

Whereas labour migration had primarily been a male phenomenon throughout history, large numbers of women began to migrate from the South in order to find work in the North of Europe in the 1970's. In the case of Turkey, women of rural or small town background who had never been employed, who were mentally unprepared, and to some degree unwilling to leave their homes, were suddenly urged by their mail relatives to take up industrial or service jobs in foreign countries. By 1974 there were almost three times as many Turkish women working in Germany compared to the number of women in Turkish industry.

At that time, Professor Nermin Abadan Unat raised a question on the potential influence that this migration could have on the emancipation –or pseudo-emancipation– of these women who were leaving Turkey to become industrial workers abroad.

Four decades later, this volume analyses how social, political and religious changes in the home and host countries of the immigrant women, influenced the predicted processes of change. Has there been a significant increase in individual autonomy, self-determination and gender equality? Or has a hasty modernization created a false climate of liberation or "pseudo-emancipation", without significantly increasing self-determination and independence? How has the very concepts of "emancipation" and "migration" evolved in the meantime? How do the women themselves perceive their own situation?

Nineteen experts in social science, and migration and gender studies have contributed to this study of the processes of emancipation and the pathways to empowerment of women who thought they were leaving temporarily but ended up spending their lives in exile.

DENİZ KANDİYOTİ NERMİN ABADAN-UNAT DOMINIQUE SCHNAPPER YEŞİM ARAT SEMA ERDER SERPİL SANCAR ÇİĞDEM KAĞITÇIBAŞI GRETTY MIRDAL FATMA KÜÇÜKYILDIZ ANIKA LIVERSAGE CZARINA WILPERT RUTH MANDEL ELISABETH BECK-GERNSHEIM AHMET İÇDUYGU DENİZ KARCI KORFALI CHRISTIANE TIMMERMAN KENNETH HEMMERECHTS NANCY FONER MIRJANA MOROKVASIC

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EMANCIPATION IN EXILE
PERSPECTIVES ON THE EMPOWERMENT
OF MIGRANT WOMEN



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The Relevance of a 'Culture of Migration' and Gender Dynamics in Understanding Migration Aspirations in Contemporary Turkey

CHRISTIANE TIMMERMAN - KENNETH HEMMERECHTS

INTRODUCTION

Over the last decades, significant migration flows have been established between specific emigration areas in Turkey and cities/neighborhoods in Europe. According to Avci and Kirişci (2006) and Martin (2012), employment in Europe was an important pull factor in the 1960s and 1970s. The demand for Turkish labor in Europe was high but has declined ever since. Since the 1980s, family reunification or marriage migration has become an important reason for migrating to Europe (Timmerman et al, 2009).

A number of theories seek to explain these processes of international migration. Three levels of explanation can be distinguished analytically (Faist 2000). The reason why people migrate to another country can be analyzed via a macro, meso and a micro perspective. On the macro level, theories stress characteristics of the country of origin and the country of destination, economic indicators (e.g. income and employment differences in a country), political variables (e.g. existence of a civil war) and migration discourses in certain state migration policies and demography (e.g. population growth). A macro perspective of international migration studies the general characteristics on national and international levels. A meso perspective emphasizes the role of institutions, organizations and networks or the intermediate level (e.g. the specificity and characteristics of ethnic groups in a country). Last but not least, a micro theory of international migration would direct attention to the (future) migrant or individual himself/herself. Questions raised in micro level

perspectives could be as follows: What are the immigrants' expectations, ideas and their characteristics? How do these influence migration aspirations and international migration?

De Haas (2011) argues that the theories on international migration possess a major weakness: They could be more integrated with each other. For example, macro level theories could be more clearly connected with micro level underpinnings. Indeed, "people do not migrate 'because of' abstract concepts such as demographic transitions, declining fertility, ageing, population density, environmental degradation or factor productivity" (De Haas 2011, p. 16). The author then proceeds to make a case for the scientific study of the capacity and aspiration to migrate as a linkage between macro and micro level processes of international migration (see also Timmerman, Heyse & Van Mol 2010). According to De Haas (2010), current theories also neglect the possibility of migration-undermining and migration-facilitating feedback mechanisms which are part and parcel of internal migration dynamics (see also Portes, 2010). An example of a migration-undermining feedback mechanism is negative information about the country of destination coming from migrants in the family. An example of a migration-facilitating feedback mechanism is the existence of a migrant network in a city/neighborhood in another country. Migration flows may expand or contract according to these mechanisms. Migration is therefore dynamic and non-linear (De Haas, 2010): it is dependent on the particular phase of a migration cycle (see also Zelinsky, 1971).

An element that is often missing in these analyses is gender. Although women form an ever-growing part of international migratory flows, the theoretical acknowledgement of this reality leaves so much to be desired (Kofman et al., 2000; Carling, 2005; Piper, 2005; Lutz, 2008; Timmerman et al., 2014). From an analytical perspective, gender relations influence migration at all three levels: micro, meso and macro (Grieco & Boyd, 1998). Therefore, it can be asserted that the complete migration experience is a 'gender phenomenon' (Donato et al., 2006).

Given that relations between Europe and Turkey are changing, we expect that these shifting balances have an impact on migration aspirations to Europe. Especially since Europe is currently affected by a severe economic crisis, it might lose its attraction for potential migrants who aspire to improve their economic situations. As already demonstrated, people who have access to firsthand information on what is going on in Europe might develop differ-

ent migration aspirations than those who do not (Timmerman, Hemmerechts & DeClerck, 2014).

In this contribution we want to focus on the relevance of gender in understanding migration dynamics in the regions that are (or are not) affected by migration. More explicitly, we will investigate the significance of feedback mechanisms of international migration and how it ultimately influences the gendered patterns of perceptions that are influential in making migration decisions. In other words, we need to pose this question: What is the relevance of the presence of a 'culture of migration' in understanding the shifts in gendered migration related perceptions?

We will start from the perspective of the emigration regions. The question to be raised is whether and how gendered migration-related perceptions of possible Turkish emigrants change according to the presence of a 'culture of migration,' living in a region impacted (i.c. Emirdağ) or not impacted (i.c. Dinar) by migration. In doing so we will determine specific characteristics of these people such as gender, age, educational level, family migration experiences, marital status, material wealth and their perceptions of their own country and of Europe. We will rely on the data collected in two seemingly similar regions in Turkey, namely the districts of Dinar and Emirdağ; both are in the province of Afyon, yet each has a distinct history of migration towards Europe. Emirdağ is already widely studied as a region characterized by high emigration, while emigration in Dinar is comparatively low.

The data gathered in the FP7 project: "EUMAGINE: imagining Europe from the outside" were both quantitative and qualitative. However, in this study we will mainly rely on the data gathered by a face-to-face survey which allow us to study migration aspirations and specific migration related perceptions (Timmerman, Heyse & Van Mol, 2010, p. 1-2).¹ They measure also the characteristics of the persons involved in the study. The quantitative data used in this article are collected on the basis of a representative survey conducted in the two Turkish regions (Emirdağ and Dinar).

The following section discusses the recent research on the perceptions, aspirations and determinants of migration in Turkey. A number of hypotheses will be formulated to be tested. After this discussion, a methodological section will describe the research design, the data and the operationalization

1 The quantitative and qualitative data of the EUMAGINE project were collected in Morocco, Turkey, Senegal and Ukraine and allow us to study perceptions of Europe and country of origin from the viewpoint of non-EU citizens (migrants and non-migrants)

of variables. The article ends with a discussion of the findings of the research and a conclusion.

GENDERED MIGRATION ASPIRATIONS AND LIVING IN A CULTURE OF MIGRATION

The EUMAGINE study has demonstrated that in Turkey certain variables have an effect on international migration aspirations (Jolivet & De Haas, 2012): gender, material wealth of people, years of education, the perception of corruption and job opportunities in the country and Europe. Being male, having a negative perception of the corruption in the home country and having a negative perception of job opportunities result in a positive effect on international migration aspirations. A negative perception of the job opportunities in Europe and being materially wealthy both have a negative effect on the aspiration to migrate. Having more years of education has a positive effect on international migration aspirations, but this positive effect diminishes incrementally according to each year of educational attainment. In this contribution, we want to build upon this study and try to develop it further.

In this article, we will focus especially on the regions of Emirdağ and Dinar in Afyon for the reason that they are socio-economically similar but differ in one important aspect: their emigration rates (Timmerman, Heyse & Van Mol, 2010, p. 18; Korfali, Üstübici & De Clerck, 2010, p. 45-48). Emirdağ has a significantly higher emigration rate compared to Dinar. Üstübici, Korfali, Sert and De Clerck, for example, wrote that “according to the latest statistics of 1990, out of the 11,108 households in Emirdağ at the time, 1,550 households had at least one family member living abroad and the number of the people living abroad was 4,851; making the international emigration rate 11.29 per cent in the centre of the sub-province and 15.7 per cent in the villages and towns” (2012, p. 28-29). For Dinar this is lower: “According to the statistics of 1990, out of the 14,494 households in Dinar, 375 households had at least one family member living abroad and the number of people living abroad was 831; making the international emigration rate 2.6 per cent both in the centre and the villages” (Üstübici, Korfali, Sert & De Clerck, 2012, p. 26). As demonstrated in other studies, we can discern an omnipresent ‘culture of migration’ in Emirdağ (Timmerman et al, 2011; 2006) that is absent in Dinar (Korfali, Üstübici & De Clerck, 2010).

The crisis in Europe is mainly an economic one and has not had an impact on the quality of Europe as ‘a democratic region where human rights are

respected.’ A lot of research evidence demonstrates that people are generally motivated to migrate for economic reasons (Hatton & Williamson, 1998; Stark, 1991). Also, in the EUMAGINE project the results suggest that the perceptions of job opportunities in the home country and Europe play an important role in shaping migration aspirations (Timmerman et al, 2012; 2014).

Several studies have demonstrated that migration aspirations are affected also by the role of social networks or belonging to transnational families.² Also, from the data of the EUMAGINE study, we could confirm the relevance of living in a ‘culture of migration’ characterized by a high density of transnational family ties for understanding of migration dynamics (Timmerman, Hemmerechts & DeClerck, 2014). However, contrary to an important body of research that points at the importance of such a ‘culture of migration’ in perpetuating migration aspirations and decisions,³ this study demonstrates the possible dissuading effect that living in such a ‘culture of migration’ can have on potential migrants. These results are in line with earlier studies that raised the question of the possibility of migration-undermining feedback dynamics within migration-impacted regions⁴ as well as the studies that assumed, mainly on the basis of qualitative research methodologies, how critical migration-related discourses might have a dissuading effect on potential migrants in certain areas.⁵ More specifically, one of the findings was that individual level migration aspirations in a region of Turkey characterized by an omnipresent ‘culture of migration’ (Emirdağ) are significantly lower than a socio-economically similar region that lacks such a ‘culture of migration’ (Dinar). It was also demonstrated that perceptions of the economic opportunities in Europe as well as the working and living conditions of immigrants there are more negative for people living in the migration-impacted region of Emirdağ than in Dinar (Timmerman, Hemmerechts & DeClerck, 2014). Al-

2 D.T. Gurak & F. Caces, “Migrants and networks and the shaping of migration systems”; M. Boyd, “Family and personal networks in international migration: recent developments and new agenda’s.” *International Migration Review*, Vol.23, No. 3 (1989), pp. 638-670.

3 E.g. M. Collyer, *How does a culture of migration affect motivations for migration?*; C.L. Pang, “Chinese Migration to Belgium”; S.Y. Theo, “Dreaming Inside a Walled City: Imagination, Gender and the Roots of Immigration.”

4 H. de Haas, “The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry”.

5 E.g. N. Mai, “Looking for a More Modern Life...: The role of Italian Television in the Albanian Migration to Italy.”; B. Riccio, “Talkin’ about migration - some ethnographic notes on the ambivalent representations of migrants in contemporary Senegal.”; C. Timmerman, “Gender Dynamics in the Context of Turkish Marriage Migration: The Case of Belgium.”; C. Timmerman, “Marriage in a ‘Culture of Migration’”. Emirdağ Marrying into Flanders”; C. Timmerman, E. Vanderwaeren and M. Crul, “The second generation in Belgium.”

so on the basis of the aforementioned results, we are confident in assuming that the economic crisis in Europe is much more 'present' for people living in migration-impacted regions through their privileged relation with the Turkish immigrant communities in Europe, compared to similar regions without a significant history of emigration. In the study by Timmerman, Hemmerechts and DeClerck (2014) on Turkey it became clear that the negative information on the situation in Europe has a dissuading effect on migration aspirations of the local population. However, it is interesting to note that the authors also found that the population in Emirdağ maintained a similar (positive) vision to that of the population in Dinar of the democratic and human rights capital in Europe. It is also evident that next to the economic crisis in Europe, the growing economy in Turkey is a major factor leading people to forsake their migration aspirations. These findings also support the relevance of the concept of 'relative deprivation' –saying that people appraise their properties in relative terms, i.e. in comparison with a reference group– for understanding migration decisions.⁶

Research showed that in general, economic reasons act as a greater migration motivation for men than for women (Timmerman & Wets, 2011). In several studies it came to the fore that women might have other priorities for considering migration. For example, Morokvasic (1991) found that migration might also be a way for women to escape gender-related inequalities, discrimination or even abuse. Gender relations also influence the opportunities for women to migrate (Timmerman, Martiniello, Rea & Wets, 2014). This becomes clear when scrutinizing the meso level, comprised of the migrants' social networks. There exists a broad consensus that migrant networks of men and women differ (Curran & Saguy, 2001; Dannecker, 2005). For example, on the basis of the EUMAGINE data it was demonstrated that women in the four countries under study, Morocco, Senegal, Turkey and Ukraine, who had migrant relatives were more positively inclined towards migration than men with relatives who had migrated. In other words, the positive effect of previous family migration experience appears to be stronger among women than among men (Timmerman, De Clerck & Hemmerechts, 2012). At the macro level, a gender ideology penetrates all spheres of society

6 O. Stark, "Rural-to-urban migration in LDCs: a relative deprivation approach", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1984), pp. 475-486; O. Stark & J. Taylor, "Relative deprivation and international migration", *Demography*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1989), pp. 1-14; O. Stark & J.E. Taylor, "Migration incentives, migration types: the role of relative deprivation".

(Donato et al., 2006). In patriarchal societies, as in Turkey, men are expected to take up the breadwinner role much more than women. Being able to sustain one's family economically is first and foremost a man's job (Delaney, 1991). Especially in rural, more conservative areas like Dinar and Emirdağ, the burden on men to take up the economic responsibilities vis-à-vis their families is high. However, both regions struggle with a lack of job opportunities (Korfali, Üstübcü & De Clerck, 2010). Since 1960s and '70s, emigration has been an important alternative in Emirdağ for securing one's family economic situation (Timmerman, 2001; 2006). As mentioned earlier, as a result of the decades of dense chain migration, Emirdağ became closely connected with several Turkish communities in Europe. From this perspective it is evident that people in Emirdağ are better informed about the economic hardship Europe is currently going through, compared to the people in Dinar. Therefore, we put forward the assumption that men in Emirdağ have fewer migration aspirations than in Dinar - a comparable region but with less access to firsthand information on Europe. Following this reasoning, we assume that this does not apply to women. Women are in general less likely to migrate than men. In the EUMAGINE project, women in all countries under study also showed significantly fewer migration aspirations than men (Jolivet & De Haas, 2012). However, it was also demonstrated that women might have other reasons for migrating than men. As mentioned earlier, on the basis of analyses conducted on the four countries under study in the EUMAGINE project, it was demonstrated that the positive effect of belonging to transnational family networks appears to be stronger among women than among men (Timmerman, De Clerck & Hemmerechts, 2012). Women in general are more likely to migrate for quality of life-oriented reasons such as access to good education, health care, self-development and gender equality (Timmerman et al, 2014). In a case study on Turkish chain migration between Emirdağ and Belgium, it was found that women aspired to migrate to emancipate themselves, more concretely for having access to a more modern, democratic and quality lifestyle (Timmerman, 2006). As in most other patriarchal societies, Turkish women are, compared to men, more responsible for the general well-being of their children (Delaney, 1991). Education and health are therefore major concerns. This makes us to conclude that women, compared to men, will not be motivated in the same way by negative economic perspectives stemming from Europe, but instead would be more inspired by the democratic climate they assume Europe has to offer.

The quality of life and the 'democratic capital' in Europe after 2008 (including, for example, health care, schools, human rights, and gender equality) did not change as profoundly as the economic situation in Europe. In contrast with Europe, Turkey is undergoing an economic growth phase (Korfali, Üstübcü & De Clerck, 2010, p. 8-9). Given that the perceptions on the economic situation in Europe are more negative in Emirdağ –because of being well connected through migration networks with Europe– than in Dinar (Timmerman, Hemmereichs & DeClerck, 2014), we put forward the following hypotheses:

H1: Men in Emirdağ are less likely to have migration aspirations than men in Dinar. However, this does not apply for women.

H2: Men but not women are more likely to have migration aspirations when they have a negative perception on their financial situation and perceive fewer possibilities for economic improvement in Turkey

METHODOLOGY

In order to test our postulated hypotheses, we use the data of the EUMAGINE project. The EUMAGINE quantitative dataset uses a cross-sectional design for data collection. In the EUMAGINE project, non-EU citizens in the age interval of 18-39 years in four countries (Morocco, Turkey, Senegal and Ukraine) were questioned in the same period (the first half of 2011) with the same questionnaire (Ersanilli, 2012, p. 3). The research population was delimited to the population aged between 18 and 39 years. This population has the highest probability to perceive emigration as a possibility.

The goal of the survey was to obtain information on theoretically informed research questions⁷ using a representative random sample of 2000 respondents in the four countries just mentioned. The sampling technique was the stratified clustering method with random walks (for more information see Ersanilli, Carling & De Haas, 2011 et. al; Ersanilli, 2012). In each

7 The research questions were: "what is the relation between the perceptions among people living in selected source countries of the human rights and democracy situation in Europe and in their own country, and their migration aspirations and intentions", "how strong is the influence of human rights and democracy related perceptions on migration compared to the effect of other determinants of migration aspirations and intentions?", "To what extent is migration perceived as a valuable life project", "how do perceptions of democracy and human rights interact with other factors in the formation of geographical imaginations about Europe and other potential migration destinations?" (Ersanilli, Carling & De Haas 2011: 2).

country, four regions (each containing 500 respondents) were selected for data collection: a known high emigration area, low emigration area, an immigration area and an area with human rights issues. For Turkey the following regions were selected: Emirdağ (high emigration area), Dinar (low emigration area), Fatih (immigration area) and Van Merkez (an area with human rights issues) (Ersanilli, Carling & De Haas 2011, p. 36). In this article we focus especially on Dinar and Emirdağ. The two research areas were first stratified according to a rural – urban dimension and sub-counties. Interviews were distributed according to the size of the strata. More specifically, 50 batches of ten interviews in each research area were distributed according to the relative size of strata. A list of clusters (neighborhoods and villages) was made for each stratum. After deciding on the number of clusters in each stratum, batches of ten interviews were sampled in fixed intervals. A random walk was executed to select households. Within selected households (defined as "all persons who live under the same roof, normally eat together and have communal arrangements concerning subsistence and other necessities of life") respondents were randomly chosen. The selected respondents were questioned face to face in the first half of 2011 with structured paper-and-pencil questionnaires. The selection of respondents in the research areas continued until 500 interviews were completed.⁸ The data had to be weighted to account for differences in the selection probability of respondents (see Ersanilli 2012: 26). The data were analyzed with SPSS 21. The method of binary logistic regression was used to test the hypotheses with migration aspiration to Europe as the dependent variable.

The Wish to Migrate to another Country

The dependent variable measures *migration aspirations to Europe*. In the survey conducted in the EUMAGINE project, respondents were asked whether they want to migrate to another country: "Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to go abroad to live or work." In a follow-up question, re-

8 Respectively 2495 and 1751 households in Emirdağ and Dinar were contacted in order to meet this criterion (Project Paper 7 Eumagine, Survey Report, 19). Respectively 34.23 percent and 19.87 percent of the contacted households in Emirdağ and Dinar were assessed as households with no eligible respondents. Of the contacted households, respectively, 5.37 percent and 11.71 percent in Emirdağ and Dinar refused to cooperate. In Emirdağ a lot of addresses were assessed as "vacated/nobody was at home" (39.12 percent of contacted households). This was relatively higher than that in Dinar (13.59 percent). This indicates high emigration in this area (Project Paper 7 Eumagine, Survey Report, 8, 20).

spondents who said they have aspirations to migrate to another country were also asked to which country they would prefer to go. The combination of these two questions resulted in a variable that measures the migration aspirations to Europe.⁹ Motivation to migrate to Europe was assessed on the basis of these two questions.

Elements Related to Migration Aspirations

The following independent variables were used in this article: age,¹⁰ marital status,¹¹ children,¹² family migration experience,¹³ perception of job opportunities in the own country and Europe,¹⁴ gender,¹⁵ years of education,¹⁶ the perception of human rights in the own country and Europe,¹⁷ material

9 The following countries mean "Europe" in this article: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Belarus, Europe, Western-Europe, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom and Lithuania. There are indications that almost all respondents knew which countries are European. The first three countries that came up when respondents were asked on which countries / places they think off when they hear the word "Europe" were countries / places defined in this article as European. More than 90% of all countries / places that were mentioned were European.

10 Age is a continuous variable measuring the age of respondents. Age was operationalized by asking the respondents their year of birth. We calculated the age of the respondents by deducting 2011 from the year of birth of the respondents. 2011 was the year when the survey was taken.

11 The variable "marital status" is coded 1 when respondents were never married, divorced, widowed or separated and coded 0 when respondents were married/monogamous, married/polygamous or living with partner/not married. Respondents could respond to the question of the marital status between choosing the following categories: never married, married/monogamous, married/polygamous, living with partner/not married, divorced, widowed and separated.

12 0 means children. 1 means no children. The EUMAGINE survey included two questions on childhood: whether they have children who live in their household or outside their household. These two variables were combined.

13 In order to measure *family migration experience*, respondents were asked to indicate whether they "have any family members above 16 years old who are currently living in another country". This variable was coded dichotomously.

14 Respondents were asked to respond to two different statements, namely: "it is easy to find a good job" for their own country and for Europe. These two variables were polytomous going from 0 to 4 (strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree). The direction of the values of the question on the perception of job opportunities in Europe was inverted so that, a higher value means a positive perception.

15 The variable of *gender* was coded dichotomous: male is category 0 and female is category 1.

16 It goes from 0 (no education), 1 (pre-school), primary school-old system (1-5), Primary school (2-9), Lower secondary school-old system (6-8), Higher vocational school (9-11), Upper secondary school-old system (10-12), Upper secondary school-old system (10-13), University or polytechnic (14-17) to Doctorate (18-21).

17 Measured by the "life of men", the "life of women", "the help from the government for poor people who need it in Europe (Turkey) is", "schools in Europe (Turkey) are", "health care in Europe (in Turkey) are". These variables are highly correlated with each other and were taken together in

wealth,¹⁸ the satisfaction with their financial situation,¹⁹ perception of meritocracy in Turkey²⁰ and one dummy for region (one for Dinar with Emirdağ as reference category)

Results

Of 1000 respondents in the two Turkish regions (Emirdağ and Dinar), 358 have aspirations to migrate to Europe (weighted data).²¹ In Emirdağ, 187 of 500 respondents had migration aspirations to Europe. In Dinar, 171 of 500 had migration aspirations to Europe.²²

In model one in table one, we compare men and women living in Emirdağ with men and women living in Dinar. We see that being male, having family abroad with whom they have still contact with, having relatively low educational attainment, having positive perceptions of human rights and job opportunities in Europe, having negative perceptions of human rights in Turkey, having negative perceptions of meritocracy in Turkey, having low material wealth and low satisfaction with their financial situation are positively related with having migration aspirations. Under control of different variables, living in Dinar is significantly and positively related with migration aspirations.

In model two and three, we compare men with and without migration aspirations (model two) and women with and without migration aspirations (model three). In model two, we compare men with and without migration aspirations. In model two, we see that a typical male with migration aspirations is relatively young and has these following qualities: family abroad with

one additive scale. The scale goes from 0 (very bad) to 4 (very good) for the questions on Europe. It is coded from 0 (very good) to very bad (4) for the questions on Turkey.

18 We used the variables measuring whether respondents have electricity, modern flush toilet connected to sewerage in residence, running hot water, shower in residence, radio, television, satellite dish & receiver, video/vcr/dvd player, telephone (landline or mobile phone), computer at home, internet connection at home, refrigerator, gas/electric stove, washing machine, bicycle, moped/motorcycle, car/truck/van. The different principal components above eigenvalue one were combined into one index by weighting and summing each principal component with their explained variation. The index was eventually reduced to a four point scale measuring decreasing material wealth (see Timmerman et. al 2013).

19 Measured by "how satisfied are you with your current financial situation?". This variable goes from very unsatisfied (0) to very satisfied (4).

20 This was measured by the question whether "people in Turkey (Europe) can get ahead by working hard". This variable goes from strongly agree (0) to strongly disagree (4).

21 45 respondents were put on missing: we lack information on their aspirations to migrate to Europe.

22 In Emirdağ 12 respondents were put on missing. In Dinar 33 respondents were put on missing.

whom they still have contact with, relatively less educational attainment, positive perceptions on human rights in Europe, negative perceptions on human rights in Turkey, relatively low satisfaction with their financial situation and a negative perception on the meritocracy in Turkey and a low material wealth. They are also more likely to live in Dinar. On the basis of these results, we conclude that men with migration aspirations (compared with men without such aspirations) tend more to aspire to go to Europe to improve their life.

For women, the picture is somewhat different. In model three, we compare women with and without migration aspirations. In model three, we notice that having family abroad with whom they still have contact with, having positive perceptions on Europe (human rights), having low material wealth are important to distinguish women with and without migration aspirations. However, in contrast with model two, we notice that satisfaction with their financial situation or perceptions on the meritocracy in Turkey are not significantly related to migration aspirations in the female sample (excluding men). The difference between living in Emirdağ and Dinar is not significant. The results in these three models support our hypotheses.

TABLE 1
Odds Ratio's of Having Migration Aspirations
(based on logistic regression)

	Model 1 (n: 908)	Model 2 (n: 508)	Model 3 (n: 400)
Male (Ref. category = female)	1,568***		
Age (Ref. category = mean age in whole sample)	0,977	0,945**	1,015
Unmarried (Ref. category = married)	1,392	1,723	0,972
No children (Ref. category = children)	0,996	0,627	1,586
Family migration experience (Ref. category = no family migration experience)	1,845***	1,974***	1,759**

Years of education (Ref. category = no education, only Coranic school, only basic literacy or national language)	0,945**	0,944*	0,954
Perception of human rights in Europe (Ref. category = very bad)	1,544***	2,071***	0,96
Perception of human rights in their own country (Ref. category = very good)	1,431***	1,436**	1,456*
Perception of job opportunities in Europe (Ref. category = strongly disagree)	1,191**	1,169	1,237
Perception of job opportunities in their own country (Ref. category = strongly agree)	0,981	0,952	1,021
Material wealth (Ref. category = high material wealth)	1,505***	1,561**	1,462*
Research area (Ref. category = Emirdağ)	1,563**	1,813**	1,195
Satisfaction with financial situation (Ref. category = very unsatisfied)	0,869***	0,833**	0,895
Perception of meritocracy in the own country (Ref. category = strongly agree)	1,191**	1,245**	1,177
Perception of meritocracy in Europe (Ref. category = strongly agree)	0,935	1,052	0,799
Constant	0,00***	0,00***	0,004
Nagelkerke R square	0,154	0,208	0,106
Area under curve	0,704	0,686	0,664

***: $p < 0.01$, **: $p < 0.05$, *: $p < 0.10$; weighted data; Individual questionnaire - stum20121001

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Several studies have already demonstrated that individuals perceive macro-level factors such as socio-economic opportunities and democratic and human rights contexts through the mediation of meso-level factors such as be-

longing to transnational social networks. Several migration theories focus on the importance of transnational networks for understanding migration processes, especially once the migration chain is well developed (Van Amersfoort & Van Heelsum, 2007; Nell, 2004; Levitt et al., 2003; Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003). Migration-related perceptions and subsequent aspirations are thus also constructed with the informational input from social networks through which people collect information and exchange ideas.²³ The gender dimension, although crucial in understanding migration dynamics, did not yet receive the attention it deserved within this perspective. Therefore the focus of this paper was to gain more insight into the interplay between gendered migration aspirations and cultures of migration within a shifting macro context.

During the last few years, Turkey experienced a steady and significant economic growth while Europe has been challenged by a severe economic crisis. The negative information on the economic situation in the EU, and more specifically on job opportunities, is much more available for people living in Turkish regions characterized by a 'culture of migration' than for people living in similar regions not connected by means of transnational networks to the Turkish immigrant communities in Europe. We knew already that in Emirdağ, where social networks bind the region with the region(s) of destination, the aspirations to migrate to Europe are lower than in Dinar (Timmerman, Hemmereichs & DeClerck, 2014).

Besides the relevance of a 'culture of migration', gender also proved to be an important factor in explaining shifting migration dynamics. We knew already that for women, belonging to transnational family networks is more important for explaining migration aspirations than for similar men (Timmerman et al., 2012; 2014). We found that their financial situation and opportunities for economic improvement are more important for men than for women who have aspirations to migrate to Europe. These findings are in line with earlier studies that women appreciate and experience migration differently from men.

This gendered appreciation of migration opportunities explains why gender dynamics between migration-impacted regions and regions where migration is rather rare are also shifting. Our results demonstrated that taking into account the existence (or lack) of a 'culture of migration' in the region of

origin is essential for understanding these shifting gender dynamics regarding migration.

We found that men in Emirdağ have fewer migration aspirations than similar men in Dinar. Given that job opportunities are an important reason for migration for men, it comes as no surprise that men in Emirdağ –being well informed about the economic hardship in Europe through their multiple transnational relations– are less eager to migrate compared to men from Dinar who are less informed about the situation in Europe. In other words, firsthand information on Europe coming from transnational family ties seems to be a reason for men to forsake migration. This is an interesting finding because contrary to common knowledge that chain migration enhances subsequent migration, the so-called 'cumulative causation' of Douglas Massey (1998), we see the opposite happening. Engberson (2013) introduced the concept 'diminutive causation' –as a complement to Massey's concept of 'cumulative causation'– for describing the mechanism that migration impacts negatively on further migration. We feel fairly confident to call this phenomenon 'diminutive causation' when we see that in regions impacted by migration, Turkish men aspire to migrate to Europe less than men in regions not affected by migration.

Interestingly, this does not apply for women. We found that women in Emirdağ, despite the overwhelming negative information on economic opportunities in Europe, had no significantly lower migration aspirations than women in Dinar. Women in Emirdağ, living in a region where nearly everyone is connected through family ties to Europe, are still equally interested in migration than women who lack these migration experiences in their community.

These gender differences in how men and women react to the density of migration experiences in their community and hence have access to firsthand information on the regions of destination demonstrate again that men and women differ in their reasons for migration. In our Turkish case, men are more motivated by their financial situation and opportunities for economic improvement than women are. These findings are in line with the expected gender role for men in Turkish society, given that men in patriarchal societies are traditionally the breadwinners of the family (Delaney, 1991). The regions selected for this study, namely Emirdağ and Dinar, are considered to be rather rural and conservative areas (Korfali, Üstübeci & De Clerck, 2010).

Within this perspective, men's primary task is to look after the economic well-being of their family. This also explains why men become less ea-

23 K. Koser & C. Pinkerton, *The social networks of asylum seekers and the dissemination of information about countries of asylum*.

ger to migrate once informed about the economic hardship in Europe, as in the case of Emirdağ. For women, on the other hand, economic reasons are less important when considering migration. This gives evidence for the assumption that women, compared to men, are more motivated by social and democratic opportunities, such as access to good healthcare, education, justice and equal gender opportunities. These motivations are on the one hand in line with the traditional gender role of Turkish women that stresses their role as day-to-day caretakers of their children and family. On the other hand, in these motivations we can also discern the ambition to transcend the traditional patriarchal gender roles. Women who aspire to migrate to Europe declare that, next to better opportunities for education, healthcare and justice in Europe, they also look forward to more equal gender relations. We are fairly confident in saying that women in this Turkish case study see migration as an opportunity to emancipate themselves socio-economically in a broad sense. In other words, they see migration as instrumental for emancipating themselves and their families from more constraint socio-economic, political and cultural conditions.

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The Emancipation of Immigrant Women? The View from the United States

NANCY FONER

It is hard to believe that it is now more than thirty-five years since Nermin Abadan-Unat's article "Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women" appeared in *International Migration Review* (1977). This pioneering article had a significant impact on my own writing at the time on Jamaican migrant women. But much more important, and more broadly, it was what one might call a field-building article, helping to define and guide the field of gender and migration studies, which, in the late 1970s, was still in its infancy.

The article was pioneering in a number of ways: It not only brought out the "emancipation promoting factors" of migration for the Turkish women of peasant origin who went to work in Germany but also emphasized what Abadan-Unat called "pseudo-emancipation." The freedoms that migration brought, she argued, did not liberate Turkish women, indeed created a false climate of liberation.

This tension between emancipation and pseudo-emancipation, although often phrased in different ways by other scholars, underlies much of the work on immigrant women. On the one hand, many studies in the last few decades have shown that women have experienced marked improvements in their status as women as a result of migration (a number of these improvements have been noted by Abadan-Unat in her 1977 article). These range from increased control over decision-making in the household to greater personal autonomy and access to resources in the community at large. On the other