostel but in a restaurant, illustrating the character of the hostel as a symbolic space that attaches identity to its residents beyond the actual place (cf. Massey 1994). The only possible identification of her as a hostel resident is through the company of her Turkish female friends. She does not perceive of herself being stigmatised and harassed as a woman, but as an associate of other stigmatised women. The argument that she and her friends use to defend themselves from the transgressive nationalist paternalism and sexual advances of the Turkish men in the restaurant is based on first, being grown up persons. Age and gender neutrality are invoked to argue that they do not need male 'protection'. Second, the argument that they have children invokes the social identity of mother, and being part of a family, which is a non-sexual, 'sacred', morally protected identity opposed to that of sexually available woman as which the Turkish men hail them. The stigmatisation of migrant women living in hostels was based on their lack of male protection so they were seen as vulnerable but also willingly

[6] Of course, here the gendered aspect differentiates the narratives, too. Thus, the presence of so many unknown men totally intimidated Gül, who had never been in the company of so many strangers and

sexually available. The de-classing has specific effects not only in material terms of loss of a standard of living in a crowded hostel; it also means a change in her gendered interpellation. Pakize emphasises that she had not experienced any harassment and even 'lived as a divorcee' in Turkey, thus viewing the sexist harassment as a class-specific behaviour of (rural origin) working class migrant men, with whom she would not have been in contact in Turkey. However, abroad, her class identity was ambiguous and did not constitute a barrier to their interference, since they presented themselves as the representatives and defenders of a national moral, bridging any class divisions.

Similar accounts to Pakize's and the reputation as 'loose women' of hostel residents have been documented elsewhere (Eryilmaz 1998, Jamin 1998). The dominant discourses explain Turkish men's sexist, at times violent transgressions as a result of their rural backwardness and inability to adapt to modern, Europe lifestyles or as an attempt to protect national honour embodied in Turkish women (ibid.). Pakize's explanation is commensurate with these discourses. I would like to point out the class-specific assumptions underlying such explanatory models. Having been vulnerable to sexist stigmatisation and harassment, Pakize in turn partakes in the construction of stereotypes by fixing sexist behaviour to rural origin, and working-class, uneducated men. This allows her to construct the remainder of her life as free from sexist harassment. This fixation has consequences for her own choices and constructions of self. Pakize's familial background as an urban, middle-class daughter endows her with the cultural capital to distinguish herself from working-class people. An important and pervasive instance for this is speech: 'The people around me were such that I didn't even understand what they spoke, although they came from Turkey.'(p.3).

The de-classing process of becoming a migrant worker had contradictory effects: economically it enabled her independence from a husband, and to support her children. Socially, the migration meant a loss of status, in the workplace and an association with working-class people from whom she dissociates herself culturally. Moreover, the migration as a single woman guest-worker at first meant an increased gender vulnerability.

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associated this immediately with danger. But in her narrative, there is also a female fellow traveller

From Blue-Collar to White Collar

Despite these experiences of de-classing, Pakize points out that she quickly made very good friends in Munich, too. These friends' social status and habitus as Istanbul middle-class women was closer to Pakize. She views her ability to make such good friends as an important asset, and also as luck. One of these friends suggested that Pakize move in with her, so she could leave the hostel. Her friends said to her ' "Don't work in [the factory] let's do something about it" (...) and we began to search for a job. Then, one of them was getting married and moving to [a small town].' (3). Her husband-to-be helped her find employment in the insurance company he worked for. Pakize had mobilised her cultural capital as an urban middle-class woman to access social networks of Turkish, middle-class skilled workers. This enabled her to upgrade her job to the status she identified herself with. Moreover, it enabled her to escape class-specific gendered stigmatisation as a single, unprotected female hostel resident. During the two years in the small town, she stayed with her friends.

In 1974, the insurance company was taken over and relocated to Hamburg, taking the department in which Pakize worked with them. In the meantime, she had been supporting her children in Turkey financially. When she felt established in Germany, she had applied for family reunification with her children, but her ex-husband did not give his permission. At the same time, however, he did not look after them himself, but they lived with his mother. Pakize felt the estrangement between herself and her children painfully. Finally, when her daughter was 15 years old, she joined Pakize in Hamburg (cf. chapter 6). When in 1984, the company re-organised and she was advised by the trade union to accept a settlement and leave, she was responsible for the two of them. During the first year of unemployment, the company continued to pay her wages, and Pakize used this time to enquire about possibilities of retraining. She felt that she needed a formal qualification to be better protected from unemployment.

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who takes care of her and encourages her.

Retraining

When re-orienting occupationally, Pakize wanted to find a job in which she could use her knowledge of Turkish, since she thought her German was not good enough.[7] She was advised by the job centre to re-train as a travel agent. 'I thought alright. It would be... well, I have always wanted to do something mixing Turks and Germans.' (p.9). While living in Hamburg, she had established a wide social network of friends of Turkish background. One of them, a social worker, informed her about a newly created vocational training for migrant women, to train as nursery nurses, that was supported by the job centre, too. This option seemed more attractive to Pakize than the Job Centre's suggestion. Here, the importance of informal networks as a source of information becomes clear.

Pakize started with the first year of women to train as a nursery nurse. Pakize was 45 years old, when she started the course and the four years of training were financially difficult for her. Although her daughter was working at the time, too, she couldn't contribute to the household's expenses. Pakize received the lowest levels of unemployment benefits and also had a bursary from a foundation.

When she was about to graduate, an initiative of German and Turkish parents had managed to secure funds for an intercultural and bi-lingual kindergarten.

> P: Some people from there came and looked around and asked us to enlist if we were interested. I said to myself, "Will they take me? There are very good young Turkish and Kurdish women. And these are alternative people, they will rather work with Kurds, etc" But then I also wrote down my name.
>
> U: Hmm.
>
> P: And then, it was luck, quite some time passed and I got an invitation for an interview. They invited two people. (...) They were very happy with the other applicant. But they said we want you, because we want a person who speaks Turkish well.
>
> U: Yes, hmm.
>
> P: So that when our children learn Turkish they should learn a good Turkish. We liked the way you talk, you have experience, they said and then of course I was happy. (p. 8)

[7] I would like to point out that Pakize's subjective insecurity with the German language need not indicate a low level of proficiency, since it is highly unlikely that she would have been able to do an office job in a German company without a good working knowledge of German.

Her linguistic abilities were the decisive factor for offering her the job, since her Turkish was very good, as opposed to the other job applicant's. This is a very important distinction based on class, education, rural or urban origin and of course, generation of migration. At another point in the interview, Pakize states that the second generation lack a good knowledge of Turkish. Here, the implicit cultural capital is converted into an explicit person specification. While the parents' wish that their children should learn standard Turkish in kindergarten is entirely understandable, the discriminatory effects of normalising standard Turkish[8] deserve mentioning. Many second generation migrants have not received formal education in Turkish or if so, only partially. Moreover, those whose parents stem from rural areas and have low levels of education speak local dialects, which are considered low-culture. Of course, there are also Kurdish and other ethnic minorities within Turkey for whom Turkish is the second language. Due to the assimilationist policies many of them may not be fluent in their first language anymore. Others however have a low proficiency of Turkish. The language situation of second generation migrants has received a lot of attention from researchers, and the notion of 'double-sided half-speech' (doppelseitige Halbsprachigkeit) has been invented to pathologise their form of bi-lingualism. While many second generation migrants do not know standard Turkish, I think it is problematic to generalise this, and moreover, the notion of the semi-educated second generation migrant follows the logic of reifying nationalised cultural practices, rather than viewing the mixing of elements of Turkish and German as the creation of a specific vernacular (cf. Hinnenkamp 1998). Migrants often use their linguistic resources as a qualification for professional purposes, especially in social work and related professions. For second generation migrants, this is however a problematic issue since their competence in Turkish is often under scrutiny, both by employers and clients. One problem with this is that second generation migrants competence in using different levels of language is not recognised. Thus, they may be able to communicate very effectively in a certain dialect and not in others, or conversely they may not be familiar with dialects and instead have good communication skills in standard Turkish. The use of language competence as a person specification in this instance constitutes a conversion of cultural capital into access to economic capital. Language is a salient marker of distinction, and Pakize in her cultural activities in the

[8] Many migrants from Turkey in Germany do not speak standard Turkish but regional and class

theatre group actively produces and reproduces this (cf. below). This conversion of cultural capital into economic capital is a relational process, based on the de-valuation of other forms of cultural and social capital, i.e. the vernacular mixed language of second generation migrants or rural dialects, deemed unworthy of transmission. This raises important issues, often missed out in discussions on cultural hybridity. Namely that there is differential societal value attached to everyday, or low cultural practices. If these practices are simultaneously ethnocised, as is the case with 'speaking mixed', the hierarchical devaluation of partial, ethnocised cultural practices and of working class, low cultural practices works to mutually reinforce each other. Often, the status of the 'cultural' is denied to these practices and instead, they are viewed as belonging to the realm of 'social problems'. Thus, I think it crucial to re-evaluate hybridising strategies not only in terms of their potentials of crossing ethnic and national boundaries, but also how these relate to class differentiated cultural practices.

Bringing up a 'new type of person'

At the time of interview, Pakize had been working in the kindergarten for ten years, since its inception. She values the egalitarian practice, where all members of staff and parents work together without hierarchies, reflecting her own values:

> P: everybody has equal value, those who work in the kitchen, those who work here are equal. Men and women are equal, the young and the old are equal, and the children, too, it doesn't change. As much as possible, of course, sometimes conflicts occur. (p.9)

Another important reason why Pakize values working in the bi-lingual kindergarten is that in another work context, her insecurity in the German language would have marginalized her. Here, the parents are grateful that she teaches the children Turkish. Moreover, in this position she has the opportunity of transmitting 'Turkish culture' to the children. Pakize sees this as a culturally and socially important task of bringing up a 'new type of person' who is not limited to being German or Turkish.

(Re-)Producing Cultural Capital

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specific dialects, which has contributed to the devaluation of their and their children's cultural capital.

Having pointed out how Pakize used her cultural and social capital in her professional life, I will now turn to examine her cultural activities outside of work. Bourdieu argues that the informally acquired cultural capital is an invisible, but therefore even more effective mechanism of professional closure that helps to reproduce the social status of professional groups despite the democratization of access to formal qualifications (1996). I will examine how this works in the context of Pakize's professionalisation.

In her leisure time she regularly participates in a choir that sings classical Turkish music and attends the training sessions of a Turkish theatre group. Although she does not act, she enjoys attending these sessions because 'they teach you how to speak nicely and the poetry too'. The choir and the theatre are focal points in her social life, and Pakize also enjoys socialising with the other participants. Both classical Turkish music and theatre and poetry are high cultural forms that are a sign of 'distinction', as Pakize says: 'Not every one likes this music'. As opposed to cultural forms such as Arabesque or Pop music, Turkish classical music claims the status of being both, classical, high culture and Turkish, i.e. nationalised culture. Participating in these groups means both re-producing the cultural forms but also contains an identificatory moment of producing the self as a 'cultured' person. This self-production as a cultured person, competent in Turkish cultural practices is an important asset in Pakize's professional life. Through her own cultural activities, she sees herself as qualified to transmit 'Turkish culture' to the children. In her work with children Pakize can realise her professional aspirations and moreover contribute her social outlook.

When asked about her social activities in Germany, Pakize talks about her work in the kindergarten, especially her commitment to fostering the adaptation of positive elements of 'Turkish' and 'German' culture. While she appreciates certain elements of German culture, she also wants to be recognised with her own cultural attributes. As an example of this, she gives her way of celebrating Turkish holidays in the kindergarten. Although these are religious holidays, Pakize brings in the cultural sides of these holidays, such as cooking certain foods, distributing presents, etc. She does not explain or represent the religious meaning of these events, and argues for a secular practice. She speaks of some children who frightened others by warning them from

committing sins, and explains that the staff decided not to allow any religious talk at the kindergarten. It is important that Pakize mentions these examples in the context of her social activities in Germany. On the one hand, it shows that she perceives her job as the main site of her social activities, too. On the other hand, she identifies Islamism and Kurdish nationalism as the two crucial divisions within the population from Turkey, as mentioned above, her own stance remains unnamed and thus reified in its claim to centrality. However, in her function as educator, she realises her views on legitimate Turkish culture. This implies that within her social activities in Germany, she sees the construction of legitimate Turkishness as one of her achievements. While the dialogue with Germans is important in so far as she expects to be granted recognition, the dialogue with other people from Turkey is an important site of her constructions of Turkishness, too.

There is an interesting tension between her activities in re-producing a high-cultured, secular version of Turkishness and her conviction that

> P: the Turks aren't like Turks anymore. A new type of cultural person is developing in Germany, a mixture between Turk and German. If they can use this well, it will be a valuable thing. (...) If someone who grows up and lives here learns good Turkish habits and fuses it with the things they learn from the German environment this person will neither be a German nor a Turk. It will be a different person, but I think a good person, who knows the world better, and I think who will be more open. Then, there is this also, nowadays I don't see it so much, but there was a time when my generation, be it because of the lacking German or the looks, the clothes, the colour felt inferior. And for that reason for example some of them suggested to their children to only speak German. I say, a person should not be ashamed of themselves. Neither of their body, nor of their race or colour or age. They should be proud of themselves, also of their language of course. Let me talk my Turkish and educate myself as I wish, and let others think of me what they will. I think I will have a place in my community anyway. But "Oh, my trousers aren't fashionable, my shoes don't have the right colour, look my eyebrows are too thick, let me at once take them out and not speak Turkish'. If we get rid of this, if this generation gets rid of this, very good people will be brought up, that's what I think. But not, of course, as long as they are torn between two cultures.' (p.19)

This sheds light on the issue of hybridity, it clearly shows that even when one values mixing, the ingredients of the mix are strictly defined as valuable and positive or not. Pakize's ideal of a culturally mixed identity nonetheless relies on a particular version of Turkishness being used for the mixing. The issue of speaking Turkish and continuously educating oneself is an important part of Pakize's own biography. I would like to point out that, although she had inherited the cultural capital that allowed her to appreciate high-cultural forms, her participation in the active (re-)production of these cultural forms in Germany means a 'work on the self' in terms of

educating herself. This self-education, apart from other benefits has also played a crucial part in Pakize's life through building up the social capital that she could convert into her professionalization.

Birgül: Institutional and Interpersonal Discrimination

Birgül is a 40 year old medical doctor living in Germany. She has a 6 year old daughter. She is a refugee from Turkey, after the military coup d'etat of 1980, although she did not apply for asylum. She has had her own surgery since 1991.

Birgül comes from a farmer's family, she is the youngest of six siblings who all studied. Although the parents' financial position was not that good, they supported their daughters' education and the older siblings in particular helped the younger ones to attain education. Birgül studied medicine and during her studies became very involved in left wing students' politics. After graduating, she worked as a company doctor for two years. In this job, she began researching into occupational health, uncovering the companies' shortcomings. In 1981, she had entered the exams to do her professional specialisation in gynaecology, when the coup d'etat took place:

> and when I had just entered the examinations, I had gone to Istanbul, 12 September [1980 the military coup, U. E.] happened. I went head over heels abroad. Me and my sister. During the university life we had been much more political, we had worked in students organisations, and I also worked in a political party. (...) Therefore, ah, well, I had to get out abroad. There wasn't a trial or anything, but even to be democratic was a problem (6-7)

Fleeing to Germany and working like 'a slave'

Together with her sister, they decided to go to Germany, where one of their sisters already lived. Birgül had migrated as a language student, and had not applied for asylum. She studied German for four months, and then decided to start looking for work. She suffered from being dependent on her sister financially and also because she felt she did not know her way around.

> B: in Turkey in political life also as a person who was more or less independent and stood on her own feet, to become dependent financially, not only financially also in terms of language, to be able to move around even to have to ask for someone's help all the time was very difficult for me psychologically, too.

These difficulties that Birgül encountered are similar to those faced by other interviewees. Nonetheless, the circumstances of Birgül's forced migration to escape political persecution gives them a different meaning. Thus, like Nalan, or Oya she experienced a dependency on her sister, and a loss of scope for agency. Birgül stresses this specificity of her condition of a political refugee:

> There was the necessity to go abroad because of the circumstances at the time. Up to then I had not thought at all about going abroad, it hadn't even crossed my mind. Therefore, because of this necessity I went abroad. Otherwise, this classic family reunion or other reasons, or study, these were not the reasons why I left.(...) The reason why it was Germany was that my older sister was here, it was with her help that we came. (P.7)

She delineates her motivation and her circumstances of migration from those of other female migrants to Germany. These differences are important to understand the meaning she gives to her experience of migration. On the other hand, there are also similarities to other forms of migration, as she points out later, referring to shared experiences of discrimination. Moreover, there was a commonality in the reliance on social networks as facilitators of migration. In Birgül's case, because she had not applied for asylum, she fell under the same 'foreigner's legislation' as other migrants.[9]

In order to get independent as soon as possible, Birgül started to look for work after just four months of language classes. However, at her first job interview, she faced the problem of the residence permit, the work and special professional permit for doctors.

> B: The senior consultant there wanted to turn it into an in-patient ward and he needed an houseman in that period, and they took me on. Only, and this is very important, the condition was – I didn't have a residence permit, or a work permit or professional permit, I had none of these. My residence permit was for one month. I told them about my position, and they said we can help you, but under this condition, either you go back to Turkey and get this visa. I said, if I go to Turkey I cannot come back. At the time I was wanted in Turkey with my sister. Then I thought about this issue. 'While there are all the state institutions here, why does it have to be the German consulate in Turkey? You can do it here, too.' [I said] 'Well, we can get your residence permit, work permit and professional permit under this condition that you work here for free until the holidays, that is two or three months.'
>
> U: Hmm.

[9] I did not ask Birgül why she did not apply for asylum, but there may be several reasons why she did not. Asylum applications are a very long procedure with an open ended outcome, even if the persecution faced seems obvious to the applicant. The applicants have to undergo humiliating conditions. Moreover, whether the application is granted or not the asylum seeker, it is dangerous to return to Turkey since the application for asylum itself is seen as undermining the Turkish state.

> B: I thought I have to get my foot in, to be able to work in my profession and be independent, accepted it. That was a very difficult period for me. First of all, they had me work there as a regular houseman and didn't give me a penny during three months. I was a slave there, they didn't even give me [lunch vouchers]

This first job was decisive for Birgül in order to secure a residence permit, a work permit and a professional permit. Without the support of her boss, she would not have got them since the employers are required to prove that there are no suitable German or EU citizen candidates for the job before being allowed to take on a third country national. Moreover, the entry into the medical profession requires an additional professional permit. Thus, there are several institutional barriers which Birgül had to overcome. While her boss was supportive, the condition that she work for free for three months exploited her dependence on this job To Birgül who had been so active in obtaining rights in the workplace, this must have meant a special humiliation.

After three months of unpaid working, the hospital helped her to get a residence permit, a work and a professional permit that she had to renew on a yearly basis.

Starting her specialisation: struggling for recognition of her skills

After another six months of paid work in the hospital, Birgül applied for a job in another town in a hospital where she could do her specialisation training as a gynaecologist: 'Because they had a proportion of 25% foreigners among the patients, they had a lot of foreign patients and therefore were thinking of their own benefits. But it suited me well, too.' (p.6). In Turkey, Birgül had already gained experiences as part of her professional training. However, she had to realise that her qualifications and professional experience were not taken seriously, and she was not given complex tasks:

> B: And then, despite this, when I got here, to be first of all a foreigner, then to be a woman, they really oppressed me terribly. One month after working here, they really sent me to the donkeys jobs. (...) I went to the senior consultant and asked, 'have you not seen my catalogue of operations? I have done so and so many operations, you don't even give me one operation,' they were using me as second [class] junior doctor because [...]. He said to me, 'You are very impatient,' etc. I said, 'I am working below my qualifications.' Then, well he talked to the senior physician and had me do an operation. And in the first operation the senior physician had to prove himself, not just whether I could do it, but he had to prove that he is the Senior physician. He didn't leave me alone for a minute. 'No, you can't do the knot like this, you can't hold it like this' well, (...) I said 'Can I do it as I have learned it?' I said, 'the main thing is

> that everything goes well, the operation goes well, whether you make the knot like this or like that.' At first he let me do it (...), but in the second operation (...) he said 'Today you will operate like I want, not like you want' (...) Then in the nightshift they didn't give me a caesarean, I struggled a lot for all this, much more than a normal German woman. (…) Because in order to be accepted, it was very difficult because I was a woman, and secondly because I was a foreign woman it was more difficult.

The conflict with the senior physician during the operation exemplifies the negotiation of authority. Although the apparent conflict is over styles of binding knots or holding scalpels, this stands in for a conflict over the authority of the senior physician: first, Birgül had challenged his judgement of her abilities and professional fairness by complaining to the senior consultant. Second, the fact that she employed a different style[10] implicitly challenged the professional knowledge of the senior physician. National curricula and training systems ensure that every discipline develops its own nationally specific styles and rules. If these differ in details and in emphasis, this need not imply a hierarchy of quality. However, the system of knowledge is held in place, like a Foucauldian discourse, by being able to fix the rules. If other rules are applied and prove viable, the authority of this system is shown to be temporally and geographically specific and thus, partial. The senior physician here articulates national difference not directly through rejecting a 'Turkish' surgical method, but indirectly as a conflict between a male senior representative of the German professional system and the female junior doctor having to adapt to his style of surgery, which is, however, endowed with a nationalised professionally institutionalised authority. The gender dimension here intersects with the other hierarchical relations to reify them.

'Your foreignness is put in the foreground'

Other instances of discrimination included assumptions on the basis of ethnicity or simply foreignness:

> B: Then in the nightshifts, we were two [junior doctors], when a dark-haired patient came they always woke me up. 'Your countrywoman has arrived' [in a derogatory tone, U.E.] in this way. I went down and the woman was for example a Yugoslavian woman, she doesn't know a word of Turkish. They are fooling me, therefore I was woken up more during the nightshifts, there were a lot of foreign patients. Well, there were a lot of these racist things.

[10] And indeed, she does not recount being taught about the deficiency of her method, but rather is told to operate 'like I want'.

As pointed out in chapter 2, in Germany for a long time Turkishness symbolised foreignness as such. This quote shows how practices of homogenising the Ausländer Other as Turkish can work. Moreover, assuming that Birgül is particularly suited to care for Turkish or foreign patients can only be justified on the basis of a shared language and the patients difficulties in German. However it also implies an affinity and responsibility of Birgül to the patients on the basis of shared nationality. The fact that the other staff do not feel it necessary to ask the patients what language they speak before deciding to call Birgül out can be explained through the homogenisation of all Ausländer. This attitude, by homogenising differences and measuring them only with regard to a central, dominant ethnicity at the same time assumes an emptiness of the Other. In effect, delegating the foreign patients to Birgül means to select them according to Germanness and non-Germanness and nationally fix the caring responsibility of the staff. Moreover, it meant that Birgül had to work more, since the hospital served many foreign patients, but only had one doctor of Turkish background.

In addition to her medical work, Birgül was used as a translator all over the hospital, which increased her workload as well as assigned tasks to her that are actually outside her job description. The problematic assumptions and allocations around shared ethnicity or foreignness were also effective in Birgül's relation with patients, who identified her as a foreign woman, and disbelieved her professional qualifications as a medical doctor.

While Birgül feels that her working relationship with the nurses and midwives was good, she found it difficult to witness the ways in which they discriminated against foreign patients:

> B: the nurses for one treated the foreign patients extremely bad, and continuously came to me to complain about the Turkish patients. The complaints about the foreign patients were that they had too many visitors
>
> U: (laughs)
>
> N: Second, they talk too loudly.
>
> U: Hmm. Yes, (laughing).
>
> N: '***You are too loud, can't you please talk more quietly***' that's how they entered their room. A patient's psychological state is very bad anyway because they are ill,

> and then they are constantly being reproved by the [nurses]. Well, by the doctors and the [others] they treated them like dirt (p.9).

This bad treatment of the foreign patients by the nurses has a double effect. First, it directly humiliates the patients. Second, the nurses treated Birgül as the point of reference to address their complaints about the foreign patients. Räthzel and Sarica (1994) point out that the discrimination faced by foreign patients can be experienced by foreign staff as an indirect attack on themselves because they are collectively targeted. By addressing Birgül as a woman of Turkish background, responsible for the perceived 'misbehaviour' of her countrywomen, she is positioned ambiguously as a foreigner herself, and at the same time in her professional role as a member of the institution called upon to mediate in the interest of the institution. The multiple relations at the workplace, to senior doctors, junior doctors, nurses, midwives, patients, concurred—albeit in different ways—in determining Birgül's subject position in gendered and ethnocized terms.

Another example Birgül relates is the doctors' ignorance of culturally specific interpretations of health and illness. Thus, Turkish female patients were stereotyped as exaggerating pain, or their practices of giving birth were seen as primitive. The increasing interest in and adaptation of alternative birth practices by the hospitals on the other hand was regarded as a progress. Their origin and closeness in the practices and experiences of this 'problematic' patient group was disavowed. Birgül as a member of both the ethnic and the professional collectivities, had to experience however the devaluation of her professional role in favour of her ethnic membership.

> B: However hardworking you are, however humane you are, your being a foreigner was always put in the foreground, in medical meetings, too. (...) Later I went to further qualification seminars, [e.g.] a small seminar of 12 people, even there I was always the only foreigner among them, and a foreign woman at that. And then, for example, I discuss on the same level with everyone else, but then the guy says to me referring to Turkish patients 'Is that not right, Mrs. S.?' That's when he turns to me. But I am also there to discuss the other topics, why don't you discuss those with me? He only refers to me about the foreign patients, that's how he sees it, it is not his problem how these patients imagine illness or what he can learn from them, or how one should approach this. Nobody thinks about this.

In this instance, she is again turned into the representative of 'Turkish issues' while her perspective on other professional issues is not sought.

Birgül characterises her discrimination as both gendered and ethnocised, however she elaborates on racist discrimination based on 'being a foreigner', rather than on sexist

discrimination. One interpretation may be that foreignness is used as a meta-discourse of difference. With reference to Black British women, Lewis following Higginbottom points out that ' "race" talk often acts as a metalanguage through which other axes of power, which organize social relations and construct positions, are at once spoken and masked.' (1996: 34) In the context of her work in the hospital, racist and sexist discrimination seem to intersect by reinforcing each other. The professional hierarchies between the doctors reproduce this, too. On the other hand, her professional authority in relation to the German nurses and midwives and the German patients seems to be put into doubt because of her 'foreignness'.

Another aspect of discrimination relates to competition among colleagues. Thus she recounts a conversation with a male colleague:

> B: (...) one day the senior consultant invited all the housemen for dinner. There was a colleague sitting next to me, and he said to me, (...): 'Don't you think of returning to your country once you finish?' And I said no. 'Why not?' he asked. 'Why?' said I 'You may also wish to open a surgery once you finish your specialisation, and I may want to do the same.' 'But we have a lot of unemployed doctors, you are taking away their place'[G]
>
> U: (laughs) I am sorry, excuse me about laughing, this is too....
>
> B: I said, you know how long our shifts are. We started at 8 o'clock in the morning and came back the next day in the afternoon. (...) we are all doing the work of two people. This is the reason for unemployment, I am not the reason for unemployment. Everywhere [you are used as, U.E.] a scape goat, even my own colleague, who shares the profession sees me in this way (laughs) in the end. It was very exhausting for me to struggle against all this. Moreover, there was a great difference between this man and me in terms of the profession. I never had the same opportunities as a German doctor, I never had equal opportunities. (...) For example, when his specialisation finished, he could make plans. He could immediately get the permission to open a surgery the very next day, there wasn't a problem. But because I didn't have a German approbation, because I was a foreigner, (...) I didn't have the right to open a surgery or anything.
>
> U: Yes, of course.

Taking away place from Germans is a recurring topic in racist reasoning, and indeed the German 'foreigners' politics' or the plans for an 'immigration' policy, from the guest-worker policy to the present continue to be driven by the demands of the labour market. This premise of the priority of 'German interests' governs interpersonal relations as much as it does institutional racism, so that the individual Germans view themselves as incorporating a national interest which can justifiably be privileged over that of non-nationals. The type of interpersonal racism this argument elicits is usually perceived as specifically working class or so-called 'underclass'. Thus, the

president Johannes Rau in his Berlin speech (12.5.2000) points out how 'It is not difficult to show an attitude that friendly to foreigners in a well off living area. (...) It is difficult to live together where some well established Germans do not feel at home anymore, but like foreigners in their own country.' (My translation). This implies that competition (here over space) is a problem of the poor, so that racism, seen as a consequence of competition is viewed as an issue of the poor. As Birgül's experience at the workplace shows, this is not the case.

The presence of highly qualified non-Germans as colleagues thus challenges not only stereotypes about the appropriate social place and abilities of foreigners. It also challenges the self concept of Germans who unexpectedly find themselves on a par professionally with those whom they considered out of the race.

Institutional and legal racism

Birgül's initial problems with the residence, work and professional permit continued to impact her working life for ten years. For example, she had to renew these permits on a yearly basis. The legal insecurity led to a dependence on her senior consultant, whose support was crucial for obtaining the permits. The bureaucratic organisation of the procedures was also very complex and contributed to her distress. Three different offices were involved in obtaining the permits, and they threw the ball from one to the other. During her efforts to gain these permits, she "got to know many people who were involved in antiracist struggles. (...). And they were very helpful for me, really in order to get this type of permit etc." Propelled by these experiences, she participated in antiracist struggles and helped set up other anti-racist groups and campaigns. Moreover, she did voluntary work for migrant centres, and in particular for migrant women, on women's health. Three years into her specialisation, she could not renew her professional permit:

> B: the senior consultant wrote maybe two pages for me, but despite all this, they did not renew my permit, although I had a right to four years. Then the senior consultant was very sad and came to tell me this, and I said, so what can I do now. It is important for me, my specialisation is important for me. (p. 10)

The senior consultant referred her to a friend of his in another city who agreed to take her on at his hospital to continue her specialisation. However, here, too, she faced problems in obtaining the necessary permits despite the support of the senior consultant. Birgül brought references from the counselling centers where she had done voluntary work, who argued the importance of having a Turkish-speaking doctor in order to serve the needs of the migrant women. In the end, Birgül involved a lawyer and managed to obtain the necessary permits.

> B: However here it took me a full year. Thankfully I had started the efforts early, [while she was still employed at the previous hospital, U.E.] because otherwise I would have been unemployed and because I was unemployed they would have sent me back (p.7).

The exclusionary practices of granting of residence, work and professional permits jeopardised her possibilities of planning her career. Moreover, Birgül's fear of unemployment was aggravated by her fear that this could constitute a reason to deport her.

When she finished her specialisation, Birgül wanted to open a surgical clinic and was faced with new obstacles. The conditions for opening a surgery were to first obtain a registration with the Medical Association and the Kassenärztliche Vereinigung[11], second, to do a registration period, i.e. to work for six months in a surgery; and third, to have German citizenship. Birgül fulfilled the requirement of the registration period by working for six months part-time in a surgery, while many of her colleagues did not work for a full six months en bloc.

> B: I applied for an approbation, after all this, the man at the Kassenärztliche Vereinigung said to me: 'Your approbationary period, these six months, is not valid' 'Why' asked I, 'I did it'. 'But,' he said 'You have done this without a German approbation'. 'I did it with my professional permit' I said. 'I was working for years on my professional permit, in this case you shouldn't accept my specialisation, either.' 'I don't understand this' he said. 'What is it you don't understand' I asked 'What is the aim, isn't it to gain experience? With or without a paper, I have experience. Moreover, I didn't work without papers, here is my professional permit. If you don't accept this professional permit, you cannot accept my specialisation, either. Which I did in Germany'. ***'These foreigners rules'*** *he got up. I was standing anyway, you know. He called his secretary, as if I was a criminal, you know. He called his secretary like this:* ***'You can tell Mrs. S what is the matter. She doesn't understand. I have already suggested'*** *he said, he was shouting so loudly* ***'I have suggested, that the foreign doctors should go to a special training course or something, because they cannot understand all these many laws.'*** I went out crying from there.
>
> U: Ah, ay…

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[11] Association of doctors registered with general – as opposed to private – health insurers.

N: And then, I really had to do another six months. (p.11).

The next problem she faced was the condition to be a German citizen for opening a surgery. At the time she could not fulfil the temporal requirement of residence to apply for German citizenship. Therefore, with the help of a lawyer she argued that 'on the paper of the professional permit it always says "provision for the population." (...) We benefited from this, there is no other doctor who speaks Turkish. (...) As a gynaecologist, as a woman.' (p.12)

This argument to provide medical services for the population (Bevölkerung) is not just a resourceful use of the German regulations. It is at the same time a political intervention in the debate on whom state regulated provisions are for: the ethnic nation (Volk) or the multi-ethnic population, of whom ten percent are not formally citizens (cf. Akashe Böhme 2000). Birgül obtained her approbation as an exception, without being a German citizen. Her argument was strengthened by references from her employers and a number of migrants and women's counselling centers whom she had done voluntary work for, who testified to the high demand for a Turkish-speaking female gynaecologist. Thus, these instances of Birgül successfully claiming her right to continue her specialisation and to open a surgery support Soysal's argument that even non-citizens can successfully invoke a universalist human rights discourse to supersede nationally bounded citizenship rights. Still, Birgül was granted these rights as an exception to the rule, so as not to create a precedence for others. This exceptional achievement of rights claims of non-citizens alerts us that the human rights arguments may be invoked successfully only in singular cases. Such singular cases, however, contradict the universal validity of human rights over nationally bounded citizenship rights.

This is an important instance where Birgül's social and political activism constituted a resource for her professional development. In contrast to Pakize and Tülay, she used this resource to strengthen her argument vis-à-vis ethnically exclusive foreigners' and professional regulations. This was instrumental in her argument of providing medical services to the migrant population. She mobilised her gender and ethnic identity in her voluntary work to bring her professional expertise to migrant women. This can be theorised as a mixture between the logic of a 'specific' and an 'organic' intellectual:

on the one hand, Birgül articulated her professional expertise in the service of migrant women[12], this was at the same time however enabled by politicised identitarian logics that provided a commonality with the women she served. Her activism at the same time served to show a lack in the medical service provision in terms of language and racist and sexist professional condescension (as her experiences at the hospital showed). While her political and social activism cannot be reduced to a career strategy, she had to rely on it to justify her application first for a professional permit, then for the approbation. I would argue that this reveals the interrelatedness of professionalism and social and political activism. On the one hand, the lack of adequate service provisions, including translators, makes it necessary for migrant women to access medical information and services through voluntary organisations. On the other hand, for lack of German citizenship, Birgül was excluded from offering migrant women medical services through the institutions of the state regulated medical system. Radtke (1994) argues that the structure of social service provision for migrants in Germany is constitutive of ethnicity, since it follows an ethnic identitarian logic. Rather than including their specific needs into the mainstream service provision, separate, ethnically specific social work organisations provide for them. This constitutes a paradox of universality and particularity: the mainstream institutions are presented as universal, and thus specific service provision for migrants, including translations in being neglected in practice, as well as ignoring structural and interpersonal racism within them. This makes migrants dependent on specific service providers outside the mainstream. On the other hand, Birgül's application for opening a surgery was not treated as the universal right of any medical practitioner, thus the principle of universality was not applied to giving her access. She had to strengthen her argument with recourse to her skills to provide for a particular group of patients. This complex relation between universality and particularity is complemented by the relation between professional work and voluntary, social and political activism. While the professional role is conceptualised

[12] This formulation of 'in the service of migrant women' is ambiguous, in so far as it cannot be assumed that the women have a unitary interest base. However, her social position as a gynaecologist is also a nodal point articulating in medical and social terms ethnicity, gender, class and a nationalised and racialised politics of population. To my knowledge there is no research on this in the context of Germany, however in the late 1980s, feminist activists revealed unofficial practices of encouraging in particular women of Turkish background to sterilise and insufficiently them. Against this backdrop, a provision of gynaecological services that takes the individual woman serious rather than assuming that sterilisation is best suited to this group of women constitutes an effective intervention in this nodal point of social divisions.

as a universal one, access to this is particularised through citizenship and Birgül has to argue for the inclusion of the particular needs of migrant women from Turkey to be taken into account in the universalised provision of medical services in order to be able to provide these services in an institutionalised professional way rather than through voluntary work.

In 1991, Birgül opened her surgery. Birgül feels that in her role as a gynaecologist she provides important services to migrant women. At the same time, she feels that her position as a female doctor of Turkish background, in the absence of other ethnically and gender sensitive doctors, requires her to provide more emotional and social advice to her migrant patients.

Second Generation: Ethnic niches as a 'heritage' and making new ground

The professional trajectories of the second generation migrants in Germany differ from the first generation migrants in so far as they have achieved their qualifications and taken their professional decisions from the beginning within the German educational, vocational and professional system. Moreover, having grown up here, they did not face the same difficulties in gaining residence or work permits as the first generation migrants. Nonetheless, they were also faced with institutional and interpersonal discrimination. Another striking similarity between some of the first and second generation migrants is the role of social work in their professionalisation: thus, Nilgün, Lale and Pinar, who now work in the field of social work initially had a different professional training and Lale and Nilgün even worked in different fields. Their choice of social work was connected, for Lale and Nilgün, with the wish to do interesting work and work that they could identify with. While the reality of social work also frustrated Nilgün, who wanted to work only for a limited time in this field and then turn to other work, Lale on the other hand was planning on staying in the social work field and attaining more managerial qualifications. Pinar's work in the social work field was unplanned. When she was a young mother, she worked on a part-time basis in a migrant women's centre. Since she could not combine motherhood, work and study she finally dropped out of her studies and began working

in a regular job at the centre. Then she decided to stay in this job rather than professionally re-orient towards journalism because she feels that this job best allows her to combine mothering and work, since the working hours are regular, she is not required to travel as would be the case as a journalist and the workplace is located close to her home.

So, I argue that for the second generation as for the first generation social work is a field where ethnicity can be used as a resource for professional purposes. At the same time, they see their profession as a socially important task where they can prevent young migrant women of today to have to go through the same experiences as they did (cf. Riesner 1990). Moreover, they see it as an opportunity to counter racism and sexism in social service provision.

It also shows, however, that this field still seems to be one of the few where it is easier to find a job for migrant professional women, even though they may be qualified for other work. The fact that some other second generation migrant women funded their studies through part time work in the area of social or educational provisions for migrants (women) may support this. Another important aspect is that social work with migrant women can provide a context where they can reduce experiences of open discrimination. Thus, Pinar had started a training in publishing after graduating from school. Although she was interested in the job, her experiences of sexism and racism led to her decision to quit the job as soon as another opportunity arose. This contrasts with her high degree of identification with her current job and the colleagues at the women's centre.

The specificities of migrants in social work have been discussed in Lutz's (1993) path breaking study on Turkish female social workers in the Netherlands and Germany: In Germany, Turkish social workers, called social advisors, until the mid-80s were located in a specific professional position as 'mediators' a job specification defined by their employers, by whom they were also trained on the job. When in 1984 guidelines on Turkish social advisors were elaborated, the important aspects of their person specification were their 'Betroffenheit' (experiential basis), i.e. their being migrants themselves, having life and professional experience and the ability to speak Turkish (1993:185) as well as a shared 'Turkish' socialisation with their clients which enabled

them to communicate and mediate more effectively (p. 189). Their job description remained vague. When in 1980, many social work courses at universities started to offer specific courses for social work with migrant's or foreigner's, most of the students were Germans since the admission criteria de facto excluded migrants. Subsequently, the Turkish social advisers' position became difficult, since they lacked credentials: They were assumed to lack a professional ability to distance themselves from the experiences of their clients. Lutz locates these conflicts of authority and competence within the wider discussion on the professional or semi-professional status of social work in general, as well as the debate on de-professionalising social work. On the other hand, the social work labour market continues to be ethnically segregated, i.e. social workers from ethnic minorities are mainly employed to serve clients from their ethnic group or other ethnic minority clients and moreover they are seen as less able to work in the administrative level of social work. This tends to incite a 'mystification' of their ethnicity as a professional competence vis-à-vis their employers and colleagues (p.202). This leads to dilemmas of the expectation from the colleagues that one is the expert on ethnic minorities, even if at times one would need extra skills or information, as well as the exclusion from social work with clients from the ethnic majority.

The migrant social workers life stories in Lutz's study show how this segregation and the assumption that they are experts and representatives of their ethnic groups leads to other conflicts, particularly for young, second generation women. Their clients may question their authority on the basis of gender, age and generation of migration. On the other hand, members of the ethnic majority doubt their ability to build bridges with the ethnic minority group if they are perceived as 'too westernised', thus unable to adequately represent their community which is fixed as 'traditional'(pp.228-30).[13]

Lutz found that managerial and administrative positions are often closed to migrant social workers, since they are not seen as holding the necessary skills. In this context, I would like to point out Pinar's achievement of a managerial position. This may

[13] There is another aspect to the notion of westernisation, the identity construction of the Turkish Republic rests on an endorsement of Europeanisation on the one hand and the valuing of the specific Turkish, 'Eastern' cultural values on the other. The education system, however transmits the valuing of 'Europeanness' which can lead to the hypothesis that the 'inferiority' feeling vis-à-vis the West is a

indicate her ambition and hard work, as well as a gradual change in the ethnic hierarchies at least as concerns social work provisions for migrants. Of course, social work is not the only area of employment, however in my sample few others had already started working life.

In my sample, Canan is very atypical in that she works in a male dominated commercial profession of property development. Having worked for eight years for an insurance company, where she was very successful, for personal reasons she decided to quit the job and retrain in 1997. Since then, she has been successful in her new job, too. She employs a similarly gender and ethnic blind professional discourse to Ayla's, however pointing out that her business partners do stereotype her as 'the little Turkish woman' or make 'stupid comments'(p.47). She deals with these situations by ignoring the comments and also finds that her business partners underestimate her to their own disadvantage. Thus, while the continuing prevalence of social work professions among the second generation migrant interviewees indicates a continuity or professional niches, a new diversification of professional work can also be found.

Conclusion

Gender specific reasons for migration, particularly as they pertain to single mothers and divorced women were highlighted in Nâlan's and Pakize's life stories. The significance of transnational social capital for the initiation and support of migration become obvious in Nâlan's life story. It was also shown that this social capital was not only determined by ethnicity, but also by her identification as part of oppositional, transnational social movements such as the women's movement and Leftwing movements whose values she adopted. It is important here to point out the specificity of these social networks and the cultural capital attached to them as internally divided along lines of class, gender, sexuality and political positioning as well as other ethnic categories. Nâlan's professional trajectory demonstrates a de-skilling and a re-skilling, for which her own resourcefulness and her social networks were as important as the structural factors of immigration legislation, labour market segregation and the

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specific problem of educated elites, which may partly explain the problems of the mediators towards

implicit normatively of a two parent family as demonstrated in her difficulty to earn enough money in Turkey.

This was contrasted to Ayla's migration experiences and her professional trajectory that seems more of a 'career story'. Ayla's transnationally validated formal qualification enabled her geographically and professionally mobility within an acknowledged credentialist framework, and thus made her depend less on (ethnically specific) social capital. This constitutes an important difference in the experiences and life stories in terms of residence status and implied work permits, and in terms of recognition of skills. However, I caution against a dichotomisation of these categories of women migrants. An ungendered professional identity that Ayla subscribes to can be put into perspective considering the strains that mothering and working full-time put on her. This dilemma cannot be solved without de-constructing the identity of an ungendered, unethnocised professional, since this very construct relies on the outsourcing of indispensable caring responsibilities to others. The invisible caring work of childminders or grandparents, testifies to the enabling class and ethnic specific networks for her geographical and professional mobility, too. Because dominant identities are unmarked, the cultural and social capital inherent in them may go unrecognised as such. However, the capacity to neutralise one's identity can often be seen as a manifestation of one's dominant positioning (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992).

Pakize articulated her cultural and social capital in terms of class specific urban 'high' culture for professional mobility. Her social networks successfully enabled her to access job networks and information about re-training. The cultural capital she elaborated included bi-linguality and her capacity to present herself as adequately representing and transmitting 'Turkish culture'. This alerts us to the validation of class specific nationalised cultural forms in the field of education and moreover, to the specific high cultural forms being validated in practices of hybridisation, while everyday and low cultural 'hybrid' forms continue to be de-valued.

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both Turkish and European people (p.256).

Birgül's experiences of institutional and interpersonal discrimination show the obstacles that migrant women face in realising their professional skills and in choosing their workplace. The institutional discriminations made her highly dependent on her superiors' support for obtaining the necessary permits. Despite securing their support she was faced with arbitrary official decisions delaying and nearly preventing her from finishing her specialisation and establishing a surgery. Despite being a professional and thus not conforming to the stereotype of the unskilled guest-worker, Birgül experienced discrimination in her professional role from colleagues, nurses and patients. When she became self employed, this continued, although she was in a different position to counter it. The difficult access to citizenship and the professional privileges it endows have also shaped her professional trajectory.

By contrasting the differential trajectories of professionalisation and migration in the interviewees life stories, I have shown how the (non-)recognition of skills and qualifications impacts differentially on the subjectivities of migrant women. The obstacles to being recognised as a professional inherent in immigration control and the granting of work permits often go unrecognised when homogenising a migrant population, such as migrants from Turkey in Europe. In the study of professional and highly skilled migration as opposed to labour migration, the relevance of social networks and the validation of cultural capital are rarely taken into account. It is assumed that for professionals these are neutral, rather than examining the class, gender and ethnic bases of constructing such neutrality. For migrants whose formal or informal skills and qualifications are not recognised in the country of immigration the de-skilling and re-skilling often takes place through ethnically specific networks. The experience of these migrant women reveals the instability of the category of professionality in a transnational context.

Chapter 6: Mothering and Daughtering

This chapter contains two sections that focus on different aspects specific to migrant women's experiences of mothering and daughtering. It contributes to debates on culturally and socially specific practices and values of mothering, as well as on debates on intergenerational transmission of ethnic identities. The first section looks at practices of transnational mothering, i.e. how the interviewees experience and conceptualise their mothering and daughtering practices across transnational migratory spaces. The second section on transmitting and transforming ethnicity focuses on how ethnic identity is negotiated intergenerationally. This looks at changing practices and meanings of ethnic identification.

'Transnational Motherhood'

In this section, I explore how experiences of spatial separation through migration shape family relations especially mothering and daughtering. The separation of mothers from their children is particularly salient, since a strong normative position in the social and psycho-social sciences as well as in Western common sense holds that the mother-child relationship is based on physical and emotional closeness. These arguments are based on psychoanalytical theories. While I am not attempting to analyse the lifestories in a psychoanalytical frame, this chapter engages with those sociological and social psychological arguments about mother-child attachment derived from psychoanalysis. It is striking that there is little research on the phenomenon of long-term separations of mothers and children through migration. In research on migrants from Turkey it is mentioned in passing, if at all (e.g. Potts & Krüger 1995, Franger 1984, Rosen 1993).[1] In other migration contexts, specifically Caribbean migration, there is more research on the constitution of 'globalized families' (Olwig 1999). These studies open up new theoretical perspectives on family

[1] In the early 1970s, there was a brief period when the separation of mothers and children through guestworker migration to Europe was thematised through UNESCO, however with the beginning of measures of family reunification this interest subsided, since it was assumed that the phenomenon had

relations, using the concepts of globalisation, transnationality and diaspora. My research focuses on gendered aspects and particularly mothering, which results in a different weighting of the concepts of diaspora and transnationality.

Chamberlain (1999) argues that families play a vital role in Caribbean migration:

> in the sustenance and "creolisation" of a migrant community, by acting as a blueprint for migration, a metaphor for social organisation, and as a set of cherished values which transcend the nation states and link its members in a truly transnational community. (1999:263)

The intergenerational and sibling relationships form vital support networks (child care, financial and informational support) for enabling migration. Chamberlain argues that Caribbean migrants in Britain employ the metaphor of 'family' to extend the support and love of family life to constructing ethnic communities. I agree with Chamberlain on the importance of taking the self-representations of migrants and the role of family seriously. However, I would caution that the values of family life, and their extension to constructions of community, have ambiguous effects. For both the ideal and the practice of love and solidarity can strengthen liberatory and oppressive relations at once, particularly in gendered and sexualised ways.

Olwig (1999) has researched the accounts of children left behind in the Caribbean island of Nevis, in the care of relatives through their parents migration. Her research counteracts the prevailing framework that views children as 'potential resources' (1999:267) being moved about by adults, rather than as social actors in their own right. She argues that the children's relations with their out-migrating biological parents as well as with their primary carers in Nevis depended to an important degree on their biological parents ability and willingness to send adequate remittances. These remittances strengthened the children's position in the household, but 'perhaps more importantly [helped, U.E.] that they developed a sense that their parents were away in order to work for them, and help them, and that their absence therefore was for their own benefit.' (1999:279). Those children who did not benefit from biological parents' remittances on the other hand often were treated as 'second class persons' ((1999: 275) within the households they lived in: their labour power was unproportionately

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ended (personal communication with Eleonore Kofman). This assumption is however false, especially

appropriated by the household, and caregivers project the negative evaluation of their parents' lack of responsibility onto the children. The common notion among Nevisians that migrant parents still form part of the household through their economic and social presence, to Olwig gives way to the exploration of how macro-theoretical concepts of transnationalism and Diaspora are lived out in concrete, globalised family relations. She concludes that the understanding of home articulated by the children left behind, relates to specific interpersonal relations and obligations. Olwig argues that these are of a different order than public expressions of identity and belonging that are seen as constitutive in theories of transnationality and Diaspora.

In their research on Latina domestic workers in the US, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila's (1997) coined the term transnational mothering. They view transnational mothering as 'one variation in the organisational arrangement, meanings, and priorities of motherhood' (548). The migrant women, they argue 'are in the process of actively, if not voluntarily, building alternative constructions of motherhood.' (549).

In the following I explore the phenomenon of transnational mothering in the context of my research, contrasting the interviewees stories with the stereotypical notions on families of Turkish background. This section will focus on the German part of the study, since the interviewees articulated the issue of transnational mothering more strongly there. Here, my concern is with unpacking tacit assumptions about the notion of mothering, particularly the aspects of caring for and educating children. I begin by sketching public discourses on 'the Turkish family' in Germany, which converge on a stereotype of particularly close-knit family models. I de-construct this stereotype by foregrounding the experiences and interpretations of the migrant women themselves. Then I turn to the separation of mothers and children, presenting the daughters' stories of separation and re-joining their mothers to show the importance of others than biological mothers in fulfilling the mothering role. The socialisation and acculturation into an ethnic or national group are important aspects of the mothering role. I use the different experiences of siblings within one family to question the ethnically homogeneous identification of the family unit. Finally, I discuss how migrant women

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recent feminised migration movements show.

negotiate the particular pressures of 'good mothering' with their practices of transnational mothering.

Public Discourses on 'The Turkish Family'

Turkishness forms a highly salient ethnic and racialised category in Germany. While Turkishness does not occupy a central place in public discourses on ethnic minorities in Britain, some of the features of the outlined discourses are applied to Muslim families in Britain, an identity ascription which partially includes migrants from Turkey, too (cf. Kucukcan 1999). Ethnic minority families from so-called Muslim countries are often conceptualised as embodying a close-knit, traditional family. In this view, the main site of oppression of women is the family, which is backward and patriarchal (cf. Lutz n.d., Otyakmaz 1995, Waltz 1996). This view of the traditional family structure of migrants of Turkish background can be interpreted in various ways. While in particular New Right ideologies may perceive a traditional family model as ideal for the dominant ethnic group, they may at the same time see the perceived strength of ethnic minority family ties as a threat to the apparently weaker, more vulnerable social structure of the country of immigration and of the majority population. Outspoken racists may see higher birth-rates of families of Turkish background as a threat to the national identity of Germany, in particular in conjunction with the decrease of the German birth rate. Such a notion was articulated during the Green Card debate in 2000 by the slogan 'Kinder statt Inder' i.e. '[We need] Children instead of Indians', of course, the tacit assumptions is that the 'We'-group is nationally, ethnically and racially bounded. The commission for migration (Zuwanderungskommission), in July 2001 put forward a contrasting, instrumentalist racist[2], position in favour of controlled and regulated immigration and integration of the existing ethnic minority population in order to safeguard the social security system and in particular the pension schemes which depend on the contributions of younger,

[2] Leiprecht (1994:37) uses the term instrumental racism, which I refer to here. Instrumental racism reduces migrants and other racialised people to their functionality for the needs of the dominant society. Often instrumentalist racist discourses are used to legitimise the presence of migrants, and thus appear to be 'friendly to foreigners' rather than openly racist. The arguments on migrant families are racist in that they reify the ethnic boundaries of the nation: The 'we' group to benefit from immigration is constructed as German. The assumption that the immigrant population is valuable and admissible only in so far as it benefits the interests of this 'we' group constructs the interests and motivations of the immigrants as secondary to those of the 'Germans'.

working people. For this end, the relatively higher birth-rates of Turkish families can be seen as in the German national interest (as long as the children are happy to integrate). In recent debates the problem-discourse on higher birth-rates of immigrants is even reversed to lament that immigrants' birth rates soon adjust to those of the majority population. It remains questionable, how seriously such laments can be taken. The introduction of visa for children with a Turkish passport as young as six months in 1999, which applies to residents in Germany, legally establishes these children not as the saviours of the German pension scheme, but instead already casts infants as undesirable, potentially illegal aliens.

Thus, discourses on Turkish families in Germany are contradictory, complex and multifaceted. However they mostly converge around a general belief that the Turkish family is characterised by strong family ties and responsibilities as well as by a patriarchal structure. Such a view is based on a racialized dichotomy of modernity vs. tradition. Germany is seen as a modern society, characterised by individualisation, fragmentation of stable relationships and forms of belonging, increasing speed of change and the pluralisation of cultural options as well as a sharpening of social inequalities and a decline in economic opportunity (cf. Heitmeyer et al. 1997). The nuclear family is one of the central social institutions challenged by modernisation (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995). However, these challenges are also presented as having positive aspects such as an increasing realisation of democratic and egalitarian family relations. Within such discussions of the modernisation of family relations, migrant families' experiences are not considered and tacitly assumed as residues of tradition (cf. Klesse 2000). Families of Turkish background are contrasted to the German modern family as the embodiment of tradition in the sense of patriarchal gender relations, continuity, and stability.[3] In acculturation theories of migration, women, because of their familial role, are considered to be the bearers of 'the more originary type of the culture of origin' (Apitzsch 1996: 13). Migrant women's family orientation is presented as mutually exclusive with work and viewed as an obstacle to

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[3] The only instance of instability of the family structure is identified as originating from the so-called culture conflict between parents and children (for a critique cf. Auernheimer 1988, Otyakmaz 1995), with the parents upholding Turkish values, while the children may rebel against these and try to incorporate German values. This conflict may de-stabilise the second generation and lead to them entering criminal, drug and other 'deviant' subcultures.

modernisation and thus to integration (ibid.). The very notions of modernity and tradition are in themselves racialised (Bhatt 1997, Goldberg 1993).

My main concern here is to point out the inadequacies of such a view of the migrant family as the embodiment of stability and tradition. I suggest we might view this representation as a stereotype in the sense elaborated by Bhabha (1990): Bhabha points out that the effectiveness of the stereotype results from its power to fix certain groups to an (ambivalent) image. The stereotype, he argues, is not a simplification of reality because it is false, but because it *fixes* a singular reality. Stereotypes often contain empirically verifiable facts. However, the meaning attached to these facts exceeds the empirical level, producing ambivalent effects of love and desire as well as hatred and disgust. Viewed in this way the stereotype of families of Turkish background as stable embodiments of tradition can be seen to exert ambivalent responses of longing and envy for stability as well as disdain for a presumably archaic, sexist institution. Here, I put forward alternative views on families of Turkish background through the interviewees' self-representations. In the context of life-stories, these accounts also serve to construct a notion of Self that is in dialogue, negotiation and at times in open resistance to other, public German or Turkish accounts, such as the tradition-modernity dichotomy. Moreover, stories about the mother-child relationship, and in particular the relation of mothers and daughters constitute a crucial site of self-representation in terms of intergenerational continuity and change. In this sense, I critically question dominant representations of migration and motherhood and their silences, while showing their impact on the lives of migrant families.

The process of migration may be a reaction to changing family relations, such as divorce and single motherhood. But the process of migration itself puts into question stable family relations and changes familial relations. These changes may be initiated by women, although the choices they make are often severely restricted by factors over which they have limited or no control such as immigration legislation, child-care provision, economic necessities, and power structures within the family.

The process of migration often does not take place for the whole family at once. It may be important to note, that the question of who constitutes 'the whole family' is

not unequivocal. Although the nuclear family is the only family type recognised for purposes of immigration, extended family networks are frequently instrumental in enabling the migration process by providing support in terms of child-care and other resources (cf. Krüger and Potts 1995, Hochschild 2000). This points to the problematic logic of immigration legislation where the country of immigration's interests are paramount in defining who has a right to enter. Thus the reproductive labour of child-raising is 'outsourced' to Turkey. However this indirect, unpaid or under-paid, contribution to the smooth running of the German economy does not entitle these (mainly) women to any claims on the German state.

Separations of Mothers And Children

Many mothers who migrated left their children (temporarily) behind. The separation of mothers and children runs counter to hegemonic discourses on the mother as primary carer of her children, and the emotional, physical and thus geographical closeness that is claimed and naturalised by such discourses (cf. Tizard 1991; Phoenix and Woollett 1991). Culturalist research on migrant women from so-called Muslim countries constructs them as embodying traditional gender roles, including that of the self-sacrificing, overbearing mother (cf. Apitzsch 1996). This is also reflected in German women's view of them (Schmidt-Koddenberg 1989, Gümen & Westphal 1996). This image holds in balance the other pole of the dichotomised construction: the modern, emancipated Western woman who enjoys gender equality, including choices about mothering roles. Such dichotomizations are highly problematic and preclude a closer look at the self-definitions of migrant women and the actual practices of gendering which they experience and negotiate. Thus, Gümen & Westphal (1996) find that German women perceive the double role of being a working mother as much more problematic than women of Turkish background.

There is a proliferation of discourses around mothering, and women's practices of mothering are a focal point of interest from diverse social positions and interests. Although these discourses vary and may be contradictory with respect to specific issues (Phoenix & Woollett 1991a), one can identify the question of physical/ geographical closeness of mother and child as a key issue. This is mainly discussed

with respect to the issue of mothers' employment. The argument most often put forward in these discussions concerns the special attachment of biological mothers and children. It is argued that the child's attachment to its mother is crucial for its developing a sense of trust. This is seen as a precondition for a healthy development throughout later stages in life. The success of the initial attachment to the mother is seen as influencing the child's later social adaptation or delinquency, their educational success or failure, their ability to build a 'normal family life' and so on (cf. Tizard 1991, Young 1994). The mother-child-dyad is thus constructed as the relationship most crucial to the child's development. Other carers are seen only as substitutes. This has the effect of exercising pressure on mothers and holding them singularly responsible for the child's' development. Other persons, such as fathers are thus exonerated from the responsibility for the child's development, and other social influences such as schooling, peer groups, media, poverty, etc. are discounted as factors significant for a child's development. Moreover, kindergartens and after-school clubs are not seen as an adequate alternative. Therefore, the improvement of such facilities is not discussed (cf. Young 1994). At the same time these discourses render invisible other forms of mothering and thus reinforce the normalisation of heterosexual, white middle class nuclear families. The mother as primary carer is a class-specific ethnocentric construction. Neither working class women who have to work even in their children's infancy nor middle class women who have the opportunity to rely on nannies for child-care conform to this ideal. This notion is far from ethnically universal, too.

Despite the diversity of class specific and ethnically specific mothering practices, the notion of 'good mothering', however diverse its meanings, is an important part of public discourses regulating women's roles. In Turkish official discourses, the role of mother is highly valued. There is a proliferation of proverbs about the value and uniqueness of a mother (Fritsche et. al 1992), and the official Kemalist state doctrine also relies on and promotes positive images of mothers (Delaney 1995). These discourses are not necessarily reflected in the praxis and in particular single and divorced mothers are not included in these positive images of the mother (cf. Phoenix and Woollett 1991a). Such discourses are often in praise of the mother and the sacrifices she makes. At the same time, they constitute a strong normative expectation of what good mothering is about.

While paid work is a necessity for the majority of mothers in Turkey, the mother continues to be identified with the caring role, although as one carer within a network of female kin and neighbours. Migrating and leaving the children to work and provide for them is not part of the positive images of mothers. While mothers' economic contribution to the household are often crucial, they are often overlooked, and breadwinning is rarely viewed as fulfilling mothering responsibilities, even less so women's migration:

> When men come north and leave their families behind (...) they are fulfilling familial obligations defined as breadwinning for the family. When women do so, they are embarking not only on an immigration journey but on a more radical gender-transformative odyssey. (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997: 552).

These discursive factors may contribute to the difficulties migrant women experience when leaving their children. Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila found that despite the large number of transnational mothers in their study, their practice of mothering exposed them to stigma, criticism from others and feelings of guilt.

In the case of migrants from Turkey, the decision to migrate and separate from their children was difficult for the mothers. Important factors the mothers considered were the availability of affordable child-care that suited their needs as single mothers, or mothers working in shifts, the price of child-care as well as the reliability and trust they put into the carers. Thus, it was often considered a better solution to separate from the children in order to have a trusted member of the family care for the child than relying on the care of strangers[4]. Moreover, many migrants initially lived with the 'myth of return' so that they wanted their children to be educated in Turkey where they should, according to the plan, eventually return anyway. Of course, financial and legal reasons were crucial here. Thus, Nâlan was a single mother of a young child who worked in shifts and had to travel to work. For her child-care was very expensive. Moreover, as an undocumented migrant, she faced difficulties finding work and legalising her situation which would have exacerbated had she had her son

[4] Franger (1986) points out that institutional child-care is exceptional in Turkey, so that the migrant mothers are not used to it and prefer child-care through relatives and neighbours. 50% of children of

with her. Pakize who migrated as a single mother initially wanted to 'establish' herself, i.e. find a reliable job and accommodation before bringing her children over. However, when she was in a position to do so, her husband did not give his permission for them to join her. 'Neither did he care for them, nor did he give permission for them to go abroad and join me.' Franger (1986) also mentions an important obstacle in the foreigners' legislation for working mothers: 'The residence permit of a working foreign mother is linked to the proof of having a recognised child-care place, crèche, kindergarten or after school club. Neighbourly help is not accepted.' (Franger 1986: 101)

In the following I examine how a selection of the interviewees present these experiences of separation. First I look at the daughters' stories of separation, examining specifically the role of biological mothers and other carers to juxtapose their views with the argument that a disturbed mother-child attachment not only psychological but also socially damaging effects. Then I present the mothers' stories, examining how they re-conceptualise their mothering practices against the backdrop of the normativity of the notion that 'good mothering' requires physical proximity.

The daughters' stories

Five of eight second generation migrant women in my sample had experienced periods of separation from their mothers. Of these most felt happy with their carers in Turkey and did not recount the separation from their mothers as traumatic. Meral was the only one in my sample who emphasised that the separation from her mother was traumatic. She was left behind in Turkey in the care of her paternal grandmother, who was extremely strict. She is also the only interviewee, who vividly remembers the moment of separation from her mother.

> M: My mother went to Germany first. It was very tough when she said good bye. She gave us five Lira. I saw that she put something in my brother's hand and in my sister's hand. And then my brother and sister quarrelled. I was the youngest. (...) Something was going on, but I was too young to understand what it was. But it was something grisly, something frightening, something that would probably hurt me. I felt that it was a parting. And then I realised that my mother cried. And something happened to my sister and brother, I noticed them just marginally. And then she approached me to say good bye. She was crying, and because she cried I started crying. And I did not know what was going on. I cried and realised something bad

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German working mothers are cared for by grandparents, an option which is not available to migrants due to the restrictive family unification legislation.

was happening. I did not want her to go. And then she gave me five Lira, which was worth a lot at the time, like ten Deutsch Mark today. When does a child get ten Deutsch Mark?

U: Hmm. Yes, yes.

M: And then I looked at my mother and thought it must be something important that she has to go. I looked at her. Somehow I did not want to let her go. On the other hand I thought that if she gives me so much money, it must be something damned important. All right, Meral, stop crying. Even if you do not really want the money and feel bad about it. Don't make your mother sad, so that she can go. I stopped crying and then she left.

Meral got very emotional during the interview when recounting this experience. Her lack of comprehension as a five year old of the significance of her mother's absence clearly comes out in this extract. This lack of comprehension compounded her feeling frightened, since she could not evaluate the meaning of the event. Moreover, in her memory, she went through this experience on her own, her older brother and sister did not comfort her, and her father seems absent from this memory. However, despite the pain and sadness of the separation, Meral also remembers the efforts to show love and affection that she and her mother exchanged across the distance.

M: And at school I started to write. And then I began to write a letter to my mother. She sent us chocolate flavoured chewing gums. Those green ones, Wrigley's Spearmint Gum (laughs). She always put one or sometimes three, for each of us into the letter. I was always looking forward to these chewing gums, that was my greatest happiness. Chocolate flavoured chewing gum, real chocolate, they were slightly brown in colour. (...) These chewing gums were so thin they fitted into a letter. These were the smallest signs of love, but for me they were worth as much as- I don't know. It was as if my mother was a bit closer.

These small tokens of love slipped into envelopes express the emotional care that Meral's mother tried to give her despite the geographical distance. Meral's experience seems to give validity to the thesis that young children experience separation from the mother traumatically. Certainly, the separation of mothers and children has effects, however I am disputing a socially and culturally de-contextualised assumption that these are necessarily harmful or traumatic. Instead, I think it important to take the self-presentations of those mothers and daughters who experienced such separations seriously and start the analysis of the effects from there.[5] Tizard (1991) argues that the separation of mother and child does not necessarily traumatise the child. A separation from the mother is traumatic only when the child does not receive good care by other

persons who build trusting relationships with the child. This argument seems to be borne out by the life stories of my interviewees. Those girls who were left behind in Turkey and had close and good relationships to their carers did not feel abandoned by their parents. Meral is the only one who articulates the separation from her mother as a painful experience. This may be due to the fact that she was left in the care of her grandmother and was not happy there. Although she does not openly criticise her grandmother's educational attitudes, she suffered from her strictness, that starkly contrasted with her mother's playful educational style.

> M: But then my grandmother was a bit funny. I was not allowed to go outside. We had a balcony, and I looked down from the balcony and watched the playing children. I was a child myself. And I would have liked to go and play outside with them. Somehow I was not allowed. In the afternoons, after school I had to clean the house.
>
> U: Hmm.
>
> M: Really, just like a grown up I had to clean the stairs and stuff, at that age. And I had to do other domestic work. And my playmates were my brother and my sister and my uncle who was 14 or 15 at the time. And we used to play great games with him (...) But still I missed the fact that I could not go out.
>
> U: Were the others allowed out?
>
> M: My brother was allowed out. I didn't know why I wasn't allowed out. But I was too young to enquire further into this. For the time being I accepted it in order to understand at one point the reason for this.
>
> (...)
>
> M: And then at school it was a problem for me, that I was not allowed to play with others. It was like a law that forbade me, Meral, to play with other children. (...) Although my granny was not there.

Meral could not understand the reasons for her differential treatment from her brother and the isolation from other children her grandmother imposed on her. Thus, it seemed to Meral like a personal special punishment. This education is gender specific, but her grandmother was much stricter in Meral's education than she experienced it with other girls around her. Meral recounts more freedom of movement and social contacts with neighbours and children during the time she spent with her mother. Thus, she did not only experience a separation from her mother, but also a harsh change in educational styles. She does not mention any positive experiences with her

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[5] I aim at socially contextualising these stories of mothering and daughtering, rather than psychoanalysing them and detecting those aspects of experience that may be displaced.

grandmother, and it seems that the unhappiness clearly outweighed any such possible positive experiences. In fact, at one point Meral did not want to go back to school anymore. When her sister took her to school despite her refusal, Meral blocked out a whole year from her memory.

Meral emphasises the painful aspects of the separation from her mother. At the same time, however, when she recounts that her mother took the decision to go to Germany first, she constructs her mother's agency as a – temporary – empowerment of decision making and bread winning in the family hierarchy:

> Meral: And it seems my mother also had problems paying the rent, and some time ago my sister told me that for example there were situations in which we had to share an egg between the four of us, you know.
>
> U: Hmm.
>
> M: And because of this my mother at one point said to herself- she listened to the radio a lot, then she heard on the radio that one can go to Germany to work and that many have done so already. Then she just thought 'I can try that, too'. She filled in a form and got a letter and then she went back to school for a year in order to- one had to have at least a middle- upper school-
>
> U: Middle school?
>
> M: Well, five years of schooling, she caught up on [her last year of schooling]. Me, my grandmother and her went to the (...) school, where I went later on. [That is the school] where my mother took her exams (...) She was in N [a German town] for three months, and then she brought my father over and they stayed for a year in N. (...) And then they fetched us

In Meral's narrative, the mother's migration to Germany is presented as her idea and decision. This differs from instances described in the literature (cf. Eryilmaz 1998), where the women's migration was decided by their husbands or the extended family.

Whether this is just due to Meral's perception as a child or not, it reflects Meral's view of the mother's migration as developing agency to overcome economic hardship. Finishing her primary education, migrating and adapting to the very different work in a factory from that of a housewife take courage and determination. Moreover, she challenged the gendered division of labour by taking on the role of breadwinner more successfully than her husband could in Turkey. Meral's presentation of her mother's migration, while emphasising the painful effects on herself also acknowledges and values her mother's agency in improving the family's economic situation. Moreover,

she uses this story of the mother's agency to construct an intergenerational continuity of empowerment or independence. Thus, in her narrative the painful and the empowering elements of the experience of separation are strongly intertwined and I believe should be regarded as the expression of a complex relationship, rather than emphasising one over the other.

Nilgün's experiences of separation from her mother were rather different. To her the primary relationship to her grandparents was more significant during her early childhood, a view shared by other interviewees. Nilgün lived with her sister Saniye, who was two years younger in a village in Turkey with the paternal grandparents. When she was five years old her parents migrated to Germany.

> Nilgün: Somehow I was a happy child, I would say until the age of ten. And I didn't have that with my parents, that I was lonely or felt left alone or abandoned. I didn't have such feelings, and for me it was rather frightening to think of the future where at one point I had to go to my parents. Because they were strangers to me. [I felt my actual] parents were my granny and gramps to whom I was very attached and who treated us very lovingly. But I was not there on my own, my sister [Saniye] was also there. And at one point the day came when they came to fetch us, that was when I was ten years old. (...) And, the separation was rather tough actually for me, for my grandparents it was very tough because they were very much attached to us (...)Well, and when I got here I was feeling very bad.

This shows how social and biological mothering are not the same. Nilgün does not present the separation from her parents as an abandonment, but instead viewed her grandparents as fulfilling the parenting role. For her, the memory of separation is most vivid with regard to her grandparents, which she juxtaposes to the separation from her parents, which she does not remember.[6] An important factor of continuity was the presence of her younger sister Saniye, with whom she shared the same migratory trajectory and the same experience of being parented. Nilgün also refers to Saniye to explain that she 'was not alone'. Being together with her younger sister thus was a significant instance of a stable relationship.

[6] The lack of memory can also be interpreted as an indicator for the trauma of an event. My concern here is however with the ways in which the interviewees' themselves make sense of their experiences, and integrate them in their self-presentations.

Separations and Sibling relationships

In order to expand my argument about the differences of social and biological mothering I contextualise this with other familial and caring relationships. In fact, considering the variations of mothering experiences with regard to different siblings in the same family may help to deconstruct the naturalisation of assumptions around mothering. Moreover, by considering the caring roles of others than the biological mother the primacy and naturalness of the mother-child dyad can be put into perspective, thus embedding the roles of caring and educating into a wider context.

The separation of family members can in fact lead to very diverse experiences of migration and related issues such as language acquisition and education. Nilgün recounts her initial problems when she joined her parents in Germany.

> N: Well I had really big difficulties, because I had to look after my younger siblings, and then I slowly realised 'this is a new family' that I did not know at all. I only knew my younger sister [Saniye]. I did not know Ülkü and Cemile [the two youngest sisters] at all at the time. I had seen Cemile, she had stayed in the village for 8 months, and Ülkü was with foster-parents, with a German family, she did not know any Turkish at all. I did not know any German, and Saniye neither. And nobody understood Cemile, because she stayed with a German family for one year as a child, then my parents fetched her to Hamburg she was somewhere in [the suburbs]. And they lived in the same house with a Kurdish family. At the time it was quite common that labour migrants did not have a flat of their own. (...) then she spoke a bit of Kurdish, then she spoke a bit of Turkish with my parents Then she was sent to the village for 8 months and nobody could understand her, apart from one aunt who always translated for her. Probably [this aunt] could put herself in [Cemile's] place so that she translated for her.

Here, Nilgün expresses two issues: first, she emphasises the great variation of experiences of the different siblings. In contrast to her initial closeness with Saniye, the relationship to her two other younger siblings was difficult. Although she was expected to look after them, she was not able to verbally communicate with them because of language barriers. The transmission of the mother-tongue is one important instance of the relevance of the mothering role for the construction of ethnic communities. Language and communication are often theorised as central in constructing and maintaining ethnic and national identity. Deutsch (1966) claims that the ability to communicate more easily with members of the national collectivity is central in explaining the attachment of individuals to the national collectivity. Anderson (1983) argues that the language commonality achieved through print media,

education systems, etc. is a precondition for constructing a shared imagination of the national community. At the same time, he compares the emotional attachment of the individual to the national community to the emotional attachment the individual feels to their family. While this metaphorical substitution of family and nation is problematic on several counts, it remains a powerful one (Appiah 1990, McClintock 1993). Nilgün's family's multi-linguality stems from the fact that the children have been brought up by different people in different countries and differing circumstances, due to both parents working outside the home. The example of Nilgün's family shows how the actual practice of migrant families may undermine theories that rely on the family as a linguistically and culturally uniform unit. The fact of migration may undermine not only the primacy of the mother in caring and educating her biological children, but also the transmission of ethnically specific cultural resources such as language through mothers.[7] The difficulties in communication that the family members were initially faced with need to be taken seriously. However, I would like to add that multi-linguality as a familial situation can also enhance the family members' ability to communicate across languages and thus turn it into a familiar, workable situation.

Second, she underlines the important role of sibling relationships as caring relationships. Siblings can also fulfil certain roles usually ascribed to mothering, such as providing a continuous point of (mutual) emotional reference (cf. Tizard 1991 on the role of siblings or peers in alleviating feelings of abandonment), as Nilgün describes with Saniye during her childhood in Turkey and the first period in Germany. As mentioned above, it is not only biological mothers who fulfil the mothering role. Thus, in my sample grandmothers, aunts, neighbours, paid childminders and also foster-parents have taken on primary caring responsibilities for varying periods because of the mothers' migration and her paid work outside the home. Nilgün also recounts taking on the mothering role in relation to her younger siblings. In particular her youngest siblings who were born after she came to Germany were in Nilgün's care. When Nilgün was 23 and decided to leave the family home and live in flat of her

[7] Cf. next section on transmission and transformation of ethnicity.
The transmission of ethnic resources does not only take place within the family, of course. Thus, Turkish schools, organised by the consulate, peer groups, social and political organisations were mentioned by my second generation interviewees as influencing their interest to learn the Turkish

own with her sister Saniye, the most difficult thing for her was not so much her parents' disapproval but the separation from her younger siblings.

> N: It was very hard, because we were very attached to the children, me in particular. (...) I was there when they were born. It was the first time that I have experienced my siblings from when they were little, the two youngest ones. (...) When the fifth one, Döndü was born there was a crisis at home, because it was a girl. Actually, my mother wanted a boy, or my father and my mother. And I had the impression that she was being excluded. And I was- then I was always there for the child. When she cried I was at her side before my mother. Actually I cared for her totally because I had the feeling that she is an excluded child. And I had a very close relation with her. That made it so difficult to move out before. I certainly would have moved out earlier, when I was 18 or so. The reason that I delayed moving out was always the children, the younger siblings. Because I felt I was letting them down. We always stuck together against my parents and I was (...) their point of reference. They could talk to me, I was simply the person to whom they related most closely. Then there was the responsibility. On the one hand towards my own struggle, on the other hand this familial attachment. I did not have a problem [leaving] my parents (...) But with my siblings it was difficult.
>
> (...)
>
> N: That was the toughest thing, when they threatened us with [breaking up our contact to the children]. Then [the parents] said 'you won't be allowed to see the children anymore', you know. Because they knew exactly that that would make us insecure. But then we brought ourselves to leave home, anyway.

In particular on Döndü's behalf, Nilgün consciously intervened into her parents' sexist distribution of care and attention; thus significantly shifting Döndü's position within the family. Nilgün identifies herself as the person her siblings related to most closely. This may be so because of her parents working in shifts, and thus not being able to spend much time with the children. Nilgün's view is of course partial and cannot be taken to mean that her parents did not fulfil any parental roles or responsibilities. They provided economically for their children, and also fulfilled emotional and physical caring roles for them. Moreover, it becomes apparent in Nilgün's statement that she always took her siblings' side against the parents, that they tried to exercise some educational authority. Nevertheless, certain aspects of Nilgün's relation with her younger siblings can be described as social mothering. Taking a slightly different slant, Nilgün's commitment to her siblings may also be read as her attempt to provide them with the continuity of the primary carer that she herself did not experience. Nilgün's concern as an important carer of her siblings becomes particularly evident in the conflict between Nilgün and her parents about her

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language, read literature, listen to music, learn folklore dancing, etc. or learn about social and political issues in Turkey.

leaving home. Her feeling of responsibility towards her younger siblings prevented her from leaving home earlier. The parents on the other hand, used these feelings to put pressure on her to stay. This is a constellation that is usually to be found between spouses, where the children are used as arguments for or against continuing the relationship.

The mothers' perspectives

Among the first generation interviewees who were mothers, Ayla, Nâlan and Pakize had experienced separations from their children. The children were left in the care of close relatives, mostly grandparents or aunts. The experience of separation can be very painful, not only for the children but certainly also for the mothers. Some of my interviewees mention this, however they do not always elaborate on it. This may be because such feelings are still difficult to cope with. One compounding factor is that the mothers may experience intense feelings of guilt. Ayla, one of my first generation interviewees, separated from her husband in England and moved to Sweden. Because of her job, she had to travel on a regular basis and found it very difficult to organise child-care for her son who was four years old at the time. For this reason she decided to send him to Turkey where her parents looked after him until the age of 11. In the meantime, she had migrated to Germany, where her son joined her after finishing primary school.

> U: So how did you feel about bringing your son to Turkey, was that fine, did you feel well- him being cared for there or...
>
> Ayla: No, well I think I trusted that he was taken care of that was not- but it was also emotionally very difficult for me. On the one hand to separate from him, I missed him a lot and I was also thinking what am I doing- I felt very guilty. What am I doing to this guy, I took him away from his father and now I am sending him away from me. So that was a very bad feeling.
>
> U: Did you feel people were reproaching you or-
>
> A: No, it was never openly, nobody ever said anything but it was my own feeling, I didn't feel good about it.

Such feelings of guilt can last for a very long time and may be brought up much later during different conflicts. Thus, Nilgün recounts that in the conflict that ensued when she and her sister left the parental home, her mother brought up these issues.

> Nilgün: Well, my mother could not cope at all [with our leaving home]. She felt betrayed because she worked hard for us all her life, and sacrificed all her life for the relationship because of her children.
>
> U: Her relationship to your father?
>
> N: Yes, exactly, yes. Her relationship with her husband.
>
> U: Is that how she put it?
>
> N: Yes she said that. And she also worked very hard. She felt very frustrated, and she could not fulfil the role of a mother according to her own feelings. And the children were scattered, and at one point they came. And she had very big problems with this, she had huge complexes, actually. Everyone was alone in the family. Well, that is a whole issue in itself. She was very embittered.

Here, Nilgün expresses her mother's deep regrets about her experiences of mothering. She worked very hard all her life and felt she stayed with her husband for the children's sake. Moreover, she had not been able to fulfil her own expectations of mothering. Nilgün does not spell out these expectations. However, it may have been to spend more time with her children. While the children were young they were cared for by others and did not live with her. Even when they came to live with her, she was working from noon till midnight so that she had very limited time with them. She felt that Nilgün's leaving home was a betrayal of all her sacrifices. Thus, in this mother daughter relationship, Nilgün's leaving home on the one hand expressed her wish to lead a different life from that of her mother. This, for her mother affirmed her own doubts about her mothering role. Although Nilgün does not criticise her mother for her lack of care towards herself during the interview, it is clear that her mother interpreted her decision to leave the parental home thus. This may indicate the strong normative hold of the argument that makes mothers responsible for their children's development (cf. Young 1994, Bhopal 1998)

Pakize's experience of separation from her children was particularly difficult. Her sole motivation for migration was to be able to provide for her children, after her divorce:

> U: What were your expectations when you migrated?
>
> Pakize: I didn't have any expectations. To be honest it was only and only to maybe live more comfortably. The mother-in-law had gone into debt and so on. Let us pay back the debt, and I didn't have any expectations from here, to be honest because...
>
> U: So was it in one way economic independence?

> P: Only that, only that. And then, I was planning to return to the children after a few years, but of course it didn't happen. Of course, it didn't happen as I had planned. (p. 2)

While Pakize did not return to Turkey, her ex-husband did not give his permission needed for the children to join her in Germany, either. Thus, for many years Pakize's mother-in-law cared for them, and Pakize saw them only once a year, during her summer holidays.

> P: Well, I went to Turkey every summer, every month I sent money. Of course, this is not good for the children... I was always a stranger for the children.
>
> U: Yes, they must have missed you a lot...
>
> P: Now, they would certainly have missed me. It is not about missing me, they expressed it by reacting badly to me. Because they were not staying with my mother, they were staying with the mother-in-law. And because the mother-in-law was not my mother, ahh, well she didn't represent me very well to the children: "Your mother is comfortable there, she is going out and enjoying herself." And a child doesn't understand...
>
> U: Of course.
>
> P: All year [they don't see their mother], for one month they see the mother and the mother leaves. And then, well, they tried to get closer, well they were reluctant in front of their paternal grandmother, because she may get jealous. They already sensed it at that age. Because the paternal grandmother loved them a lot, she was very jealous of me. (p.3)

Here, the dilemma that Pakize faced in fulfilling her mothering role comes out clearly. While she migrated and worked for her children's sake, this led to her separation from them. Her husband's refusal to allow them to join her led to the infrequency of her meeting the children. The estrangement due to the long separations was further compounded by the paternal grandmother's representation of Pakize as a 'bad', selfish mother. Moreover, the conflict of loyalty that the children felt between being close to their mother or their grandmother put an additional strain on Pakize's relationship with them. This shows the ambiguity of the child-care arrangement: while Pakize depended on her mother-in-laws child-care, she also laid herself open to criticism about her mothering. Bhopal's research on South Asian Mothers in London confirms the importance of this problem in the context of geographical proximity. While appreciating the help they get from their mothers-in-law, the mothers perceive them as ' "having the power" ' (487). They feel under stress because their own mothering style is under constant scrutiny or may be undermined by the mother-in-law (ibid.). These problems are due to a patrilineal and patrilocal family arrangement, where the mother-in-law has control over her daughters-in-law. However the temporal and

spatial separation from her children made it even more difficult for Pakize to counter her mother-in-laws representations of her as a 'bad mother'. Moreover, because of her divorce and her dependence on the mother-in-laws child-care she was in a very weak position to negotiate with her.

When her son became a teenager, he turned 'very naughty', and his grandmother could not control him anymore. Pakize brought him over to Germany, however within a short time, he 'got into trouble' and she decided to send him back to Turkey. There, he began to pressurise his sister and grandmother; however the grandmother could not assert her authority. The problems with her brother led to Pakize's daughter's wish to join her mother in Germany. At this point, her father also gave his permission. Pakize's daughter was about to turn 16, after which age she would not have been eligible for family reunification. Therefore, Pakize was glad that her daughter took the decision to join her very quickly.

> P: Well, she came within two months. If she hadn't come then, she wouldn't have been able to come anymore. I view this as luck. But of course, it was not that easy, two people who don't know each other.
>
> U: Yes, of course it must be very difficult.
>
> P: You are a mother, you love your child, but... maybe she loves you, too. However we were strangers to each other. She was a grown up girl, and well, me I am a person who has always lived on her own for years. Well, the difficulties started. (...) She was crying, only listening to music, she went and locked herself in. She often said "I am leaving"

This quote shows the difficulties Pakize and her daughter faced between reconciling their expectations of mother-daughter relationships, to be characterised by love and understanding, with the diverging reality of being 'strangers to each other'. They had to get to know each other and get used to living together after a long time. Moreover, Pakize's daughter had to adapt to living in Germany. Pakize describes the first five years of their living together as very difficult. Her daughter reproached her ' "why did you leave us behind and go?"'. She often threatened Pakize with returning to Turkey, which was very painful for Pakize. However, with time Pakize and her daughter 'got on better and better':

> P: From Turkey she thought (...) I have gone to a foreign country, I enjoy myself everyday and so on, that is what she thought. When she came here and saw my way of life, well she saw my friends. And then she realised her mother is only working here! That is, it isn't as she thought or as it was told her.

During this period, however Pakize 'got news [about her son] that were not good at all': 'I heard complaints from everybody'. After a failed marriage, her son 'left and we don't know where he went to'. Thus, Pakize did not have a chance to re-build a relationship with her son.

The slow and painful process of rapprochement with her daughter however was successful and they have a good relationship now. After staying in Germany and working for some years, her daughter got married and returned to Turkey with her husband, where Pakize regularly visits her.

In their study, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) point out that transnational mothers find different ways of caring over the temporal and spatial distance. They clearly delineate their form of mothering from abandonment, disowning or estrangement, even if they have not seen their children for ten years. Sending money, letters, photographs and phoning are ways of maintaining a relation with their children. 'Transnational mothers seek to mesh caregiving and guidance with breadwinning.' (564) Nonetheless, some experience that they loose their authority over their children through the distance. While some think that their children recognise and value their sacrifices, not all do. Lutz (1998) in her study on Surinamese migrant women and their daughters in the Netherlands also discusses a case where the mother had left her daughter behind with the grandmother. The mother names her concern not to deprive the grandmother of the child as an important reason for leaving her daughter behind. Lutz analyses this as an instance of kin work, where the daughter was used as a 'present' to strengthen the ties between the mother and grandmother. When the daughter joined the mother in the Netherlands, she concurred in the prevalent Dutch construction of her mother as a bad mother. Lutz argues that this stems from the conflicting constructions of (Dutch) singular versus (Surinamese) non-singular motherhood. Retrospectively the mother viewed her decision to leave the daughter behind as a 'big mistake'. Thus, a woman's notion of good mothering may change over time. And as children grow up and articulate a critical view of non-singular mothering, this can be an important source of mothers' self-doubt.

From the experiences of my interviewees, it emerges that while mothers put great effort into maintaining caring relationships with their children, they also face

difficulties reconciling transnational motherhood with their own ideals of good mothering. Thus, they may feel regret and guilt for having had to separate from their children. Moreover, 'othermothers' (Hill-Collins 1991), that is women sharing mothering responsibilities with biological mothers can have an ambiguous role. On the one hand, their child-care is indispensable for transnational mothers, and from the perspective of the children they may be seen as the primary carers, as Deniz and Nilgün saw their grandparents. On the other hand, they may also be in a position to undermine the relationship between the biological mother and her children through implicit or explicit criticism of her as a 'bad mother'. As Reina Weems (1991) writes in an autobiographical essay about her relation with her mother, she found emotional care and understanding from othermothers that her biological mother was not able to give her. However, she concedes that these were 'women who did not have the onus of providing for me, and so had the luxury of talking to me.' (1991:126). Therefore, an acknowledgement of the mothers' role of breadwinning as a crucial part of their practices of 'good mothering' is an important step towards de-constructing ideals of mothering that contribute to the de-valuation of migrant women's mothering practices. Lutz (1998) argues that non-singular practices and notions of motherhood allow for the differentiation of two aspects of care work, namely 'caring for' and 'caring about'. She argues that in Western normative notions of mothering both aspects are united in the person of the biological mother. However, where non-singular motherhood is seen as normative, these two aspects need not be fulfilled by the same person:

> The code of non-singular motherhood requires accepting the factual co-existence of these aspects in the migration project: leaving the 'care for' [children] to another 'mother' may be seen as the expression of the 'care about' [the children]. (Lutz 1998: 294-5, my translation from German)

While the pain of separation is felt by both mothers and daughters, from the children's' point of view, 'being left behind' may be read as showing a lack of love, an interpretation commensurate with the normative Western 'cult of true womanhood' (Hill-Collins). However, as Leira and Krips point out:

> it is impossible for observers- therapists, social workers, or others- to draw conclusions about a mothers love for her child based solely on her actions. It is necessary for observers to understand both what kind

of power oppression her actions are related to, and what possibilities she has to realise her motherly love. (1993: 87)

The interviewees' stories of transnational mothering and daughtering are complex and contrast with the stereotypical public image of Turkish migrant women as over-determined by 'traditional' gender roles. The separations of mothers and children have created new problems and new ways of overcoming them. The argument on failed mother-child attachment suggests a priori pathologising transnational mothering. Instead, by making the interviewees experiences visible, I hope to validate them and show the agency of both mothers and children in constructing and maintaining relationships of mutual recognition, creating new ways of mothering and daughtering, even if this often included difficult and conflictual experiences and feelings. It is not my intention to simply celebrate these transnational mothering practices as a challenge to normative mothering roles or ethnically specific stereotypes, since these experiences also generated a lot of pain that needs to be explored and addressed.

Regulations of 'good mothering' not only pertain to the closeness of mothers and children, but also construct women as the cultural reproducers of the national or ethnic collectivity (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989, 1992, Yuval-Davis 1997). Mothers are thus ascribed a crucial role in the transmission of ethnically specific values and resources. In the next section I explore how the mothers in the sample present these aspects of mothering.

Transmitting and Transforming Ethnicities

Women's role in ethnic and national projects is most often conceptualised as passive and they are often used as symbols for a static, immutable essence of the national or ethnic group, while men symbolise the active and progressive elements in nationalism (Mosse 1985; Apitzsch 1996). Women's supposed greater truthfulness to tradition is seen as important in socialising children into the ethnic group and transmitting ethnically specific values. In the context of migration, where women are subjected to two sets of norms of femininity (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1992) the pressure on

women as mothers to transmit ethnically specific values and cultural resources to the children may even be greater.

> The creation of a sense of belonging is the primary task of mothers who are usually (made) responsible for the well being of their children. (...) Giving their children a home under the circumstances of displacement is a difficult task, but one which is achieved by the majority of migrant mothers. (…) However, making sure their children are happy and raising them to agree with their personal and collective moral rules, can become a double burden.' (Lutz 1995: 313)

The pressure to transmit ethnically specific collective values may at times lead to a more restrictive education of migrant children than even the parental generation themselves or peers in Turkey experience (Lutz 1991, Suaréz-Orozco 2000). On the other hand, the experience of migration can also open up new ways of living gender and family relations, indeed the women often use migration as an avenue to escape unsatisfactory or oppressive family situations (cf. Lutz 1997, Phizacklea 1998). The interviewees are negotiating and contesting dominant ethnocised values and constructions of community in their own lives, an important instance of this is their decision to divorce from their husbands. Single and divorced women of Turkish background, although increasing in number continue to be viewed as the exception, and are ignored by the social science literature (for an exception, cf. Erdem 2000). In his recent study on Turkish migrants in Britain, Kucukcan (1999) theorises the family as the core social organisation of the ethnic community, that continues to transmit ethnically specific values. There are no references to female headed households, or divorce in his study. While this can be seen as a consequence of the empirical male focus of the study, it is a problematic omission of the increasing economic possibility of divorce or single status that migration enables (expert interviews). In Turkey, living as a single or divorced woman is difficult both economically and socially and the percentage of single women is very low, Göbenli (1999:29) states that among the female urban population only 1% is not married. Kucukcan's assumption of the normality of a heterosexual two-parent family theoretically reproduces the hegemonic conception of women's appropriate sexual behaviour, here intra-ethnic marriage and motherhood, as a marker of ethnicity. Moreover, by according the heterosexual two-parent family this centrality in the transmission of ethnic identity, he theoretically reifies women's role as cultural reproducers of the ethnic group, however only within

the prescribed, ethnocised parameters of femininity[8]. Against this backdrop, I argue that the interviewees' family forms of single motherhood can be seen as challenging rather than adhering to a fixed and unified notion of ethnically specific tradition. Instead, I examine what they view as ethnically specific resources and values worth transmitting to their children. The transmission of ethnically specific values entails a transformation of ethnicity, also (Inowlocki 1995, Fischer 1986, Lutz 1995, 1997, 1998). Thus, Inowlocki argues that migration of groups can lead to a crisis because of the loss of inter-generationally constituted identity. 'A new intergenerational identity (...) through a common practice of agency and its own normative reasons can only be realised if there is the possibility to integrate the changes.' (1995:430, my translation from German) She terms the negotiation of important events and the reflection on change within the family 'generational work' in accordance with the concept of 'biographical work' which serves to make sense of experiences of crisis, rupture and discontinuity to integrate them into a liveable notion of self. As Lutz points out:

> The legacy of migration is an instance of "generational work". Generational work entails the constructive efforts of parents and children to deal with the consequences of severe changes in their social environment through the course of life-events (here: migration), for their sense of being at home and their definition of self. (1995:313)

In accordance with this notion of 'generational work' I suggest we might view the stories about the mothers' transmission of ethnically specific values as a dynamic exchange in which the generations mutually constitute each others identities rather than a one-way process. As Lutz's study on Surinamese mothers and daughters in the Netherlands revealed, instead of employing authoritarian educational styles to prevent an estrangement from their children, most mothers engaged in 'a process of ongoing negotiation and reformulation of a shared "cultural heritage". The answer to the question what is our way of doing, thinking, acting is not fixed but constantly redefined by both parents and children.' (1995: 313).

The following discussions of the interviewees' stories on transmitting and transforming ethnicity are structured as follows: I begin by showing how mothers exercise agency in their projects of 'transmitting ethnicity': they select specific

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[8] These assumptions are not limited to Kucukcan's study (e.g Rosen 1992).

cultural resources, practices and values they wish to transmit and engage in negotiations about the meanings of these ethnically specific resources with their children. Second, I argue that these negotiations of ethnically specific resources between mothers and children also involve different, at times conflicting constructions of meaning of symbols and practices. These diverging meanings are not contained within the mother-child relationship but include 'significant others' (Lutz 1998), such as family members, peers, educators and child-carers. Moreover, discourses and representations, such as those of 'identity crisis' of second-generation migrants, or those of being 'between two cultures', as well as institutionalised and sub-cultural practices play an important role. Third, I suggest we might view the construction of ethnic identity, both for the mothers and for the children as bound up with cross-ethnic relations and identifications beyond the dichotomy of culture of origin (Turkish) versus majority culture (German or English). People from other ethnic minorities can play an important part in the identity constructions of migrants of Turkish background, too. And this can lead to the elaboration of explicit, self conscious 'bi-national' or 'bi-cultural', hybrid or hyphenated or multiple ethnicities.
It is crucial here to point out that neither ethnically specific nor cross-ethnic identifications can be fully explained through the analysis of family relations. Instead peers, social, cultural and political organisations as well as state institutions and media play an important role in these, too (cf. Lutz 1997, 1998).

The following examples are taken from Pinar's, Birgül's and Nâlan's life-stories, that gave mothering an important place. Pinar contends that since her divorce nine years ago 'My life revolved around my job and Derya [her ten year old daughter], and that continues to this day' (p.21). Mothering to her is a central part of her own subjectivity, which she heavily invests in. Like Pinar, Birgül presents her eight year old daughter as central to her life projects. She reflects that as a single mother she is particularly close to her daughter. While she sees this as a positive result of her own choices, she also strongly feels that the demands of being a single mother working full-time have an effect of isolating her, so that the relation to her daughter in terms of responsibility as well as enjoyment gains even more centrality in her life. These feelings were shared by other interviewees about their experience of being a single mother. Nâlan also gave her relation with her son and his problems in Britain a prominent place in her life story. This is related to her concerns at the time of

interview. Ugur, her seventeen year old son, had been living in Turkey for six months. Nâlan was happy that he had decided to spend some time in Turkey because she wanted him to get away from England, where he was part of a petty criminal friendship group, whose activities had brought him to court on one occasion. This crisis triggered a dialogue between Nâlan and her son about his choice of friends, and the values he embraced, as well as leading to Nâlan's self-reflections about her education.

Pinar

Selection and transmission of ethnically specific values

Pinar views all second generation migrants like herself as 'a priori bi-cultural' (p.86). She is very active in feminist and migrants' political campaigns and in her personal life also values friendships and networks with other migrants. In this context, I asked, whether there were any values that Pinar regarded as specifically Turkish that she wanted to offer her daughter. Pinar emphasised the importance of teaching her the Turkish language, so that she exclusively spoke Turkish with Derya in her early childhood. She also encouraged Derya's father, who is Kurdish to speak Kurmanci[9] with Derya. Moreover, she sent Derya to a bi-lingual kindergarten and to mother-tongue classes at school. While the transmission of Turkish language to their children was an important issue for most of the mothers, not all of them had such clear educational strategies as Pinar. This may be linked to her greater awareness as a second generation migrant of the complexities of identification for migrant children. Moreover, Pinar views mothering also in the context of her professional and social-political networks and activities:

> The absolute priority is to educate Derya, according to my ideas what I think is right.
>
> U: Humm, yes.
>
> P: Emancipatory work plays a very big role in this, consciously. (p.67)

Thus, the project of educating her daughter is bound up with her professional expertise in terms of 'emancipatory work'. As such, Pinar has a very high level of reflection, and of conscious decision-making, as well as being able to use her

[9] Kurmanci is the most widespread Kurdish dialect in Turkey.

professional knowledges, such as familiarity with specific bi-cultural or migrants institutions in the education of her daughter.[10]

One element in this strategy is that Pinar takes Derya to certain activities and events such as folklore evenings, wedding parties, circumcision parties, or political events. Although Pinar herself is not that interested in these, she wants to acquaint her daughter with these: 'I *consciously* took her there, she had contact to these people, she got to know the music but other things also and that was important to me.' (p. 82)

This quote shows Pinar's awareness that cultural competence and knowledge are important ethnic resources that are not naturally transmitted but acquired or accessed in a social way. Especially the participation in social events, such as life-cycle events, is a way of learning and getting to know cultural resources. Pinar says she herself is 'not that curious' about these events, probably because she participated in them before and may not identify fully with the sociality expressed in these events. This sociality is often centred around the nuclear or extended family and is part of elaborate gender-performances which clash with Pinar's ideas and practices as a divorced, independent, single mother. Thus, Pinar does not aim to provide Derya with an unproblematic, ready made ethnic identification. Instead, by participating in activities and events with which she herself does not fully identify, she also provides her daughter with a model for partial and contingent identification (Parker 1995).

Pinar's view of the legitimity of a 'bi-cultural' identity is borne out in the way she encourages Derya to use identity labels flexibly and situationally. Derya sometimes asks her whether she is Turkish, Kurdish or German. Pinar then tells her

> 'You are what you feel', you know. And that sometimes changes, she says 'You know what, mum, I think I am only German'. and then I don't react by saying 'Oh my god, how can you do this to me!' as other people I know approach the issue. I say 'Well, than you are a German.'
>
> U: Humm.
>
> P: And then some days she says 'I find it stupid how Germans deal with it' or something. And I don't force her to define herself. (...) But when she is asked by others, (...) 'Who do you love more, Germany or Turkey? 'Well, that happens often.

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[10] The material and symbolic resources for mothering are also class-specific. Thus, for example Ayla's financial resources and her social networks enabled her to bring a live-in childminder from Turkey to look after her son. This helped to transmit the Turkish language to him, although Ayla was in paid employment and her husband was not Turkish.

> And then she has said 'Both', you know, 'I love both (...) and the question is really stupid' she adds that, too. (p.69)

Thus, in Pinar's view and in her educational practice, situational and partial identification with ethnically specific cultural practices and different ethnically based collectivities is both possible and legitimate. This certainly reflects her own ways of dealing with ethnic belonging.

Another important issue in the above extract is that the events she cites include folklore and political events. This reflects on the variety of practices laying claim to represent ethnic culture. While there is a tendency in multi-culturalist discourses and practices to naturalise and de-politicise culture, political groups and parties use cultural performances as a powerful tool of mobilisation. Thus, folklore groups are often linked to political groups or parties. In particular the expression of Alevi or Kurdish culture in the context of racist Turkish state practices - dominant in the German migration context, also - is a political challenge to their marginalisation and often a politicised re-invention of cultural resources (cf. Acik 2000). Many mass assemblies are centred on speeches, but importantly also on musical or dance performances.

Pinar's own priorities in social life are reflected in her choice of taking Derya to political meetings in order to experience and get to know politically and socially specific 'Turkish' cultural resources and values. This reflects Pinar's own process of negotiating her ethnic identity: As a young girl, Pinar experienced her parents restrictions of her education and her movements as representative of Turkishness and in her teenage years rejected Turkishness altogether. Only in the final years of highschool did she get to know politically interested, socially progressive people which gave her access to versions of Turkishness (and Kurdishness) that were reconcilable with her own identification as an aspiring intellectual. Moreover, she experienced this version of Turkishness as encompassing a diversity of gender roles, including that of independent women. This new understanding of Turkishness was a turning point for Pinar's ethnic identification, motivating her to learn Turkish again and get 're-socialised into [Turkish] culture' (p.28). Pinar's notion of re-socialisation is echoed by other second generation interviewees. It demonstrates a self reflexivity of the constructedness of belonging. Here, Pinar signals that her identification with Turkishness, and use of 'Turkish' social and cultural resources was and is changing,

in flux. Despite acknowledging the social constructedness of what Turkishness means, Pinar maintains that it is important to her to transmit to her daughter that 'she knows where she is from.' (p.69). She sees her own and her daughter's ability to partially identify with forms of Turkishness as an important marker of difference to Derya's German peers: 'And I think she knows that she is a bit different from all the German children here. There are other things that play a role in her life, also' (p.69). While she does not want to fix the meaning of 'Turkishness' and also wants to be able to avoid Turkish people or Turkish music in certain situations, she maintains the centrality of Turkishness to her self-presentation: 'But it is always part of me. And that is what I also see in Derya.' (p.71) Thus, through her experiences of growing up in Germany as a second generation migrant, Pinar sees ethnicity as heterogeneous and context-bound. She tries to give her daughter access to diverse social and cultural resources and presents multiple and partial belonging as legitimate. Against the backdrop of the cultural and social dominance of Germanness, Pinar's educational strategy of familiarising her daughter with diverse notions of 'Turkishness' is part of an education into a bi-cultural identification. The contact and access to German peers, institutions and cultural resources is tacitly self understood in her narrative. What matters to Pinar is to transmit to her daughter a sense of difference and the knowledge that she can be more than only German.

Conflicting meanings of ethnically specific resources

There can also be conflicting constructions of meaning of ethnically specific resources. Mothers are confronted with their children's appropriations and negotiations of ethnicity from other sources, too. Conflicting meanings are especially salient when they challenge values and attitudes central to the mothers' self-presentation as in the following examples, thus requiring a specific effort of generation work.

Pinar not only exposes her daughter to her own favoured versions of Turkishness, but also regularly takes her to see her own parents. There, Derya experiences a very different version of Turkishness, and has to negotiate conflicting values of her mother and grandparents.

P: And there she is confronted with religion for example. And she has a very different problem with religion, she *wants* to believe. She reproaches me because I don't believe.

U: Yes.

P: It's crazy! I have also discussed religion with Derya. I always try and keep it on a philosophical level. She is fascinated by her grandmothers praying and fasting. She finds that great.

U: Yes, yes.

P: (...) She is torn between the two, although I don't think she suffers from that but tries to reconcile it. Because they believe and are so determined to hold onto it, while her mum decisively rejects it.

U: Yes.

P: And she tries to find her own way. And sometimes she says 'I believe in God' and then again 'I don't believe in Him, otherwise [bad things] wouldn't be allowed to happen'. (...) She is very alert and observes and tries to make sense. But there she is part of the discussion [about religion] and as long as it is in a distance and reduced it's alright, it is also part of the culture.

U: Yes.

P: And I also try to simply see this religion only as culture. (p.97)

Religion is a highly controversial, emotional and political subject in the context of migrants of Turkish background. By discussing religion 'on a philosophical level' Pinar tries to avoid imposing her own outright rejection of religion onto her daughter. By doing so, she allows her daughter to find her own position and to experiment with different attitudes towards religion. Despite this, Pinar's need to contain the differences between her daughter's and her own views on religions becomes clear when she emphasises that she accepts these discussions as long as it is at a distance and reduced to a cultural issue.

Pinar herself did not have such a plural picture of varying modalities of ethnicity when she was growing up, but in her own educational practice she does not impose her meanings of Turkishness on her daughter, and within certain contingencies allows for conflict.

Fostering cross-ethnic identifications

Pinar in her education has put specific emphasis on enabling Derya to deal with being a migrant, she does not aim to educate Derya into Turkishness but rather to enable her to cross ethnic boundaries. Pinar tries to give her daughter opportunities to gain such a wider view. This happens through spending time with friends from different places. Thus, an important reference point for Derya when she was growing up was Pinar's best friend Alice who is Black South African. Derya grew up in close contact with Alice and her family.

> P: Alice was here every day or we were at their place. We were a family (...) we celebrated holidays together. Whether they were Christian or Muslim or more cultural holidays. And for her it was a matter of course that there were Black people around her. Or for example we used to have picnics and barbecues with the children and other friends, Turkish friends, and I don't know, South American people, that is speaking Spanish, English, Turkish and the children played together, because we wanted it that way.' (p. 76)

Pinar consciously gives her daughter an environment where she can interact with different migrant people as a matter of fact. Pinar helped Derya gain the language skills in English to be able to talk to some of her friends who do not speak German. Moreover, she tries to give her other opportunities of dealing with being a migrant by providing her with multicultural educational materials. As there are only very few multicultural educational materials available in Germany, she brings these from Britain or from South Africa. As there are only very few multicultural educational materials available in Germany, she brings these from Britain or from South Africa. This shows on the one hand, the cultural and institutional limitations of her cross-ethnic educational project by the unavailability of educational material in Germany. On the other hand, it shows her agency and resourcefulness in using her transnational, cross-ethnic, cultural, social and economic capital (English language, ability to travel) in her educational project. Pinar is also is planning to take Derya with her to visit Alice in South Africa, since Alice and her family returned after the abolition of Apartheid which led to the withdrawal of their residence permit in Germany.

Pinar points out, that this cross-ethnic friendship network was a choice, she and her friends made. This is an oppositional strategy to the normalisation and naturalisation of ethnically homogeneous notions of community, closeness and intimacy. In particular her close relationship with Alice and her family, as Pinar points out was 'a substitute for what maybe lacked in terms of a conventional family, well father and mother together.' (p.76) This can be viewed as a heterosexual, cross-ethnic 'family of

choice' (Weeks et al 2001), transgressing normative assumptions of the naturalness of family-life based on a nuclear mother-father-child structure. Pinar is still in close contact with Alice, they write letters, send faxes and parcels and speak on the phone on birthdays. 'It is a part of family whose absence we feel. And for Derya – I find that important- it is something familiar, not something strange, you know. If anything, Germanness used to be strange to her.' (p. 77) If we take Pinar's description of Alice and her family as 'part of family whose absence we feel' seriously, this can be seen as an instance of transnationalisation of a family of choice.

She sums up her aim in educating her daughter as enabling her to deal with plurality. This goes beyond cultural or linguistic competence in Turkish and German but includes a capacity of understanding and relating to non-ethnically bounded cultural forms and to build inter-ethnic relations.

Pinar's educational practice puts into question a narrow view of mothering as the transmission of ethnic identity. On a very intimate and micro-level it can be seen as a case in point to critically assess theories of Diaspora (e.g. Cohen 1997) or transnationalism (e.g. Faist 1998). These theories view transnational, intra-ethnic networks, based on primordial family-like solidarities, as the main sites of identity construction. This does not take into account sufficiently the significance of local and transnational inter-ethnic relations for processes of personal and collective identification. Pinar's story calls particular attention to the fact that family-like solidarities are not necessarily ethnically bounded, but can transcend these boundaries. Pinar's reflexive and elaborated educational strategy cannot be viewed as representative. It constitutes a specific intervention into the normalised relation of gender, family, nation and ethnicity. Although it is important to acknowledge the specificity of Pinar's strategies, it is worth underlining that many migrants are faced with negotiating ethnic difference and this includes elements of cross-ethnic identifications.

Birgül

Transmitting ethnically specific resources: Struggling for Public Recognition of the Turkish Language

Birgül put a lot of effort into educating her daughter bi-lingually. Thus, despite a number of problems, she employed Turkish women as childminders in Aysel's infancy. When Aysel was one and half years old, she sent her to a 'progressive kindergarten' where one of the educators spoke Turkish. However, the children at the kindergarten were discouraged from speaking languages other than German:

> I went to pick up Aysel, everybody speaks German, and when she speaks to me she goes [whispering] in Turkish. I said 'Aysel, why do you whisper when you speak Turkish?' The language being suppressed made her insecure to speak Turkish, speaking Turkish came to be a source of insecurity.(p.22)

When Birgül thematised this at a parents' evening, she was told that the kindergarten had a language development policy that aimed at fostering the German language only. Birgül initiated a debate among the parents and the workers about bi-lingual education. She became part of the management committee, being particularly responsible for the migrant children and in the end the committee decided to adopt a bi-lingual education policy. Although Birgül feels that this was not entirely implemented, it achieved the aim of children speaking more freely in their languages at the kindergarten. This instance shows, how Birgül's educational strategy of teaching her daughter both Turkish and German does not remain in the private realm of the home. Her efforts also reached out to institutionalise the acceptance of other languages in the kindergarten.

Fostering multiple identifications

Like Pinar, Birgül fosters her daughters' multiple identifications. Thus, she recounts that at her registration at school the headmistress asked about Aysel's mothertongue:

> 'What's the mothertongue of Aysel?' Mothertongue? I asked Aysel. 'My mothertongue is German Turkish' she said. 'I mean...' the woman tried to explain herself. 'She is right, she speaks both of them perfectly' I said. 'Yes, I am born here

> and I speak both languages' Aysel said. 'What should I write here?' the woman asked 'German Turkish' Aysel answered.

In recounting this dialogue, Birgül shows her pride about her daughter's creative and self-assured response. Moreover, she re-enacts the dynamics of the dialogue: Thus, the question about Aysel's mothertongue was initially addressed to Birgül. However, refusing to (mis-)represent her daughter, Birgül encouraged her daughter to represent herself. The headmistress's hesitation and attempt to explain that the questionnaire required the identification with a single mothertongue shows how the institutionalised incitements and regulations of identification do not allow for multiple identifications. Aysel, nonetheless insisted on her dual identification and supported it with the argument that she was born in Germany. This reference to the place of birth shows that Aysel builds her identity around the argument of *ius soli*. Although she may not fully grasp the impact of the argument, nor be able to locate it in debates around citizenship, it is striking that she knows about this point of reference to validate her claims to a German 'mothertongue'. Birgül supported this by adding that Aysel's identification was borne out by her mastery of both languages. In the terms of the hybridity debate, this is a claim to authority over a nationalised cultural resource, language, which functions as a boundary marker of belonging. This can be seen as an everyday situation in the lifeworlds of migrants, in which Birgül and her daughter resist the normalisation of exclusive national and ethnic ascriptions by claiming a dual, hybrid or hyphenated identity.

Different Meanings: Negotiating Belonging Relationally

This strategy of subversive identification is located in an institutional context that reduces identification to a national or ethnic category. In other contexts, however Aysel's identification is not limited to national or ethnic categories. Thus, when a friend of Birgül's at home asked Aysel for an identification, she responded:

> Birgül: 'I am German Turk, but my mother is Turk German' she said. I asked her 'what's that supposed to mean?' 'My mother is born in Turkey but lives in Germany, and I am born in Germany, but I am born from my mother. I love Turkey, and I love Germany. I have four countries, I belong to four countries.' 'Four?' I asked, 'Which ones?' She said to me 'I am born in Germany, I am German and I am Turkish, and I know Turkish very well, of course I am also a Turk. Moreover, I love Turkey a lot, and my mother is Turkish, too. I am both, *I am both*'. So she put it really very well and concretely, without even thinking. 'I have four countries. I love Turkey a lot' we had been to Alanya last time 'I love Alanya a lot (laughs), I love Germany, and I love Spain, and I have a fourth country that is fantasy country' 'Oh,' I said, where is that?

U: How nice!

N: 'That is my country' she said 'it isn't yours, you wouldn't know it. It belongs to me' she said. 'Well, I said, can I come to your fantasy country I asked. 'no, you can't' she said. 'But can you show me around there?' I asked. 'How?' she asked, 'you could draw it for me' I said. 'But it would be a very big picture' 'So we can put a few pages on the floor and you can draw' I said. That's what we did.

This quote shows that Aysel's processes of locating herself are complex. Since this story is related by her mother Birgül it also shows aspects of the relation between mother and daughter. On one level, Birgül appreciates Aysel's independent identifications and is proud of Aysel's ability to represent these complex processes. On another level, Aysel defines her national and ethnic identification in relation to her mother. Thus, her identification with Turkishness is an expression of belonging to and loyalty with her mother. Aysel chooses a dual identification as German Turk for herself and sustains this by her place of birth. She also ascribes Birgül a dual identity as Turk German. This is an interesting construction of commonality and difference. Aysel's neologism expresses the logic of place of birth in the first word and the additional identity in the second word of the national identity label. This constitutes a *difference* between mother and daughter in terms of place of birth. At the same time it invokes *commonalty* between mother and daughter, since these are dual identifications. As Pinar expressed both in relation to her parents and her daughter, ethnic identification of a child can often be seen as expressing their relation with the parent(s). Thus, from a parent's perspective a dis-identification with the parent's national identity can be felt as threatening the bond. Aysel's differentiated construction of her and her mother's national identity pre-empts such parental fears of divisiveness while at the same time taking difference into account. Thus, in this story of intergenerational difference, potential conflicts are pre-empted: 'Continuity in the strengthening of family ties can be reached through an act of imagination as well.' (Lutz 1995: 314) Aysel's identification also entails elements independent from her mother, thus she adds the affective dimension of loving both Germany and Turkey as arguments for her dual identification.

Aysel's claim to four (or indeed five) countries shows the age-specific mixing of national and local identifications: thus she lists Alanya, a holiday resort in Turkey, with the countries (Germany, Turkey, Alanya, Spain and Fantasycountry) she claims

belonging to.[11] It is striking, however, that despite her young age Aysel ably navigates the discursive terrain of (national) belonging situationally. Thus, her response to the headmistress and her initial statement of a German Turkish identity are commensurate with the hegemonic paradigms of national belonging. This co-exists with additional place-specific identifications, such as her claim for belonging to Spain and Alanya which is justified with her love of these. Despite her affective claim for belonging, she does not claim an identity as someone from Alanya or Spanish. This can be interpreted as her ability to differentiate between affection for a place and the institutionalised forms of claiming a national identity which are based on place of birth, residence or familial heritage.

'Fantasycountry' constitutes a further level of identification, it is Aysel's individual and idiosyncratic space for identification beyond the parameters of nation or ethnicity. Her choice of the metaphor of place and her claim for belonging are intriguing. While she is aware that this form of belonging is located on another level from that of national belonging, she nonetheless lists it among her identifications. I read this insistence on the relevance of her idiosyncratic identification as putting into perspective or resisting an all-embracing national identification. The idiosyncratic nature of Aysel's fantasycountry does not allow her to take her mother there and I read Birgül's request to share this place with her as expressing an anxiety over an – albeit fantasy - separation from her daughter. Aysel's acceptance of the suggestion to draw a picture of fantasycountry for her mother shows first, her willingness to share this space to a certain extent with her mother and second a complex insight into the working of representation. Representing her fantasycountry through a drawing means to make it visible to her mother, but allows Aysel to keep the authority over this fantasy-space.

[11] Research on national identification in children has similar findings: Following Piaget and Weil, Wacker (quoted in Marvakis 1995:73) differentiates three phases in the cognitive and affective development of children in relation to national identity: 1) unstable, spontaneous preferences based on individual fragments of memory. 2) Adaptation of familial orientations as an emergent group identity. In these phase, the differentiation between place, region and nation is not yet developed. 3) Adaptation of (dominant) national self-stereotypes. Marvakis argues that these phases should not be fixed to an age group nor viewed as finished. Instead, he suggests to view the cognitive and affective dimensions of national identification as processual, changing and developing during adulthood, too. Moreover, he argues that a merely psychological approach to these is not justified.

This extract emphasises that the process of transmitting ethnically specific identities and negotiating belonging is not uni-directional. Throughout the interview Birgül chooses different ethnic identity labels for herself, such as 'a person from Turkey', 'migrant woman', 'foreigner', 'Ausländer' and does not identify as 'Turk German'. In this extract, however, she accepts her daughter's ascription as 'Turk German'. In this sense, the mutual negotiation and transformation of identity labels between mother and daughter successfully deals with difference and commonalty, so that these are not viewed as conflicting meanings.

Mothering is context specific, and so are the stories told about it. Both Pinar and Birgül's stories about educating their daughters are temporally located in their evaluation of the presence and projections of the future. At the time of interview Pinar's daughter Derya was ten years old and Birgül's daughter Aysel was eight years old. At this age difference and opposition to parental projects are less articulate than during adolescence or young adulthood where the mothers' control and influence are less far-reaching. In both Pinar's and Birgül's stories of mothering, the aspect of educating *daughters*, that is female children, is also crucial. Pinar clearly articulates this in her aim of 'emancipatory' education, while in Birgül's narrative this aspect is implicit. The mother-daughter relationship has been theorised as specific because of their shared gender. This transmission of gender identity entails the tension between educating the daughter into a form of femininity embodied by the mother herself and enabling the daughter to embody different forms of femininity (Rosen 1993). Whichever elements may prevail, shared gender constitutes an important point of reference for negotiating similarity and difference in their mutual and independent identity projects. In the following story of Nâlan about her relationship with her son, age and gender thus constitute important differences to the previous stories. Moreover, this story of mothering illuminates the specific context of England. By contrasting it with the experiences of mothering in Germany, the situated processes of differential racialization and ethnocisation are highlighted.

Nâlan

Nâlan's son Ugur is 17 years old. He had joined Nâlan in England as a nine year old and had been living with her since. At the time of the interview Nâlan was preoccupied with the problems she had been experiencing with Ugur over the last three years. She made his involvement with a particular friendship group responsible for his involvement in petty criminal activities. These petty criminal activities on one occasion had brought him to court, where he was fined. Nâlan's own 'dreams' for her son had been that he could benefit from educational opportunities and become an academic. She felt 'disappointed' by his lack of academic interest, but more so she worried about his petty criminal activities. Therefore she urged Ugur to break his ties with this peer group and when Ugur decided to join his father in Turkey for a year, she encouraged this. At the time of interview, he had been in Turkey for six months and Nâlan felt it was too early for her to evaluate the impact of his stay in Turkey. While sending their children 'back home' is a strategy often used by migrant parents to deal with educational problems they feel are related to their lack of control over their children's activities (cf. Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997), Nâlan emphasised that Ugur had taken the decision to go to Turkey by himself. This exemplifies an aspect that pervades Nâlan's story about mothering: she allows her son a lot of scope for his own decision-making and accepts these, even when she does not entirely agree with them. One aspect related to Ugur's stay in Turkey is to live with his father. On the one hand, Nâlan points out, it is difficult to negotiate a parent-child relationship that changes from geographical distance to closeness. On the other hand, Nâlan had worried about Ugur missing a same gender parent in his education. She hoped that in Turkey, despite initial difficulties, he would gain new experiences that would help him develop different projects:

> He gets into a different environment. In Turkey there are very different pressures. There, everybody is studying, everybody wants to go to university. Everybody wants to work in a good job. Well, people don't even look at you if you're not working in a good job. The career is very important. And therefore he will notice all these things and he will probably do something. Well, I want him to study at university, he will develop himself, and begin to look at life differently. (...) [It is less about academic achievements] more to learn to look at life differently. (p.16)

In this situation, Nâlan's story about mothering was informed by a concrete concern whether her son would continue his education or increasingly be involved in criminal activities. Therefore, much of her story was retrospectively looking for an explanation for what went wrong. This included self-critical reflections on her role as a mother, as well as seeking to identify other influences. One explanation Nâlan used was that of 'identity crisis' which I discuss below. At this point of crisis, her story focused on trying to understand Ugur's perspective, which is foregrounded in her mothering story, since she felt that her own influence on him was curtailed:

> It's very difficult in real life, how to transmit values to him. Because he goes into a system outside of me and there he is very *vulnerable* anyway. Without knowing many things they hear things from here and there, television and so on transmits a lot of information. And the information that you give them, they cannot digest it.
>
> U: Yes, of course.
>
> N: (...) And then there are expectations that he learns, but he didn't want to learn. (...) Well, Ugur didn't have it easy, *he tried to survive, it was very difficult for him I believe as well.*(p.17)

Therefore, Nâlan's story bears a different perspective from Pinar's or Birgül's stories, it is retrospective and emphasises the problematic aspects rather than the dynamic and open-ended processes of identification. Ugur's stay in Turkey contains a hope for Nalan not only that he may get away from his petty criminal friends, but also that he may overcome his identity crisis with relation to Turkishness. Still, this hope was overlaid by her continuing worries.

Belonging and use of ethnically specific cultural and social resources

Nâlan did not actively try to influence her son's negotiation of ethnic identity. She reflected about Ugur's ethnic identification as an aspect explaining his current problems:

> N: He said to me, the Turkish young people don't like me at all because I [hang out] with the black young people. But I can't be friends with [the Turkish youngsters] because all they listen to is Ibrahim Tatlises [a very popular arabesque singer], he said to me. And Ugur did not grow up with this arabesque culture. (...) At home we listened to Turkish music, but not to arabesque music, (...) he doesn't know it. And for example most of these young people are from a Kurdish background and they live very closely with the politics of Kurdistan because their families are involved in it. Even if this is a national liberation movement, the people are very political. And Ugur doesn't have a political formation, he finds it strange. And those

Turkish[speaking] friends he has are Cypriot Turks. Well, here he can only make friends with the Cypriot and the Black young people (p.14).

At his school and in his social circle, Ugur has access to a limited range of versions of 'Turkishness'. He perceives Turkishness - which is in fact a mis-recognition, since these young people are Turkish-speaking Kurds - as fixed to a culture symbolised by Arabesque music. Arabesque is a complex cultural form negotiating intersections of class, gender and ethnic identity in the Middle East and in the Diaspora. The subject positions to which this cultural form speaks are very different from Nâlan's or Ugur's as urban well-educated Turkish. This Arabesque culture is marginalised in Turkey (cf. Karakayali 1995, Tekelioglu 1995). The fact that it seems to Ugur a central part of Turkishness goes to show how much at variance locally specific expressions and ascriptions of ethnicity can be with the dominant culture in Turkey. Thus, Ugur cannot identify with the versions of Turkishness available to him in his peer group. Moreover, he experiences rejection from Kurdish-Turkish young people because of his association with Black friends.

While Nâlan herself has access to other versions of Turkishness, she could not fully transmit this to Ugur. Although she herself used to be very active politically, she has not made Ugur part of it in the same way in which she describes Kurdish families involving their children into their political projects. One factor in this may be that her feminist political projects did not have the same family-based organisational structure and did not naturalise belonging and participation as is the case in the mobilisation for a national liberation. The identity basis for a feminist mobilisation on the other hand is female gender or sex and a participation in feminist politics for men is still bound up with many problems.

Conflicting meanings

With his Cypriot friends, Ugur found a different way of negotiating Turkishness. However, Nâlan finds some aspects of this highly problematic.

N: Recently [...] it was again these *identity crisis.* One day he came home and told me "I want to go to Turkish school, I want to improve my Turkish". And I also want him to improve his Turkish, because he talks very well but his writing isn't good, he can't write Turkish. Then I sent him to Turkish classes, but then there was a Turkish school on Sundays, he said "I want to go there", his friends went there, his Cypriot

friends. But his Turkish is much better than theirs, some of them can't even talk. "Well, then go there" I said. After three weeks he came home and on his neck he had a Half-moon and Star necklace.[12] "Look, mum!". I said: "What's that?", his girlfriend gave it to him as a present for his birthday. And I thought, what can I do? I said [don't wear this] "Why, why shouldn't I? My friend gave it to me as a present". All the Cypriots are very nationalist, you know. Half-moon and Star, or Atatürk and so on, they claim these values much more than the people from Turkey. I tried to tell him what the Turkish flag means, what role it has and so on. "Come on, who cares about this nowadays". I said "My son, at least think of me this once, even if you don't think of yourself" (laughs) "when I take you to see my friends, they will think that you're a fascist".

U: Mhm.

N: At the time he was working in a restaurant, and the manager was a Kurdish man. (...) I told [Ugur] all these things but he didn't take me seriously at all, of course. (...) [Ugur] says "Mum, we were sitting together and [the manager] said 'I'm Kurdish'". [Ugur] said "So what?" (laughs)

U: (laughs)

N: (...) The man thought he was a fascist. [Ugur] said "All right, and I am from Istanbul". (laughs)

U: (laughs)

N: Then he said, "so why do you wear this necklace." [Ugur] said that's when he understood why [the manager] said "I'm Kurdish".

U: Mhm.

N: And [Ugur] said, (...) "my friend gave this to me, don't be like this (...). I don't really have anything to do with politics. My mother and father are [Leftists]" to get the man off his back. (...) [The manager] told him everything, Kurdistan's history, the Kurds, Kurdistan and everything. That's when he took off the necklace. But the reason why he took it off isn't because he believed in this, but rather that this guy shouldn't get hold of him again and go on and on about this. (laughs)

U: (laughs)

N: He doesn't have anything to do with politics. (p.17-18)

This story exemplifies how different the meaning of the Turkish flag's symbols are for Nâlan and her son. Nâlan's understanding of these symbols takes into account the historical and contemporary use of the symbol by fascist Turkish supremacist groups, both in Turkey and in migration. She also takes into account the different meaning the symbol takes on in the Cypriot context, as a marker of difference vis-à-vis the Greek Cypriots. And she takes into account the meaning the symbol has for Kurds and leftwing Turkish people as related to fascist violence. Ugur on the other hand does not take his mother's explanations seriously but insists on his interpretation that it simply

[12] Half-moon and Star are the symbols of the Turkish flag. While the flag plays a central role in republican nationalism in general, Half-moon and Star are also a symbol for fascist nationalist groups.

is a present of his girlfriend, a sign of his personal relationship to her. This personal relationship to him is a more salient identificatory point than the political meanings. The Half-moon and Star to Ugur has a very localised and personal meaning, although it also involves ethnic identifications with his Cypriot friends. He favours what he perceives to be the politically neutral 'Cypriot' interpretation of the symbol over his mother's interpretation from a specific 'Turkish' or his manager's 'Kurdish' point of view. For Ugur it may also be more relevant to use the symbol as a marker of belonging and difference from his British environment, rather than using it within a Turkish or Kurdish system of reference. In the same way, his attendance of a Turkish weekend school appears to be more informed by an endeavour to join in his Cypriot friends' activities than to enhance his access to ethnically specific knowledges and cultural resources. He foregrounds the community building aspect, while his mother foregrounded the academic aspects of learning to write in Turkish. Nâlan's acceptance of his choice of school can be seen as a case in point for allowing him scope for decision-making and choice.

Although Nâlan tells this anecdote laughingly, her remark that she may loose face in front of her friends because they could think of her son as a fascist expresses her concerns over the conflict. Through the story of her son Nâlan also reflects on her own identity as a mother and on her role of transmitting her values to her son. Ethnicity is an important aspect here, however it is articulated through, and in turn articulates, other social positionings, such as political and social identity. For Nâlan, her own identity as a leftwing feminist activist risks being undermined by her son's appropriation of the ambiguous symbol of Half-moon and Star. Vice versa Ugur also uses his parents political identities to deter any association with fascist ultra-nationalists in his conflict with his Kurdish manager. Nâlan did not socialise her son into her political identity or as a member of the social movements to give him scope for choice. However, she reflects on Ugur's political self-positioning and finds his avowed dis-identification with politics difficult. She fears that what he sees as his own political neutrality, which she views as naivety makes him vulnerable to manipulation by rightwing groups which may endanger and alienate him.

Cross-ethnic identifications as 'identity crisis'

Cross-ethnic or partial identifications for Nâlan are problematic revelations of an identity crisis:

> N: The identity problem is probably the most important issue that Ugur has faced in the last few years. He couldn't see himself as a Turk. We spoke Turkish at home and so on, but (...) when he went to school and for example met a girl he always introduced himself [an English/Christian name]. If the phone rings, they ask for [this name].
>
> U: Mhm.
>
> N: Ugur says they don't understand his name and take the Mickey, that's how he tried to explain but... I understood it like this, he dressed like the black boys, wearing big trousers and wearing his belt very low...
>
> U: (laughs) Funny fashion...
>
> N: These very funny fashions, he tried to speak like them, he could change his accent and speak with a Caribbean accent because... But this was problematic. He went to a boys' school where bullying is very widespread. (...) In the past years Ugur became involved in many well, things, ahm. He became part of sort of groups that I didn't approve of, they were doing petty criminal activities. And because I was very much against this, he explained it to me like this 'I had no choice but – to be friends with them. If you have a friend with the stronger people in the school then you won't get bullied, you know.'
>
> U: Mhm.
>
> N: Because they know them. That's what he said. So I can imagine it's true, you know. (p.13-14)

Nâlan links Ugur's 'identity crisis' with this petty criminal peer group. As she remarked he could not identify with his peers from Turkey but rather with the African-Caribbean and Cypriot young people.

> N: Well and many of the black boys, maybe I am saying something very racist here, well [...] but many of the black youth, well of the young people get involved in criminal activities. What do I know, credit card fraud and so on and so on. Well, and Ugur used to be very successful at school until two years ago. In the past two years he began to make sexual experiences [...] he didn't care about school anymore and started to go out with girls, I mean usual stuff. But one day they start to get involved with the other stuff, criminal stuff. (p.14)

These quotes raise a number of issues related to the construction of ethnocised and racialized masculinities and their use in cross ethnic identification. Of course, it is important to keep in mind that this is Nâlan's narrative about her son and need not fully reflect his own self-representation. In Nâlan's view Ugur's identification with the Caribbean boys at his school was linked on the one hand to his wish to assimilate. That his integration is not into an 'English' but a 'Caribbean' youth culture is worth emphasising. The usual notion of integration or assimilation of migrants is, that the

destination of this process is a nationally homogeneous society of the receiving country. Brah (1996) suggests the concept of differential racialization to take into account the multiple relations of ethnic minority people with each other as well as with the ethnically dominant society. This usefully acknowledges the dynamic relations between individuals and groups through which ethnicity is lived and articulated. Ugur's (situational) adaptation of an English/Christian name is complex. On the one hand, it signals to Nâlan a dis-identification with and disavowal of Turkishness. Ugur's explanation that his friends take the Mickey can be read as a justification to his mother, downplaying his own agency. At the same time, it points to his experiences of discrimination as non-English. This is an important instance challenging the notion of 'visible minorities' still prevalent in social science and policy texts. Racialization cannot be reduced to 'visibility' as racialized visibility itself is socially constructed, different forms of racism construct different markers of difference. The processes and histories of racisms are specific. However to understand and analyse racism, it is not useful to fix the dynamics of exclusion and subjection to a single historical model. Ugur's adoption of an English/Christian name can be read as a strategy of 'passing' to avoid discrimination and/or to signal belonging. This makes his Turkishness invisible, which Nâlan interprets as identity crisis. However, this is only one side of the coin. 'Passing' presupposes a pre-existing, essential identity, which can be denied or mis-represented. However, names can also be employed situationally to express different aspects of one's identity. The use of a different name in the home and with his peers, thus also expresses Ugur's different allegiances. The use of a name - in Althusser's concept 'hailing' is a crucial site of subjectification - that is outside of his mother's control can thus be seen as an assertion of independence from his mother, too. Moreover, the adoption of a name contains aspects of community building: Ugur's choice of a name has to be accepted by his peers for it to be used. In this sense, it expresses Ugur's inclusion into a shared group identity. Although a name signals ethnic and national belonging, it also contains other, subcultural codes, beyond the national and ethnic. The inclusion into such a subcultural community may, but need not, efface all ethnic differences that can be expressed differently. Without access to Ugur's and his friends' interpretations of his adoption of an English/Christian name, it is not possible to analyse this further.

Nâlan sees the adoption of an English/Christian name on the same level as Ugur's adoption of 'Caribbean' youth cultural styles of fashion and speech, as a denial of his Turkishness. I think however that it is useful to distinguish between these. White British young people's use and appropriation of Caribbean cultural forms has multiple meanings. It can serve both to reify and to transgress ethnic and racialized boundaries (Cohen 1987, Jones 1988) The reification of Black Caribbean cultural styles as particularly masculine and rebellious has become an identificatory moment regardless of ethnic origin for white British boys and men, too. Thus, Ugur's appropriation of this youth cultural forms can be read at the same time as an adaptation into a particular peer group at his school and as an adaptation into a wider, national, British youth culture. This analysis relies on Nâlan presentation rather than her son's self-presentation, however further research into young people from Turkey in Britain should examine how the conjuncture of politically and socially constructed Whiteness and Blackness articulates subject positions of these young people. Both moments of 'passing' as British and adapting into forms of Caribbean Blackness are present, in Nâlan's account of Ugur. However this process of identification is dynamic and open ended: at the same time Ugur's appropriation of the Half-moon and Star lays claim to a particular, personal and localised version of Turkishness. It is this undecidedness of Ugur's use of identificatory moments that to Nâlan seem to express a crisis of identity rather than a multiple and flexible identity. However what Nâlan perceives as a particular identity crisis based on a failure to identify as Turkish can also be interpreted in more general terms as an expression of a post-modern condition. Stuart Hall argues that experiences of displacement, constitutive of post-modernity can lead to an identification with Blackness in the British context, as a subject position that challenges marginalisation through claiming a place. 'Envy is a very funny thing for the British to feel at this moment of time- to want to be black!' (Hall 1987: 44). Thus, a wish to be Black expresses the emblematic ascription of some visible Black subject positions as dislocated and socially grounded at once.

It is important to keep in mind that the ethnic and racialized aspect of Ugur's identity in Nâlan's narrative is articulated in a specific relational dynamic between mother and son. Ugur's identification with this particular form of Caribbean masculinity expressed in his local school and peer environment entails gaining sexual experiences, dismissing academic achievement in favouring instead involvement in petty criminal activities. These elements of enhanced sexuality, sensuality eclipsing intellectuality

and rationality and delinquency are salient in both mainstream racist discourses on youthful black masculinity as well as in the desire to positively identify with Black masculinity (Sewell 1995, Jones 1988, Fanon 1986, Blauner 1989). As Bhabha points out the effectivity of this stereotype lies in its ambiguity of generating both strong negative and positive feelings. Nâlan's insecurity on how to formulate her 'maybe very racist' view that 'many of the black youth, well of the young people get involved in criminal activities' expresses her discomfort with the stereotype of the criminal young black male. Her afterthought that involvement in criminal activities is not indeed specific to *black* young men but rather to *young* men generally shows an attempt to de-racialise the discourse of crime in favour of an age-specific explanation. The difficulty of escaping the hegemonic racialized and gendered discursive repertoire is however apparent since she remains within the parameters it sets. It is particularly difficult to dis-articulate this common sense link between crime and black young masculinity since Nâlan argues that in the local context of Ugur's school black young men are seen to be 'the strong people' (cf. Sewell 1995). This argument can be read as Ugur's justification for choosing his friendship group, that resonates with the stereotype of the young black male criminal. In this explanation Nâlan constructs Ugur's choice of his friendship group as an attempt to escape victimisation rather than foregrounding his positive identification. Despite her explicit anti-racist identification Nâlan's narrative on Ugur's cross-ethnic identification oscillates between the rejection of and the allusion to racist stereotypes.

The discussion of Nâlan's view of Ugur's cross-ethnic identifications reveals complex processes of differential racialization. There are intergenerational differences in their ethnic identifications, which may be related to the different conditions of socialisation in Turkey or Britain. Moreover, Nâlan views her son's multiple and flexible identifications as the expression of an identity crisis. The concept and terminology of identity crisis is a common sense notion,[13] and Nâlan's use of it to explain the problems of her adolescent son is not surprising. The notion of identity crisis has been used in very different contexts, however in the context of migrant or ethnic minority young people it has gained particular currency. Critics point out that it employs

[13] The idea of identity crisis emerged from Erikson's developmental identity model and has been widely used in the social sciences and psychology, as well as social work, trickling down to everyday

essentialist notions of ethnic identity, fixing the content and expression of it and mis-recognising inter-generational change and conflict for ethnic identity confusion (Auernheimer 1988. Otyakmaz 1995). Moreover, the focus on ethnic identity eclipses other identificatory moments such as gender, sexuality, class and education. Nâlan's use of this notion of identity crisis, although articulated through the discussion of ethnicity and race, relates to Ugur's academic problems and his involvement in petty criminal activities. In her study on migrant mothers and daughters Lutz (1997, 1998) found that talking about the migration decision was often tabooized in the family, although the daughters often viewed this parental decision critically or with incomprehension. Instead the topic of identity (crisis) constituted a legitimate topic of family talk. She interprets this as a compensation in intergenerational dialogue for other migration-related topics that remain however silenced. The salience of the topic of identity talk within the family, according to Lutz, is a consequence of its centrality over the past decades in public discourses on migration and ethnicity. Lutz suggests that the multiculturalist institutions of the Netherlands create a hostile climate to lived syncretism and instead partake and foster essentialist notions of ethnic culture, which are often shared by migrants themselves. She argues that this ethnocisation of identities should not be condemned a priori, but instead the focus should be on deconstructing them and finding ways of inventing 'new ethnicities' (Lutz 1997: 279). I think that these findings apply to the conflicts between Nalan and Ugur, also. In Ugur's positioning, the aspects of a search for an institutionally validated or fostered 'Turkish' essentialist identity (as exemplified with reference to his Cypriot friends) as well as a cross-ethnic, hybrid identification with his Black Caribbean friends co-exist. While Nalan views both moments as part of an identity crisis, she articulates her concerns relating to his academic and social position with respect to ethnocised and racialised fears over identity.

An important difference to Pinar's project of a cross-ethnic family of choice is that Pinar values cross-ethnic and partial identifications in herself and transmitting them to her daughter constitutes an intergenerational continuity. Nâlan does not articulate this. Broadening the focus from familial values to wider social constellations it is

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discourses. Nâlan's professional knowledges as a social worker may contribute to her use of this

important to note that social imaginations of differential racialization in Germany and Britain differ. Thus, while African American musical and fashion styles like Hip Hop have a global reach and appeal to young people of different ethnicities and 'races', in Germany they are interpreted and appropriated by migrant young people, especially from Turkey, as a mode of self-empowerment in the face of racism (cf. Morley and Robins 1996). Thus, some young musicians of Turkish background claim a metonymical representation 'We are the Blacks of Germany'. Such claims do not take into account the differential positioning of people of African heritage in Germany and can be interpreted by them as silencing their standpoints through metonymy (cf. Oguntoye et al 1997). This is possible since migrants from Turkey within the racialized and ethnocised imaginary in Germany, as well as numerically, constitute a critical mass. In this context, cross-ethnic identification of people of Turkish background with forms of 'Blackness' is less likely to be interpreted as assimilation. The hegemonic positioning of migrants from Turkey in Germany means that their claim to 'own' these cultural forms and speaking positions is more readily accepted in the marginalisation of the voices of Black Germans or Black migrants. While young people in Germany often view 'Black' cultural forms as global, the local vernacular of specific multi-ethnic youth groups often includes Turkish language terms and, as speaking with an African-Caribbean accent is a marker of belonging to a specific youth subculture in Britain, so is using these Turkish terms or 'speaking mixed', which is appropriated by young people of different ethnicities (Hinnenkamp 1998).

Thus, the social imagination as well as demographic factors influence the articulation of ethnically specific resources in local youth sub-cultures differentially in Britain and in Germany. Blackness is an important identificatory moment in both national contexts. However within the differential racialization it is articulated differently in Germany: as part of a global culture, including elements of anti-racist self-empowerment, integrated with locally hegemonic Turkish-language elements, where Turkish young people can claim to represent 'Blackness' in relation to Germanness. In Britain it is articulated as part of a locally formulated, but globally resonant, youth culture 'owned' by African-Caribbean-British young people and shared as a local, at times resistant, version of Britishness by other young people.

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explanation for her son.

Conclusion

In the first section of this chapter I explored mothering and daughtering as transnational practices. The stories about separation show how social and biological mothering need not be identical. Most of the interviewees felt that their experience of social mothers was positive, and for some joining their biological mothers in Germany even meant adjusting to a 'new family'. Their experience questions the assumption of the primacy of the biological mothers in caring for their children. In this context, the centrality of sibling relationships as caring relationships emerged. Moreover, the examination of the diverse migration and mothering experiences of siblings can usefully question the naturalisation of the family as the cornerstone of the homogeneous national or ethnic collectivity. Instead, familial communication, mutual care, love and solidarity can in positive instances transcend linguistic or nationally bounded cultural practices. The mothers' stories about separation from their children show their agency in gaining economic and social independence as divorced mothers to provide for their children. Single mothers faced the dilemma that 'caring about' their children meant establishing an economic basis through migration, this often meant they had to leave to othermothers the responsibility of 'caring for' their children. At the same time, the mothers explored and created ways to emotionally care for their children across the distance. Pakize's story highlighted the problematic and difficult aspects of misunderstandings and disappointments generated by separations. The mothers had to negotiate normative values of 'good mothering' both in Turkey and in the societies of residence, however the lack of conceptualisations of transnational mothering compelled them to create their own notions of 'good mothering'. These implicate othermothers, as both supporting or potentially undermining their transnational mothering. I aimed to make visible the complexities of these mother daughter relationships and to validate both the painful and conflictual aspects as well as the capacity and agency to overcome them. The complex transnational relationships of mothering and daughtering clearly contradict a stereotypical fixation of migrant families as stable, traditional and oppressive.

In the second section I have argued that the transmission of ethnically specific resources and values entails a transformation of ethnicity: an intergenerationally shared identity has to be actively constructed by mothers and children, negotiating

changes. Through selecting certain cultural resources, mothers exercise agency. Thus, Pinar consciously decided to enable her daughter to access diverse versions of Turkishness, to which she as a second generation migrant herself, did not have access when growing up. In this way, Pinar's educating of her daughter self-reflexively was part of her ethnic and gendered construction of Self, also. Mothers and children have to position their relationship and the shared and transmitted resources and values vis-à-vis others, too. Thus, e.g. relatives, peers, institutions constitute important identificatory moments. Conflicts within the mother-child relationship, as well as other influences can lead to different and at times conflicting meanings of ethnically specific resources. The mothers negotiate these conflicts, at times successfully keeping them within their chosen parameters. Mothering is often constructed as transmitting naturalised ethnic belonging. However the content of ethnic identification cannot be assumed a priori. Thus, Pinar aims to educate her daughter into a bi-cultural identity, as well as enabling her to identify across and beyond ethnic boundaries. One of the ways in which Pinar does this is by constructing an inter-ethnic 'family of choice' with her Black South African friend. This transmits her own values of cross-ethnic alliances and identifications to her daughter. At the same time, she incorporates the English language as a resource to communicate cross-ethnically into her education.

Birgül's story about mothering shows that mothers' transmission of ethnically specific resources implicated public spaces. Birgül's strategy to become active in the management committee of the kindergarten to initiate a debate about bi-linguality is an instance of mothers' educational agency extending to the public sphere, to challenge and transform institutions. Thus, mothers' transmission of ethnicity should not be viewed as limited to the private sphere. This is further exemplified by Birgül and her daughter's negotiation of ethnic belonging, incited by institutional and interpersonal ethnic labelling. Birgül supports her daughter's multiple ethnic identifications and accepts that Aysel ascribes her a dual identity, also. I view this as a successful instance of generation work, in which the daughter's multiple ethnic identification at the same time transforms the mother's self-representation.

Nâlan's story of mothering reflects on the problematic aspects of multiple ethnic identifications and the difficulties in constructing shared meanings with her son.

Nâlan views the complex, multi-layered meanings of ethnically specific and cross-ethnic alliances and identifications her son negotiates as an expression of an identity crisis. Nâlan's concept of identity crisis articulates various aspects of identity such as educational experiences, petty criminal activities, sexual experience and political orientation that constitute points of contention between mother and son. The concept of differential racialisation can usefully take account of Ugur's multiple, situational identifications without homogenising or pathologising them. A cross-national view shows how the same cultural resources can be used to strengthen an identification as 'Turkish' through combining them with a resistant, anti-racist stance in Germany, while in Britain, the local hegemony of African-Caribbean youth leads Nâlan to view her son as dis-identifying with Turkishness. Cross-ethnic identifications and alliances can take various forms and may be fostered or viewed with suspicion by mothers. I have argued that they should be taken into account as an important aspect of transmission and transformation of ethnicity.

Finally, the self-representations of mothers in this chapter showed that an important aspect of migrant women's subjectivity and agency are their educational projects and the ways in which intergenerational dialogue transforms both their own and their children's ethnic identifications.

Chapter 7: Social and political activism

In this chapter I explore how the interviewees represent their social and political activism, that is the active aspects of political citizenship. I am interested in the trajectories of becoming an activist, i.e. what their motivations were. Moreover, I am interested in the fields of activism they develop. This refers to two levels: on the one hand what issues they choose to politicise, and on the other hand how they articulate them. Moreover, I analyse the organisational forms they choose, including elements of both identity politics and other forms of politics.

The notion of identity politics is problematic, as will be discussed in more detail below. However as a working definition I use the notion of identity politics as elaborated by the Combahee River Collective:

> We realize that the only people who care enough about us to work consistently for our liberation is us. Our politics evolve from our healthy love for ourselves, our sisters and our community, which allows us to continue our struggle and work. This focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics.
>
> We believe that the most profound and potentially the most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to the end of somebody else's oppression. ([1979] 1998: 522)

In this chapter, I am most interested in aspects of identity politics where forms of political activism and organisation reify essentialist identity positions as the privileged subject of knowing and doing politics. In this sense, I view political activism as a site of negotiating identity and thus elaborating specific politics of identity. The privileging of (sets of) essentialised identities can take place in an overt or hidden form, I argue. However, the politics of identity as elaborated by the interviewees also importantly entails a willingness to deconstruct and cross boundaries and construct new political subjects, across multiple identities. This entails highlighting different dynamics of inclusion and exclusion on the basis of gender, ethnicity, sexuality and class. Moreover, I examine how they express a notion of belonging and how this relates to their stories of activism. These are central elements for understanding the interviewees' constructions of identity and community an issue at the heart of the

citizenship debate (cf. chapter 3). I have suggested that we view citizenship as a multi-layered and multi-dimensional concept.

In this chapter I look at the ways in which the interviewees locate themselves vis-à-vis local, national and transnational communities. This includes their activism in the countries of residence as well as Turkey. Bauböck's (1994) concept of transnational citizenship emphasises the viability of residence and social rights of migrants in their country of residence. While the interviewees all had a secure residence status at the time of interview, and residence rights did not form a problem for them, their activism shows how they articulate their membership in the society of residence. Soysal's (1994) concept of post-national citizenship emphasises the importance of the country of residence for the legal and social aspects of identity and agency, however under emphasises the salience of political rights in the substantiation of citizenship. The interviewees' stories on their activism testify to their contributions to the countries of residence through their professional, social, cultural and political activism. Another important aspect is how the interviewees conceptualise the political. The notion of the private/public divide posits women's activities of childbearing, and caring as merely reproductive and ignores its social and political aspects. The interviewees' stories contradict this. Thus, mothering is an important aspect of articulating, transmitting and negotiating belonging, also vis-à-vis institutions of the society of residence, as I have argued in the previous chapter. Women's continuing responsibility for caring can however limit their access to the labour market and to the exercise of political rights (Sales 2000). While citizenship entails passive aspects of access to rights, this chapter focuses on the active and participatory aspects.

Migrant women's contributions to the societies they live in are rarely recognised, and most often their 'citizenship practices' (Saassen 2000, cf. Turner 1993) are presented as merely being passive recipients of social rights. However, as Kofman et al (2001: 190) state: 'Far from being passive victims of patriarchal social systems and racist imigration policy, migrant women have challenged the constraints on their political activities and engaged in and reworked the definition of the political.'

I present Pinar's story of politicisation and how she conceptualises the relation between identity, politics and solidarity. I then turn to discuss Birgül's story of

political activism and how it relates to a genre of activist biography of migrants from Turkey. I focus however on her activism in Germany, discussing the tension between identity politics and other organisational forms. Finally I present Selin's story of negotiating social and cultural difference within the arena of ethnic community and migrant feminist activism. Selin's story articulates the difficulties of creating political community across divisions of gender, sexuality, educational and class hierarchies, when one's experiences do not fit the frames of validated discursive forms.

Pinar

The Beginning of a Process of Politicisation

When I asked Pinar to describe her motivations and the factors contributing to her politicisation, she presented the seeds of her politicisation already in her reading. In order to evade her parents' suspiciousness towards reading, Pinar and her sister secretly read with torches underneath the bedcovers. When she was twelve or thirteen years old, one day Pinar got hold of a trade union newspaper. When her father found her reading it he asked:

> 'Where did you find this' and then he took the paper away from me and kept saying 'Soon you're going to turn into communists' and that used to be a curse, as you know. (p.86)

Since Pinar did not know what 'communist' meant she looked it up in a dictionary and liked the meaning of the concept. She started to investigate the meaning of communism at school and with teachers, and was fascinated by the wide variation of responses the concept elicited. In her adolescence, she loved to discuss social issues and got to know people who were also interested in politics. As discussed in the chapter 4, Pinar's fashioning herself as a passionate intellectual was part of her strategy to assert her resistance to the emotionally and physically violent and difficult situation in the home. Thus, gaining education and knowledge and developing an intellectual identity were strategies of resistance against her parents' gendered projects for her future. At the same time, her struggle for education constituted a realm in which she experienced and negotiated social divisions of ethnicity and gender, as well as institutionalised power relationships at school. At the point of transition from school to work or higher education, an event marked Pinar's articulation of this resistance in formal terms. Pinar began a vocational training in a

publishing house and worked there for three months. When she found out she had been accepted for medical school she gave her notice. However, the decision to leave this vocational training was also triggered by experiences of sexist and racist discrimination at her workplace. As a young woman with 'exotic looks' (p. 37), Pinar constantly experienced unwanted sexual attention by her superiors. She also witnessed a cruel racist remark of one of her superiors. When she left the room in protest and slammed the door, she broke the glass. Her training supervisor cautioned her for this behaviour. When Pinar wrote her notice, she protested against the sexist and racist climate at work and gave this as her reason for leaving. As a response, she received an offer of an immediate work practice as a journalist on condition she take back her notice. This shows Pinar's strategy of using formal channels of complaint in the workplace. It is an example of a partially successful struggle at the workplace. The partiality of the success in my opinion lies in the fact that Pinar did not really consider going back since she felt the racism and sexism where too pervasive.

Pinar's new found girlfriends of Turkish background from Gymnasium were active in left-wing organisations. Through these friends, her interest in politics turned into activism: she attended meetings and participated in activities of different left-wing groups. She emphasises that even at the time, she viewed some aspects of these organisations critically.

> These were all left wing organisations and they had the aim of building communism in Turkey, so to speak. To make a revolution. (...) [I got to know different organisations], I found all of them (...) too dogmatic. Many things bothered me, I have to say, because I found it too much directed towards Turkey. (p.73)

For Pinar the experience of being a migrant was a central political issue, already at the time, although there was little collective articulation of a migrants' political position. This led to conflicts with the members of the left-wing organisations, both about determining the privileged field of politics and about authority. They denied the second generation any political competence 'You haven't got a clue, you're the second generation, you are mostly socialised here and you aren't even refugees, your parents are not even politicised' (p. 87), 'you look at these issues too much like a European' (p. 46). These were the arguments put forward to disqualify Pinar's interventions.

This is a typical conflict where the generation of migration is used to construct a privileged, authentic knowledge position to claim superior authority. Such a strategy constructs an ethnic authenticity as a necessary basis for gaining knowledge and political authority. The field of politics - 'revolution in Turkey' - is pre-given, as well as its conceptualisation. The argument of a necessary experiential basis for doing politics or for participating in strategic decision-making is highly problematic (cf. Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). It constructs politics as statically expressing a pre-given subjectivity, where any re-conceptualisation of the process or political aims amounts to deviation. Moreover, it assumes a set of fixed characteristics and opinions as a pre-condition for participation at the level of decision-making. It does not allow for differentially positioned people to articulate any political or strategic differences. Such differences are seen as a deviation, threatening the aim or unity of an organisation. The gender and age based hierarchies within this type of political organisation also contributed to Pinar's standpoints and opinions as a young woman being marginalised.

Despite this de-valuation of her standpoints and opinions, Pinar views her contributions to these organisations as important. These organisations needed the second generation people for 'translating leaflets, or fly-posting them etc. And I do think that we allowed ourselves to be instrumentalised.' (p. 87). Pinar was not a member in one organisation, but sympathised with different organisations. When in 1988, there was a meeting for left-wing women activists across party political divides, she helped to organise it and sees it as an important achievement (cf. Avrupa Kadin bülteni, 1991). This was the first time that migrant women got together to discuss the role and position of women in left-wing organisations critically and to develop women-centred or feminist left-wing political projects. However in this forum also, Pinar recalls conflicts on issues of authority between the generations.

Through her marriage, Pinar unselfconsciously became part of the organisation her husband was a member of. Although she was never formally a member of the organisation, she stopped attending other organisations' meetings and was perceived to belong to this one organisation. Retrospectively, Pinar is self-critical about this. This is a common mechanism, whereby women get subsumed under their male partner's political attitude and status. One of Pinar's criticisms of her husband during

their marriage was that he used his political ideals to postpone his actual social responsibilities, to which Pinar responded: 'The revolution starts here at home, not outside in the big world' (p.41). Thus, she debated also with her husband about the status of politics in everyday life. While she presents her husband as expecting communism to bring the solution to the problems in Turkey, Pinar characterises her own approach as taking small steps to achieve concrete change. A turning point in her political work was the death of a close friend from this organisation. He was accidentally shot in an argument with another political group and died from his injuries. While Pinar had opposed political violence all along, seeing her friend die prompted her decision to quit this type of political organisation: 'After this it was clear that I would quit. This finally convinced me.' (p.75).

Politics of Experience and Place

After her separation from her husband, Pinar got involved with a woman's NGO where she started doing 'grassroots work (...) with women in situations of separation, counselling, everything on a voluntary basis.' (P. 65) This constituted a change in her field and conception of politics, compared to her earlier involvement with her husband's organisation. Pinar was soon elected into the management committee of the NGO and became involved in its international projects. She participated in planning, evaluating and setting up women's projects, such as refuges, health projects, etc. in Third World countries. At first she found that the new responsibilities put a great strain on her. Gradually, as she trained and familiarised herself with the work she enjoyed it a lot since she 'saw the direct benefits' (p.55) of her work. She worked in this NGO for four years, until it was dissolved. At the same time she began paid part-time employment at a migrant women's centre. This job gradually developed into a full time job and recently Pinar has entered a managerial position in this women's centre. After her involvement with the NGO, she continued to work politically on women's issues:

> P: My interest to work on women's issues developed very quickly.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> P: Through the personal but also through the political.
>
> U: Do you mean your experience of the pregnancy and your marriage?

> P: But also through the experiences at home with my parents, you know. And it was very important to reflect on all this. We founded a group for migrant girls and women and we had an exchange about things we had experienced ourselves. (p.56)

Pinar participated in the foundation of a women's group for migrant and Black women, where they had 'a lot of space to work through' (p.56) their own experiences. In this forum she made sense of her experiences of violence in her childhood and youth, as well as the problems of her marriage and learned to be open about experiences of violence. The consciousness raising methods employed in this group enabled her to give meaning to her personal experiences in a collective process. These experiences could thus be vocalised and articulated as collective political concerns. The shame of being victimised that Pinar had felt as an adolescent and that made it difficult to speak about her experience of violence gave way to a political articulation of an identity defined by actively and collectively 'struggling' rather than being victimised. The group offered seminars and workshops for migrant women and girls in various cities on issues of racism and violence against women. The group thus formed part of an emergent vocal and visible movement of migrant and black women and articulated their specific political position.

> P: There were the first books where migrant women started to- we really *fought* for this, against the white structures here, to say that we do not want to be researched about (...) by white Germans. Instead we want migrants to research about us, you know.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> P: And we do not want to be seen as objects, (...) on whose back (...) others make a name for themselves, but we want to be involved creatively and actively and we want to participate more, also in political events. And legally and everything. (P.68)

They organised a series of workshops and conferences, inviting international speakers, also to develop strategies in the areas of political, cultural, legal and social representation. This was a phase in which a political subject of migrant women was formed in delineation to white German feminism which was the 'direct milieu' (p.69). In this story of her political work Pinar articulates two related issues. She had previously articulated a subject position of an independent fighter for herself which was resistant to her parents' projects of femininity for her, as well as in contrast to the passive and merely supportive role that she rejected in her marriage. In the leftwing organisations directed towards Turkey, she had contested the relegation of her standpoints to a secondary position as inauthentic. Pinar's participation in the creation

of a migrant and black women's movement articulates her personal strategies for creating a subject position as a collective political subject. The strategy of fighting for a space to be recognised as agentic pervades her life story and informs her conception of the political collective and its strategies, as she elaborates in the above quote. As Pinar pointed out, the group of migrant and black women in which she participated also employed consciousness raising methods that allowed her to openly speak about her personal experiences of violence, this process intertwined with her working through her experience of a failed marriage and her position as a single mother. In this context, anger constituted an important motor for her political and professional work.

Pinar presents this period as very significant on a personal level as a 're-socialisation into the culture of origin.' (P. 69), a process which had already started in her relationship with her husband. I think this raises an important and interesting issue of how Pinar conceptualises 'the culture of origin'. The reference to her 're-socialisation' into a culture of origin through her husband can be read as her increased interest in learning and speaking Turkish and engaging with the political situation in Turkey and its leftwing Diaspora politics. However, it should be noted that Pinar's ex-husband, a political refugee, is Kurdish, so that the process of learning about and engaging with 'Turkishness' or 'being from Turkey' in dialogue with her ex-husband already constitutes a construction of a cross-ethnic or differentiated 'culture of origin'. In this narrative, the 'culture of origin' with which Pinar engages is ethnically differentiated and open. The meaning of 'culture of origin' in the context of her engagement with migrant and black women on the other hand is consciously cross-ethnic and relates to different trajectories of migration and processes of racialisation. The engagement with differentially racialised women and the construction of shared political projects contains a process of cross-ethnic community building, as Pinar engaged in, in her 'family of choice', too. When she presents this community building as a 're-socialisation into the culture of origin', she uses the metaphor of a shared origin. This metaphor subverts the myth of common origin that is commonly employed to naturalise and legitimise national and ethnic cohesion (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Bhabha 1990). Pinar's strategy of projecting a commonalty of migrant and black women in Germany into the past contains elements of fantasy in the sense of myth-making. Pinar's presentation of 'origins' appears more constructed than naturalised national historiographies, however I think this is due to the

marginality of such a cross-ethnic project of doing and representing history, rather than its lacking coherence. Thus, Ohliger (2000) argues for a de-nationalisation of historiography, to engage more adequately with the present and future concerns of globalisation instead of reifying national paradigms and narratives.

> In such a view, marginal populations such as immigrants and minorities could become central. They would offer the possibility of researching history from the periphery, narrating it from the margins, partly against the *telos* of the centre and thus opening up historical imagination for much larger, more open but also more conflictual interpretations. (Ohliger 2000:2).

Pinar's representation of history is part of her project of constructing a cross-ethnic political subject of migrant and black women, and thus part of a construction of community based on shared political projects of a gendered and racialized subject position.

In Pinar's story of her political work, not only the subject and field of politics, but also its location have changed. During her involvement in Turkish left-wing organisations, their efforts were directed at the long-term goal of building communism in Turkey. Retrospectively, she criticises this approach for neglecting practical political work that takes one's own life and living environment as a starting point. When she worked in the women's NGO, she worked internationally co-operating with local partners. At this international level the starting point of politics was not her own life, however the women's projects she helped set up worked for tangible changes locally. In this context Pinar refers to a shared experiential basis of the identification as woman that constitutes a link to her own life, which she presents as more concrete than the Diaspora politics. The meta-discourse of a shared gender position and its underlying experiential basis allows her to construct her international field of political activism as related to her own living environment. In this context, an essentialised notion of womanhood serves to de-essentialise a national identity basis for politics in order to delineate this type of activism from her previous Diaspora politics.[1] Currently Pinar's focus of political work are migrant and black women in Germany for whom she tries to achieve practical changes in their living conditions.

[1] Räthzel 1999 gives an example of a group whose 'essentialist notion [of womanhood] is a basic motor for their commitment to make boundaries between nationalities and *ethnic* groups more permeable' (1999:209).

She emphasises the importance of this shift for her own identity construction, since to her it signifies that the centre of her life is in Germany, not Turkey. She finds it difficult to follow political and social developments in Turkey, since 'everything moves so fast there' (p. 90). She does not follow the Turkish press on a daily basis, but keeps informed of broader developments there through monthly journals. She concedes that her visions have changed, also, and are now based on her life in Germany. In her narrative, Pinar discusses the evaluation of her shift of political focus as ' "treason" '(p.91), however asserts her choice as legitimate. She sees her political connection to Turkey as one of supporting individual projects, such as a woman's refuge or a woman's journal she helped to set up as part of a German NGO with funding from Germany. She contrasts this with her in-depth knowledge of the German political process that enables her to intervene effectively on different political levels.

Germanness?

Pinar presents her decision to take on German citizenship as a contradictory and ambivalent processes. For a long time she had thought of taking on German citizenship as a form of 'treason' (p. 102). She explains this through having had partly internalised the logic of either belonging to Germany or to Turkey. However she now thinks that the second generation of migrants have a 'bi-cultural' identity by virtue of growing up in Germany. Thus, she re-solved the conflict of formal loyalties through positively evaluating her subject position as dual. Her decision to take on German citizenship was triggered by the increasing racist violence at the beginning of the 1990s as a reaction to German unification. At the time, Pinar felt frightened and feared 'that with underlying economic developments it would not improve but get more difficult.' (P.102). She argues that taking on German citizenship enabled her to get more actively involved in the political process in Germany. The fact that she could later-on take on Turkish citizenship, too, eased the decision and allowed her to formally express her dual allegiance. However, she evaluates the taking on of German citizenship as a

> detour (...). Why should people who have decided they want to stay here, why should they not be able to be elected or to participate in elections. For me (...) this totally contradicts the universality of human rights. (P.103).

Pinar delineates her strategy of taking up German citizenship from assimilation or one-sided integration. Instead, she views it as enhancing her possibilities of articulating political dissent and furthering the impact of her advocacy of migrant and black women's rights.

Throughout the narrative Pinar emphasised the political salience of her paid employment. Working in a migrant women's centre to Pinar is one way of intervening politically. Her professional and political activities are not clearly bounded. Thus, as through her job she is part of a number of local and regional governmental committees in which she enjoys participating and making her presence felt. She is often criticised for ' "complicating everything" ' (p.103) when she intervenes against the normalisations of dominant identities. 'It is always in situations like this that one is uncomfortable for people. (...) But of course this has psychological effects.' (P.104) Pinar views her job as a field of political activism, where she offers services to migrant women but at the same time is able to 'give voice' (p. 61) to their concerns, including the initiation of legal changes. In this sense, the professional field is a central area in which Pinar articulates her citizenship as social participation. This includes the levels of community building, giving services but also initiating and sustaining campaigns. This political activism also initiates legal changes, Pinar gives the example of a campaign to end the dependent residence status of married migrant women to the marriage. In this instance, her political activism aims at broadening the basis for citizenship, of which residence rights are a crucial component.

While Pinar views the political salience of her job very positively, she emphasises that this also foster a 'workaholic' attitude in her so that she finds she spends too little time for her private life, especially with her daughter. Here, I would like to point out that Pinar's presentation of her mothering activities also has elements of a conscious political project. Thus, building cross-ethnic alliances, fostering feminist values and an education that values difference are integral parts of Pinar's wider political projects. In this way I think it important to include mothering into the analysis of citizenship, not only in its passive aspects of access to specific welfare rights, but also in its active aspects as an important social and political contribution.

Pinar's story of her political activism can be seen as part of a community construction shared by other interviewees, mainly second generation migrants. Identity politics as coming to consciousness and gaining a voice both in terms of gender and as (second generation) migrants are the key themes. The issue of locating oneself vis-à-vis claims or denial of belonging to national communities is a further commonalty in the narratives of the second generation interviewees. While not all of them share Pinar's internationalist outlook, none of them identified primarily in national terms. Instead, the idea that the position of in-betweenness gives privileged access to questioning social relations and their power basis was commonly shared. Other second generation interviewees shared Pinar's view, that their professional work or paid employment, relating to migrants or migrant women, formed part of their social or political activism (cf. chapter 5). While these themes are not limited to the second generation, they are elaborated differentially in the first generation migrants' stories. Among the first generation migrants, identity politics and the relation to place plays a different role. The first generation interviewees do not present the process of ethnic identification as an articulation of political subjectivity. However they share with the second generation interviewees a claim to a 'double consciousness' (Gilroy 1993) of being both from Turkey and from Germany or Britain. In contrast to the second generation interviewees, they present their experiences of power relations and inequalities and their own responses to these in Turkey as a constitutive part of their political positioning. This is most articulate in the life stories of those who were politically active in Turkey. Nâlan and Birgül elaborate on their politicisation through the 1970s in Turkey. This was a highly politicised period of students and workers protests, where left and right wing activists clashed with each other and the state (Landau 1974). In this sense, their generation plays a role not only as generation of migration but because their age cohort was the most active in the political conflicts of the period (ibid.). As Nâlan puts it

> But I think at that time you had to be something because the political environment was so hot. At that time everybody was politics, (...) you had to take sides, everything was very political, everybody was talking politics (p.1)

Nâlan and Birgül's stories can be seen as part of a genre of activist biography that has also found its expression in literature. In the following I discuss with the example of Birgül's story, the key themes in her self presentation as a political activist, focusing on her experiences in the country of residence. These are of course individual

elaborations on a topic and experiences common to others and thus part of a specific, if diverse, story telling (and writing) community.

Birgül

Process of Politicisation: the times were very lively

While Birgül was in the last year of high school the right wing coup d'etat of 1971 took place. Through the theatre group at her school she found contact to 'progressive and politicised' (p.3) teachers and pupils.

> B: (...) they had founded a theatre group, like a people's theatre. In the theatre group there weren't any girls. The boys participated but they couldn't find any girls. Because nobody, it was a bit like, girls shouldn't play theatre, it could be a measure of respectability. Therefore no one [of the other female pupil's parents] gave their permission. I said, I will play in the theatre. And then, I will never forget this, I got the role of the servant (laughs)
>
> U: (laughs)
>
> B: It wasn't important to me at all, whatever role it was. The important thing was to safeguard the continuity of this theatre. And then I participated in the play and through this theatre group I got into politicised circles. (...) And then I participated in all the discussions among them and I started to read different books and so on. (p.3)

Birgül here describes her politicisation as influenced by the national political upheaval of the coup d'etat. The theatre group at the school constituted an oppositional cultural expression at the time to which she felt attracted. Joining the theatre group to Birgül signified not only entering a progressive social circle, but it constituted a transgression of the gendered norms of respectability. Her exclamation 'I will play in the theatre' thus expressed her courage and her disregard for her (sexual) reputation. In tension with this individually taken, gender-specific risk of the loss of her reputation is her next statement that her stake was not in expressing herself personally, but in safeguarding the collective project. The relation between individual responsibility and commitment to a collective project is a key theme in Birgül's story about her political work, that I will return to below. I read this sequence as expressing the gendered dilemmas of individuality and collectivity, that were formative of the left wing groups at the time, where more men than women participated and the women were in general accorded supportive roles in the background (Tekeli 1991). This supportive role ascribed to women in left wing groups is maybe epitomised in the role of servant that

Birgül was however happy to take on. While leftwing groups of the 1970s had gender transformative projects, these focused on challenging both traditional and bourgeois constructions of femininity. The revolutionary femininity that was envisaged was based on a de-sexualisation of women and the validation of the identity of 'sister' ('baci') in relation with male comrades. Women were regarded as inherently more at risk of moral corruption through bourgeois values and therefore more in need of proving their appropriation of revolutionary values, including that of sacrificing individual wishes and ambitions for the collective struggle (Göbenli 1999). Otherwise, however, gender specific issues such as sexuality or the effects of the concept of honour and shame were not on the agenda of socialist movements, since these were regarded specifically as women's concerns and thus secondary to the workers' revolution (Göbenli 1999).

Other instances Birgül cites as formative for her political development were a small group she formed at highschool where they studied socialist texts and discussed the developments related to the 'big political turmoil of the 12 March' coup d'etat. 'But it wasn't only a discussion group, it wasn't only reading these books. At the same time it was cultural things, cinema, theatre etc. In this way I got into this life.' (p.3) Birgül here cites the cultural events she was participating in as constitutive of the way of life that being part of a leftwing movement signified to her. Thus indicating the subcultural elements that made up her identity as left wing activist.

Stories that can(not) be shared: 'I diverted'

When she began university the next year, the politicisation of the universities was at its height, with leftwing activists, police and right wing activists clashing on the campuses:

> And then my university life started with, on my first day at university, there were stones flying, doors that were broken, somebody was shot, and so on. That was just the period of 1972, I started university in 1972 (...) And then, in this way, my political life began to be more established. Of course university life was very lively. But at the same time it was very difficult. (...) there was always pressure, there were constantly demonstrations, and constantly the university was closed down. Constantly there were attacks, that's the way my university life passed. But better for you to ask your questions, I diverted. (p. 4)

While Birgül describes this as the period when her 'political life began to be more established' she does not refer to her own political activism. Instead of foregrounding her own role and activities in the narrative, she describes herself as simply being and taking part in the general conflicts of the period. While this period was clearly formative and important to Birgül, she prefers to present this as a 'diversion'. I asked her to continue telling about the political aspects of her university years if this was important to her, however she chose instead to talk about the educational aspects of this time, thus foregrounding the development of her professional identity. At later points in the interview, Birgül referred back to her political activism of that time as both formative for her political outlook and her life course, since it was her activism and visibility as an activist in student leftwing organisations that endangered her after the coup d'etat in 1980 and prompted her to leave the country. There may be several reasons for Birgül's reluctance to speak more about her personal experience of this time. The most straightforward of which may be that she does not want to disclose any information about this time publicly, even the limited public that our interview situation created.

Passerini (1987) found in her research about the memory of fascism in the Turin working class, that in particular Communist and Socialist activists, did not talk about their experiences of the time, except by recounting stereotypical everyday anecdotes. She interprets this as the story teller's narrative choice to avoid a psychological autobiographical tone. Thus the difficult personal experiences of repression and resistance are absent, while the narrative concentrates on descriptions of wider social phenomena. This resonates with the way that Birgül presents this period, the violent clashes between police and leftwing students and activists form a fixed image of this period, recurring in public representations, albeit with varying evaluations. In this sense, she positions herself not as an outstanding individual activist, but rather as part of a collective and avoids any introspective overtones. Another explanation for Birgül's avoidance of this period is suggested by life story research that finds that while men overemphasise their public roles, women tend to under emphasise these aspects (cf. Plummer 2001, Passerini 1987, Chanfrault Duchet 1991). Rosenthal's approach (1995) to memory and the related structures of story telling suggests other explanations. To her what is left unsaid may indicate that the memories relate to chaotic situations, that the story teller could not make sense of at the time. Rosenthal

suggests that it is easier to remember situations that were already made sense of at the time of experience. Even if such chaotic and extraordinary situations were experienced repeatedly, they tend to be remembered as a whole, and the remembering subject may find it difficult to delineate the situations from each other.

In accordance with Passerini (1987), Rosenthal argues that painful and sometimes traumatic experiences are often only remembered fragmentarily as impressions, images or feelings. However, it is difficult to re-member them as a story, and therefore they often glide into unspeakability. Rosenthal states that absences or themes and stories that are left out from life stories leave either para-verbal traces like interruptions or breaks, or become obvious because the story teller leaves out details, and changes the narrative scheme to a argument-led or descriptive scheme (1995: 91). She names four possible reasons for such absent stories:

a) the autobiographer does not understand them or find them inconsistent with their life story

b) they are associated with embarrassment and shame

c) they are denied or displaced

d) they do not belong to the topic intended by the story teller

This last point can be taken to indicate that Birgül's intended life story was about her professional life rather than about her political and social activism. Thus her concept of a professional biography did not leave space for the stories about her political activism of that time which she seems to conceptualise as belonging to a different thematic field she tried to keep separate from the narration of self she presented to me. Rosenthal asserts that absent stories do not simply represent a lack of information but instead can be interpreted as biographical strategies in themselves. Thus, my reading of Birgül's self presentation and the themes she introduces, emphasises or views as a diversion suggests that while the aspect of political activism is clearly decisive in her life story, she prefers to construct her activism in Turkey merely as a trigger for her migration experience, while she elaborates on her activism in Germany. This indicates a biographical strategy of locating herself firmly within the German context in which she lives, rather than in a retrospective or future 'homeland' orientation as is typical for many Turkish leftwing groups and organisations (cf. above Pinar's criticism).

Birgül emphasises that she fled Turkey head over heels and had not considered migration before the coup d'etat of 1980 (cf. chapter 5). Such an emphasis can be read in different ways, one aspect can be read as a justification for leaving. There is a recognition in the literature that refugees can have feelings of guilt for leaving, and especially if they were politically active, may have to negotiate reproaches and feelings of having abandoned the most difficult cause by leaving the country (Abakay 1988, Sales 2001).

Identity Politics: 'As if there's a different politics for the Germans and the Turks'

Birgül underlines her interest and involvement in the political and social life in Germany. When she was living in the small town, where she had started her professional specialisation and experienced difficulties in obtaining the necessary permits (cf. chapter 5), Birgül became involved in setting up different antiracist groups. In this way, she used her own experiences of institutional discrimination and her personal struggle against them as a motivation for organising. While Birgül had been active in leftwing politics in Turkey, the area of antiracist politics was new to her. As she points out throughout the interview, the experiential dimension of racism has been formative for her self representation and how she views her part in German society.

In this sense, Birgül's activism involved some central elements of identity politics. She recognised and analysed her personal experiences of institutional racism as a valid starting point to organise collectively. In the early 1980s antiracist politics were not seen as a crucial field of leftwing politics in Germany, and leftwing groups of Turkish origin focused their analysis and activism on homeland politics. Thus, Birgül's formulation of an antiracist politics that politicised experiences of racialization rather than adapting the prevalent paradigm of enmity to foreigners and submitting to the role of client of 'foreigner-friendly' German activists and mediators (cf. Radtke 1994) constituted an agentic subject position for migrants. This challenged not just the hegemonic analyses of racism as 'enmity to foreigners'. It also challenged the reified relation between migrants as victims or as merely recipients of support and protection of 'foreigner-friendly' Germans. The pitfalls of identity politics as

essentialising and homogenising personal and collective identities are well-known. Still, they carved out a space for gaining political agency for migrants disenfranchised and excluded from party politics and marginalised in other forms of political organisation (e.g. about trade unions: cf. Toksöz 1991, about feminist politics: cf. Arbeitsgruppe Frauenkongress 1985 etc.).

Apart from her antiracist activism, Birgül was also active in traditional leftwing organisations, dominated by Germans. She describes her experiences there as follows:

> Birgül: I was involved in political activities here. However in the political groups I also experienced that they treated us as if we didn't know Marxism: 'Have you ever read anything of Lenin?' they asked me. 'Have you read this book of Karl Marx?' 'Of course' we said, 'we have read it.'
>
> U: (Laughs) As if they had written it themselves.
>
> B: No, there wasn't a bit of difference to those experiences in the hospital, there was no difference to that in the political groups, either.
>
> U: Yes.
>
> B: There, as well, as I said earlier as if there is a different type of medicine, you know, for the Turks and the Germans. As if there's a different politics for the Germans and the Turks, as if there were different books that we read and different books that they read. If you have read the classics, we have read them, too. That was the approach, you know. And then we made anti-racist politics, but we are the only ones responsible for this. We were not included in the general politics, the decision making and discussion and so on. Only when the issue of racism came to the agenda they asked us for our ideas.
>
> U: Yes.
>
> B: Well, there as well we experienced racism. (p.24)

In this extract, Birgül points out the similarity of her experiences of racist discrimination and the denigration of her abilities and knowledges at the workplace with those in the political group. Moreover, she points out that her analytical skills and her capacity of decision-making were only recognised in relation to the issue of racism, where she was identified as competent. At the same time she was marginalised in discussions of issues that were deemed of general interest. This group was not based on identity politics, but instead on traditional leftwing ideological and organisational premises. However, I would argue that some of the epistemological and organisational elements that Birgül recounts contain a logic of invisible identity politics. By 'invisible identity' politics, I mean an identity politics that is taken for granted, both constituted by and constitutive of the normalisation of dominant

identities, their legitimated standpoints, epistemologies and decision making processes.

The term identity politics is usually ascribed to the organisational and epistemological forms developed by marginalised groups to articulate their interests and organise around these (Alice Echols quoted in Rowbotham 1992:274). Thus, women, migrants, disabled people, gays and lesbians' organisations are seen as doing identity politics. When men, members of the ethnically dominant group, heterosexuals or able bodied people organise, they claim to do so on the basis of their political interest which they present as based on generalisable knowledges, rather than on specific experiences or interests (Harding 1991).

Members of dominant identity groups have privileged access to the state, media, economic and other resources to present their view of the world as valid and neutral (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). This is also true for oppositional groups and the resources of their oppositional institutions and networks, albeit that the resources and the reach of their knowledges may be more restricted. These representational resources can strengthen their claim to define what counts as generalisable knowledge in the interest of all and what counts as specific knowledge based on specific identities. This power of representation and definition is so generalised that the normalisation of dominant identities appears as neutral.

Birgül's description of her status in this leftwing group critiques the German members' claim to authentically own what was considered generalisable knowledges of Marxism and its classic foundational texts. Her claim as a migrant woman from Turkey to these knowledges was questioned and de-legitimated. On this basis, her claim to participation in decision making was reduced. The area in which her competence was recognised on the other hand was reduced to her personal experience of racism. I think it important to recognise the specific knowledges that experience gives access to. However, by ascribing the topic of racism to the sole responsibility of their migrant comrades, the marginalisation of the topic of racism is reified, once again. Birgül emphasises that in her political activism, her gendered and ethnocised identity has been fixed as different. This reflects what I term 'compulsory

difference'[2], where the content and boundary of difference is ascribed and defined by Germans in order to uphold group boundaries and as a means of upholding the subject-object relation between Germans and '*Ausländer*'. Thus, Birgül had previously delineated her interest in and involvement with political groups and issues in Germany from the lack of involvement of many other migrants from Turkey. However, she feels that the German members of the leftwing group, and later on of feminist groups did not allow for such an internal differentiation of the category of migrant:

> Let me say this about the previous question. The workers here, or the Turkish families here, Turkish or Kurdish, they live here in a rather isolated way, they are ghettoised, because they are not at all *recognised*. If you try to do the opposite then you get put into a different position, too. You are discriminated against, although you are not that way. As I said, you are constantly struggling. (p.25)

Birgül's activism belies her equation with people who 'live here in a rather isolated way' and are 'ghettoised'. Birgül views this social isolation as a consequence of their lack of recognition by the majority society. However, the German activists' refusal to recognise her activism reinforces the ascription of sameness with a 'ghettoised' Turkish community. This refusal of recognition denies any agentic subject position to migrants, whether they withdraw or not. Thus, the compulsory difference ascribed to her as passive or isolated structures her relationship with German activists, so that she is 'constantly struggling' against this ascription for a recognition of her activism, as a legitimate participant in social and political processes.

Politics of Belonging

Birgül has an acute sense of not being recognised as a legitimate participant in social and political groups. One of the ways in which she explains it is through recourse to cultural differences in socialisation.

> B: Well, the people from Turkey, me as a person, too, we come from a different socialisation, we have a mania for social life. Well, our political struggles before 1980, there was no individual, everything was collective. When I came to Germany I realised that the individual had more importance. That was very exhausting and difficult for many people, for me, too. Because all of a sudden you can see how important the individual is. Still however the collective or community is very relevant

[2] By compulsory difference I mean a practice of constructing the racialized Other as culturally different that involves a fixing of boundaries, whose content has been defined by the ethnically dominant side. Difference and its content are ascribed often in contradiction to the racialized Other's self perception. An example is the irritation of multiculturalists or liberals towards those Others who do not perform the cultural, social or political norms they ascribe this group (cf. Erel 1997).

> for the people from Turkey and I see this as very positive, too. In the German groups, be they political or personal or other, everybody lives very much for themselves, they are very individualised. That disturbs me, it still disturbs me.(p.25)

While Birgül finds it valuable to recognise the importance of the individual, she does not want to give up her value of collectivity or community. To her these are 'Turkish' values, however she specifies that they are values relating to her own political socialisation into a historically specific political movement. This can be seen as an instance where nationally specific forms of sociality articulate other, political identities (cf. Johnson 1993). While Birgül perceived her political identity as a socialist or Marxist as non-national, and viewed her political socialisation as compatible with that of her German comrades, her authority over the knowledges of socialist texts was questioned on the basis of her ethnicity. Moreover, the forms of sociality within the group in Germany where very different from those she had experienced and practised in Turkey:

> B: [I find it important] to be interested and put efforts in other people and their problems. Of course (...) it is important to see your own values, too. Because you are an individual in the collective. If you cannot stand in for yourself as an individual under the conditions of life in Germany you suffer from all types of psychosomatic illness, ranging from depression to I don't know what (laughs). But I am speaking of political life even. Even there in a group discussion, where we had extremely intense discussions, with *comrades* when you met them on the street they didn't even greet you, they didn't even recognise you. And one expects of them 'Oh, hello, how are you' and so on. Well, outside of the meetings there was no communication.
>
> U: Hmm. Hmm.
>
> N: And that disturbed me a lot. Or [in Germany] the political life is organised like the working life. The weekend was the time when we struggled the most in Turkey, [but here] after work, at the weekend the political life, everything stood still. Of course, the individual has an importance, too, here in Germany, that was bad in Turkey. Of course, to understand both, which one is right which one is wrong one needs a lot of time. (p.26)

Birgül discusses the different weighting of individual and collective in the context of Turkish and German leftwing politics. In the earlier extract where she described her involvement with the theatre group, Birgül clearly stated that she gladly put the continuity of the group before her individual wish for recognition, she finds that her experiences in Germany have made her reconsider the importance of the individual vis-à-vis collectivities. She does not feel that she has ascertain the importance of one over the other, but instead feels one has to critically evaluate each situation.

Her critical evaluation of belonging to a collectivity is reflected in her view on national belonging, too. Birgül values the position of 'foreigner'

> because to be able to get to know two different ways of life, cultures, can enable you to see many things more from outside and observe them. (...) But on the other hand, the negative side of being a foreigner is that after a while you loose the roots anyway. You don't feel *at home*[G] anywhere. (p.26)

She juxtaposes this to her daughter's claim for belonging to and being both German and Turkish (cf. chapter 6). Instead of claims to Germanness, she finds that other migrants are the people with whom she can most easily generate a community on the basis of their common experiences of racism. The experience of non-recognition and marginalisation is central to Birgül's experiences of social and political participation in Germany. She gives examples of this experience in other areas of life, such as her participation in creative writing groups, where German participants question her status as a writer on the basis of her ethnicity and the fact that she is writing in German, her second language (cf. Adelson 1997). This is an example of how her linguistic and cultural competence is de-legitimated because she is seen as not belonging.

However, it is important to point out that there is no automatic relation between feelings of recognition or belonging and participation. Thus, while Birgül has become active in social and political groups relating to Germany soon after she arrived in Germany, for a long time this did not correspond to her feeling settled in Germany. Until very recently she emotionally evaluated her stay as 'temporary'. At the time of interview, Birgül still felt that she was not recognised as a legitimate part of the society she lived in. Nonetheless, she had projects relating to this society, such as doing research into migrant women's sexual health issues, as well as a creative writing project. Birgül's story of her political and cultural activism calls into question any *a priori* assumptions about the relation between identity, belonging and social participation. She points out that her feeling of 'belonging is reduced', both towards Turkey and Germany. However, she follows political events and developments in both countries. After her migration she has participated in social and political campaigns in both countries, e.g. in feminist transnational and diasporic networks. However, she critically evaluates the groups that she has participated in, in terms of their hidden identity politics. This means that Birgül does not construct belonging as a given, but rather as negotiated and struggled over. Despite her experiences of

marginalisation and de-legitimisation both in her political and cultural activities she values what she perceives as her 'Turkish' value of constructing community. She acknowledges that there is a tension between collective and individual priorities. However she tries to negotiate this tension so as not to reify one over the other.

Birgül's story of her political and cultural activism articulates her experiences as a refugee who had been a political activist in Turkey. She themasises these experiences only as a background story to frame her activism in Germany. The experiences that she gained in Turkey such as organising, as well as her political outlook as a socialist, characterised her activism in Germany. I examined two interrelated forms of politics she was engaged in: on the one hand her antiracist activism in the early 1980s, was a challenge to pre-existing forms of foreigner's politics because it formulated a critique of German institutions' racist practices on the basis of her own experience as a 'foreigner'. This constituted an agentic subject position for herself as a participant in antiracist struggles, rather than being merely the object of these struggles as formulated by Germans. In this form of politics, Birgül articulated a link between identity, experience and resistance, which I view as an integral element of identity politics. She was however also part of other political groups, such as a German dominated socialist group, whose organisational form and field of politics was not explicitly built on identity. I analyse the marginalisation and the ascription of compulsory difference she experienced in this group as a hidden identity politics of dominance. This tensions between identity political organisational forms and universalist organisational forms is characteristic for the experiences of the group of political refugees or politically motivated migrants from Turkey, especially when they did not focus their political activism on homeland politics. Despite their political experiences and outlooks that centre on non-national or internationalist identities, they have experienced that German activists de-valued and mis-recognised their political identities, because of an overdetermined notion of their ethnic and national identities.

Selin

Selin's story of her activism questions some notions of identity, community and their link with political activism that played a role in Pinar and Birgül's stories. In the following I analyse her story as one of search for recognition and a quest to broaden

her horizon through creating knowledges that validate her experience and relate it to others. At the time of interview Selin was questioning herself and her biographical choices, triggered by the recent break up of her love relationship and the concurrent failure of her business. This is important to contextualise her narrative which may be seen as a critical re-evaluation of the gains and losses.

Migration and Community Activism

Selin's story of her political activism is closely bound up with her story of migration. She experienced a number of internal migration within Turkey and views this experience as central to her self representation as characterised by a 'double consciousness' (cf. chapter 4). As a young woman she left the village again to join her older sister in a small town and help bring up her children. During this time, she attended different vocational courses and soon her brother-in-law made her the manager of his business. This occupational and economic independence enhanced her status within the family as well as her self esteem. During this time, she also gained the reputation of a helpful and skilful person among the people in the small town and neighbouring villages:

> I was someone who helped everybody out, who was good natured and willing to help, I had such a very good communication with the people. The old people, the miserable came from the villages, they brought some eggs [and said] 'Come on, let's go we have some problems at the registry office regarding our children'. Well anything to do with I don't know what, old age pensions, and that kind of thing, I was always busy doing this kind of thing. And out of these 46 villages, maybe (...) 70 percent of the villagers knew me.' (10)

Selin refers to this period as formative to her self-representation: she enjoyed the respect of many people around her and began to be respected by her family. Selin also won her family's acceptance of her wish not to marry. Moreover, this introduces her as a person who cares for others and who successfully deals with their problems. She elaborates this theme of being a helpful person who cares for others throughout her life story.

Soon after her arrival in the UK in 1989, she got involved in a community centre. Although she felt she 'was not a political person', Selin presents this as a continuation of her role in the small town in Turkey: She brought her commitment to help others and her social skills with her to the community centre. Even though she herself had

just arrived and did not know either English or the mechanisms of British institutions, she was soon suggested and elected into the community centre's management committee. Selin did unpaid, voluntary work in several functions in the community centre for two and a half years.

Selin was very committed to her work at the community centre. At the same time, however there were also conflicts between her and the other members of the management committee, because she was the only independent, i.e. non-party politically affiliated person on the committee.

> S: I had a bad experience with this, because you must needs be a member of group A or group B. And because I was not a member I experienced a lot of pressure because of being independent.
>
> U: They wanted you to join their group...
>
> S: They wanted that, but when it didn't happen, they treated you differently. Then they treat you as if you don't exist. Because group A takes this side, group B takes that side, group C takes the other side, and you're left in the middle because you are independent.
>
> U: Huhumm
>
> S: (...) When they realise that you don't belong to any group, all the three of them start to put pressure on you at once. Now, there was no one questioning the machismo, the sexism, the hierarchies there. The only thing they do is to say 'women's health' and put up one announcement, and that was me because I was [one of the, U. E.] the only women on the management committee. (p.47)

Selin critiques the undemocratic structures she encountered in the management committee. As an independent member, she was excluded from discussions, denied information and marginalised in decision-making. Moreover, Selin was critical of the neglect of gender issues. She describes the women's politics as merely symbolic or tokenistic. Thus, as one of only two women in the management committee, Selin was made head of the women's branch. This position was however only viewed as a token by the other committee members: Although Selin headed the women's branch, the secretary did not inform her about council meetings concerning women's issues but attended them in her place. When Selin challenged her, the secretary argued, that Selin could not attend because of her lack of English. Nonetheless, Selin insisted on going to the council meetings herself with a translator. Cultural and linguistic competence was used to marginalise Selin as an independent committee member and to de-legitimise her work. Selin's decision to participate in council meetings with the

help of a translator shows her ability to counter such de-legitimisations. Selin interprets the conflict as one of who gets to be seen as responsible by the council, which was also the grant-giving body. This points to the problematic status of representation vis-à-vis the local state. As feminist writers have pointed out, British multiculturalist policies often lead to a legitimation of 'community leaders' whose basis for representing the community is not democratic and moreover, often partakes in strengthening sexist practices and structures (Brah 1997, Patel 1997, Sahgal and Yuval-Davis 1992).

Selin points out that the argument that because of her lack of English she should not attend council meetings 'is the opposite of equal opportunities'. Furthermore, she feels that if the notion of equal opportunities is ignored so blatantly within the management committee, this is even worse in the dealings with members who are not functionaries. This is an important case in point for the paradoxical dynamics of multi-culturalist local authority policies. Equal opportunities are one of the core principles of local multiculturalism. However, while Selin learned this concept in her community activism, she also realised that it was not put into practice. Instead, even in the dealings with the council, hierarchies of education, gender, and corporatist party affiliations worked to exclude those like herself who have adapted this core value.

Through her work at the community centre she got in contact with Turkish-speaking feminist groups, and began co-operating with them. This brought her into a difficult position since on the one hand, the women's groups criticised her, as a representative of the community centre for their lack of commitment to women's issues. On the other hand, Selin was isolated with her feminist commitments at the community centre and experienced many hostilities and insults by her colleagues. 'They call you a feminist, a lesbian, all of a sudden they call you a pimp, you sell women (...) I was attacked in many ways' (p. 47). Referring to migrant women's community activism in general, Kofman et al (2000) find that while men may support women's community activism, they may at the same time fear a loss of patriarchal control through the women's increased scope for agency. 'Women involved in these activities are under scrutiny not for their politics or their activities for the group, but as women. Criticism of a woman's [alleged, U. E.] sexual behaviour can be used by men as means of maintaining control of women's political activities' (2000: 184-5). It should be

emphasised, that such patriarchal control is also exercised by other women, not only men. For Selin, this culminated when her first term of office in the management committee ended. She was threatened not to stand for re-election:

> S: A couple of the women literally said to me 'Look if you don't get out of this management committee these men are going to take you and fuck you in some place, they are going to rape you and bring you back and drop you in front of the community centre'. That is how they threatened me.
>
> U: Oooh.. who…?
>
> S: Well, people from group A or B who did not want me to go into that management committee. Because you are independent, there is no protection behind you.
>
> U: Yes.
>
> S: Because all of this, as I say, are power relations. (p.49)

Selin did not heed to these threats, and was re-elected into the management committee. Her lack of party affiliation may have enabled her to articulate her criticism of power relations and hierarchies in the community centre. At the same time, as she emphasises, it made her particularly vulnerable since she did not have a pre-existing group to protect her. It is important to call attention to the fact that these threats, although meant to prevent her from pursuing her politics, were directed at her sexuality. Thus, the threat of rape was directed at her physical, psychological and social integrity. Rape as a means of political intimidation is used not only to attack the person, but also to ostracise her from a community whose dominant values may still view it as tarnishing the victim rather than the perpetrator. Moreover, the threat of leaving Selin in front of the community centre contains the aspect of making the rape public. This is a crucial aspect of the way in which rape is used in warfare or in political repression as a means of setting an example, scaring others off and tarnishing the 'honour' of those associated or related to the victim (cf. Nordstrom 1997: 124-132). Because she could not stand the pressures anymore, Selin decided to leave the community centre at the next election period.

Selin uses migration as a metaphor for the experiences of difference and partial or un-belonging. However, these difficult experiences of migration are held in balance by what Selin views as positive experiences of widening her horizon and learning new ways of life. That is, she employs migration both metaphorically and in her actions as

a quest for learning and change.[3] While her migrations as a child and young woman were not chosen by herself, in her decision to migrate to the UK she developed agency by taking control over her mobility. She wanted to discover a social space in which she could make better sense of her same sex desire and sexual experiences. However, in the first period in London, Selin felt that 'everything stayed the same' with respect to her explorations of sexual identity. She was confronted with a lack of change, rather than too much change. Through her work and social life around the community centre she developed a new identity as a communtiy activist, however in her story she neglects this aspect.

Acculturation into 'Turkish' Feminist Groups

Her involvement in Turkish-speaking feminist groups is a period to which Selin refers in different contexts as a formative experience. While in retrospect she emphasises the negative experiences she made, there are certainly also positive aspects. This becomes clear in her invocation of feminist concepts and principles throughout the interview. Here, I analyse the notion of cultural difference that Selin puts forward, to examine its political implications in the next section.

Selin refers to the culture of the feminist women as something she got in contact with for the first time. Selin expresses feelings of curiosity but also of inadequacy with regards to her relationship to the Turkish-speaking feminist groups.

> S: I came to this country for the first time, I looked around at some women around me, some groups. I admired their freedom, their independence. Look, I had no idea about any of these things, you know. Neither the theatre, nor the music, whatever, [all of this was] *Turkish, Turkish! Let alone [English culture], this was Turkish [culture that was unknown to me]!* And I wanted to catch up with all of this, you know.

This feminist, 'Turkish' culture was at once strange and attractive to her; it held the promise of change of genderspecific life-styles that she had been looking for through her migration. In her view, the women's 'freedom and independence' was linked to their culture. Selin not only wanted to emulate these cultural forms but the type of

[3] She emphasises that her migration history started a long time before she arrived in Britain. The experience of difference, non-belonging and learning to adapt to different ways of living to Selin had already started as a child of nine and she does not link it to international migration but also internal migration in Turkey. She experienced ethnic difference and subjection, as Zaza, an ethnic or linguistic minority group within the Kurdish context, and moreover as Kurdish within a Turkish supremacist nation-state.

femininity associated with these. Her emphasis on the Turkishness of these cultural forms underlines that this international migration for her brought into starker contrast the diversity of nationalised cultural forms and also enabled her to access them. This reveals the underlying assumption of shared national origin as involving shared cultural competence. There is an ambiguity with relation to national identity: on the one hand, Selin assumes a shared national origin on the basis of having lived in the same nation-state. This assumption at once denies her Otherness as Zaza Kurdish and emphasises this Otherness as a lack of cultural capital. Selin's initial response to this was an attempt to 'catch up with' these cultural knowledges and forms. Her eagerness to learn was felt and expressed acutely:

> S: During this time I went to meetings, from here to there, always on the go in order to learn these things, that was very important for me.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> S: I am a person who has never in her life been to the theatre, never to the cinema. I went as a child a few times, but they have all know best about it it[4]. Bless them, all my friends, who knows where I found them, they are all intellectuals.
>
> U: (Laughing) Where have you found them...
>
> S: (Laughing) Well, where have I found them, I am talking of that period, I always looked for those circles. I always chose to live through such an oppressedness and feeling of inferiority because they know and I don't. *Oh, they know and I don't, I was constantly looking for something, why don't I know these things!*

Here, Selin expresses several issues: first, going to the theatre and cinema as cultural practices were alien to her. They are high-cultural practices in which a disposition and an ability to appreciate is produced and expressed, in Bourdieu's sense a distinguishing cultural practice. Selin, like Bourdieu's 'old-style autodidact' (1996:84) wanted to learn about these cultural practices as much as she could in a short space of time. And, as with the English language, she wanted to learn about the entirety of these practices. According to Bourdieu it is this high standard one sets for oneself that shows up the autodidact as opposed to those with 'inherited' and 'always having been there' cultural capital who are able to admit or mask ignorance (ibid.).

Selin conceptualises the issue of cultural competence as relational. She recognises that this particular cultural capital is specific to 'intellectuals'. Moreover, she recognises

that she actively participated in the validation of this particular cultural competence by according them the status of authority. Selin ironically speaks of her complicity in (re-)producing their authority since she 'chose' to feel inferior. This relational dynamic created for her the inferior subject position of a 'learner' and made her question herself as inadequate.[5] These dynamics were crucial in the political conflicts she experienced in the 'Turkish' feminist groups.

Feminist Politics of Experience and Representation

A core principle of feminist thought and politics is the validation of women's experiences as a starting point for challenging dominant knowledges. This has been elaborated in particular by Black feminists, also to validate differences of class, race and ethnicity between women (cf. Hill-Collins 1990, hooks 1983). The 'Turkish' feminist circles that Selin refers to have chosen both ethnicity and gender as identity bases for participation and therefore I assumed they may share this principle.

> U: But did you not value your own experiences?
>
> S: But they don't know about my experiences. Sometimes they talk in such a way, that they express the things I know much better. (...) they start talking about the village (...) as if they have always lived in the village. Yes, they can put things into words so beautifully.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> S: And they make such good sense of it, I could not make sense of what I lived through with such beautiful words like them.
>
> U: Huhumm.
>
> S: And therefore, they are much better villagers then me, they are much more educated...
>
> U: (laughs)

---

[4] Selin uses the expression '(...) ama yani bunun üzerinde bir herkez oturuyor' which has the meaning of violently appropriating something (Steuerwald 1974 Türkçe Almanca Sözlük)

[5] This extract exemplifies an inter-subjective dynamic at play between Selin and myself. I partake in the educational privilege she critiqued, even this interview with Selin forms part of another educational qualification I try to achieve. This privilege need not necessarily be used as a practice of distinction and appropriation, but it holds the potential to be used thus. My uneasy laughter can be read as a defence of those 'intellectual' friends with whom I thus unwittingly constructed a commonality and solidarity. Selin, in turn tries to calm my self-doubts by projecting and fixing her statements to 'that period' and thus relieving me of any role and responsibility in this conflict. My identification with her intellectual friends is problematic. Reflection on my role in this conflict is legitimate, but it should not have made me intervene in Selin's narrative so that Selin had to 'protect' me from her criticism of 'intellectuals' and its possible implications for my self-image in our research relation.

> S: They are much more political, much cleverer than me. How could these people be so lucky. Because I feel this pressure on myself, I always want to learn something, I looked at them *like an idiot. I didn't say to myself, just sit back and forget about all this, you cannot cope with all this pressure.*(p.37).

Selin points out that her feminist friends did not 'know' about her experiences, because she could not vocalise them in a way that would be recognised by them. Selin points out that it was not experience, but the ability to participate in validated discursive forms that conveyed the authority to represent. By being able to give meaning to such experiences in 'beautiful words' her educated feminist friends gained the authority over the subjectivities formed through these experiences. This can be related back to Plummer's (1995; 2001) notion of story telling communities (cf. chapter 2) that create publics susceptible for certain experiences to be made to speak. However, in this feminist story telling community, the construction of authoritative discourses replaces the authorising strategy of first person experience. Thus, instead of validating Selin's experiences and empowering her, Selin felt that she could only participate as a listener in this story telling community. This exclusion from an articulating and theorising subject position reified her status of inferiority. It is ironic that a feminist public that declares itself as created to validate hitherto unspeakable experiences and elaborate politicised identities on their basis made Selin's experiences unspeakable because her story telling did not fit the forms validated in this community.

Selin criticised her feminist friends' attitude not just towards herself but also towards other women:

> S: You know how to defend yourself against men, well they stand there, we stand here... because you know this, you prepare yourself for it. And then you realise you have to prepare yourself to deal with (...) feminist women. You don't know when they are going to behave in a tactical way, when they are going to treat you as someone lacking consciousness, someone uneducated. (...) This was a big thing, and that is where my argument with them started. (...) [I said to them] *who gives you the right to call this woman ignorant or ordinary. If this woman doesn't know certain things, that has a lot to do with her past. With her education, with her freedom. If this woman is not free to leave the kitchen and go out she cannot develop. You have to do something to enable her to go out there. You shouldn't stand in her way [by saying] 'She is ignorant'. She can develop herself, why shouldn't she? Even dogs can be educated, why shouldn't it be possible to educate humans?* (p.47)

Selin here argues that feminist politics should empower women to develop their abilities and their agency. She criticises that the reification of hierarchies between

women based on feminist or educational credentials is dis-empowering for those women deemed not 'conscious' enough. This included a critique of the feminist group's internal structure of decision making and representing the group. She found that women who were seen as uneducated, rural or working class were only viewed as passive recipients of the services of the women's centre, instead of involving them into the work of the group. Moreover, she felt that the group's structure was based on an implicit ethnic hierarchy, where she was given the status of the one token Kurdish woman among the Turkish feminists:

> S: They took me everywhere with them as a Kurdish woman, but there weren't any other Kurdish women around them. And then, the microphone is constantly in their hands (...)
>
> U: Why [weren't there any other Kurdish women]?
>
> S: *Because they [Kurdish women] can't approach them. There is no dialogue, no communication, no understanding.*
>
> U: They are excluded?
>
> S: *Of course, they are excluded. (...) This is where my differences with these [Turkish feminist] women started.* (...) They only helped them [Kurdish women] but it is a different thing whether you just help or whether you give them a consciousness and bring them to leadership.
>
> U: Huhumm, yes.
>
> (...)
>
> S: Then, that night we were discussing these things. (...) 'Look, as your friend I feel like this among you. And I like you a lot, you are my friends. But this disturbs me. Why don't you let others [take leadership positions]? Why do you always have to be the head of the women's centre? (...) Why, is this your tribe?' (...) At this point... because they do it professionally. Because they are paid by the council's women's unit, they are paid £22 000, £25 000. (...) Would they ever leave this position? (p.54-55).

Selin's critique contains two aspects. First, she argues that the feminist group reified intermeshing hierarchies of class, ethnicity and education by reducing 'other' women to service recipients and clients. Moreover, she argues that the unwillingness of some feminist women to share leadership and educate others to partake in decision-making and take on leadership positions was based on their vested interests as professional representatives of the community. This is a critique that shows the ambiguity of professional work as political activism, a concept to which other interviewees (Pinar, Nalan) also refer, however more positively. Selin voices the dilemma that the conflation of professional and political authority can lead to the creation of rigid

hierarchies that exclude non-professionals from decision-making since those in leadership position may not only see their political authority at stake, but also their livelihood. Those who do voluntary, unpaid work, like Selin may feel that their own contributions are not adequately valued.

It is important to call attention to Selin's wording: 'Why, is this your tribe?' Tribal organisational forms rely on inheritance of social functions, as well as patron-client relations. Tribe as a social organizational form plays a role in Kurdish political and social life, and is often viewed as a backward, 'primitive' and undemocratic institution. By criticising the rigid hierarchies within this feminist group as 'tribal', Selin ironises the self-presentation of this group as modern and democratic.[6] This refers to the tension between avowedly democratic processes of legitimation and the underlying undemocratic dynamics based on gender, class, ethnic and educational inequalities.

There are of course two sides to the tensions that Selin expresses around authority and representativeness in professional and political work for 'the community' or even specificially for women in the migrant community. As other interviewees who are professionally engaged in and for migrant women's projects point out, they value the political relevance of their professional work. However, the blurred boundaries between their own identity and the demands for loyalty on them as parts of institutions at the same time as 'the community' they are supposed to represent and serve are problematic. Moreover, the boundary of the political and professional aspects of their work is blurred. These factors mean that they are prone to stress, overwork, exhaustion and the negligence of caring for themselves (cf. Lutz 1991, Sales 2000). The importance of the services provided by such 'mediators' (Lutz 1991) is undoubted. They often enable access to welfare state provisions and are instrumental in creating new services adapted to the specific needs of migrants and

[6] Wallerstein (1992) de-constructs the paradox of particularism and universalism. He argues that so-called pre-modern, pre-capitalist forms of social organization were explicitly based on gender and ethnic differences and self-consciously maintained hierarchies through birthrights in estate-like systems. Modern democratic legitimity, on the other hand, he argues is based on the claim of the universal equality of humans. The avowed principle of hierarchy is achievement, rather than birth-right. However, in practice this principle of achievement continues to create and reify gendered and ethnicized hierarchies. The assumption that hierarchies based on achievement and merit are more readily acceptable, he argues is a 'redoubtable political sociology' (1992: 43, my translation from

specifically migrant women, thus forming an important enabling factor in the realisation of social citizenship rights (cf. Brah 1997, Lewis 1996, Sales 2000). Moreover, as groups or individuals they are often key in campaigning for legislative changes that improve the lives of migrants and migrant women (cf. Brah 1997, Kofman et al 2000; Sales 2000). However, from Selin's standpoint other problematic aspects of the role of 'mediators' are articulated. Sales, referring to health advocates for the Turkish-speaking community in London, cautions that 'some women become over dependent on the advocates. Many lead isolated lives and do not learn English even after many years in London, so that their interaction with the welfare services is always through someone else' (2000: 18). Thus, while valuing the work of 'mediators', she confirms Selin's view that it may not support women to develop their agency. Sales analyses the structural factors constraining the relation between 'mediators', clients and institutions:

> Most of these projects have arisen out of voluntary social and political activity within the community, and the groups have struggled to get their needs recognised. The process of becoming part of the mainstream service represents an acknowledgment of their professionalism and of the needs of the community. It also removes control from the community. This problem is being experienced in Hackney where, as part of restructuring and budget cutting exercise, the Health Authority is taking direct control over the advocacy services, ending the semi-autonomous status of some of the groups. (2000: 19)

While these tensions are common in the process of institutionalisation of the voluntary sector, she argues, they become particularly salient against the backdrop of social exclusion from the mainstream society, as well as community divisions within the Turkish-speaking community (Sales 2000:19-20, cf. also Uguris 2001:11).[7] Sales' analysis re-frames Selin's story about experiencing marginalization and subjection as uneducated or less able to articulate herself within a recognised discursive frame. Selin's critique that the construction of Kurdish and/ or working class and rural

German). Instead, he argues that universalism and particularism mutually constitute each other and are both necessary for stabilizing existing hierarchies, in practice as well as ideologically (ibid.).

[7] Sales' analysis is very important, since it calls attention to the differential dynamics of representation, institutionalisation and professionalisation. In this respect it constitutes a much-needed exception, as Uguris points out '(...) existing studies [on the Kurdish and Turkish Diaspora, U.E.] and subsequently the state policies do not question these divisions, tend to homogenise these communities and overlook the different experiences of men and women, of different social classes and ethnicities.' (Uguris 1999:1-2).

women as 'ignorant' reifies their subjected status is echoed in Sales' findings. It is important to recognise the different conditions of developing agency and skills for Turkish, educated, urban women or Kurdish rural women, excluded from education. However, the differential cultural capital should not be used as a justification for their continuing exclusion from positions of leadership or professional service provision. Instead, as Selin points out, Turkish professional women's acknowledgment of difference could lead to questioning their own subject position and those elements that reproduce its dominance vis-à-vis rural, working class and Kurdish women.

Longing and Belonging

Selin's critique of the 'Turkish' feminist groups did not lead her to give up her feminist principles; instead, she emphasised the need for inclusiveness in her everyday life and her political commitment. When she opened a café/ arthouse, thus she tried to establish it as a place where different people could come together and 'develop themselves'. She intended this café/ arthouse to be 'not only a business but also a community or charity project, to bring all different cultures, people, ideologies and many things under one roof.' At the time of the interview, her business had broken down and she evaluated it as a failed project. It is against this backdrop, as well as her failed relationship that Selin expressed feeling 'too weak to do anything anymore. Those who feel strong can do something' (p.72).

This experience of disappointment and disillusionment is also expressed in her fantasy of migrating again. Selin stated that she is 'looking for something else', however without knowing where this could be found. At the same time, to my question how she saw her position in Britain, she claimed 'all the rights the English have, I want to have them, too.' Thus making a strong claim to belonging, emphasising that she saw herself as part of this society, 'as if I was born here'. She emphasised her efforts of improving her English through tv: 'before I master English, I am not going to watch Turkish tv, like so many others do'.

Selin feels close to people of different ethnicities and national backgrounds. She finds it easier to relate to them than to people from Turkey, whom she feels are very judgmental. Selin points out that she has made a lot of efforts to make friends with

people outside the group of migrants from Turkey, although she felt inhibited by her feeling of speaking English inadequately. 'That was very difficult, but I achieved it.' (p.111) These efforts are part of carving out a space for herself, which allows her to develop herself.

This is expressed particularly through two points. The first refers to her choice of partner. Selin emphasises that she has never thought 'if she is Turkish I will love her, if she isn't I won't. That is a very wrong thought, anyway.' (p.111) Selin views her choice of an English partner as related to her efforts of broadening her horizon, of not remaining 'within the walls the Turkish community'. She feels that this experience, despite the failure of the relationship enabled her to learn new things both about her partner and about herself. The second point in which Selin positions herself in Britain is her story about her first two-week holiday to Turkey, in ten years. She realised that there had been many changes, so that 'it was as if I was a stranger to my family.' (p. 96). Thus, the fantasy of a new migration elsewhere or the longing for Turkey co-exists with a strong commitment to participating in and being part of British society. This underlines the importance of differentiating between a fantastic form of longing, that Selin expresses for Turkey or for 'elsewhere' as opposed to her concrete 'integration work' (Lutz 1998) into British society. By 'integration work' Lutz means those efforts, usually overlooked both by researchers and migrants alike, to 'maintain an everyday order, restructure or reorganise it under changed everyday conditions' (1998: 286, my translation from German) this includes a self reflexive negotiation of the biographical scheme of agency in a lifeworld which may be experienced as contravening it. This notion emphasises the agentic aspects and the competences of migrants, rather than viewing them as passively suffering the changes of the migration situation.

Selin's story of her activism is bound up with her quest for change, learning and widening her horizon, for which she uses migration as a metaphor. At the time of interview, she was feeling weak and saw many of her experiences as failures or injustices which she had suffered. In her narrative about her experiences at the community centre and in the 'Turkish' feminist women's groups these feelings prevailed. These stories articulate the difficulties of creating political communities that overcome hierarchies of gender, sexuality, class, education, rural-urban origin

and ethnicity in their internal structures. At the same time, I view her articulation of these criticisms as agentic. Selin's articulation of her critique on the basis of her own and others' experiences, despite the difficulties she encountered in validating them,is an important instance of resisting subordination. Selin's critique means that she does not easily ally herself with ready-made collective identities, or the representation of what constitutes their interests. However, her quest for crossing boundaries and creating a space for herself in which she can gain recognition mean that she positions herself as resistant within multiple relations of sexist, racist, homophobic and classed hierarchies. 'Any moment of our lives and any area, wherever we are, we have to counter such things, we are not going to remain silent but speak up. That is our slogan, anyway.' (p.70).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the social and political activism of some of the interviewees. The neglect of the active dimension of migrant women's citizenship in the literature suggests that, as they are often marginalized from political and other representation in the nation-states they live in, they do not participate in the society, either. The interviewees' stories contradict this. Instead, I argue for a more differentiated examination of political activism, including women's work in community groups, voluntary work, as well as informal activism (cf. Kofman et al 2000). The fields of politics the women chose are diverse, ranging from 'homeland politics', internationalist or transnational feminist or socialist activism, to the voluntary work in community organizations, and local feminist politics. One commonality in the women's activism is that they view their gendered and ethnocized experiences one important element of their political identities. However, identity politics is held in balance by other principles of knowledge and organisational forms. Thus, Pinar's work with and for migrant women importantly constructs common epistemologies, strategies and interests across ethnic differences. She self-consciously articulates a common history of experiences of subjection but also of struggles and resistance with migrant and Black women in Germany.[8] Birgül's experiences of

[8] The notion of political Blackness as articulated in the late 1970s in Britain has been adapted for the context of migrants in Germany in the late 1980s. Although some of the literature claims that this concept has been overcome during the 1990s, others (e.g. Brah 1996, Sudbury 2001) argue that it should not be simply discarded. They argue that political Blackness has never been unequivocally accepted to start with, however that it continues to be an important notion to highlight the

marginalization within a German dominated socialist group highlight that the exclusionary aspects of identity politics are also at work in groups that explicit organise around universalist principles. I analysed this as a form of hidden identity politics of dominance. Selin's experiences of community activism and of feminist activism raised similar issues about the reification of hierarchies of gender, ethnicity, education, class and sexuality. Her story of community activism exemplifies how women's position in these groups can be ambiguous and tenuous. While this activism enhanced her agency and widened her scope for social participation, it made her vulnerable to attacks on her gendered identity. She challenged the social divisions of gender and education that she was faced with in the management committee and in her voluntary work. These criticisms, together with her vulnerable position as an independent member laid her open to increased pressures by her colleagues, specifically using patriarchal instruments of control. In the feminist groups, Selin experienced the marginalization of her voice, in sharing her experience, and in participating in decision-making and representation. This was due to another hidden identity politics on the basis of intermeshing identities of (Turkish or Kurdish) ethnicity, class, education and rural-urban origin. Selin's critique of such internal divisions is particularly salient since the homogeneity of migrant communities is often reified in social policy, too. Therefore, it has been my concern to allow this dissenting voice to be heard. I have argued that the problematic politics of representation is not just an internal or personal problem of migrant (women's) community groups, but bound up with the problematic status of representation that multiculturalist policies endow 'community leaders' with. Therefore, it is important to recognise the contradictory, empowering and dis-empowering effects of community activism, too.

> Given (...) migrant women's limited access to policy-making bodies, women have used other forums and other forms of representation to present their interests. Some people argue that these new forms of associations and networking provide better means of accommodating the new pluralism and multiplicity of identities among migrants in Western society. However, at least some of these forums reinstate gendered and racist hierarchies. Besides, these networks can only be one strategy within the multipronged approach necessary to improve public provision and representation of migrant women in Europe.' (Kofman et al 2001: 191)

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commonalties of experience, outlook and activism. For a discussion of multiracial Blackness in British Black feminist groups and its articulation of difference and commonalty (cf. Sudbury 2001).

This points to the continuing importance of achieving both formal and substantial citizenship rights for migrant women. I have further examined the notions of belonging the interviewee's put forward. Avtar Brah's concept of diaspora space argues that it is necessary to distinguish between 'homing desire' and the desire for a 'homeland' (1996: 180).

> When does a location *become* home? What is the difference between 'feeling at home' and staking a claim to a place as one's own? It is quite possible to feel at home in a place and, yet, the experience of social exclusions may inhibit public proclamations of the place as home (Brah 1996: 193).

These contradictions are born out in the interviewees' narratives of belonging. Thus, Pinar who locates herself firmly in the space of German society and on different levels struggles for changes in this society, claims a bi-cultural identity in which she wants to protect an allegiance to what she views as 'Turkishness'. Birgül, while having participated actively in the professional, social, political and cultural life of German society claims a position of outsider, and non-belonging, both vis-à-vis Germany and Turkey. Her refusal to proclaim national belonging does not prevent her from her activism, however. Selin uses the metaphor of migration for broadening her horizon and her quest for recognition. This includes a search and attempts at building community, creating belonging on different levels. The ambiguous effects of ethnic belonging in her community activism have been to lay her open to attacks on her gendered and sexual integrity. In her activism with Turkish feminist groups in London, on the other hand, she encountered cultural difference, articulated through the marginalization of her ethnic identity and the highlighting of her educational lack. This reveals that 'home' can be sought on the basis of different commonalties, not only nationality. However, even in such non-national constructions of 'home' or community, conflicts, hierarchies and differences are at work. 'Home' need not be, indeed never is, a place of pure harmony (cf. Räthzel 1994). Selin's homing desire is maybe best expressed in her fantasy of a new migration, which articulates 'home' as 'somewhere else'. This fantasy however co-exists with her concrete efforts of 'integration work' into British society and her claim to belonging and rights in it.

This leads on to another important point, thus, all these interviewees construct community and commonality across ethnic differences. They either feel they most

easily relate to other migrants, like Birgül, consciously construct a political and emotional community of migrants and Black people in Germany, like Pinar, or overcome linguistic difficulties to reach out and learn new things about themselves and others in cross-ethnic friendships, like Selin. There are, of course, also interviewees, who do not give such centrality to cross-ethnic social and political relations, however these interviewees also incorporate cross-ethnic relations in their life stories. I stress this finding because often the experiences of migrants are examined only within a binary frame of reference of 'Turkishness' versus the ethnically majoritarian society of residence. This does not take account of the multilayered, complex process of locating and positioning themselves in a multi-ethnic, differentially racialised social space.

Yuval-Davis (2001) argues for a politics of belonging that

> would transcend the older dichotomous choices of the universal and particular, equality and difference. Such a politics of belonging would take into account people's emotions, fears and hopes, but would not construct ethnic and other primordial identities as the only available havens in a fast changing and globalizing world. Such a politics of belonging would add, rather than substitute, identity politics to the participatory politics of citizenship. (2001:13)

The interviewees' stories of activism have highlighted some of the ways in which migrant women's agency can inform such a new politics of belonging.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In this thesis I have explored the life-stories of skilled and professional women of Turkish background in Germany and in Britain. My main concern was to highlight their subjectivity and agency, that is, how they view the societies they live in and come from, and how they position themselves vis-à-vis them as individual and collective actors. I have paid attention both to discursive and material constructions of social reality and have chosen four sites of self production and self representation. The focus was on the gendered and ethnocised aspects of their identities: first, coming to agency in the tension between family life and education; second, negotiating gendered and ethnocised divisions in the labour market; third, re-conceptualising mothering and daughtering as a transnational practice and transmitting ethnic identities; finally, I have examined their citizenship practices of constructing political subjectivity, community and belonging in their activism. Here, I would like to contribute the findings to some of the theoretical debates (cf. chapter 3). I begin by outlining the different forms of agency the interviewees developed. Then I turn to discuss the contributions of this research to theorising culture and finally turn to discuss the implications of this research for theories and policies of citizenship.

Becoming agentic

In the context of this study conceptualising agency is bound up with questions of subjectivity. By subjectivity I mean the ways in which they give meaning to their experiences. This process of giving meaning to one's experiences is embedded in wider cultural processes of sense-making on the levels of family, social networks, public discourses, and also institutions. The thesis has focused on the interviewees' self representation, both as individuals and as members of different collectivities. These self representations are developed in dialogue with the material conditions and with representations of migrant women through significant others. The methodological approach put the interviewees self-production and their situated knowledges centrestage. I have employed structural and cultural readings of their life stories, to explore their agency both in materially and discursively positioning and constructing themselves.

As I quoted earlier, 'Women make their own lives (and life histories), but they do so under conditions not of their own choosing.' (Personal Narratives Group 1989:5). This making of lives and life-stories can be explored on the individual and collective level. While analytically both should be viewed as intertwined, in this thesis the unit of analysis were individual women's life-stories, and therefore, the narratives brought out more clearly the level of individual agency. However, I believe individual agency needs to be contextualised with the social conditions it acts upon and is structured by. Therefore, while collective social action was not the focus of the thesis, analytically and conceptually it is central in evaluating individual agency, too.

The structural reading of the life-stories has brought out the restrictions the interviewees face in making choices. However, the women have also taken initiatives to widen their scope for choice. Gender was an important aspect in constructing these restrictions and choices. Thus, I have argued that migration for some of the women constituted a conscious choice to escape particular forms of gendered control and stigmatisation. Migration constituted a means of escaping the stigmatisation as a divorcee or single woman, enhancing their possibilities of economically supporting themselves and their children and of exploring sexual identities. The interviewees' have developed self-conscious strategies for different aspects of their lives. Structural readings have revealed that the strategies the women employed for widening their scope of choice varied, according to the nature of the restrictions. An important strategy was the construction of knowledges to evade control.

Cultural readings on the other hand show, that this also included elaborating self-knowledges and self-presentations outside of the parameters of regulating practices and knowledges. In this way I also viewed the women as agentic in naming and locating situations of domination and re-interpreting or refusing stereotyped identity ascriptions on the basis of their gendered ethnicity and/ or class identity. These were important for constructing a subjectivity that negotiated and (partly) transgressed and resisted fixed ethnocised gender norms. They questioned and went beyond dominant racist and Orientalist representations. These are the aspects of their life-stories that a cultural reading made possible.

Their agency in realising their migration, education and professionalisation had important effects in changing their everyday lives. The transformation of their everyday lives meant they experienced new situations that required them to re-conceptualise their social position and relations. An important instance of this was the re-conceptualisation of motherhood and the negotiation of family relations through migration. The transformation of their everyday lives at times enhanced the women's vulnerabilities or victimisation. I have argued that agency and victimisation should not be seen as opposites, but rather as dynamically related. So that victimisation at times propelled women to action and at other times, their agency led to their victimisation.

The women were agentic in making social alliances of different kinds. Some have pursued collective strategies in social movements or more informally. This included constructing new cultural and political subjects across pre-determined national and ethnic boundaries. One such alliance on a personal scale was the construction of cross-ethnic 'families of choice'. Other alliances on a wider and more public scale included the construction of networks for the support of migration and professional projects. Such networks although instrumental in widening migrant women's individual and collective scope for agency are not without contradictions and power relations. Thus, they can also reproduce national hierarchies of ethnicity, class, education and class-specific cultural practices. Another important way of building alliances was the construction of commonality with differentially ethnocised and racialised people.

Some of the interviewees furthermore participated in activism of different kinds. One form their agency took was by using legal or formal political channels to contest their own and other women's gendered and ethnocised subjection. However, these were rather singular and accompanied by more sustained activities in the arena of voluntary organisations or more informal networks. The interviewees' individual agency related in various ways to more collective forms of agency. I will point these out in more detail in the section on participatory aspects of citizenship.

I will now turn to point out the articulations of their agency and subjectivity with relation to the specific sites I have explored here.

Negotiating Education and Family

In chapter 4, on the sites of family and education, I have argued that the family is an important site of developing agency and claiming space for independent decision-making. I found that generation of migration accounted for important differences of experiences with family life and education. Families can have both empowering and disempowering dynamics for girls. Negotiating the enabling and restricting aspects of their familial lives takes place both within and outside the family. Thus, education can be a shared project of girls and parents, or it can be a site where girls assert their independent values and decision-making capacities against parental restrictions. Even if education is a shared value for girls and parents, in particular for the second generation migrant interviewees, conflicting gendered and ethnocised life styles can become an issue of interfamilial contention. Socially dominant discourses such as the notion of the 'Other Other' are important frames of reference against the backdrop of which the girls define themselves. For the second generation interviewees education was a site where their gendered and ethnic identities were produced vis-à-vis Germanness and Turkishness. The dichotomous constructions of an undifferentiated, negative stereotype of a mass vs. individual female migrants incited them to explore their own position as well educated girls of Turkish background as 'exceptional'. Elaborating the meanings they gave to the identity ascription of exceptional Turkish female was an important instance for their agency in contesting and re-interpreting identities and defining themselves. The strategy of pursuing education was bound up with aspirations of enhancing choices of gendered lifestyles. However, particularly among first generation migrants, another strategy was that of critiquing the potential of education as a hierarchical marker of ethnocised and class specific difference. This critique was developed by those excluded from formal education to challenge the subjection they experienced as 'uneducated' women in their working lives but also in their political activism in ethnic community organisations as well as (ethnic minority) feminist groups.

Migration and Occupational Strategies

In chapter 5, on paid work, gender specific migration strategies were shown. Thus, the migration of women, even if motivated by a search for greater choice of gendered lifestyles and a wish to escape gendered social control for some women led to greater

gendered vulnerability. This was specifically true for undocumented migrants or those with irregular residence and work permits. This enhanced vulnerability to sexual harassment and exploitation can put migrant women into a position of victim. However, they can mobilise even limited resources to counter their victimisation. The role of ethnically specific networks was ambiguous, even if they may provide a counter structure to migration regimes' restrictions of mobility, they can exploit sexual vulnerability of women, in particular if these migrant women have little other social capital. Therefore, establishing non-sexist or women's networks to provide access to jobs, information and housing were important strategies. It should be pointed out, however, that such networks themselves may also be structured hierarchically along social divisions of ethnicity, class, cultural capital and the rural-urban divide. Moreover, such non-sexist networks, like other migrants' specific networks, have a limited scope, often occupying marginal spaces within the society of residence.

For those migrant women whose residence and work permit situation was not an issue, and whose qualifications were recognised, an ungendered, unethnocised identification was more easily accessible. I have shown, how access to such an ungendered, unethnocised identification is contingent on material resources and recognition of their cultural capital. These, in turn, depend on tacitly normalised and universalised class-specific hierarchies. For migrant women, the familial division of caring and reproductive labour calls into question strategies of an ethnically and gender neutral identification. The ideal of an ungendered, unethnocised subject position, I have argued can only be maintained by ignoring the invisible caring labour of others, which is based on ethnic, inter- and intra-gender, and class specific hierarchies.

Agency and Social and Cultural Capital

In chapter 5 I have furthermore argued for inscribing agency into the notion of cultural and social capital. This takes into account multiple boundaries and markers of distinction of ethnicity, nation, class and gender. By taking the experiences and self representations of migrant women of Turkish background as the starting point, I have shown that the categories of social and cultural capital are gender differentiated.

Recognising women as actors in their own right, rather than as markers of distinction or resources shows that gender is a differentiating factor in the constitution of cultural capital through formal and informal education. Moreover, access to social capital is gender differentiated, and transgressions of ethnocised gender roles can marginalise women from ethnically specific networks, necessitating the construction of alternative networks.

Examining social and cultural capital as dynamic and differentiated resources has shown that migrant women invest differentially into the diverse subject positions available to them. These subject positions are also materially constructed and access to them is restricted through structural factors. Nonetheless, it is important to point out the agency that migrant women exercise through constructing diverse subject positions and identities for themselves. They are not simply overdetermined by any number of collective identities that can be read off from structural variables.

Re-making Motherhood, Re-making Families

In chapter 6 I have explored an important, but often neglected site of migrant women's agency: the re-conceptualisation of mothering and daughtering. By focusing on their self representation, I have been able to show the interviewees' agency in imagining and making family relationships, giving a more complex picture of their experiences and subjectivities than Orientalist representations allow for. The migration of women was often enabled through leaving their children initially behind. This separation was often difficult for mothers and their children. Mothering is an activity that is regulated through normative discourses on 'good mothering', often overdetermined by nationalised or ethnocised notions of gender. To avoid a eurocentric approach to mothering, I have explored the meanings the mothers and daughters gave to their experiences of separation. Often, the mothers' agency in providing for their children, particularly if they were single mothers, led to a separation from the children. By doing so, the mothers challenged normative assumptions of mothering as necessitating physical closeness with their children. These transnational practices of mothering implicated othermothers, whose role could be at once supportive and undermining the relationship between biological mothers and children. However, the mothers in this study emphasised the importance of their

caring and emotional relationship with their children, despite long-term separations. Keeping up these aspects of the mothering relationship over the distance was part of their practices of re-conceptualising mothering to accommodate their own, alternative, practices. The daughters, too, exercised agency in re-conceptualising mothering and daughtering, by elaborating different relationships and roles of the social mothers. Moreover, the daughters' relationship with their siblings also provided instances of social mothering. This alerts us to the important role of sibling relationships in caring for and bringing up children. Re-building the relationship between family members, once they were re-united constitutes another important area of mothers' and daughters' agency. This often meant negotiating linguistic and cultural difference and diversity among family members. These findings clearly contradict stereotypical representations of migrant families of Turkish background, and in particular mothers' role in these as embodying stability and tradition in gender oppressive ways. These findings were enabled by the methodological focus on their self presentations, and a theoretical focus on agency.

Another aspect of women's agency at the site of mothering is their negotiation and transmission of ethnic identity. I have argued that mothering entails a selection of ethnically specific practices and values as significant for ethnic identification. The interpretation of these practices and values as ethnically specific is a dialogic, sometimes conflictual process. The children and others, such as members of the extended family, members of the ethnic group, as well as institutions of the society of residence as well as Turkish institutions form concrete or generalised others in dialogue with whom these identifications, their validity or authenticity is negotiated and struggled over. Thus, mothers' agency is not limited to selecting, interpreting and negotiating these ethnically specific practices and their intergenerational meanings within the family. Mothers also challenge the marginalisation of the practices and values they wish to transmit to their children or those that the children identify within the public sphere. Specifically institutions such as kindergartens or schools, but also peer groups and sub-cultures are important sites of negotiating ethnically specific identities. The elaboration of inter-generationally shared meanings is a key element in the transmission of ethnically specific identities. This process involves a transformation, not only of the children's' identifications, but also the mothers'. Thus, the meanings the children elaborate for ethnically specific practices or the ethnic

labels they choose motivate the mothers to engage with other interpretations of ethnic identity. Mothering can entail a conscious project of constructing alternative 'families of choice', and elaborating new ethnic identities. Whether part of a conscious and deliberate project of re-constructing ethnic identifications or not, cross-ethnic relations with co-parents, peers, or cross-ethnic identifications through media and sub-cultures form an important part of elaborating the mothers' and children's' ethnic identities. These cross-ethnic relations and identifications are not limited to the binary opposition of Germanness – Turkishness or Britishness – Turkishness, but implicate other ethnic minority identities also. The concept of differential racialisation (Brah 1996) can elucidate these processes of cross-ethnic identifications and their inter-generational negotiation. Whether mothers view cross-ethnic identifications or alliances with suspicion or foster them, they form an important part of the transmission and transformation of ethnic identities. As a whole, the mothering practices and the educational projects for their children form an important part of migrant women's agency that both informs and transforms their subjectivities.

These findings counter essentialist notions of mothering and daughtering in two important ways: first, the social-psychological arguments positing the centrality of the mother-child dyad for the psychological and social development of children should be qualified. The diversity of mothering practices, and the possibility of 'good mothering' provided by different persons should be recognised. As the daughters' accounts show, they recognise that their mothers' 'care about' them motivated their migration and separation, so that other social mothers 'cared for' them (cf. Lutz 1998). Second, mothers' role in ethnic and national projects is often presented as central for transmitting ethnic identities to safeguard the continuity of the ethnic group. The exploration of the projects and practices of transmitting ethnic identities has shown that these are complex, transformative processes that can elaborate also new, hyphenated, hybrid ethnic identities.

Thus, the interviewees' agency in various sites of social relations challenged stereotypes on migrant women as passively enduring an uprooting experience.

Theorising Culture - Hybridity and Transnationality

The thesis has contributed some qualification of the concepts of hybridity and representations of transnationality. I argue that the notions of hybridity and transnationality need to be more attentive to class divisions and intra-ethnic differential cultural capital. Thus, Bhabha's (1996) view emphasises the subversive potential of hybridising strategies vis-à-vis the nationalisation of cultural forms and identities. However, the intra-ethnic differentiation of cultural forms into high and low cultural forms is an important marker of differences of class, rural-urban origin, and education. Thus, those who master high cultural forms, endowed with the authority of national culture, are more likely to succeed in establishing their versions of cultural mixing. An instance of this is the consolidation of educational, cultural and political authority into professional positions or community leadership positions of the ethnic minority group. For example the education of migrant children or the representation of migrant women can include hybridising strategies in terms of crossing and undermining national and ethnic boundaries. However, it may at the same time reify class, educational and other ethnic hierarchies by claiming authority to represent a more sophisticated form of cultural hybridity. Thus, hybridity may come to be a more refined marker of cultural hierarchy.

Likewise, the validation and application of transnational cultural and social capital is differentiated. The ability to transform cultural and social capital into access to occupational mobility was shown to be differentiated along lines of gender, marital status, class, education, rural-urban origin and ethnic differences within the migrant population (chapter 5).

Debates of cultural hybridity often centre on cultural production as the prime sites of subverting essentialised links of nation and culture. However, as I have argued, the site of mothering is also key in negotiating and producing and transforming ethnic identities, as well as challenging fixed notions of ethnically specific cultural practices and forms. The relationship between mothers and children is an important site of inter-generational constructions of ethnic identities, which are informed also by cross-ethnic identifications. As the cross-national comparison between Germany and Britain has shown, such cross-ethnic identifications take place within different dynamics of differential racialisation. Thus, identities of 'Cypriot', 'Kurdish', 'Turkish', 'Black', 'African-Caribbean', 'Irish' or 'Greek', 'Yugoslav', 'Italian' take on different

salience in Germany and Britain as moments of identification. Moreover, the meaning and openness to interpretation attached to these identities differs across the national contexts. Thus, 'Blackness' may be more easily appropriated as a cultural and political identificatory moment by people of Turkish background in Germany than in Britain, where African Caribbean people hold a more authoritative claim to define Blackness. On the other hand, identification with Black cultural forms in the context of Britain also holds multiple potential meanings, of identifying with African Caribbean people, or identifying with white British people who identify with Black cultural forms. Thus, the formation of identities and alliances across ethnic boundaries is a complex process, involving both the production of moments of resistance against (some) social divisions and the consolidation of others. Therefore, I suggest to further contextualise nationally and ethnically hybridising strategies with the identities, boundaries and social divisions they produce in terms of class, gender and education. The concept of differential racialisation usefully takes into account the different, positive or negative evaluations of new cross-ethnic identities and cultural practices and can account for national differences in articulating hybrid strategies and identities. The cross-national approach of examining the construction of Turkishness in Germany and Britain was very important here.

Citizenship

One of the key concepts explored in this thesis was citizenship, as 'full membership in the community' (Marshall 1953). By taking the interviewees' stories of their citizenship practices as a starting point, I have centred their subjectivities for learning about the blind spots of the debates. My conclusions can be read both as calls for further research and as calls for political changes.

Belonging and community building were central, contested sites for the interviewees' citizenship practices. While citizenship debates privilege national and ethnic forms of belonging, I have argued that the interviewees locate themselves in various communities, based on gender, ethnic, class, cultural, educational or political commonalties, sometimes across national borders. These communities may be cross cutting each other, and are never ready made, but negotiated and changing. Moreover, the interviewees, also participate in constructing new communities and new political

subjects. These include cross-ethnic communities and some of the interviewees actively pursue projects of building cross-ethnic identifications and political subjects. As organic or specific intellectuals the women play a role of organising and articulating their subject positions and political views, sometimes as women of Turkish background, and sometimes as migrant women; or they may choose a universalised, gender- or ethnic neutral epistemological and political stance. The interviewees' political projects and identifications vary, however the countries of residence are a central site for articulating these political projects. The interviewees experience multiple practices of exclusion from the state and society of residence. Some of them articulate their belonging as bi-cultural, hybrid, or outside of national parameters. Others claim a right to belong and contest the national logic of legitimacy. Moreover, there are strategies of creating cross-ethnic communities of belonging, such as the identities of 'migrant' or 'women of colour'. A further important element of belonging is the construction of 'elsewhere' in the imaginary space, a utopian space that promises recognition of the multiply subjected facets of their subjectivity. All of these practices and longings for articulating belonging can and do however co-exist with an engagement with the society of residence. This 'integration work' (Lutz 1998) takes place on the personal level of friendships, love relationships, as well as more public levels such as that of work, political activism, cultural and social activities. Here, again, I would like to emphasise that the interviewees position themselves towards ethnically, socially and politically diverse groups in the country of residence. While Germanness and Britishness are central moments of contention and sources of recognition, their meaning and articulation varies. Moreover, other ethnic minority communities and individuals within the societies of residence also form central moments of identification and dis-identification.

One important site of constructing belonging is the family. The family often serves as an emotionally charged metaphor for national solidarity and homogeneity, and a cornerstone of nation-building. As I have argued, the experiences and constructions of family also contain important elements of cultural diversity and differential access and mastery of ethnically specific cultural resources. Moreover, the interviewees also construct families of choice that include cross-ethnic alliances. These cross-ethnic families of choice may be part of conscious political and educational projects. However, even those families, who do not actively pursue such projects negotiate

different uses and appropriations of ethnically specific cultural resources and cross-ethnic identifications. Therefore, in practice, the family can not only function as a model for ethnic homogeneity and solidarity, but indeed as a model for negotiating diverse identifications. Thus, between parents and children and different siblings, identifications and access to ethnically specific resources vary, still they achieve a sense of belonging. This sense of belonging does not exclude conflicting interpretations and identifications.

Notions and practices of constructing belonging should therefore be examined on various levels, as complexly cross-cutting, contradictory and flexible. Instead of viewing the articulation of belonging as an indicator for migrant women's engagement with their society of residence, I have found that experiences of exclusion can indeed form a powerful motor for participatory aspects of citizenship.

The thesis focused on the migrant women's agency and brought out the participatory element of citizenship as central. Contrary to the national logic of citizenship laws and hegemonic common sense notions of belonging, that view migrant women as outside of or marginal to their societies of residence, their sites of participation were multiple. This should be seen as extending the theorisation of citizenship practices also to the crucial sites of mothering practices, and also include the area of work lives, which the interviewees viewed as an important area of their social participation. They also participate, however, in elaborating old and constructing new sites and subjects of political activism.

The analysis of the interviewees' stories led me to contest the normalisation of dominant identities on various levels and around various social divisions. The legal and institutional normalisation of national-ethnic identities posits migrants as marginal to society, although they contribute to it through their paid and unpaid labour, their social, cultural and political activities. Multicultural policies tend to reify the male ethnic minority subject as the representative of the community, thereby strengthening and re-producing gendered hierarchies and sexist power relations within ethnic community organisations. Migrant or ethnic minority women's organisations and interests are not homogeneous, either. Class, sexuality, ethnic hierarchies, as well as educational hierarchies create internal hierarchies that affect the capacity of

individual women to participate in decision-making and representation. A further reification of hierarchies can take place when functions of community representatives become professionalised, so that the split between voluntary and paid work strengthens social divisions of class, ethnicity and education and institutionalises the differential power in decision making and representation.

While the professionalisation of migrant women as mediators, social or educational workers can have empowering effects on the individual women and moreover, allow them to represent certain interests and voices of migrant women that find no other advocates, it may at the same time dis-empower and marginalise others, such as women with less cultural and social capital, working class women and Kurdish women. This dilemma of representation cannot be solved within a multiculturalist framework of group representation and group interests. For furthering the potential of theoretical debates of citizenship I therefore suggest to examine multiply marginalised identities as analytically central to evaluate the impact of democratising policies.

The ideal-typical multicultural model, differentiates between the public sphere regulated by shared principles of democracy and respect of universalist human rights on the one hand, and on the other hand the particularistic private sphere which contains the ethnically specific values and resources. These are deemed mutually compatible as long as they converge in the acceptance of universalist democracy. However, a neat distinction into private, particularistic and public, universalist principles is too simplistic in navigating difference within private, as well as in public spaces. Private and public should therefore not be seen as dichotomous but as different aspects co-existing in the same social spaces and actions. A conception of group rights that posits gender and ethnicity as analytically distinct misses out on the complex hierarchies and inequalities within the group of migrant women. Even though the sample of interviewees, skilled or professional women of Turkish background, was narrowly defined, within this group the unequal and differentiated access to material resources and representation could be shown. Therefore, on a theoretical level I suggest to de-essentialise notions of ethnic and women's citizenship. The concept of citizenship as a site of struggles for inclusion and democratisation should take into account gender, ethnicity and class as constitutive not simply of distinct spheres of public and private, but instead of relations within the

family, the workplace, formal and informal political, social and cultural activism. The sites of socially constituted power relations are multiple and should all be included into a project of theorising and realising citizenship as progressively democratising.

The political implications of this study suggest we recognise that there are multiple sites of citizenship that call for widening the sites of democratisation. Other authors have pointed out the centrality of rights of migration and residence, as well as the implications for migrant women's legal status and access to social services and provisions.

Here, I have examined two issues that have rarely been discussed. One is the recognition of skills and qualifications as an important way to enable their social citizenship in terms of access to the labour market. The recognition and realisation of skills and qualifications of migrant women is hindered by the categorisations of entry and residence rights, so that undocumented migrant women have no access to the labour market where they can realise their skills but are instead employed in the informal economy. In Britain, the ethnic economy is an important counter structure to immigration control; while enabling undocumented migrant women to survive, at the same time it can make them vulnerable to sexual harassment and exploitation, as well as economic exploitation. In Germany, ethnic niche economies are less established. However migrant women are also de-skilled through the restrictions of residence and work permit legislation which, at least initially restricts their labour market access to the informal labour market. A further obstacle to the realisation of migrant women's skills and qualifications is nationally defined and bounded credentialism. This may be enshrined in national laws or in professional bodies and can result in a convergence of professional and national protectionism by only recognising formal qualifications, or not recognising qualifications acquired abroad. The informal job networks, as well as tacit and implicit markers of cultural capital such as occupational cultures and forms of sociality work to make access to skilled and professional work more difficult for migrant women. Gender and ethnic specific institutional, legal and interpersonal discrimination form barriers for realising and establishing a professional career for migrant women, even if their qualifications are formally recognised.

At present, the governments of Britain and Germany are discussing the recruitment of skilled and professional migrants. These debates make a clear distinction between the welcome, needed professionals and the unwarranted migration of the undocumented and asylum seekers. Such a dichotomisation into useful and abusive migrants, apart from its racist import, problematically misrepresents both groups. On the one hand, those with skills and qualifications are not by virtue of their skills protected against de-qualification and discrimination. On the other hand, those who are undocumented or refugees are not necessarily unskilled. The policies for the incorporation of both groups need to take the migrants' own interests and articulations of agency more into account, instead of constructing a national interest, to which migrants are external, either as valuable resources or detrimental sources of risk.

The other site of citizenship for which I would like to point some political implications is that of mothering and family relations. Ken Plummer suggest the concept of intimate citizenship, which is about

> the *control (or not) over* one's body, feelings, relationships: *access (or not) to* representations, relationships, public spaces etc.; and *socially grounded choices (or not) about* identities, gender experiences. (Plummer 1995:151 quoted in Weeks et al 2001:196, emphasis in original)

Considering migrant women's experiences, intimate citizenship rights need to be integrated into immigration legislation. As it stands, immigration legislation regulates and constrains partnership choices, often taking the most restrictive gendered and sexual norms as their basis (cf. Kofman, Sales, Phizacklea and Rhaguram 2000). British and German immigration legislation has only recently acknowledged same sex partnerships, however without equalising the conditions with heterosexuals, nor are gender and sexually specific grounds for asylum fully institutionalised. For migrant women of Turkish background, socially grounded choices about sexual identity, or marital statuses, such as being single, or being a divorcee, are constrained according to class, education, and the rural-urban divide. For these women, representation and access to public spaces are very limited: ethnic minority people are marginalised in the social, political and cultural representation of sexual minorities. Similarly,

heterosexual migrant women who are single by choice, divorced or single mothers are bracketed out of the representation of migrant communities, as well as that of the ethnically dominant group. Mothering is an important intimate relationship, which is constrained for migrant women, particularly single mothers.

Transnational mothering practices form one way in which migrant women try to combine their economic and emotional care for their children. These practices are often necessitated by inadequate childcare facilities or the insecure residence and work status of migrant mothers. Legal obstacles to the realisation of intimate citizenship for migrant women and their children are age restrictions on the immigration of children and the allocation of child benefits only to resident children. These should be revoked; moreover, improvement in the provision and quality of childcare facilities is needed that takes account of the wide spread full time employment and shift work of migrant women. This would be particularly important for single mothers, who cannot or do not want to rely on familial childcare help. While this thesis has examined past practices of transnational mothering and daughtering, the phenomenon of transnational mothering itself is still relevant for contemporary migrant women, particularly asylum seekers and undocumented women. Therefore, concepts, demands and policies of intimate citizenship need to take into account that migrant women's mothering practices also rely on social mothers, often in transnational contexts.

Finally, this thesis has argued for taking the agency and subjectivity of migrant women from Turkey as a starting point for exploring the intersectional articulation of gender and ethnicity to question nationalised cultural, social and political practices and boundaries. Examining these in various sites, has shown that migrant women's practices and self representations have a transformative potential for re-conceptualising debates on nation, ethnicity, gender, their relations to culture and citizenship.

This thesis has only begun to explore some avenues which merit further research. Thus, I suggest to further explore the use of biographical methods in research on migrant women to take their situated knowledges seriously. Moreover, it would be useful to examine how migrant women's biographical narratives are related to wider

social discourses and to migrants' cultural production. The relation of gender and ethnicity to the social construction of skill, through migration regimes, immigration and citizenship regulation as well as professional bodies warrants further research. The role of migrant women as organic or specific intellectuals, and the diverse communities they construct also merits further research. More empirical and theoretical research that views migrant women as active participants in debates and practices of citizenship could further our understanding of community constructions and their relationship to the state and the international. This research has also shown a need for further research into ethnic minority communities that critically examines the power relations and social divisions and takes account of cross-ethnic relations and differential racialisation. Finally, practices and conceptualisations of transnational mothering and family relations and their import on concepts of intimate citizenship constitute an important field for further researched.

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Appendix: List of interviewees

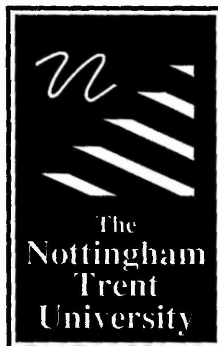
Name	age	occupation	Educational status	Migration age	Family status and sexuality	Country of residence	Ethnicity/ Religion
Ayla	49	Scientist/ researcher	PhD	24 to Britain, 34 to Germany	Divorced, one 18 year old son	Germany	Turkish
Ayten	49	Dentist, self employed	PhD	21	Divorced, heterosexual	Germany	Turkish
Deniz	29	Student of Law	student	11	Single, bisexual	Germany	Macedonian, Turkish
Gül	51	Social worker	Diploma in Social Work	19	Divorced, two sons (15, 26) heterosexual	Germany	Turkish
Lale	34	Social Worker	Diploma in Social Work	7	Divorced, bisexual	Germany	Turkish
Meral	29	Student of sociology	student	8	Single, lesbian	Germany	Turkish
Nilgün	29	Social worker	Diploma in social work	10	Single, heterosexual	Germany	Turkish, Alevi
Sirin	28	Media Professional, artist	Diploma in Design	Born in Germany	Single, heterosexual	Germany	Turkish
Suzan	26	Student of literature	student	4	Single, heterosexual	Germany	Kurdish-Turkish
Pinar	34	Social Work (Manager)	Unfinished degree in Literature	4	Divorced, ten year old daughter, heterosexual	Germany	Turkish

Canan	36	Property Developer	Insurance Broker Diploma	Born in Germany	Divorced, heterosexual	Germany	Turkish
Birgül	40	Medical Doctor, self employed	Medical Specialiasation	29	Divorced, six year old daughter, heterosexual	Germany	Turkish
Pakize	57	Nursery Nurse	High school	26	Divorced, one daughter, one son,(28,30), heterosexual	Germany	Turkish
Tülay	48	Self employed	High school	21	Divorced, heterosexual	Germany	Tsherkes, Turkish
Oya	36	Nursery nurse (Manager)	Secreterial School	27	Divorced, ten year old son, heterosexual	Germany	Turkish
Selin	36	Self Employed	Secretarial Vocational Training	24	Single, Lesbian	Britain	Zaza, Kurdish
Derya	40	PhD Candidate	PhD Candidate	37	Single, heterosexual	Britain	Turkish
Nalan	48	Social Worker	Social Work Degree	29	Divorced, son (28)	Britain	Turkish
Nilüfer	36	Health Professional	BA	22	Divorced, 6 year old son, lesbian	Britain	Iranian-Turkish Azeri

The interviewees were contacted through my personal contacts and through snowballing. This had certain implications for the sampling, which became more clear retrospectively. Thus, as I used my own social networks the interviewees turned out to be similar to my own social characteristics and, in some cases, my own social and political outlook. This also had an influence on the absences and exclusions of the sample and topics. Thus, the topics chosen in this thesis are those raised by the interviewees. Through this sampling certain strategies of agency are markedly absent from this sample, e.g. assimilationist or religious forms of identity and community building or strategies related to marriage.

Of the 19 interviews, 10 were conducted in 1998-99 in Britain and in Germany, and I also used some data from interviews conducted in 1996 for my MA dissertation. In order to avoid overlap, I did not foreground the life stories that made up the MA dissertation on Germany (Ayten, Sirin, Nilgün). I only included the aspect of Nilgün's family's experience of multi-linguality as I had missed out this point earlier and it made an important contribution to the issues discussed in chapter 6. The other interviews from 1996 that I used are Deniz's articulation of 'exceptionality' (chapter 4), Meral's narrative of separation from her mother and Ayla's discussion of separation from her son (chapter 6), as these provided important contrasting points of view to those articulated by other interviewees. I included Ayla's narrative on professional identity (chapter 5) as it articulates an experience and standpoint that sheds a different light on ethnicity, gender and professional identity. These interviews had not been analysed in-depth for the MA dissertation.

The choice of the topics stems from my reading of the contemporary academic debates, paying attention both to key issues and absences in these. Key issues are those of education, work and occupational mobility, and citizenship. However, the participatory aspects of migrant women's citizenship practices and their practices of mothering and daughtering are absences in the literature, so that the interviewees' perspectives on these issues contribute new aspects to the literature. At the same time the topics of the chapters in part overlap with what the interviewees themselves foregrounded as important topics in their life stories (education, mothering and daughtering, political activism). For lack of space I had to drop a draft chapter on intimacies and sexualities, a topic which some of the interviewees also foregrounded and which is not adequately discussed in the academic literature, either. The choice of life stories that I present in-depth in the substantive chapters depended on the contribution of different points of view they made to the empirical and theoretical explorations of the topic.



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