

TRANSNATIONAL MARRIAGES:
FAMILY-FORMING MIGRATION FROM TURKEY to GERMANY

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IŞIL BAYRAKTAR

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Prof. Dr. Meliha Benli Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar
Head of Program

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ecevit (METU, SOC) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Fatma-Umut Beşpınar (METU, SOC) _____

Assist. Prof.Dr. Çağatay Topal (METU, SOC) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Işıl Bayraktar

Signature:

ABSTRACT

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Bayraktar, Işıl

M.S., Social Policy

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar

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This study examines the patterns of family-forming migration from Turkey to Germany as one of the categories of marriage migration by taking into account the effects of migration policies, societal factors in both home and host countries as well as gender differences. The main objective of this study is to investigate how and for what purpose transnational marriages are used as strategies by migrants.

This study assumes that restrictive migration policies of Germany paves the way for transnational marriages even if the focus is not on the marriage, itself. In this respect, considering the last changes in German Residence Act, within the research for this study, in-depth interviews were held with 10 men and 11 women who are in the process of family-forming migration. German language courses in Ankara were selected as research site in order to reach family-forming migration candidates who were learning German as a necessity of German Language Legislation. The significance of the study comes from its focus on the perceptions of family-forming migration in several issues in the pre-migration process which is different than the migration researches focusing on experiences after migration. Study examines the role of transnational ties existing both in Turkey and Germany, family values and economic factors in Turkey on patterns of family-forming migration which is changed by gender differences.

Keywords: migration policies, family-forming migration, marriage migration gender differences, transnational ties.

ÖZ

ULUS ÖTESİ EVLİLİKLER: TÜRKİYE'DEN ALMANYA'YA AİLE BİRLEŞİMİ GÖÇÜ

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Bu çalışma, göç politikalarının, göç veren ve göç alan ülkedeki toplumsal faktörlerin ve toplumsal cinsiyet farklılıklarının etkilerini göz önünde bulundurarak, evlilik göçü kategorilerinden biri olan aile birleşimi göçünün dinamiklerini incelemektedir. Ulus ötesi evliliklerin göç edenler tarafından ne şekilde ve hangi amaçlarla strateji olarak kullanıldığı çalışmanın temel konusudur.

Çalışma, Almanya'nın göçü engelleyici politikalarının, aile birleşimi aracılığıyla göçün odaklandığı nokta doğrudan evlilik olmadığı takdirde bile, ulus ötesi evliliklerin önünü açtığı bulgusuna dayanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Almanya Oturma Yasası'ndaki son değişiklikler göz önünde bulundurularak, çalışmanın dayandığı araştırma bünyesinde, aile birleşimi aracılığıyla göç sürecini deneyimleyen 10 erkek ve 11 kadınla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Almanya'nın dil yasası gereği Almanca öğrenen aile birleşimi göçü sürecindeki kişilere ulaşmak için, Ankara'daki Almanca kursları araştırma sahası olarak seçilmiştir. Çalışmanın önemi, göç sonrası deneyimlerin aktarıldığı araştırmalardan farklı olarak, aile birleşimi göçüne yönelik göç öncesinde şekillenen algılara odaklanmasından ileri gelmektedir. Çalışma, Türkiye ve Almanya'daki mevcut ulus ötesi bağların, aile değerlerinin ve Türkiye'deki ekonomik faktörlerin, toplumsal cinsiyet farklılıklarına göre değişen aile birleşimi göçünün dinamiklerine etkisini incelemektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Göç politikaları, aile birleşimi göçü, evlilik göçü, toplumsal cinsiyet farklılıkları, ulus ötesi bağlar.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

...movement and migration – from Africa to the Americas, from rural space to urban life, from ex-colonies to metropolitan centres – involves a complex transformation. For, beyond the generalities of ‘modernity’ or ‘capitalism’, there is no single frame or cognitive map that unites these experiences and histories. This implies that there is no privileged representation of reality, no single tongue or language in which ‘truth’ can be confidently asserted. (Chambers, 1994, p. 26).

Not only the concept of ‘migration’ but also the history of migration is too old. However, dynamics of migration has been changing throughout history. In fact, each country has its own history towards migration including change of legislations and the profile of migrants. As the countries, dynamics of migration for migrant groups also have been changing. Whatever the reason a migration flow includes, it does not resemble another flow. Chambers (2005) as pointed above, focuses the multi-facet phase of migration and indicates that processes, which are shaped through migration, refer to the different experiences and histories. Considering the dimension that Chambers points out, this study looks to the Turkish migration to Germany through family formation (marriage migration) as a unique case of which establishes a complex transformation in the life of the migrants.

In order to understand the patterns of family formation that were seen in the process of Turkish migration to Germany, this study selected Turkish transnational marriages as case study. In this respect, study aims to focus on the dynamics of the transnational marriages with the assumptions that they are affected by the family and society including transnational ties and network and come to agenda by both the policies of host country and the different parameters such as dissatisfaction from the living conditions and cultural values in the home country. Therefore, the main research question of the study is “how do the migration policies shape the dynamics of transnational marriages?” Based on the

migration policies of host country, study assumes that gender dynamics and strategies of migrants are influenced by migration policies in different levels. Therefore, this question necessitates two additional questions for my study. First one is, “how gender dynamics affect the process of transnational marriages?” and second is, “how migration policies affect the strategies of migrants?” Considering these, last question of the study is, “how do the societal factors such as dissatisfaction from the living conditions in the home country, restrictive policies of host country, transnational ties and network and family affect the transnational marriages?” My research questions are intermingled in general and therefore main assumption of the study is the fact that societal factors that exist in both home and host countries, gender differentiations and strategies in the process of family-forming migration are affected from each other in different levels.

Although the aim of the study is not enlightening the whole processes of migration from Turkey to Germany, a brief analysis on the history and discussions towards migration from Turkey to Germany is necessary to understand how marriage migration came to agenda with what kind of historical transformations as Chambers pointed out above.

Mostly migration from Turkey to Germany has been analyzed within the dynamics of the migration to the Western Europe. Surely, the reasons of this should be considered within the economic and political atmosphere of the 1960s. It is because of that time’s economic concerns that were seen mostly in Western Europe. Since the rapid development had come to agenda after the Second World War, Western European countries started to import labour from relatively less-developed South European countries in order to “meet the deficit of supply in their labour forces, caused by various economic and demographic factors” (Şen, 2003, p. 208). In this sense, recruitment agreement for labour signed by Turkey and Germany in 1961 paved the way for Turkish labor migration to Western Europe. After Germany, Turkey also signed the labor recruitment agreement with Netherlands, Belgium and Austria in 1964, France in 1965 and Sweden in 1967.

In addition to the conditions of Europe in the 1960s, both situation of Turkey and legislations towards the support of migration were also influential in

the Turkish migration to both Germany and other Western European countries. In these years there was an high hidden and open unemployment in Turkey (Abadan-Unat, 2002, p. 42). With the gaining the right of 'having free issue and entry' as a fundamental right through the adoption of 1961 Constitution, unemployed people tended to migrate in order to have high income and with the adoption of Five-Year Development Plan (1962-1967), 'rising labor force export' was accepted as a target of the plan in Turkey (ibid, pp. 37, 42-43). Therefore, Turkish labor migration started to increase year by year. According to the information taken from the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden, Germany, while the number of Turkish population in Germany was 7.116 in 1961, the number had reached to 910.500 in 1973. In 1973, the affect of oil crisis which had come with the downturn in her economy, forced Germany to stop the intake of foreign workers (Şen, 2003, p. 209). Although the stop of labor recruitment enabled Germany to prevent the entrance of new comers for one year¹, it had continued to increase after a year again. In today's world, it is estimated that Germany has around 2,5 million Turkish immigrants. One of the reasons for this lies behind the patterns of migration towards family reunification system.

Family reunification refers to the established families in the country of destination by "adult first generation immigrants who had married prior to migration" (Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2007, p. 12). With the stop of labor recruitment in 1973, migration from Turkey to Germany continued by the family reunification system. Guest workers (*gastarbeiter*) who were perceived as temporary immigrants showed their motivation towards staying in Germany with bringing both their spouses and children to the country. This pattern of migration also changed the rate of immigrant women and men. Although during 1960s and early 1970s most of the recruited workers were men (Mehrlander, 1979, pp.147-148 cited in Kadioğlu, 1997, p. 538), after 1973 the number of Turkish women participated to the emigration process within the family reunification system increased (Kadioğlu, 1997, p. 538). Statistics of German Federal Statistical Office indicated that while the number of women was 407,102 in West

¹ According to the Federal Statistical Office, the number of Turkish immigrants in Germany was 910.500 in 1974 like in 1973.

Germany², it had been recorded as 586,288 in 1980 for West Germany again when the family reunification system was about to complete. However, it continued to rise throughout three decades and by 2000, the number of women in whole Germany was calculated as 915,432. Since it was not directly related to family reunification again due to its completion at the end of 1980s, other migration types should be considered. Starting after 1970s with the increase in 1980s, migration of people having Kurdish origin carrying the political and economic concerns as well as some illegal labor migration are included to these types. However, in order to understand the gender dimension of the Turkish migration to Germany, patterns of family formation or marriage migration must be emphasized in detail in comparison to the political or economic migration. Here, there is a need to shed light upon the turn from the family reunification to family formation.

In this study, family formation refers to marry a partner from the country of origin (home country) which continues with the migration of foreign spouse to the country of destination (receiving country). It is mostly indicated as the marriages of second generation immigrants since “it requires the existence of someone already living in the receiving country” (Çiçekli, 1996, p. 288). In this sense, it can be said that family reunification period paves the way for the family formation. How this turn was experienced can be analyzed by not only the expectations, attitudes or cultural, economic, political affiliations of immigrant communities but also policies of the receiving countries. German social security system in 1975 increased the allowance for Turkish children residing inside Germany which was equal to resident families, although there had been discrimination between foreigners and residents from 1964 to 1974 (Abadan-Unat, 2002, p. 190). This change led to the fact that more Turkish workers brought their children to Germany which was an undesired trend (Abadan-Unat, 1976, p. 35). Since the focus of the study is not on the experiences or problems of migrant children who came to the country within the family reunification system, a detailed information towards education or language problems will not be given. Instead, the significant point for the study is the fact that today’s

² The numbers of immigrants before 1991 were recorded by Federal Statistical Office, only for West Germany.

migrants of second or third generation are children of the migrants who unified their families during 70s and 80s. In other words, preference towards spouse selection from country of origin is seen among this generation.

In order to understand the increase in migration through family formation, there is need to shed light upon the policies of Germany which are mostly put into force to restrict the immigration. Since the stop of labor recruitment, migration through family formation is the only way to enter the country. In this case, the pragmatic use of a transnational marriage can come to the agenda for the people who carry economic purposes for migration. Also, according to the Language Legislation which was put into force in 2007 in Germany, “spouses from countries perceived as ‘non-Western’ by German authorities are obliged to pass language courses before obtaining a visa to live with their spouses in Germany” (Berlinghoff, 2011). As a result of this legislation, too many people who had married prior to migration have to wait for months or sometimes years to enter the country. It is known that Germany puts these legislations since she perceives migration as a threat for the country (Çiçekli, 1996, p. 291). However, in what level these policies prevent the migration continues to be discussed both by the authorities and researchers.

In addition to change of policies in Germany according to the immigrants’ profile, the discussions turning around the Turkish immigrant population, including the new second generation, were also differentiated from each other. While in 1970s the researchers were paying attention to the issues of assimilation, adaptation and integration, their attention turned to the ethnic islands, collective organizations and their interactions with the country of destination itself after 1980s (Abadan-Unat, 2002, p. 203). During 1990s and afterwards new concepts started to seen in agenda which aimed to enlighten the migrant patterns in general. The increase of ‘transnational’ studies was widely seen. There are several writers such as Basch, Glick–Schiller, Blanc-Szanton (1994), Guarnizo (2003), Fox (2005) who work on the concepts ‘transnationalism’ and ‘transnational living’. They all emphasize on the immigrant’s relations or social fields which cross across borders within their political, economic or cultural phases.

In this respect, family forming migration was started to be analysed within the concept of 'transnational marriages'. According to Strassburger (2002, p. 196) who has developed valuable arguments towards the immigrants' spouse selection, transnational marriages opens the path of "a family-forming migration of either the bride or the groom." Instead of adding one more brick to the essentialist arguments for the Turkish immigrants and especially Turkish women seen in the literature and public sphere in Germany, she tried to understand the transnational marriages, from different aspects. She claims that transnational marriages are not the result of religious affiliations rather, they are influenced by "structural and demographic factors, social and cultural resources and individual preferences" (2002, pp. 208, 221). However, in contrast to the studies of Strassburger, there were several books published which developed arguments towards 'backward Turkish identity' specifically giving reference to Islam and transnational marriages were analyzed only with emphasizing on 'arranged' or 'forced' marriages.

Firsly, the discussions towards the behaviors of young Turkish women was started within the book of Baumgartner-Karabak & Landesberger (1978) named "The bartered brides: Turkish women between Kreuzberg and Anatolia." Within the discussions after the publishment of this book, young Turkish women are mostly analyzed within their "traditional gender role, rejection of marriage with a (native) German partner and readiness to accept an arranged marriage which means that the group of young women with a Turkish migration background is more closely tied to religious attitudes than the group of young migrant women as whole" (Boss-Nünning, 2005, p. 5).³ After these discussions, the book named, 'The Foreign Bride: A Report from the Inside of Turkish Family in Germany' written by Necla Kelek in 2005 appeared with bringing too many discussions towards marriage patterns of Turkish immigrants in Germany. In general, she argues that Turkish migrants are turning more and more towards the Muslim community and establishing 'parallel lives' because of their practice of 'importing brides' from Turkey. Both of the books focus on the specific cases

³ The analyses developed by Boss-Nünning bases on her earlier study with Yasemin Ursula/Karakaşoğlu, the name of which is *Viele Welten leben. Lebenslagen von Mädchen und jungen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund*. Waxmann. Münster *et al.*

and came to generalizations with their essentialist arguments. Although they were widely supported by the German media and several researchers, they were also criticized by several writers. Miera (2007, p. 13) for example, criticizes both Kelek and her commentators since they do not “refer to or criticize the tradition of arranged marriages in rural societies, but also in the bourgeoisie and especially in the nobility in Europe until the early 20th century.” She also gives the details of critics towards Kelek’s book who claim that “the second generation of Muslim migrants would reinterpret Islam in a complicated way, ‘interacting both with the family environment and the reactions of the majority society’” (Terkedissis & Karakaşoğlu, 2006 cited in Miera, 2007, p. 18) and also “social exclusion was the result of discriminating structures and the assimilationist model of the host society” (ibid). Razack (2004) in parallel to the critics of Kelek’s book, shows her stance against the culturalist approaches and claims that host countries mostly utilize from these approaches in order to create inferior and superior societies. When the attitudes of Germany towards unwillingness of Turkish migration are considered, the support of Kelek’s book can be interpreted as a way to show Turkish transnational marriages as the practice of inferiority. However, transnational marriages cannot be demoted to the arranged or forced marriages and require further attention with considering structural and societal patterns of both host and receiving countries.

In order to contribute to the marriage migration literature with further attention, I aimed to study on this issue. My interest in this topic originated when I was in Vienna as an exchange student. In Vienna, I had the opportunity to conduct a pilot field research about the position of immigrant women and the roles of NGOs in solving the problems of immigrant women. This research gave me the chance to understand the fact that Turkish migrant women are perceived as the tools for marriage migration but mostly for the arranged and forced marriages. However, both interviewees with NGOs and women were showing that they have their own and individual reasons to migrate even if the migration was a marriage migration. Therefore, I wanted to understand the patterns of these marriages which I believe they start to be shaped in the home country. However, a research conducted in the receiving country has the possibility to

give detailed analysis to researcher about the experiences of migrants after migration rather than their motivations and expectations towards migration or marriage in the home country before migration. Thus, I decided to conduct a field research in Turkey in order to observe the process of transnational marriages and to understand which factors are influential for the migration of people.

Considering the focus of my study, I conducted a field research in Ankara with the people who are about to migrate to Germany through family formation. My research group consists of 10 men and 11 women. I selected my research sites as the language courses such as Goethe Institute, Active Language Course and Alman Bookstore since they are directly suited my research topic with the inclusion of people whose aim are to learn German for the family formation. My main methodology was in-depth interview techniques in the scope of field work. As an in-depth interview technique, I preferred to use a semi-structured questionnaire. Before the field work, a literature review on several topics was also done to provide a background for the field research.

The reason for the selection of people who carry the aim of migrating to Germany lies on the fact that transnational marriages from Turkey are mostly to Germany. In this respect, the high number of people who are on the way of family forming migration gave the opportunity for me to conduct a research with people who have diverse backgrounds in terms of city where they live, education, work status as well as gender. Besides, the difference between the cities they live in Turkey also creates diversity in the regions that they prefer to migrate in Germany because of the fact that transnational kinship and townsmen (hemşehri) ties that already existed in Germany enable new comers to follow them. Thus, it provides me to have different perceptions towards Germany since each individual perceives their city of destination first. This diversity enables me to work on the perceptions towards Germany as one of the analytical sides of my field research, which also contribute to the analysis of both gender differences and transnational ties that were seen in the process of transnational marriages.

The significance of this study comes from its difference from the studies done in the same topic in terms of two sides. Firstly, most of the studies focusing on Turkish marriage migration include a research cite in the country of

immigration. By this way, they concentrate on spouse selection and other patterns mostly from the perspective of the resident in the receiving country. Besides, the differentiated gender roles are included to these studies in order to see how these roles take new forms through and after migration. However, for this study, this part of the migration establishes the secondary part. Instead, this study aims to contribute the marriage migration literature within its analyses on the structural and societal factors that pave the way for transnational marriages and the gender dynamics that are seen *during* the process of transnational marriages not *after* the migration itself. In that sense, it aims to contribute to the literature as giving a background analysis of the marriage migration patterns for further researches on this topic.

Secondly, marriage migration is a process which is influenced by the migration policies of the host country as well. In that sense, the up to dateness of the process is important. As it is mentioned before, Germany enacted language legislation in 2007 for the groups of immigrants who carry the aim of family formation. Since the research in this study is conducted after this legislation, the research enabled the respondents to share their ideas towards language criteria. This provided me to analyze in what sense the restrictive language criteria prevent the family formation within the words of respondents who are directly affected by this legislation. In this respect, this study would be an important contribution through its up to dateness as well.

After the introduction, this thesis will proceed in Chapter 2 with a brief review of the key concepts and theoretical framework in order to shed light on the research analysed. Chapter 3 focuses on the patterns of Turkish migration to Germany, international legislations on family migration with emphasizing on the dynamics of family forming migration. The methodology of the research will be elaborated in Chapter 4. In the following chapter, societal factors that shape marriage migration will be discussed. In Chapter 6, gender differences lie behind the process of marriage migration and perceptions of women and men towards their own experiences will be presented. The question whether transnational marriages are used as a strategy for migration or not will be answered with several parameters and overall assessment of the findings in this thesis will be shared in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Transnationalism, Transnational Social Space

Since Turkish families in Germany who have transnational marriages represent a mobility not only in two countries but also in different levels, there is a need to shed light on the concept ‘transnationalism.’ Before the conceptualizations that I utilize for explaining transnationalism, I will briefly explain why I prefer to use ‘transnational’ rather than ‘international’ or ‘multinational’ with referring to Portes (2001). Portes (2001, p. 186) makes a distinction between these three concepts with the claim that ‘international’ focuses to activities and programs of nation-states, ‘multinational’ focuses to activities of institutions whose purposes and interests are linked to the multiple countries and ‘transnational’ to activities “initiated and sustained by noninstitutional actors, be they organized groups or networks of individuals across national borders.” For the case of marriages, the influence of networks and other groups is widely seen in different levels. Therefore, in order to understand the transnational side of the marriages, it is necessary to analyse the development of the transnationalism conceptualizations that I use in this study.

Here, there is a need to look briefly to the transnational studies throughout history. In 1971, the book *‘Transnational Relations and World Politics’* edited by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye was published. The two authors and other contributors of the book dealt with the effects of transnational interactions and organizations on interstate politics as well as the accomplishment of both benefiting and losing from transnational relations and controlling transnational networks (Keohane & Nye, 1971, p. 331). During 1980s, James Rosenau came with his collection of essays named *“The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalization of World Affairs”* in which he discusses the relation between interdependence and international

relations as well as rise of global relations by referring the several groups such as tourists and terrorists.

The studies on transnational studies continue to grow during 1990s and 2000s. While Susanne Hoeber Rudolph (1997) emphasizes on transnational activities of religious communities, Luis Eduardo Guarnizo (2003) mostly refers to economics of transnational activities. Although transnational studies not only deal with the migrant transnationalism but also with NGOs, corporations, religions or different social groups, they all “share a kind of common goal: to look empirically at, and to analyze, transnational activities and social forms along with the political and economic factors that condition their creation and reproduction” (Vertovec, 2003, p. 644).

Since it is not possible to include whole perspectives of the transnational studies, I will use the conceptions of migrant transnationalism developed by several authors that I find useful for the analyses of transnational marriages. Here, I utilize from the conceptualization of, Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1994):

“We define “transnationalism” as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders” (Glick-Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1994, p.7).

The concept of ‘transnationalism’ is meaningful to utilize in the case of marriages since people (spouses) directly involve to the process of ‘transnationalism’. According to Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1994, p. 7) “immigrants who develop and maintain relationships – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political – that span borders, we call “transmigrants.” People who experience transnational marriages develop familial relationships across borders. Therefore, they can be accepted as transmigrants. Crossing national borders is the main point of the analysis for the migrant groups to be accepted as ‘transnational communities’. As Fox (2005, p. 186) declares, “transnational communities are groups of migrants whose daily lives, work and social relationships extend across national borders.” Bauböck (2003, p. 701) has included the ‘social institutions’ to this analysis as well.

The term 'crossing across borders' necessitates to define 'transnational living' and 'transnational social spaces' since transnational living occurs in transnational social spaces with crossing across borders. Following the recent works of Robert C. Smith (2001) and of Karen Fog Olwig and Ninna Nyberg Sorensen (2002), Guarnizo (2003, p. 670) refers 'migrants' transnational living' as "a condition that implies a set of cross-border relations and practices that connect migrants with their societies of origin." Guarnizo (ibid, p. 680) formulates transnational living as 'leading a life that straddles across national borders', creating two main sets of processes. According to him, while the first process linked with the willingness of the migrants to recreate their cultural practices and customs with the target of keeping their local, regional and national identities in the country of destination, the second set of process that come into being with transnational living should provide "more or less stable social, economic and political relations and engagement" with the country of origin (ibid pp. 680-682).

People who experience transnational marriages perceive the dichotomy of transnational living both before and after the migration not only in country of origin and country of destination but also in a 'space' which refers the mobility of processes between two regions. As Beck-Gernsheim (2007, p. 276) refers, the usage of 'transnational social spaces' are utilized since they "breed special motivations, goals and hopes, and at the same time entail special constraints and pressures, all of which leave their impact on migrants' lives in many areas, including and not least in marriage practices." 'Transnational social space' can be analyzed more than a 'place' where transnational living generates. In this respect, the conceptualization of Faist is fruitful to understand what 'transnational social space' is.

"Transnational social spaces are combinations of social and symbolic ties, positions in networks and organizations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places. These spaces denote dynamic social processes, not static notions of ties and positions." (Faist, 1998, p. 8)

According to Faist, the concept of 'space' has different meanings.

"Space here not only refers to physical features, but also to larger opportunity structures, the social life and the subjective images, values and meanings that the specific and limited place represents to migrants. Space is thus different from place in that it encompasses or spans various territorial

locations. On a micro-level this has to be seen in conjunction with the use of time to form particular time-space strategies of potential migrants. The context of decision-making is constituted by the potential migrants themselves in interacting with significant others, for example within kinship groups. Larger structural factors such as economic and political opportunities constitute a more remote, albeit an enabling and constraining context in which individuals, collectives and networks operate” (Faist, 1998, pp. 8-9).

The concept of ‘space’ is essential in this study since it also paves the way for the understanding of the process of transnational marriages. They have their own spaces to come to agenda and they indicate the special case for transnational living. In order to understand what people experiencing in their spaces, there is a need to shed light on the concept of ‘transnational marriage’ and ‘transnational family.’

2.2 Transnational Family

In this study, transnational marriage is defined as a “marriage of an immigrant in Germany to a spouse residing in the country of origin” (Kalter & Shroedter, 2010, p. 12). Transnational marriages open the path of “a family-forming migration of either the bride or the groom” (Straßburger, 2002, p. 196). The patterns of family-forming migration from Turkey to Germany constitute that of transnational marriages. Therefore, in this study I will use both of the concepts interchangeably. Both before and after the occurrence of transnational marriages, spouses create transnational families. In order to utilize the concept for the explanation of main discussions in this study, common aspects of the concept ‘transnational family’ will be summarized.

According to Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, p. 3) transnational families are defined as “families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely ‘familyhood’, even across national borders.” The concept of transnational families is also assumed as a “straightforward description of families whose members live in different countries but manage to continue to keep in touch with each other” (Goulbourne et al, 2010, p. 4).

Importance of the concept of transnational family for explaining transnational marriage comes from its emphasis on living separated from each other some or most of the time, as Bryceson and Vuorela mentions. Of course, there are types of transnational families which differ from each other in terms of the reasons that lead spouses to be separated from each other. These may involve economic, political or some other reasons. For example, a person from a developing country can go to a European country to find a better job and may stay for years there. In this case, the reason of not going with a spouse may be because of children or feeling insecurity. Although spouses would prefer to be together in a different country, there are several studies that show the duration of staying for work in a different country may extend for years and years. Therefore, families have to keep in touch across borders. In the research group of this study, the reason of separating from each other is different. As it is mentioned before, there is a legislation adopted by the government of Germany which necessitates a basic German certificate for the citizens of Turkey who are trying to enter the country with the family union system or who have the purpose of family-forming migration. In most of the cases, people marry or are engaged to marry when their spouses living Germany come Turkey for their summer holidays. Most of the people learn the necessity of this certificate after their marriage. Then, preparation period for the exam starts. This period may take several months. However it may take more than one year as well. Since there are people who come from different parts of Turkey to the big cities of İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir which have institutions for giving the German certificate, the duration of taking this certificate changes according to the city that they come from and also their education level. They have to change their lives in order to go these big cities and prepare for the exam. That's why this period extends to several months. It is obvious that in these cases they have to experience the life as being 'transnational families' since these people's spouses have to continue their life in Germany with waiting them to migrate.

For the explanation of the life that 'transnational families' experience for an undefined period, it can be utilized from several concepts in 'transnational families' literature. Visiting is the first concept that is accepted as it is easing the life of transnational families. In some cases, the person residing in Germany may

not have strong relations with the country of origin until her/his marriage to a partner from country of origin occurs. After the marriage, the feel of obligation to kin may start in order to have close relations with the family of her/his spouse whom he/she has kin relation. In such cases of kinship marriages the means of visiting is more than visiting of a spouse. According to Mason (2004, p.427) “visiting is significant symbolically and practically in maintaining transnational kin relationships with facilitating the cultivation and demonstration of active kinship networks that are able to work across long distances.”

As Mason (ibid, p. 424) mentions, “visiting enables people to build up a history of having known each other over time, and to acquire mutual and shared knowledge of each other that can be sustained in between times in more virtual ways, over distance.” In the family-forming migration, marriages occur faster than any kind of a marriage in which spouses are living in the same country. In the marriages that are performed within the family unification or formation, people feel that they have to be fast in marrying in order to ease the process of entering the country. Therefore, in most of the marriages people do not have too much time to know each other. Therefore, the importance of the visits starts after marriages realized. In most of the cases, the person living in Germany visits her/his spouse in Turkey with taking several holiday permissions. In the absence of visits or when “the transnational families are denied the joy and and intimacy of physical proximity” (Parrenas, 2005), the virtual ways tried to be developed to be close to each other. Information Communication Technologies (ICT) are widely utilized in the literature of ‘transnational families’ as ways that connect seperated spouses. The time for the use of these may change. As Lupe and Lambe (2011) state:

ICTs are tools that transnational family members utilize before immigration to plan and prepare for the trip, during it to ensure safety, and after to inform the family about the resettlement process. The easier connection also serves as a bridge with the community to which the immigrant used to belong and is, therefore, a source of social capital (Lupe & Lambe, 2011, p. 16).

ICTs as a source of social capital are also influential for this study since they are part of the family networks which were mentioned in above parts. However, in the case of transnational marriages, utilizing from ICTs before immigration not only provide planning and preparing for the trip, but also enable

spouses to know each other better like in visits. The use of ICTs such as internet, telephone or webcams, are important for the people who are in their migration processes since they are also proof of different kinds of support which mostly include “emotional and moral support” (Baldassar, 2007). In the words of Baldassar:

Emotional and moral support is the foundation of most family relations including transnational ones, partly because it is clear that the other types of support—financial, practical, personal and accommodation—also contribute to emotional and moral support. Indeed, none of these forms of support are mutually exclusive. (Baldassar, 2007, p. 391)

Maintaining “vital mutual support” is “for the realization of family and individual welfare” (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, p. 19). The concept of moral and emotional support which come out mutually are also helpful to understand the research group’s need with their own words that indicate the absence of the feeling of family hood without them.

In addition to analyses that focus on the maintenance of relationships between people who are establishing transnational families across borders, there are also analyses that focus on the elements or “connection and concerns” (Goulborne et al, 2010, p. 11) of transnational family experiences. Goulborne et. al (2010) explain the connection and concerns of transnational family experiences with developing on the concepts that Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) suggests:

They pointed to three important categories: first, issues pertaining to care in old age; second, matters of identity (national, ethnic, belongingness); and third, the search for security and opportunity (political, economic, etc.) (Goulborne et. al. 2010, p. 6).

They conclude with the further elements that should be discussed as concerns of experiences developed by transnational families:

It may be suggested, however, that Bryceson and Vuorela perhaps underestimated the importance of identity and belongingness as crucial elements driving the motor of transnational family experiences. This underestimation may be seen particularly with regard to generation (youth and the aged), gender and sexuality, nationality and territory. We assert that these are vitally important elements in the engine that motors the phenomenon of transnational families as a norm in modern and contemporary societies (Goulborne et. al, 2010, p. 6).

In this study, among the categories that mentioned above, in addition to matters of identity, with broadly emphasizing on gender and sexuality, economic matters are widely utilized for the explanation of transnational families. Since the concept of transnational family is described aftermath of the transnational marriages, issues pertaining to care in old ages and political matters are not included to the study.

2.3 Causes and Results of Transnational Social Ties and Networks

In most of the cases, transnational marriages do not only refer to the processes between two people but also to the processes occurring between individuals' families, friends, neighbours or townsmen. Families are the most influential units in maintaining transnational marriages. The reason behind the role of families in maintaining transnational marriages lies on the factor that families use networks to connect each other and build new networks. As Milardo clarifies:

families live in an elaborate system of interactions where they create ties of varying complexity and strength with a broad array of other individuals, other families and larger social collectives. Families are profoundly influenced by this web of ties and they are active agents in modifying and adapting these communities of personal relationships to meet ever-changing circumstances (Milardo, 1987, pp. 13-14).

In this respect, the interaction with other groups should be mentioned since it is generated within the transnational social space, establishing 'networks.' Different networks are used for the establishment of transnational marriages. Thus, a short overview about different network analyses is necessary, in order to shed light on the ways that the concept uses to explain transnational marriages.

For several decades a considerable number of works were used not only to define the role played by kin and friends in shaping chain migration (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964; Ritchie, 1976) but also to define the role of social networks based on family, friendship and community ties in all kinds of migration (Kearney, 1986; Boyd, 1989; Portes, 1995; Vertovec, 2003). Boyd summarizes the role of networks in facilitating migration.

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

The network definition made by Boyd enlightens the study since it also includes the perspective of familial relations to the social network analysis. Marriage decisions can be shaped by family and household in a transnational context. Boyd's usage of the term is influential to understand the effects of social networks in such a context. She perceives networks which are attached to family and households as ways to understand migration as "a social product" in which the outcome of "individual decisions made by individual actors" and "economic or political parameters" have an interaction (ibid, p. 642).

This interaction between individual decisions and economic or political parameters affected by social networks, provides migration to be an 'ongoing' process. Since social networks continue to be maintained "by each additional migrant, potential migrants are able to benefit from the social networks and ethnic communities already established in the country of destination" (Haug, 2008, p. 588). Therefore, utilizing from the established social networks in the country of destination brings additional transnational marriages. In the migration context, it is worthful to note that marriage facilitates family, neighbourhood and townsmen networks that exist both in the country of origin and country of destination. In this respect, these networks – that are called as transnational networks and social ties – are easily established. If social ties transnationally occur, it means that the institution of marriage is on the agenda. Here, the importance of additional migrants especially who migrate by marriages is also obvious. Additional migrants prepare the basis of transnational social ties with their familial relations. This side of the transnational marriages shows how they can be the causes of transnational social ties. Other side of the transnational marriages indicates how they can be the results of transnational social ties. Established networks both in the country of origin and country of destination directly involve the processes of marriages in the transnational context. In that

sense, transnational marriages and transnational social ties affect each other. As Straßburger (2002) emphasizes:

Transnational marriages have in general also to be seen as a result of transnational social ties that have been in existence prior to the marriage, since such networks provide the space where potential spouses may meet. Consequently transnational marriages represent both the cause and the result of transnational social ties. Moreover, they reaffirm these relationships, and since it is probably individuals embedded in strong transnational ties who are most willing to enter into transnational marriages, this kind of marriage can contribute to the self-perpetuating character of migration and the maintaining of a transnational community (Straßburger, 2002, p. 198).

In addition to the concept of social network developed and used by several authors, the main reference point of the study is the ‘trust network’ conceptualization of Tilly. First, he defines trust “as an attitude or as a relationship with practices attached” (Tilly, 2007, p. 6). Then, he turns his attention to the role of ‘trust’ in the migration studies with the claim that “it helps to concentrate on the relationship, leaving open what sorts of attitudes might motivate, complement, or result from a relationship of trust” (ibid). The importance of trust and trust networks for the study comes from their linkage with the transnational migration, specifically with transnational marriages. Before observing the role of trust networks in transnational marriages, it is useful to utilize from the work of Tilly again. His 3 points among 6 main points that he used to explain the linkage between trust networks and transnational migration is useful for this study (ibid, pp. 5-6).

He mentions the role of trust networks in creating solidarity between people living both in the country of origin and country of destination. Then, he clarifies the ‘long-term rights and obligations’ that networks gain as binding units for people to each other. According to him, these show the operation of networks at the same time as “sites of social insurance and of social control.” Therefore, when compared to all migration flows, these which bind to trust networks “tend to concentrate in relatively specialized economic, geographic and social niches” (ibid, pp. 5-6).

Based on the trust networks, people who are on the way to experience transnational migration, feel security by means of established solidarity across borders. Thanks to the trust networks, (trans) migrants find their spouses and

without having too much time with their spouses, transnational marriage can occur. Trust networks are visible in the transnational marriages which especially base on kinship, neighbourhood and community ties. Without including the 'trust' side, a social network may not have the possibility to be an intermediary between spouses whose aims are to marry. Whatever network a person has, if it is not strong enough to provide the feeling of security and trust, the intermediary which is generated by this network may not lead to a marriage. However, a social network which include 'trust' can overcome the ways and distance that exist between spouses. By this way, it can easily be the intermediary for a transnational marriage. In this respect, as Tilly argues, "trust networks constitute only a tiny subset of all networks" (ibid, p. 8). Due to the reasons that were mentioned above related to the necessity of the 'trust' in a transnational marriage formation, the usage of every kind of network concept in this study utilizes from the 'trust network' conceptualization. Therefore, the analysis of the Vertovec is useful for this study with the addition of the concept of Tilly. In explaining transnational marriages and the dynamics of marriage migration, migration can be accepted as a "process that both depends on, and creates, social networks" (Vertovec, 2003, p. 650) which also include "trust networks."

Causes and results of the transnational social ties and networks bring the necessity of the concept social capital since it is perceived in social science literature as a further step to social network analysis in explaining transnational migration. It is used in this study to explain marriage migration as well. As it is mentioned in the above parts, marriage migration is a concept that represent both causes and results of the transnational social ties. Like transnational social ties, social capital also explains how transnational marriages occur and come to agenda. In this respect, social capital is perceived as a subset of transnational social ties. Therefore, it is useful to mention how social capital is developed and is used for the explanation of transnational marriages.

There is a wide range of literature on social capital. Since it is difficult to refer all studies explaining social capital from different perspectives, I prefer to choose some of them that are useful for this study. In this respect, I will try to come to a conclusion between the definitions of social capital by several writers and their interlinkage with the transnational social ties.

The concept of social capital was used firstly in 1916 by L. Judson Hanifan who was an American religion instructor (Putnam, 2000). According to Putnam (2000), this concept has emerged six times during 20th century. During 1980s, the concept was widely utilized by several authors and the interpretation of the concept continued after 1980s as well. In this respect, I will utilize from the works of scholars who developed the concept during 1980s such as Bourdieu (1988), Coleman (1988) as well as scholars in 1990s and 2000s such as Portes (1999) and Putnam (2000).

Besides the similarities between the writer's explanations on social capital, there are also differences between them. Bourdieu, in his essay "*Forms of Capital*" (1986) mostly emphasize on the economic character of the social capital and he explains other forms of capital in the basis of economic senses as well. According to him:

Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243).

By explaining different forms of capital, he also describes the power relations in the society and accepting the fact that 'elite classes' own the resources of social capital. According to Portes, difference between social capital and other forms of capital is its intangible character that was explained by both Bourdieu and Coleman. He states that:

Whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage (Portes, 1999, p. 7)

Goulbourne et al. (2010, p. 28) also perceive social capital "as a largely intangible and unquantifiable series of resources such as informal networks, and connections that are essentially social in the sense that the realization of its usevalue is observable only where the individual or the group taps into it to

produce or attain desired or beneficial results.” They claim that social capital is not directly recognizable but the effects make it recognizable. They conclude about the differences between social capital and other forms as follows:

Unlike material capital (land, minerals, money), social capital is largely invisible, and it is undoubtful whether it can be taken to the formal or physical marketplace to be exchanged for other commodities: it is not likely to be taken to the stock market. It is largely, if not entirely, metaphor. However, this does not mean that social capital is entirely ethereal or epiphenomenal: it is real enough and its effects, if not its step-by-step procedures, observable and some scholars, researchers and policymakers believe that it can be calculated and is therefore measurable. (Goulborne et. al. 2010, p. 28)

If relations exist in processes, it means that the ‘effects’ that provide these relations, are observable. When something is observable, it refers that it is ‘measurable’ concept without considering it is concrete or not. I should add that I do not deal how much measurable it is. Indeed, in this study I try to understand the usage of social capital by people in the transnational marriage migration. Therefore, arguments claiming social capital as a measurable thing open the way of my work. Coleman in his article “*Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*” (1988) explains social capital within its “functionality”:

Social capital is defined by its functions. It is not a single entity but a variety of entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the Structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman, 1988, p. 16).

Coleman’s words on functionality of social capital paves the way on the perception of its success. “Achievement of certain ends” refers the value of social capital. When a group of people reach their “desired ends”, it is because they use social capital successfully whereas unsuccessful groups in reaching their desires may lack of social capital (Goulborne et.al 2010, p. 30). As Goulborne et. al (ibid) refer, “a group (a family, a kinship network, an ethnic community, etc.) may be rich in social capital, but because the group does not mobilize or use this capital it remains latent and therefore, as social capital, it is practically non-existent.”

Here, the use of the term brings other definitions developed during 1990s. Another theorist working on social capital is a well-known American political scientist Robert Putnam. He defines social capital for the Italian society

and American society in his two studies. First is his article “*Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*” (1993), in which he defines social capital with reference to Coleman’s work as “features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam, 1993, p. 167).

Portes (1998) gives the historical origins of social capital with his claims on the concept. While WE Baker (1990, p. 619 cited in Portes, 1998, p. 6) defines the concept as “a resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests; it is created by changes in the relationship among actors”, Schiff (1992, p. 161 cited in Portes, 1998, p. 6) defines the term as “the set of elements of the social structure that affects relations among people and are inputs and arguments of the production and/or utility function.” These definitions are similar to that of Coleman’s and Putnam’s above since they all support the argument that social capital is used for the benefit of people. Thanks to trust and networks, people can facilitate their relations, pursue their interests or gain utility. These are the arguments that I find beneficial for the occurrence of transnational marriages. Portes also compares the definitions of scholars in 1980s and 1990s. He clarifies the difference between analyses on the networks in social capital:

Whereas Coleman... had emphasized dense networks as a necessary condition for emergence of social capital, Burt (1992) highlights the opposite situation. In his view, it is the relative absence of ties, labeled “structural holes,” that facilitates individual mobility. This is so because tend to convey redundant information, while weaker ties can be sources of new knowledge and resources (Portes, 1998, p. 6).

In this study, I prefer to utilize from the works of Coleman and Putnam which define social capital within the basis of dense networks. As I emphasized before, I perceive social capital as a function that facilitate transnational social ties which leads to the transnational marriage migration. In this respect, I support the opposite argument of Burt (1992 cited in Portes, 1998, p. 6) who claim that weaker ties pave the way to the new knowledge and resources. Since establishment of ties provide the space for possible spouses to meet in the process of marriage migration, not the weaker ties but dense ties are important for them. These provide the occurrence of social capital as a function. In this

respect, I perceive social capital as a function. Also, I support that it is “defined by its functions” as Coleman mentions. Besides, I agree the claim of Bourdieu that economic capital feeds social capital. In the cases of marriage migration, it is true for some cases that marriages are performed both within and for economic basis. However, as Coleman states, it has to have its own “social structure as a function” that is sometimes differentiated from economic capital. Also, while Bourdieu (1986) states that only the elite group own the social capital, Coleman (1988) and later Putnam (1993) argue that social capital is for every one; individuals or groups. People who directly involve the processes of marriage migration as families, neighbours or spouses using or facilitating social capital are different groups of people from different classes, not only elite groups. Their usage of social capital is directly refer to the functionality of social capital as well. Considering these patterns, the social capital conceptualizations of Coleman and Putnam are more useful for the explanation of transnational marriage migration with referring it as a basis of communication networks.

After these, explanation of communication mechanisms that occur transnationally and their linkage with social capital is useful. Here, the concepts of ‘bonding’, ‘bridging’ and ‘linking’ social capital are important. Following the works of Baron et al. (2000), it is also explained by Goulborne et al. (2010) how they utilize the notions of ‘bonding’, ‘bridging’, ‘linking’ social capital to explain the relations between family, ethnicity and and community dynamics:

Bonding social capital is just what the word ‘bonding’ suggests: building and maintaining trust between individuals who believe that they share certain things, such as beliefs and values; they can rely on each other, and this may involve such emotional factors as love, affection, common likes and dislikes and so forth. Bonding suggests that individuals do not always have to return to first principles in order to explain or justify choices and preferences in social action. Bonding cements and individual’s effective membership of a family or a kinship group, of civic associations and of broader institutions such as a political party or a faith group. Bonded groups of people are necessarily demarcated from other similarly bonded groups, but they may act as ‘bridge’; these two kinds of social capital strongly emphasize the metaphoric value of the concept (Goulborne et al. 2010, pp.31-32).

Goulborne et. al (2010, p. 34) build their works on Putnam’s work (2000) and particularly Woolcock’s work (1998) who focus on “social networks”,

‘reciprocity’ and ‘trust’. In short, they all perceive social capital as ‘bridging’ (between different groups/communities; outward- looking), ‘bonding’ (inward-looking, reinforcing bonds within groups), and ‘linking’ (linking local networks across the country) (Goulborne et.al 2010, p. 34).

The concepts of ‘bridging’, ‘bonding’ and ‘linking’ in the social capital literature show us that social capital can be both seen in the processes of marriages and in the country of destination. Migration decisions come to the agenda “when the subjectively expected net utility of migration exceeds the expected net utility of staying at the place of origin” (Haug, 2008, p. 590). Social capital of the people existing both in the country of origin and country of destination paves the way for them to have “net utility of migration.” As Haug states (ibid, p. 591) ‘social affiliation or relations’ as social capital create ‘the attractiveness of places of residence’ and this shape the “migration decision of potential migrants.” Here, it should be considered that “attractiveness of places of residence” comes not only from that of places, but also from that of social capital as explained by Coleman and Putnam.

2.4 Gender and Migration

The link between gender and migration is influential for this study since family-forming migration refers to the both women’s and men’s marriage migration. The general tendency in the case of family reunification or family - formation is to analyse women’s position as “dependent and followers” (Ackers, 1998). However, in the case of a family-forming migration of men, they can also be the followers and they carry the potential to be dependent to their spouses in the host country due to lack of knowledge about the country as well as language of the country.

In the cases of both men’s and women’s family-forming migration, gender roles or the understandings of masculinity and femininity can change since the “transnational families in their organization invite the reconstitution of gender relations and the conventional division of labor suited for patriarchal nuclear households is quite difficult to maintain in these households (Parrenas, 2005, p. 163). As one of the traditional norms that still exist for some households in Turkey, it is expected from men to be breadwinners, while it is

expected from women to be ‘domestic workers’ which refers to ‘child care’ or ‘being housewives.’ A man who is on the way of a family-forming migration can also carry the will of reproducing ‘traditional gender roles’ in the host country. Charsley (2005) in her study, focuses on the existence of ‘unhappy husbands’ in the case of transnational marriages of men from Pakistan to Britain. She links ‘being unhappy’ in the host country to facing difficulty in the adaptation to the country as well as learning the language and also living in laws’ family or ‘transformation of gender roles.’ Since men get used to be ‘breadwinners’ in their home countries, lack of knowledge about their new lives, may lead them to be dependent to their spouses. For the cases of women the discourse which argue that ‘they do not need to work’ is internalized in the society and is also valid in the case of migration. How these discourses are affected from a marriage migration necessitates further attention, since above patterns do not constitute the whole picture of a family-forming migration.

Candidates for family-forming migration, have several expectations from their marriages and migrations at the same time. Whatever the motivation or expectation they have, they are valid both women and men, in that sense, dependency of women does not constitute the whole picture. It can be rooted from the goal of reaching better economic conditions or better life standards. Although this should be analysed according to gender dimension, existence of these parameters demonstrate the fact that gender is only meaningful as an analytical tool with considering the motivations towards migration. These are intermingled in the case of a family-forming migration.

“Love marriage”, “protection marriage” or “marriage of convenience”⁴, “forced marriage” and “marriage for a particular purpose” are indicated as the notions about the issue of marriage migration in Germany (Guličová – Grethe, 2004, p. 3). However, among these different types, protection marriage or marriage of convenience and forced marriage are discussed more. Also, there are

⁴ "Marriage of convenience" (<http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/l33063.htm>) is defined as "a marriage concluded between a national of a Member State or a third-country national legally resident in a Member State and a third-country national with the sole aim of circumventing the rules on entry and residence of third-country nationals and obtaining for the third-country national a residence permit or authority to reside in a Member State" (Council Resolution 97/C 382/01 of 4 December 1997 cited in Guličová – Grethe, 2004, p. 3)

debates about the traditional behaviours of spouse selection – which mostly refers selecting spouses among country of origin or ‘importing spouses’ (Lievens, 1999) as well as Turkish traditional behaviours of ‘arranging marriages’ or ‘forcing women into marriages’ (Baumgartner-Karabak & Landesberger, 1978; Kelek, 2005)⁵. These claims’ point of origin is mostly based on the ‘religious stance’ of the Turkish people. The last attempt to indicate how ‘Turkish transnational marriages’ are challenging the ‘integration to Germany’ is the published book “Deutschland schafft sich ab”- “Germany does away with itself” of Thilo Sarrazin (2010), a former politician and board member of the German National Bank. He blames “genetic dispositions of Muslim populations” for “arranging marriages with kin (he prefer to use ‘consanguineous marriages’) and “forcing women into marriages” as patterns in the Turkish transnational marriages. However, as Strassburger (2002, p. 214) clarifies even if “transnational marriages are still often kin marriages, kin marriage is only rarely regarded as being a favorite option” and respondents in her research group who are married to kin, “refrain from idealising kin marriage.” Kin is applied for the case of transnational marriages. However, kin can be an intermediary to know the potential spouses and kin marriages do not have to be ‘arranged’ or so called ‘forced’ marriages.

EFNATIS research indicated that “among the German sub-sample, most Turkish respondents had not entered into arranged marriage and this almost certainly reflected the fact that a high proportion of Turkish migrants were self-selected from the more secular, Westernised, ‘non-traditionalistic’ elements of Turkish society (Penn & Lambert, 2009, p. 152). Here, although arrangement is perceived as a traditional pattern, it should be noted that this can also change according to the dynamics that it has during the process. In the cases of arranged marriages, family affect or role of families in the process is directly seen. However, this does not mean that spouses have to marry because of this arrangement. This also can be a meeting method of the spouses. In most of the researches, it is seen that the last words are taken by the women themselves and

⁵ For a detailed review on Turkish women and gendered attempts in a historical perspective, see Chin R. (2011) “Turkish women, west German feminists, and the gendered discourse on Muslim cultural differences “ available at <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2011-07-29-chin-en.html>

they decide to marry if they ‘love’ their ‘potential partners’, or at least if ‘they decide to marry’. In the earlier studies of Fox (1975) he indicates that, “love-match marriages are found among the more modernized segments of the population while arranged marriages are found among the traditional segments.” Hart (2007, p. 354) in contrast to Fox, clarifies that “ the line between how one meets a potential spouse and the sort of relationship which might then follow is complex” and she has developed arguments against Fox’s with showing the marriage patterns of people living in Yuntdağ and Örselli which are villages of Manisa, an Aegean province in Turkey. She argues that “families can also be against the arranged marriages” and even if a marriage is arranged, it can turn to a “love marriage.” In this respect, “the categories of geography (rural/urban), time and development (traditional/modern) should be problematized since they reproduce prejudices of social and economic class” statement is worth to be taken into consideration (Rebhun, 1999; Pigg, 1992 cited in Hart, 2007, p. 355).

The involvement of the discussions on types of marriages necessitates further explanation. As it is mentioned before, this study does not aim to differentiate transnational marriages from each other in the explanation of dynamics in the family-forming migration. Instead, it aims to analyze the patterns according to differences between them, in general. However, it is seen that type of the marriage can be one of the indicators of this study in the explanation of transnational marriages, as a complementary parameter to the levels of education or family influence. It is seen that, more than the type of the marriages, the degree of families’ stance affect the patterns of transnational marriages. In this respect, a love or an arranged marriage can not give us a detailed picture of the underlying causes of the transnational marriages. They necessitate to be taken into consideration as additional parameters.

In a transnational family, perceptions towards gender roles and honour within a marriage can also be shaped by the degree of family affect the roots of which has come from the home country. Transmigrants’ marriages are at the level what Hart (ibid, p. 346) clarifies for that of in Turkish villages: “at the intersection of intimacy, economic and kin ties, evolving gender roles and transforming cultural practices on local, national and global levels.”

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL AND LEGAL BACKGROUND ON FAMILY MIGRATION

3.1. Introduction

Several researches on migration focus on the fact that family migration⁶ is not one of the primary areas of international migration (Kofmann & Meetoo, 2008). The reasons of this are indicated by the IOM report 2008 in detail in addition to the that of Zlotnik's. According to the report, "the dichotomy between the economic and the social spheres in which the economic motivation initiates migration and the family represents the social dimension, often associated with tradition; and especially in Europe, the treatment of family migration in policy terms as a secondary type of migration, viewed initially as an unintended consequence of the stoppage of mass labour migration in the 1970s, and consisting of female dependents joining the male breadwinner as the primary migrant" should be added to two reasons that are indicated by Zlotnik:

The first is that economic theory neglects the family because the activities that take place within it cannot be measured in monetary terms. The second factor is the view that transactions occur between the individual and the state, and this is reinforced by the emphasis on the principal or primary applicant, assumed to be the male head of the household (Zlotnik, 1995 cited in Kofmann & Meetoo 2008, p. 153).

Although family migration as viewed like this, it is obvious that countries have to face it in some time which is shaped according to the their own historical periods. Therefore, in order to understand the dynamics of todays' marriage migration to Germany, there is a need to observe the changes in the historical situation of migration from Turkey to Germany. Turkish migration to Germany started with the labor recruitment process in 1961. This process lasted until

⁶ According to the World Report 2008 of IOM, Family migration is defined within fourth subcategories. It includes, family reunification and family formation (marriage migration) as well as family migration in which entire family migrates and family migration of "sponsored family members who are not necessarily defined as being of the immediate family and constitute discretionary flows." (Kofmann, Meetoo 2008, 156) Since the focus of the study is on the marriage migration, the last two categories are not included to the study.

recruitment came to halt in the early 1970s. However, the halt on recruitment was defined as a failure by the most accounts of the post-war migration to Germany since it was not successful enough to stop completely further immigration (Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2007, p. 13). As to the other European countries, migration from Turkey to Germany continued until 1980s through family reunification. After the family reunification's completion during 1980s, the new form of family migration came to the agenda which is called family formation. The term refers to the marriage of Turks' living in Europe to the spouses from Turkey and subsequently migration of spouses through marriage. It is still most common way for Turks to migrate and perceived as "one of the easiest ways to overcome restrictive immigration policies" (Şen, 2003, p. 211). Since 1970s, other than family-forming migration, politically and economically based emigration by the people having Kurdish origin and also some illegal labor emigration are also indicated as ways of migration from Turkey to Germany (ibid).

Although whole types of migration indicate the whole picture of migration from Turkey to Germany, this study does not carry the aim of focusing all of these. Instead, it is limited to migration histories of family reunification and family formation in order to understand how marriage migration patterns shaped within the historical period of family migration. Therefore, after the definitions of the concepts and their broad meanings in legal documents, their historical process will be analyzed in this chapter.

3.2 Family Reunification

Before the historical situation of family reunification process, there is a need to enlighten the concept of family reunification. The concept of "family reunification" is defined as follows:

"Family reunification" means the entry into and residence in a Member State by family members of a third country national residing lawfully in that Member State in order to preserve the family unit, whether the family relationship arose before or after the resident's entry" (Family Reunification Directive 2003/86/EC, Article 2(d) cited in Kreienbrink & Rühl, 2007, p. 10).

The term refers to the unification of families of "adult first generation immigrants who had married prior to migration" (Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2007, p.12)

or in another words, “the process of bringing in immediate family members (children, spouses and parents and others, where permitted) by the primary migrant” (Kofmann & Meetoo, 2008, p. 155).

Legislation on ‘family reunification’ can be found in different international documents. “International conventions, such as the 1975 ILO Convention No.143 and Article 8 of the European Convention of the Rights of Man, have recognized the right of family reunion on humanitarian and integration grounds, based on an assumption of the family as the natural and fundamental unit of society”⁷ (Palriwala & Uberoi 2008, p. 45). Although it is a universal right, each country has its own legislation for family reunification which may also change through historical period. While the family reunification was governed by the Law on Aliens (Section 17 to 23) until the end of 2004, since 1st January 2005, it is governed by the Residence Act Section 27 to 36 in Germany (Heine, 2005, p. 2). According to Residence Act, subsequent immigration of dependents and to join German nationals and subsequent immigration of dependents to join foreigners are different from each other (ibid). Since the purpose of this study is to focus on families having Turkish origin, it focuses on the subsequent immigration of dependents to join their Turkish spouses. Therefore the rules for foreigners are taken into consideration in the explanation of several family reunification legislations. It should also be noted that because the concepts “‘family reunification’ and ‘subsequent immigration’ are used synonymously in Germany” (Kreinbrink & Rühl, 2007, p. 10) they are used interchangeably in this study, as well.

Family reunification may have different meanings for both home and destination countries. As Palriwala and Uberoi (2008, p. 45) indicate, the governments of destination countries are anxious in some level since “procedures of family ‘sponsorship’ may be a means of entry for what they deem to be purely ‘economic’ migration”, which brings chain migration. Therefore, individual states search for minimizing the entrance to the country by their immigration rules and procedures (ibid). In this context, basic requirements of the host countries for the family reunification can be perceived as the

⁷ In order to see the discussions on the related articles of 1975 ILO Conventions, articles of Jastram (2003) and Sassen (1999) can be seen as indicated by Palriwala and Uberoi. (2008)

country's way of restricting immigration. According to Residence Act, basic requirements for the family reunification to join a foreigner are stated as follows:

For the purposes of subsequent immigration to join a foreigner, the foreigner must possess a settlement permit or a residence permit and sufficient living space must be available. (Residence Act, Section 29 (1). Further requirements are that the foreigner's livelihood is secure and that not grounds of expulsion apply. (Residence Act, Section 5 (1), no.1 and subsection 1, no.2)

It should also be considered that there is an internationally recognized right to family unity, as declared in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights art. 16 (3)⁸ and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights articles 17⁹ and 23¹⁰. Family unity is a principle while family reunification is 'considered the means of implementation of such a principle' (Lahav, 1997, p. 360). Also, family unification indicates the mobility of people between states and "under general international law it is merely a policy the force of which is vague and undefined — in effect, a right of unity without a clear means of executing it" (Anderfuhren-Wayne, 1996, p. 351).

Jastram (2003) also focuses on the difference between family unity and family reunification. According to her, "in the migration context, family unity covers issues related to admission, stay, and expulsion and it can also have a more specific meaning relating to constraints on state discretion to separate an existing intact family through the expulsion of one of its members" (ibid). She clarifies that in contrast to family unity, "family reunification, or reunion, refers to the efforts of family members already separated by forced or voluntary migration to regroup in a country other than their country of origin, and so implicates state discretion over admission" (ibid).

Although there is a considerable place for 'family' in international legal documents, Sherlock (2009, p. 233) claims that "the reality of placing conditions on family's rights to reunify is in clear contrast to the significance attached to the family in international human rights law." The statement of Sherlock refers

⁸ "The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and found a family shall be recognized"

⁹ "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family [...]"

¹⁰ "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state"

to the restrictions on family reunification which are done by the receiving countries. Demleitner (2003) indicates concerns of receiving countries towards immigration¹¹ as well as benefits from it. She summarizes the reasons of receiving countries' restrictive policies as "overpopulation and environmental degradation; economic worries, especially in times of high unemployment; the destruction of culture through the admission of immigrants who cannot or do not want to assimilate; the retention of the primary language through the influx of one large group of immigrants with a different primary language; the destruction of the welfare system because immigrants disproportionately rely on it; and fears that foreign terrorists may be able to enter and remain in the country as migrants" (Demleitner 2003, p. 293). Gonzalez-Ferrer (2007, p. 11) also claims that "family reunification is commonly viewed as a major threat for the success of immigration policies in most European countries." When immigrant population is perceived as a threat (Çiçekli, 1996, p. 291) "in the political arena, efforts to modify the role of family reunification in immigration policy are often viewed as efforts to modify the ethnic composition of the current immigrant population"¹² (Motomura, 1995, pp. 541-542).

As benefits of family reunification for the receiving countries; first, Demleitner (2003) mentions the importance of the supporting family reunification and protections for married couples and families for the receiving countries since they are widely recognized by the international human rights law. Second, she emphasizes on the countries' advantageous positions with admitting close family members of migrants since they are easing the integration process and providing migrants to establish themselves in the host country. Third, she clarifies that when the secure situation of migrants is established by themselves, legal or illegal family unification is facilitated. Therefore, this "generous and speedy family unification can help prevent, or at least decrease, large-scale undocumented migration" (ibid, pp. 294-295).

¹¹ Demleitner focuses on the restrictive trends of receiving countries towards immigration. Since she emphasizes on the family reunification, these can also be read as the countries' concerns towards family reunification.

¹² Çiçekli also adds 'family formation' to this discussion, since receiving countries have restrictive policies towards family migration in general (see Çiçekli, 1996, p. 291).

3.3 Family Formation

Family reunification and family formation are differentiated from each other in terms of several sides. Family formation is defined in the literature as marriage with a partner from the country of origin (home country) which continues with the migration of the foreign spouse to the country of destination (receiving country). While family reunification can be perceived as one of the ways of 'primary migration' (since it refers to the first generation immigrants), 'family formation' can be seen differently. Çiçekli, (1996, p. 288), "in terms of its structural characteristics", considers 'family formation', "within the bounds of 'secondary migration' in that it requires the existence of someone already living in the receiving country."

It should be taken into account that "for non-EU foreigners who wish to migrate to Germany and do not have close family members already there, marrying a resident of Germany has been virtually the only way to gain legal entry since the stop of recruitment in 1973" (Kalter & Schroedter, 2010, p. 15). When the family reunification process has come to an end with the completion of the process in the late 1980s, family formation gained importance. "In case of marriage to a German, an EU citizen, or to an immigrant possessing a full employment permit, the partner from abroad also obtains temporary residence and an employment permit" (Kalter & Schroedter, 2010, p. 15). As a result, a transnational marriage (*aim of which can be to take residence permit or employment permit*) may serve as a means to circumvent restrictive immigration policies (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007; Hooghiemstra, 2001 cited in Kalter & Schroedter, 2010, p. 15). Here, it is obvious that transnational marriage or marriage migration directly refers to the family formation. It should be added that family formation also has a second type which "involves permanent residents or citizens bringing in a partner they have met while abroad for work, study or holiday" (Kofman & Meetoo, 2008, p. 155). Since "the marriage is a secondary effect of the reason for going abroad" (ibid) and it does not directly refer to the study's research focus, this case is not included to the study.

For the formation of families, other than necessary preconditions of the sponsor to fulfill in the receiving countries as indicated under the legislations on the 'family reunification', "family member (who migrates) passing a prior

language test and the obligation to participate in integration measures” (ibid, p. 159) also exists.

Çiçekli (1996) focuses on the Germany’s receive over the past years thousands of refugees, ethnic Germans and temporary workers of all sorts in contrast to its restrictive attitude towards immigration of second generation’s new spouses and claims that “the restrictive control on family formation of, particularly Turks are viewed as justified in order to put under control of the ethnic composition of the Turkish population in Germany (Çiçekli, 1996, p. 299).

For the cases of family-forming migration in Europe, there are several issues discussed especially in 1990s and 2000s by several writers. To understand the patterns of Turkish family-forming migration to Germany, some of them are utilized for this study. For instance, while Lievens (1999) has discussed the preferences of spouses from the country of origin, in the case of family-forming migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium, Strassburger (2002) has focused on transnational or interethnic marriages of Turkish migrants in Germany with particular emphasis on the dynamics of Turkish family-forming migration from the perspective of “structural or social influences” on transnational marriages in addition to the “degree of religiosity.” Considering these, I find contribution of Strassburger more determinant to this study than that of Lieven’s. The reason of utilization from these studies is that they have complementary patterns for my study. Although I try to understand the dynamics that is rooted in the values and structures in the home country, these, most of the time are intermingled with the patterns in the host country.

The common factor in these two studies in the explanation of family-forming migration is ‘gender’. Lievens mostly concentrates on the analysis of ‘culturalist approaches’ while discussing the patterns of spouse selection from country of origin. He explains the reason of preference of partners from country of origin for women with the will to be ‘more independent’ since they would be knowing the country and language better than their spouses and spouses at the first time and links this to the ‘patrilocal tradition’ exists in Turkish culture. Besides, he explains the underlying cause of the spouse selection from country of origin for men, as ‘they want to avoid marrying an emancipated woman

grown up in Germany' (Strassburger, 2002, p. 206) and 'he can confirm his traditional power within the household and fulfill the patrilocal tradition' (Lievens, 1999, p. 729). In contrast to Lievens, Strassburger does not denote the preferences in such culturalist stances; more than this, she discusses the determinants of transnational marriages with additional points such as "structural and demographic factors, social and cultural resources and individual preferences." Within her own case study, firstly, she indicated that women in Germany organised their marriages individually according to their own preferences and their marriages were not arranged as mostly indicated in literature. Secondly, she focused that there is an imbalanced sex ratio¹³ of Turkish population in Germany which "makes it much more difficult for men than for women to fulfill their wishes and therefore, individual preferences of second-generation men seem to be much less important than often assumed" (Strassburger, 2002, p. 209). Thirdly, she designated the role of social networks on transnational marriages as a facilitating tool to "get known to potential marriage partners in Germany and Turkey." Although there is an accepted discourse that "transnational marriages are often kin marriages" (ibid, p. 214), she shared that 'refraining from idealizing kin marriages' is mostly seen in her research group and application to kin is seen only for "providing opportunities to meet potential spouses" (ibid). The importance of Strassburger's findings for this study comes from her analyses on these different parameters. Although she accepts that "religion obviously matters" for finding spouses or preference of spouses from country of origin, "it does not matter in every case and structural and social influences always have to be considered, in addition" (ibid, p. 223).

To return my study again, I can say that arguments of Lievens in some level exist in my research group especially in kin marriages. However, these do not constitute my whole cases. Kin is mostly applied in my cases since it brings

¹³ She used unbalanced sex ratio in Germany (one hundred unmarried Turkish men are matched by only 48 unmarried women, according to the taken information from Federal Statistics Office, 1996) to explain number of weddings within the migrant population. She indicates that "Turkish-Turkish weddings within the migrants population - registered in German registry offices or in Turkish consulates in Germany- represent only 28,7 percent in the male, but 40,5 percent in the female population" and this may be because the fact that "while women may easily find marriage partners within the migrant population, men are faced with a skewed ethnic marriage market in Germany"(Strassburger, 2002, p. 202-203)

familiarity to spouses or provides the space to introduce spouses each other. Other than the intermediary of social networks including kin, individual preferences of both women and men in the home country exist in my case, as well. Because my aim is to analyze patterns, I do not include demographic ratios in detail. However, it should also be considered that to marry spouses from country of origin is seen both among women and men, it cannot be denoted to men's behaviours on 'importing brides' from Turkey. To conclude, whole these constitute the whole picture of the family-forming migration and applying 'culturalist approaches' to analyze patterns of family-forming migration from Turkey to Germany cannot indicate the whole picture. From this side, next part turn its attention to my methodology that I used in my research, and then, findings taken from the field research in explaining patterns of family-forming migration considering several sides are discussed.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers three parts. Firstly, I will give detailed information on my research method. Then, I will explain my research field and process. Lastly, I will indicate the limitations of the study.

4.2 Research Method

During this study, a desk-top review and in-depth interview¹⁴ techniques were used. Within the desk-top review, a literature review was done on the topics of migration, transnationalism and family in order to provide a background for the field research and thesis. For this aim, previous researches on marriage migration, related statistics, articles, newspapers and books were read and analyzed.

For the in-depth interview technique, a semi-structured questionnaire was used. I identified the questions into four headings: 1) questions on socio-demographic background; 2) questions on the family background and perceptions of respondents' families towards their marriage; 3) questions on the process of marriage / relation¹⁵ to a spouse and plans for migration; 4) questions on the perceptions of European citizenship, religion, ethnicity and language policy as well as perceptions of honor and the country of destination. There are several reasons for using in-depth interview techniques. First, there are so many people experiencing marriage migration within the family formation system. My aim is only hearing their own words about their own experience without coming to a generalization like in quantitative analysis. Second, my research group only gives information about the interviewees who came to Ankara for the German exam. Also, as Johnson (2002) discussed in detail, in-depth interview

¹⁴ Interview questions are given in Appendix A.

¹⁵ Since some of the interviewees were fiancées by the time of the interview, instead of marriage, the term relation was used.

technique is appropriate in order to get closer to the respondent through her/his personal experiences and opinions and gives opportunity to ask sensitive questions. Since personal experiences are differentiated from each other, sometimes I asked open-ended questions and when I felt that the respondents are in difficulty where to start, I enabled them to feel free during the interview. This provided me to get closer to the respondents and take more detailed answers. In this respect, in-depth interview technique was influential method for my study.

4.3 Research Field and Research Process

I selected Ankara as a research site in terms of several reasons. In the literature review phase of the thesis, I learned the necessity of basic German knowledge for the candidates of family forming migration according to Language Legislation of Germany which was adopted in 2007. According to the legislation, taking the ‘Start Deutsch 1’ language certificate which is defined by the ‘Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment’ is a must to prove this basic German knowledge. Since Goethe Institute is the most appropriate and professional institution for teaching German and the only institution for giving an internationally valid German certificate, most of the people going there.

However, Goethe Institutes are only in 3 biggest provinces in Turkey; İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. When I realized that there are diverse groups of people from the different parts of country who came for getting this certificate because Goethe does not exist in their provinces, I started to think about conducting my field research in Ankara with these people. Also, the people coming to Ankara are mostly from the Central and Eastern Anatolia where the dynamics of the marriages in terms of regional and cultural backgrounds are differentiated from that of the Aegean and Marmara Regions as well as each other’s. However, it was necessary to get official permissions for such a research. Then, I talked with the Director of Language Courses, Heidi Trapmann-Klönne in order to get permission. At first, she said that there are three academic researches conducted for different universities and one another research can disturb people because of asking approximately the same private questions about their marriages. Then, she suggested me to do my research with

the people who are going to the ‘Individual Advisory Office’ within Goethe. Since other people out of Goethe Institute and whose aim are to family-forming migration also coming there to ask their individual German questions for the exam, she thought this may not disturb them. Therefore, I talked with Tahir Deveci, who gives German lectures in the ‘Individual Advisory Office’ as a professional German lecturer and got his permission as well. In short, considering the language legislation, my focus turned to the language courses in which I believe I can find appropriate research group for my study. Then, Individual Advisory Office within Goethe Institute Ankara supported my research.

My second reason for choosing Ankara instead of İzmir and İstanbul is that, I live in Ankara and at the time of the research I had been going to Goethe Institute, Ankara since approximately half a year. Therefore, it was easier for me to get in touch with the people in Goethe Institute, Ankara. Also, I should add that ‘Individual Advisory Office’ of Goethe Institute exists only in Ankara and there is a possibility of taking rejection for my research in İstanbul and İzmir again due to the other researches conducted with the people in Goethe. It would have been a time loss for me, at the end. Therefore, I started my field work in Goethe Institute, Ankara in December 2010 and it lasted until April 2011.

In the scope of field work, in-depth interviews were conducted with 21 people. In order to add a gender perspective to the research, interviews with 10 men and 11 women were held. 7 of them were from Ankara. Others’ cities were Mersin, Erzincan, Niğde, Mardin, Kırşehir, İzmit, Yozgat, Kırıkkale Nevşehir, Çorum, Kocaeli and Karaman. While 12 of them had urban background, 9 of them had rural background. The interviewees also had diverse backgrounds in terms of education and work status.¹⁶

The interviewees were selected randomly. 12 of the interviewees were selected among people who were going to the ‘Individual Advisory Office.’ However, these people were going there in order to study and ask their questions about German. The instructor Tahir Deveci was asking them whether they would like to join a research or not. Then, the research was conducted with the people

¹⁶ Socio- demographic data of the respondents are given in Appendix B.

who were willing to join my research. It was not guaranteed that I would find any people when I went there. In this process, Tahir Deveci suggested me to involve other language courses to my research since there are also some people going there for preparing German exam and they may be suitable for my research focus. Therefore, I added Active German courses and Alman Bookstore to my research site within the taken permissions as well. Thanks to these, 7 people from Active Language Courses and 2 people from Alman Bookstore were involved to the research. However, it should be said that among 21 people 2 of them were not candidates for family formation. They were the candidates' spouses living in Germany. They were in Turkey in order to help their spouses in the German learning process. I added them to my research group even if the number of them is restricted with 2. In this respect, my research group who are on the way to experience transnational marriages through migration, consists of 19 people among 10 are women and 9 are men.

Each interview lasted from 45 to 90 minutes depending on the answers' detail of the interviewees. Since we met before and after their lectures I was always asking whether they have enough time or not. In the cases of time inefficiency in the first meeting, we rescheduled the interview time together. I took their telephones and called them at the time that they suggested. While the interviews with people from Goethe Institute were conducted in the cafes close to Goethe Institute, interviews with people from Active Language Courses and Alman Bookstore were conducted in the classes of these language courses. It is because Goethe Institute did not allow having a research within Goethe in order not to disturb people who are mostly chosen as research group in comparison to people in other language courses.

I used a tape-recorder during the interview. However, I also took notes at the same time due to the high volume of music that we had to face in the most of the cafes. When I asked them whether they would be disturbed by the presence of a tape-recorder, 2 of the women wanted me to take notes only. Besides, one woman was disturbed by the presence of tape-recorder especially while she was talking about honor. Then, I stopped the tape-recorder and continued to take notes only. I should add that conducting the research with people who are going language courses eased my work thanks to my familiarity to the difficulties of

learning German as well. Besides, it enabled me to establish friendships with some women interviewees since before and after interviews we studied German, together. In these times, since the interviewees' ages were close to me, they felt confident and told more about their private lives towards their marriages although they had not told this during the interview. In this respect, established friendships provide me to understand and analyze their experiences in detail which I saw as a contribution to my research.

Except one particular case, the interviews were comfortable. This case occurred at the beginning of the study. Since I got permission for the research with the people from Goethe Institute 'Individual Advisory Office', I had started my research in the café of the Institute which is in the building of Goethe. It was also confident for the respondents. However, during my third interview, the Director of the Language Courses came to me and told about the people's annoyance that were around us. She shared their questions towards the research and suggested me to conduct my research outside the Goethe. As I pointed, Goethe is more sensitive to this kind of things due to the frequency of the researches conducted about marriage migration. Of course, it was my failure not to ask about the research site at the beginning. At the end, she again, shared her pleasure about the research and supported me.

4.4. Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study are based on the time and finance inefficiency in general. Since I aimed to understand patterns of transnational marriages from the perspective of the candidates of family formation, I included them to the study as a research group. However, it would be more beneficial for the study to include the families and spouses of the candidates to the study. As I indicated before, families have the most important role in the process of transnational marriages. If I had talked to the families of the respondents, I could have analyzed the position of the families in the formation of transnational marriages more detailed. Since most of my respondents had been coming from the Central and Eastern part of the Turkey, it would have been very difficult to find and talk to families. In parallel to this, most of the spouses of my respondents were living in Germany. I wish I had opportunity to conduct the

complementary research in Germany with the respondents' spouses in order to include their perceptions towards their spouses' transnational marriage and other issues as indicated in detail. Due to the time and finance inefficiency, I have limited my study with the only candidates of family formation who are on the way of migration. My second limitation is rooted from my research site. Since I restricted my research site within Ankara, my research group enabled me only to reach 21 people.

As it is discussed, in İzmir and İstanbul, there are also Goethe Institutes which include the same research group. I preferred to conduct a research in Ankara thanks to my familiarity to the people in language courses. However, inclusion of İzmir and İstanbul would give me a chance to compare and contrast the patterns of transnational marriages according to the region because most of the family formation candidates living in Aegean and Marmara regions go to these big cities to get language certificate. Due to the time and finance inefficiency, they were also not included to study as research sites.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIETAL FACTORS THAT AFFECT MARRIAGE MIGRATION

5.1 Dissatisfaction from the Living Conditions in the Home Country

Dissatisfaction from the living conditions in Turkey is one of the structural factors that lead potential migrants to have several expectations from their migration. Although this study assumes that each migrant has her/his own individual reason to be the part of a marriage migration, their living conditions in Turkey should also be taken into consideration in order to have a whole picture in their marriage migration. Living conditions are affected by education level and employment status, in general. Education level in some level affects the employment status as well. However for my research group higher or lower education levels do not create considerable differences in having better employment status. Instead, most of the respondents are unemployed despite their high education levels. According to the statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute, unemployment rate in Turkey is 10, 8 percent in March 2011. However, this rate is at its peak in Central Anatolia – the region, which informants in my research group mostly had come from. Correspondingly, among 15 of respondents in my research group (which is 21 in total) who had come from Central Anatolia, the number of unemployed ones are 8, as it is indicated in Appendix B. While 2 of them are men, remaining 6 is women. Whole of these 8 respondents had claimed that they were not working at the time of the interview due to the necessity of coming Ankara to go to a language course. Since they change their cities for some time, they had to quit their jobs. However, most of them had worked in temporary jobs in the service sector before. In this respect, dissatisfaction from living conditions in Turkey takes root from their employment status.

In the cases of men who had temporary jobs before and were not working at the time of the interview, mostly shared their beliefs on earning more money

in Germany. In most of the cases, they know the employment opportunities and work atmosphere in Germany which they perceive as more advantageous than that of Turkey. In that sense, they believe that they would be more satisfied from the conditions there. For instance:

I'm not working at the moment. I have worked as a waiter in a restaurant in Istanbul. Of course, I will work in Germany but I am not familiar with there, I can't anticipate what kind of a job, probably I work as a waiter again or I look for another job in the food sector. To tell the truth, I look for the salary which brings more money, I go there and work. I heard that the people do not work at the weekends in Germany and they stop working early in the evenings. They cannot exceed forty hours of work as far as I know. There are places working for 70 hours in our country. However, if German companies have overtime work, they give much money. [S. Tarık, 31 years old, still attending open-high school, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Karaman)]

As in the case of Tarık, having temporary job status in Turkey lead him to have economic plans towards Germany. Temporary job status of men give them a reason for migration: they can take the risk of migration because there is a possibility for earning more money in Germany. Also, in the case of a permanent job status, dissatisfaction from living conditions in Turkey is also seen. In these cases, the target is saving money and returning Turkey after enough savings:

I have been working as a cook for a long time. I have developed my skills in the food sector. I am not working at the moment because of attending to the course. I'm definitely planning to work in Germany; I hope that I find a job in the food sector. I would like to return Turkey if I can earn money as much as I want. I would stay in Turkey for six months, stay in Germany for the other six. For example, if I had income for 4000 Turkish liras in a month, I would again come to Turkey.[M. Kadri, 28 years old, high school graduate, cook), has an urban background (Kırıkkale)]

In the case of men's migration, the focus on their spouses' employment status or their regular lives is obvious. The irregularity of the lives of men in terms of city where they live or jobs that they have in Turkey, lead them to take migration decision. In every case, it is obvious that they can change their lives; they have no proper jobs, no regular lives in one side. On another side, a developed country is there with its economic opportunities. In this respect, there is nothing to do other than to migrate. As Levent states:

We decided to live in Germany instead of Turkey since I do not have a proper job in Turkey. My spouse has a proper job in Germany; she works as a

business executive. Therefore, we thought that it would be better for us to live there. I do not earn money, I am not working now. However, I worked two times in foreign trade sector. I am planning to work in Germany. I have training education, I can work as a teacher, but I can also work in foreign trade sector. [A. Levent, 29 years old, university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

For the cases of women, situation is different than that of men. The reason behind this is that dissatisfaction from living conditions is perceived differently for women and men. In that sense, the level of influence from being unemployed or having temporary jobs status creates differences for women and men, as well. Firstly, women are not defined within their employment status, instead, they are defined with roles in the private sphere. In this respect, sometimes women internalize their unemployed status, resulting from ‘traditional and patriarchal gender roles’ both coming from the effect of ‘father’ and ‘husband.’ In the examples below, while first woman internalizes her restriction about employment coming from her father’s stance, the second woman, even if she wants to work, ready to accept her husband’s restriction on her work status due to the ‘internalization of gender roles’:

I have lastly graduated from secondary school. Because I have not completed my education, I’m not working. I would have worked probably if I had completed my education. Girls do not work in my hometown, none of our girl relatives is working. My father doesn’t trust on men. Because of that reason he doesn’t let me work. [F. Feraye, 19 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (township in Mardin)]

I’m not working at the moment. I have quit working after I have married, due to the will of my spouse. Priorily, I was working in a cosmetics-jewelry shop at Maltepe as a sales assistant. In fact, I want to work abroad. However my spouse doesn’t want me to work. I am obliged to listen to him. [D. Nuran. 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

In the cases of women who had worked prior to the language course, their jobs were mostly temporary. Besides, although they share their will on working in the host country, in contrast to men, they are not sure about what to do in Germany.

I graduated from the primary school. I couldn’t go to school because of the financial reasons. But I wished too much. I have done baby sitting before and dealt with the sewery of the curtains in the confection. I’m thinking on working in Germany but I don’t know what kind of work I do. [İ. Gülcan, 25

years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (Gölcük-İzmit)]

I was working in a store but I have quited it in order to come the course. After going to Germany, I want to learn the language there and graduate from high school and then I want to work there. [Q. Fatoş, 18 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

Similar to the above cases, other two women were not working at the time of the interview. However they are different than above cases since they target to find jobs in Germany according to their interests and education.

I graduated from Kırşehir University Vocational High School Grafic Department. Previously, I have worked in a clothing store. I'm not working at the moment. I can work in Germany if I can find a job related to my profession. [(J. Berrin, 20 years old, vocational high school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

I'm not working at the moment. Previously, I have worked both in a private company in the public relations field and OSYM. I would definitely like to work related to my profession in Germany. [(G. Türkan, 28 years old, open-university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

Among women respondents the only woman who clarified that 'she is working' at the time of the interview and who was sure about her working status in Germany thanks to her competence is Elvan. Elvan (R. 33 years old, vocational school graduate, and dressmaker) who has a rural background (a village in Çorum) says that:

I have my own needlework store. I am good at in needlework, I have profession education on this subject. I am planning to do the same job when I go to Germany.

Narratives of women designate that their employment status are not only shaped by their own decisions like men's. They are sometimes restricted by the patriarchal rules of their families or husbands. However, in any case their priorities are not towards being employed or not. It is seen that 'being not active in the labor market' is like an internalization for them. Only, levels of education and competence provide women to consider employment status in my research group. In contrast to the cases of women, almost all of the men respondents had focused on their dissatisfaction from living conditions in Turkey which mostly refers to their lives' irregularity or their temporary employment status. Also, for the cases of men, levels of education do not create a difference on their

migration decision; dissatisfaction from living conditions in Turkey is seen among men with both high and low education levels. The main reason behind this is the societal perceptions towards men's work: they have the role as 'breadwinners' and they have to work not the women. In this respect, both having temporary jobs and being unemployed as indicators of dissatisfaction from living conditions in Turkey are driving forces behind men's (marriage) migration decisions.

5.2 Restrictive Immigration Policies in Germany

International migration policies include "laws, rules, measures, and practices implemented by national states to influence the volume, origin and internal composition of immigration flows" (Czaika M. & Haas de H., 2011, p. 5). While the "volume refers to the objectives to increase or reduce migration flows or to maintain them on similar levels, the origin pertains to policies intended to change the composition of migrant flows in terms of countries (or regions) of origin and the internal composition of flows relates to the frequent objective to increase or decrease particular categories of migrants, either irrespective of or in conjunction with national origin criteria" (ibid). For the case of Germany, general tendency to influence these three parameters – volume, origin and internal composition of immigration flows – can be interpreted as tendency to decrease Turkish immigration flows. Controlling Turkish immigration to Germany include several dimensions. First can be indicated as closing other ways of legal immigration and permitting family formation (or marriage to a resident of Germany) as the only way for the legal entrance of the country for non-EU members (Kalter & Schroedter, 2010, p. 15). Although it is permitted to enter the country via family formation, the restrictions towards family formation also continue to increase, which constitutes the second dimension of the controlling Turkish immigration. As Çiçekli (1996, p. 299) reminds us, "Germany had received over the past years, thousands of refugees, ethnic Germans and temporary workers of all sorts in contrast to its restrictive attitude towards immigration of second generation's new spouses." Çiçekli (ibid) also claims that "the restrictive control on family formation of, particularly Turks is viewed as justified in order to put under control of the ethnic

composition of the Turkish population in Germany.” Since restrictions towards Turkish immigration are two-fold as mentioned above, firstly policies related to the close of several ways of immigration and then, policies linked to control the family formation are discussed.

Turkish labor migration to Germany has come to end in 1973 with the halt on labor recruitment. Most of the scholars and policy makers argue that economic recession faced in 1973 was the main reason for halting labor recruitment, based on the fact that labor migration which was mostly thought of as a temporary phenomenon turned to semi-permanent phenomenon (Meyers, 2007, p. 164). However, there are also some scholars who perceive Germany’s reason of 1973 oil embargo as a ‘convenient excuse’ (Martin, 1995, p. 202) to stop the recruitment. As Martin states in detail:

The government used the October 1973 oil embargo to announce a ban on the further recruitment of guestworkers. The November 1973 ban was justified in terms of the OPEC oil embargo which allegedly threatened to provoke an economic recession and rising unemployment throughout the industrial countries, making additional migrants unnecessary. However, German employers whose requests for new migrants were thus blocked thought that the government had simply found a convenient excuse to halt the immigration that was troubling German voters (1995:202).

Whatever the reason it was, the halt was based on the “growing permanency of the immigrants” (Meyers 2007, 164) and achieved at the end. Although labor migration is stopped through legal ways, Western governments “continued to issue new work permits to low-skilled immigrants and used family reunification as an alternative channel for ‘importing’ migrant labour” (SOPEMI reports 1974–1980 cited in Czaika M. & Haas de H. 2011, p. 7). However, family reunification has come to end during 1980s again (Şen, 2003, p. 211). Because of the continuation of “building numerous walls to protect Fortress Europe” (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007, p. 278), other ways to enter the country started to be searched. Although Hatton (2004, cited in Czaika M & Haas de H. 2011, p. 9) reminds us that the concept “Fortress Europe may be an adequate metaphor to characterize policies towards asylum seekers and refugees”, when last legislations of Germany such as introducing language tests and income criteria are considered, it can also be perceived as Germany tries to protect ‘Fortress

Europe'¹⁷ and restrict the ways of family formation although it is the only way of legal entry to the country.

Whereas income criteria is targeted to the foreign resident in Germany, language tests criteria is targeted to the spouse in the home country. The government of Germany has changed its Residence Act resulting from the Guidelines Implementation Act in 2007. Within this Act, Germany has amended its law related to foreigners which includes several changes on several topics including language criteria in the event of the 'subsequent immigration of spouses' from abroad. In order to inform potential migrants about the changes in the legislation, Germany's Federal Office for Migration and Refugees published an information leaflet on "evidence of basic knowledge of the German language in the event of the subsequent immigration of spouses from abroad" in 19 languages.¹⁸ This leaflet summarizes the German Residence Act's parts for family forming migration and necessities of it in terms of German language.

Basis on the German Residence Act Section 28 and 30, and German Ordinance Act Section 41, the leaflet of Federal Office informed that demonstration of a basic knowledge of German before the entrance to the country is a must for the people who aim to move Germany for marriage purposes. The basic knowledge of German, for the Act in general, is based on the Common European Framework which "serves the overall aim of the Council of Europe as defined in Recommendations R (82)18 and R (98) 6 of the Committee of Ministers: 'to achieve greater unity among its members' and to pursue this aim 'by the adoption of common action in the cultural field' (Language Policy Division, Council of Europe 2001, p. 2) and it refers to the knowledge of the German language at Competence Level A1 of the Common

¹⁷ Here, it should be noted that Czaika M. and Haas de H. (2011, p. 9) reminds us "over the 1970s and 1980s, many European countries facilitated family immigration by liberalizing entry rules and giving family migrants quicker access to labour markets and permanent residence." However, in order to understand how policies had changed with a restrictive stance towards family migration (above mentioned rules were adopted for family reunification, however language and income criteria in today's Germany targeted to the other ways of family migration especially family formation), language and income criteria should be mentioned.

¹⁸ This information leaflet is available on http://www.integration-in-deutschland.de/cln_116/nn_490248/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Integration/Publikationen/Sonstige/familiennachzug-flyer-en.html

European Framework of Reference for languages (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2009)

In order to prove this competency, candidates for family formation should have “Start Deutsch 1” issued by Goethe –Institut or by telc GmbH, “Grundstufe Deutsch 1” issued by the Österreichisches Sprachdiplom (ÖSD) and “TestDaF” issued by the TestDaF Institut e.V (ibid). However, most of the people prefer to go Goethe-Institut to take “Start Deutsch 1” Certificate. It should be added that although requirement for German is perceived as a way for integration by Germany authorities, it is criticized by Turkish authorities since it is compulsory and perceived as a legislation which is against human rights.¹⁹

Czaika M. and Haas de H. (2011, p. 22) discuss the effectiveness of the policies on controlling migration. They claim that “a migration policy which aims, for the ‘reduction of marriage migration’, often consists of a package of laws, regulations and measures, however “some of them may be very effective and others not at all, or might even have opposite effects.”

As indicated above, Germany’s Language Legislation is one of the policies aim of which is making family formation difficult or more than this – is restricting the entrance of the spouses. For the discussion of the policy’s possibility to have opposite effects, the affect of this legislation on the potential migrants should be added. In this respect, I will indicate the findings of my field research which include the respondent’s perceptions on this legislation.

5.2.1 Perceptions towards Language Legislation of Germany

Language legislation of Germany which is mentioned above is like a ‘challenge’ for family-forming migration candidates. Within this legislation, they realize that they can not enter Germany without passing “Start Deutsch 1” exam. Why I argue this process as a challenge for them has two reasons. Firstly, due to this legislation, they experience the difficulties of ‘transnational families.’ Sometimes it takes more than months for candidates to pass this exam. Studying

¹⁹ In order to see that day’s Turkish Foreign Minister’s (and today’s president of the Republic) Abdullah Gül’s ideas on the law, see <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,475839,00.html>

exam individually is not enough to pass it for most of the people. In that sense, they prefer to go to language courses. Although 3 of the respondents in my research group were not going to the language courses due to economic inefficiencies, most of them were going different courses to pass the exam. Because it takes time, in these cases, they have to be far away from their spouses who are waiting them in Germany. Secondly, most of the people came Ankara only for the purpose of learning German or more than this, to enroll for a German course. In this respect, learning German refers not only to the ‘learning process,’ but also to the process of coming Ankara, due to the absence of the internationally recognized language courses in their cities. Moreover, since a basic German course takes at least two months, they have to stay in Ankara. Therefore, they mostly stay in hotels or dormitories in Ankara. Quitting their jobs in the cities where they live is also seen. These two factors constitute the modifications that they had done in their lives for the purpose of learning German before their migration. In these cases, the tendency is towards rejecting the necessity of learning and proving basic German knowledge prior to their migration, which is rooted in their rejection to the difficulties of being transnational families and changes in their lives. When the process of being away from their spouses is postponed due to the necessity of proving German which brings staying in Ankara more, perceptions of rejection of the law is affected by their own community in their cities since they label their processes as ‘unachieved migration.’ However, in some cases rejection of the language law directly comes from their perception of the law as a ‘restriction towards the entrance of Turks to Germany.’ For instance;

Here, we learn German. I heard that, after going there, we will learn German approximately 600 hours, again. In my opinion, either they end here or end the necessity of learning there. They have made our settlement more difficult than before. They do this in order not to accept us to Germany. You couldn’t pass the exam in the second trial, never you could pass it, what will happen then, couldn’t we go there anyway? They can give three chances to be used there, if the result is negative, they can send the immigrant back, they shouldn’t make us lose time here. Many Turkish citizens learnt German there. I also would prefer learning German there. They would accept us like they had done before by not conditioning anyway. [D. Nuran, 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

Similar to the narrative of Nuran, Nergis also rejects the law. Her reason is rooted in the difficulties of learning German in the home country as well as difficulties of ‘being a transnational family:’

In fact, I get angry to that they bring the condition of German to us. We cannot speak the language already, how we can learn it? I must learn German there. My spouse teaches me there. One gets upset because of being away from each other, I haven’t known before that being together was that difficult. [C. Nergis, 29 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Erzincan)]

The other woman’s, Nermin’s rejection of the law has two different reasons. Firstly, she complains about the long process of experiencing the difficulties of ‘being a transnational family.’ This difficulties are indicated by her words with emphasizing on her lonely process and lack of ‘emotional support’ (Baldassar, 2007) across borders as well as on her influence of her own community in her city who claim that her migration is ‘unachieved:’

Now, I’m too tired, in deed. I get too much tired mentally, my spouse is not with me. I’m dealing with everything by myself. He cannot give his support to me far from here. Also, there’s the gossip when I go to the village, nobody knows about the exam, they ask why I had not gone already. I want to have my own family, home. I would like to continue the course after going to Germany. I heard that it’s already free there. I want to go there without the necessity of German, necessity of going a language course. Meanwhile, we have to come to the course in order to learn the language. I’m against this law. [E. Nermin, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde)]

Her second reason is based on the changes that she had done for the learning and proving of basic German knowledge. In her narrative, change refers to the process that she had experienced to come to Ankara from Niğde for the purpose of following a language course:

You don’t have your family in Ankara. Coming to Ankara from Niğde and going back there is a problem, you come here just for a piece of paper. At last, you understand the language but you cannot pass the exam. You should definitely pass it. On that occasion, they should open these courses in all of the cities, then. They make us lose time. [E. Nermin, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde)]

Changes in the lives of the respondents, as being one parameter of the rejection of the law, are reflected in the words of Fatoş, as quitting her job for a while:

I was working in a supermarket previously. However I quitted my job for the course. I get angry with this law because it brings the condition of coming to the course. I was earning money though it wasn't much. Now my life is full of this course. What happens if we learn it after we go there? [(Q. Fatoş, 18 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara))]

As it is seen above, rejection of the necessity of learning and proving German before migration, because of the perception of this as a 'restrictive attitude of Germany' and experiences of the difficulties rooting in being 'transnational families' as well as the changes in their lives such as coming to Ankara or quitting their jobs are mostly done by women. Whatever the reason they have, to reject the law, they do not perceive 'learning and proving German as a must prior to migration' as a way of integration to the country of immigration. In contrast to them, there are also several interviewees who perceive learning and proving German in the home country not only as a necessity of the law, but also as a way for themselves to facilitate their lives in Germany. This group of people mostly constitutes men; and they are different than the above cases since they link the necessity of learning and proving Germany prior to migration with the future difficulties that they may face in Germany both in their daily and professional lives. It is seen that, the more expectations they have from their marriage migration, the less the rejection of the language law is. For instance:

I'm coming to Goethe for also the necessity of language certificate however I also want to speak there. For example, I will ask a cup of tea, nobody would understand me if I speak Turkish, I want to do my job by myself after learning to speak in three-four months. It's better going there after learning; if there wasn't a law, probably nobody would learn the language here. [B. Davut, 28 years old, primary school graduate, baker, has an urban background (Diyarbakır and Mersin)]

I want to develop my German skills as much as I can, both here in Turkey and in Germany. I guess, this law facilitates our work. By the help of law, we would be able to speak a little German. We would both adapt to the country easier than before and the possibility of finding a job would increase. [A. Levent, 28 years old, university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

In the narratives of these men, it is obvious that they have several expectations from their marriage migration. They target to be able to talk German in daily life, to adapt the country thanks to language efficiency and to

find better jobs by this way. These all lead them to support the law which brings necessity of learning and proving German prior to migration.

Although there are differences between respondents in the perceptions towards the law, they commonly insist on learning German in the home country. Even if they do not support the law, their will on migration is clear. Will on migration is sometimes rooted in motivations towards their marriages or sometimes in expectations towards the life in Germany. Some of the people in my research group were not successful in taking ‘Start Deutsch 1’ certificate in their first time although they had completed the language courses which take two months. However, it is seen that this did not stop them for trying for exam, in contrast, they continued following course again as well as taking individual consultancy in Goethe or special lectures. At the end, failing from the exam for two or three times lead them to change neither their marriage decision nor preparation for exam. For instance;

I have been coming to the course for two months. I couldn't pass the exam in my first time. Learning German is difficult but I want to learn German, I will surely learn. I also want to speak there. At the end, not speaking the language would be bad for me. If there hadn't been the law, I would have learnt after going there yet I'm obliged to learn here and go then. I'm suffering all these just for my spouse. [C. Nergis, 29 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Erzincan)]

I have failed in the German exam twice but I will try until I pass the exam. German is important as professional means. I want to find a job in Germany as soon as possible. In fact I have a job, I'm doing the job of lifting crane. I don't know if it's valid there or not. If I cannot find anything, I plan to go another professional course in order to find a job. I have to work there definitely. For this aim, I have to learn German at least. [(L. Bayram, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, crane operator, has an urban background (Yozgat)]

It is seen that whatever the reason lies behind their marriage migration, since they know that family formation is the only way to enter the country, they try to achieve learning and proving their German skills in the home country. Having difficulties in the process as being transnational families, changing their lives in terms of coming Ankara or quitting their jobs may lead them to reject the necessity of law. However, objecting to the law does not lead them to change their marriage migration decisions. In this respect, their insistence on learning and proving German continues. Especially for the men, the meaning of the law is

linked to their expectations towards the host country. In this respect, they do not reject the law and insist on learning German even if they are unsuccessful for several times in the German exam. Considering these, the policy of basic German criteria seems that it does not have a preventive side on the candidates of family formation. However, it is obvious that this is a difficult process for them and this process leads these people to postpone their migration plans. Although my findings present that effort on learning German prior to family-forming migration continues, the numbers of people achieved their family-forming migration should also be taken into account. According to the statistics of Germany Migrations Bericht (2009, p. 130) the number of registered visas for family-forming migration for whole related countries were about to decrease between 2002 and 2008. However it rised up in 2009 and 42.756 visas calculated for 2009. In contrast, for registered visas of Turkish people in the family-forming migration, the number was between 21.000 - 27.000 for the years between 1998-2003. After 2003, it started to decrease and the number of visas calculated for 2009 was 8048 only (ibid, p. 132). These numbers indicate that there are less Turkish people migrating to Germany with family-forming system since 2003. In that sense, decrease of numbers after 2007 can be linked to the Language Legislation as well. However, other factors should also be taken account for such an explanation since migration decisions are influenced by the conditions of both home and host countries.

5.3 Presence of Social Capital

In this study, the use of social capital refers to its linkage to the networks, relations between people in the transnational context, that is, transnational ties. Among several definitons that I briefly explained in chapter 2, I prefer to utilize the definition of Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986). As Coleman (1988) defines social capital with its functions, I perceive transnational social ties as the functions of both spouses and their families which they utilize to realize the transnational marriages. Also, for Goulborne et al. (2010), “certain ends” can be achieved only when a group of people have rich in social capital. Both Coleman and Putnam (2003) focus on the existence of ‘dense networks’ while explaining

social capital. They, unlike Bourdieu (1986) prefer to explain social capital for the whole group of people, including whole classes. This study also designates the role of social capital as for people from different classes. However, as Bourdieu's (1986) definition of 'economic capital' refers, I perceive social capital that feeds economic capital, as well. In the explanation of transnational marriages, it is useful to see the role of dense networks and transnational ties in both home and host countries that act as both 'social' and 'economic' capital. Considering these conceptualizations, in the next part, how a transnational marriage can be a fact or a 'certain end' thanks to the presence of social and economic capital is discussed.

5.3.1 Role of Transnational Ties on Marriage Migration

Transnational ties may include townsmen (hemşerilik), kin, neighbourhood as well as friendship ties as it was mentioned before. They can be seen both in the home and in the host countries. Role of transnational ties also may differentiate between each other according to the place where they exist. While established ties in the home country can ease the process of transnational marriages and also can be the causes of the marriages as Strassburger (2002) mentions, that of in the host countries provide potential marriage migration candidates to feel 'trust' towards their lives in the country of immigration. The case of Nuran illustrates how the ties of her and her family both in the home and host countries affect her marriage and her feelings after marriage:

Although my grandfather and my spouse's grandmother are siblings, I had not known him before. But, of course our families had known each other before. My uncle and his family also live in Germany. They had been neighbours with my spouse's family in Germany. My uncle's wife said to me that he is a good man and I should marry him. (D.Nuran, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde), has an arranged marriage)

The process of finding a spouse by the help of transnational ties can also be seen in host and home countries. 'Having' transnational ties refers their features of 'crossing across borders' as defined by Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1994), Guarnizo (2003) and Fox (2005) even if they are in the

home country. The reason of this feature comes their interactions with the existed ties in the host country especially as facilitating ways of transnational marriages. The cases given below illustrate this fact both in the home and host countries separately.

For instance Davut [B. 28 years old, primary school graduate, and baker, has an urban background (Mersin and Diyarbakır)], who trusts his uncle living in Germany, says:

I have an uncle in Germany. He has been working there for thirty years. He always wanted me to marry. He had my photo, he showed my photo to her, then she liked me. She felt close herself to me, she said like that. I swear the God, I don't know what she liked. After that, they have come to Turkey without losing time, in the summer, they stayed in our house for fifteen days. I decided for the marriage. However my uncle had been mediating all the time. I trust on him without hesitation. Only, he has been influential on my decisions.

In other case, Burhan also illustrates how neighbourhood, townsmen and kinship ties of his family in the home country are in total facilitate his process of finding a spouse:

My spouse is my far-relative. However, I do not have any connection with relatives of my family since I live in Germany. She was daughter of my mother's neighbour, before in Kırşehir. We met each other through the medium of my mother. [H.Burhan, 24 years old, vocational school graduate, restaurant manager, has an urban background (Kırşehir), lives in Germany]

Established transnational ties in the host country also have another side: they create trustful 'transnational social spaces' (Faist, 1998, p. 8) for potential migrants that refer to "the social life and the subjective images, values and meanings that the specific and limited place represents to migrants." In such spaces, they have the feeling of security thanks to their images and meanings of their lives in Germany, resulting from the existence of their transnational ties:

We have too many acquaintances in Germany. My own relatives, my uncle's children, relatives of my aunt, they are all in Munich and Berlin. They always visit each other. I won't be in difficulty thanks to my relatives. They were all living in Germany since their childhood and they went to Germany by the intermediary of our relatives as well. [E.Nermin, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), has an arranged marriage that turned love]

In Germany, I have lots of relatives, friends and neighbours from my village. That's why I'm not scared anyway. There are two ways, at the first option, you go only by yourself, on the other side, you go there with the support

of people in Germany who are close to you. One of my friends, a friend of mine for 7-8 years is living there. There are a lot of people from our village living in Hamburg. [D. Nuran, 27 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde), has an arranged marriage)]

Both Nermin and Nuran focused on their feelings of security rooting in their established ties in the host country. In parallel to them, the narrative of Nergis also shows how she has a feeling of insecurity in the absence of established transnational ties. Nergis (C. 29 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed) who has an urban background (Erzincan) says:

My family is upset since we do not have any relatives in Germany but they did not interfere me in going to Germany. They said that we have some townsmen, who live close to Köln. However, I do not know the exact place where they live. My family said that they will call me when I go.

The narratives mentioned above also verifies how potential migrant people search for a 'transnational living' (Guarnizo, 2003) with establishing their own communities in which they can practice their cultural norms across borders. However, there is a difference between narratives of women and that of men in their 'images' of transnational livings. While the existence of transnational ties in Germany provides women to have the 'feeling of security' in terms of life and relations in Germany, the existence of ties in Germany is reflected in the narratives of men as feeling comfortable for their future employment status. Duben (2002, p. 93) reminds us that code of kin refers informal social rules which are based on a group of relations involving the pursuit of interests. Kin relations existing in a transnational context enables us what 'interests' mean. In the narratives of men below, their 'social capital' turn to that of 'economic capital' including economic interests with the role of kin and other relations in a transnational context:

There are so many acquaintances of us in Germany, such as the neighbours from the village, relatives and almost all children of my uncle. I am not afraid of not finding a job in Germany since my brother has a butcher store there. Now, my brother works there. I will work there when I go. [U. Tevfik, 26 years old, vocational high school graduate, electric technician, has a rural background (Gölcük-Kocaeli)]

My father's and mother's sisters live in Germany. I hope that they can help me to find a job. [L. Bayram, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, and crane operator, has an urban background (Yozgat)]

As it is designated by the narratives of men, transnational ties are perceived as they would facilitate the process of finding jobs in the country of immigration. Sometimes potential migrants plan to work nearby their acquaintances and sometimes they think that they can find jobs for themselves when they migrate.

It should also be mentioned that role of transnational ties is not limited with finding spouses or facilitating their lives in the host country. In the case of family forming migration, marriages have to deal with several steps which also include taking German exam. In order to be successful in this exam most of the people prefer to go German courses, as it is mentioned. In this respect, it is seen that they also apply to their transnational ties that help them to find a German course. About half of the informants clarified that they find the language courses thanks to their acquaintances. These include relatives, neighbours or townsmen who migrate before them and know the process thanks to their experiences before.

Considering the whole process of transnational marriages, it can be concluded that transnational ties are influential not only in finding spouses but also in easing the life of migrants in the host country. In this respect, their roles are not limited, more than this; they continue to act in the aftermath of transnational marriages, as well. Besides, roles of transnational ties are seen in the process of getting married and familiarity to spouses as well. Therefore, next part analyzes the degree of this effect.

5.3.2 Processes of Getting Married and Familiarity to Spouses

How transnational ties affect the processes of getting married and familiarity to spouses is analyzed in terms of marriage types since differences occur among them in the processes of transnational marriages. The role of transnational ties is much more in kin marriages or marriages include kin intermediary than in love marriages. However, marriage type is not the only parameter that creates the differences among marriages. Degree of family affect and the motivations in migration are also other influential parameters to the processes of getting married which are also influenced by the existence of transnational ties.

All of the first meetings between spouses actualized while the spouses – living in Germany – were in Turkey for holiday. In this regard, the meeting times were planned by the transnational ties; intermediaries, relatives, family members, neighbours or townsmen. Also, wedding ceremonies of common relatives of spouses are organized as meeting places. In that sense, transnational ties provide spouses spaces to meet and this reflects to the processes of marriages.

In the cases of arranged marriages of women, processes of getting married constitute the shortest ones: they or their families do not want to wait for marriage and marriages are performed in short times; mostly in one month. The reason behind this is the feeling of trust to their transnational ties. Since somebody that the families had known before suggest these women as potential spouses, the spouses in Germany or their families believe the suitability of them. For instance; Nuran [D. 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)] who has far-kin marriage and intermediary of her transnational ties in her marriage says:

.....After their visit and the given marriage decision, we went shopping with our families. Soon after the shopping, our engagement rings were hanged on our fingers. I realized that I was about to marry while I was signing for marriage. I wish that I had more time to familiarize and to marry him. You can throw the engagement ring, but you cannot throw wedding ring. Otherwise you can be accused of changing marriage decision. I learnt that we will live in Germany after the wedding. Since they had houses both in Turkey and Germany, I was thinking that we were going to live in Turkey. That's why, I had not asked him before. When I learnt, I said that I would not go with him. He replied me with a joke and said 'your wedding ring is mine now, you cannot do that.' I had known that it was a joke, however, as I said I would prefer to have more time to talk about everything and to familiarize each other. If the marriage decision was given to me, I would not do the civil marriage at that time.

Due to the short and fast process of her marriage, she does not know about her spouse in detail:

I don't know the education level of my spouse. He should have graduated of secondary or high school. Nuran [D. 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

In arranged marriage cases, instead of performing wedding ceremonies, preferences on having civil marriages are seen. Since the preparation for wedding ceremonies takes more time than civil marriages, they prefer to have

civil marriages only. In the words of Nermin, lack of wedding ceremony is indicated for the purpose of being fast in migration procedures. At the same time, her words on familiarity to her spouse is similar to the case of Nuran since she does not have proper information about her spouse's education due to the lack of time. Nermin, [E. 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde)] who has the intermediary of transnational ties rooting in kin and townsmen relations in her arranged marriage, says:

Because my husband and his family were our relatives, they came to our village to see me. After two or three days of their arrival, we engaged to marry. After the engagement ceremony, we had the civil marriage in one week. I think, we saw each other with my spouse mostly one month. We had civil marriage than a wedding ceremony in order to be fast in the procedures. My spouse had a profession on construction. I do not know from which school he had graduated, it may be high school.

Other than the arranged marriages of women, men marriages affected by family or transnational network intermediary are performed in short times as well. Here, the existence of transnational ties is utilized for their other reasons for migration. Since acquaintances in Germany suggest the women for men in Turkey, they do not need to know their spouses in detail. Also, the time to get familiar to spouses is perceived as waste of time when the target for marriage migration is mostly based on economic reasons. In this respect, familiarity to spouses is restricted. For instance, Davut (28 years old, primary school graduate, baker, has an urban background (Diyarbakır and Mersin)], married to a woman whom his uncle living in Germany suggested. His words indicate that his main purpose is not related to the marriage itself:

My uncle had showed my photograph to my potential spouse. Since she liked me in photo, my uncle took her to Turkey. They stayed in our house for 15 days and during this time we had civil marriage. I did not feel ready myself to marriage, but I had to go. I was willing to go. My uncle suggested her, I saw and I liked her, then I said ok for marriage. She is one year younger than me, she is 27 years old. She is literate but I do not know her education, I do not know education system in Germany. I only know that she is a nurse in a public hospital. In fact, I am not familiar to her in detail. I will go, I will see whether we understand each other or not, no matter what happens. I will decide whether we match each other or not when I go.

Mehmet is the other man whose knowledge about his spouse is limited due to the fast process of his marriage. He is similar to Davut in having

economic motivations in his migration that he shared before. Also, his intermediary in his marriage was his cousin, neighbour of his spouse, as well.

About his knowledge on his spouse, he says:

My spouse is 22 years old. She works both in McDonalds and in a beauty parlour. Actually, I do not know her education level. In total, we saw each other one and half month. In such a short time, I had not ever thought to ask what she had studied. However, she behaves proper way. Also, she had a profession. She should have graduated from a university. Since my cousin suggested her to me, I had not ever thought whether she suited me or not. I directly said ok for marriage. [T.Mehmet, 35 years old, primary school graduate, farmer and had experience in restaurants, has a rural background (a village in Karaman) and lived in Germany before]

Narratives of Davut and Mehmet prove that existence of their transnational ties in Germany facilitate their spouse selection processes. Since their relatives support the women as their potential spouses, they accepted to marry and pay attention to their migrations. In their marriages, degree of transnational tie effects and their other motivations in migration are intermingled; and they together lead them to be fast in their marriages. Although transnational ties are influential in that level, in the lack of transnational ties, fast processes of getting married can also be seen. In that sense, motivation in migration is the only parameter even if a marriage is indicated as a love marriage. This designates how the motivation in migration transcends the affect of transnational ties' role. For instance; Levent, who does not have any acquaintances in Germany, says:

I met my spouse in my family's real-estate office in Ankara. My spouse and her family were in their holidays and they were willing to buy a house at that time. After we met each other as agent and client, we started to go out, have a coffee. I believe we had enough time to know each other. She had 30 days holiday and we were together for 20 days. We got married after 5 months of our first meeting. In fact, I did not feel ready for marriage. Since she had lived in Germany and we had plans on Germany, we needed to marry in short time. [A.Levent, 29 years old, university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

When the purpose of marriage migration is mostly on reaching the life in Germany, focus on marriage itself is limited and this lead short processes of getting married and lack of knowledge about spouses. As it is indicated by the

narratives of men above, existence of transnational ties facilitate the processes of marriage migration, but other motivations in marriage migration also matters.

In contrast, when the emphasis is on the marriage more than the migration itself, processes of getting married take longer times, more than several months, years. This pattern is observed mostly in love marriages. However, as in the case of Levent, fast decision of marriage migration can transcend the general pattern of love marriages. This clarifies the fact that role of transnational ties in marriage process is more in kin marriages or marriages which have kin intermediaries than other types. However, marriage type is not the only parameter that influences the marriage processes. Individual reasons for migration should also be taken into consideration.

Considering these, main difference between love marriages that were performed in long times and other marriages performed in short times is the degree of utilization from information communication technologies (Lupe & Lambe, 2011) and the frequency of visits in a transnational context. Spouses have in difficulty to get in touch and to be familiar with each other due to the fact that they are all in some level experience the distance both before and after their marriages as constituting transnational families. As Mason (2004, p. 424) clarifies that visits provide people to be more familiar to each other across distances. In my research group, in order to continue their relationships, most of the respondents who have love marriages, visit each other both before and after marriage. Thanks to having more contact, knowledge about spouses in these marriages is more than in the marriages of other groups. The narratives of respondents below are illustrating this point:

I met my spouse in my cousin's wedding ceremony in Nürnberg. He is cousin of my cousin's spouse. After my cousin's wedding ceremony, I stayed for a while in Nürnberg. We also have other acquaintances there. We got in touch for one year. In one year, he visited me two or three times, I also went two times. Most of the time, we contacted with telephone and internet. After one year, when we believed that we know each other well, we decided to marry. [Türkan, 28 years old, open-university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

Last year, we met each other. Until getting married, he visited me four or five times. We talked with telephone as well. We know each other since one and half year. We decided to marry after we believed that we know each other well. Lastly, one month ago he came in order to marry. He stayed 21 days here,

then we performed civil marriage. [R.Elvan, 33 years old, vocational school graduate, and dressmaker, has a rural background (a village in Çorum)]

We are engaged now. We met each other in 2005 and we engaged to marry in 2009. I was working in Yenimahalle at that time. And she was visiting her aunt whose house was across my working place. She was in her holiday. At that time, she stayed for 20 days in Turkey. After that time, she came to Turkey for six times in a year. I also wanted to visit her, but I could not get visa. She got tired because of paying for flight tickets. At the end, we decided to marry. Because we had known each other since our 16-17 ages, I believe that I know her well. [O.Burak, 22 years old, high school graduate, assembler, has an urban background (Ankara)]

As it is indicated by the narratives of respondents, role of transnational ties are not limited to their involvement to the processes of transnational marriages in facilitating spouse selection. They, at the same time, directly affect the time spent between spouses. However their involvement to the whole process is influenced by different parameters such as marriage type, family affect and the motivations in migration. While in kin and arranged marriages, the time spent with spouses is limited with a month, it is several years in love marriages. In kin and arranged marriages, degree of family affect, motivations in migration are intermingled, as parameters that are influenced by the existence of transnational ties. Mostly, in the arranged marriages of women, the short period of time for getting married is related with the family effect whereas in the marriages of men, it is related with their motivations in migration. Also, in love marriages, different than the other types, utilizing from communication technologies and visiting each other are the common denominators in order to contact each other across distances. Although the knowledge about the spouses is much more in love marriages than the other types, the motivation in migration transcend the feeling of necessity for being more familiar to the spouses with spending more time. In this context, whether limited knowledge about spouses as well as short processes of getting married are the clues for strategic use of transnational marriages for the purpose of migration or not, necessitates further discussion.

5.4 Significance of Family Values

The role of families on the spouse selection or marriages in general are two-folds. Firstly, marriages can be performed according to the family values. In these cases, the selected spouses' characters and religious or cultural stances are determining parameters for both their spouses and families of their spouses. Secondly, the family support and acknowledgement of spouses by the spouses' families seem to be important in the process of transnational marriages. In these cases, sometimes the most important thing for the people is the familiarity of their families to their spouses. In this respect, townsmen, neighbourhood and mostly kinship ties seem the most influential categories for the people that they apply especially in the selection of their spouses. In these marriages, also intermediary of the families in finding the spouses is obvious. It should also be added that these two parameters are not separated from each other. Most of the time, spouses are selected among candidates whom the families support since they think the potential spouses are appropriate for their family values. By the way, family values and family support seem that they are complementary to each other.

In the narrative of Tarık below, how he trusts his mother is seen. Also he focuses on his familiarity to the family of his spouse. Tarık (S. 31 years old, still attending open-high school, unemployed) who has a rural background (a village in Karaman) says:

I decided to marry with the desire of my parents. I left the choice to my mother so that she can select the girl whom I would marry. She's not our relative yet from the same village. She's a member of a family which's close to my close relatives. Her grandmother is our neighbour; there are also other people who had married to the members of that family. My mother doesn't want anything bad for me. I was familiar with her uncles. By both the approval of my mother and familiarity to her, I decided to marry without hesitation.

Similar to Tarık, other narratives of respondents who emphasize on the approval of their marriages by their families are as follows:

My family's decision is the most important thing for me on my marriage. Absolutely, I want them to know the man whom I marry. I had not even think to marry a man whom they do not want me to marry. [E. Nermin, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde), has an arranged marriage]

The most important thing in my life is the approval of my marriage by my family. Since my spouse is my far-relative, my family had known everything about him. However, my family also made necessary researches about him. If I had wanted to marry to an unknown man, I definitely would like to take their approval about him, as well. My family had always wanted me to marry, but until I had seen my spouse, I was not planning to marry. (D.Nuran, 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara) has an arranged marriage that turned love)

We are far-relatives. Mostly, I liked his humours. He is my destiny. First he proposed me for a marriage, however whole family supported our marriage. They had been thinking before that we suited each other. His cousins, aunts, everyone in both families wanted us to marry. Acknowledgement of my spouse by my family is an important thing for me than anything else. [K.Sevim, 24 years old, high school graduate, worker in a café, lives in Germany, has a kin marriage]

It's important that my family knows and verifies my spouse. If they said something negative, I would have listened to their advices. Yet they verified my choice, they liked her. To tell the truth, I had been confused for a while; yet it vanished later. I decided to marry and my family trusted on me all the time. Also, they supported my decision because she was the relative of my aunt's husband. [B. Davut, 28 years old, primary school graduate, and baker, has an urban background (Mersin and Diyarbakır), has kin intermediary in his marriage]

In the narrative of Feraye, the support of her marriage to her cousin whom she had not known before comes from her grandmother's familiarity to her spouse. Feraye [19 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (township in Mardin)], who has an arranged cousin marriage says:

My husband is my mother's sister's son, my cousin. However, I had not seen him for 20 years. My spouse and his family were living in Germany. Although they were coming for summer vacations to İzmir, they had not come to Mardin (the province that she lives) before. He had seen my photograph on the computer and he had liked me. Firstly, my mother said to me that they would come to Turkey in order to get married to me. Because I had not known him before, I rejected. Then, my mother a little bit insisted on me and I liked him. My mother had not known and seen him before either. However my grandmother who was living in İzmir, had known him from his visits. She said to my mother that he was a nice person and I should marry him. I thought and believed that he is a virtuous man, then I accepted. My family's decision on my marriage and their approval of my marriage are the most important things in my life. In any case, they do not give me²⁰ to a man whom they do not know.

²⁰ Here, 'to give a girl to a man' is used with directly translation from Turkish which means 'kız vermek.'. It is used in arranged marriages and means that family decide the whole processes of the marriage since the rights of their daughter depend on their decisions. Therefore, they feel that they can give 'their girls to men' whom they want her to marry.

In the cases given above, the familiarity of spouses by the families thanks to kin or townsmen relations is obvious. Even if in some cases marriage decisions were given by the spouses themselves, the support of families on marriages seems as an important factor for the spouses. Gülcan, also illustrates this fact by saying that in the absence of her family's support, she would be upset about the situation. Gülcan [(İ. 25 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (Gölcük-İzmit))] says:

My parents were not influential on my marriage decision. Even my mother told me to think about it once because I hadn't been interested in the previous people coming with the offer of marriage. They want me to marry the one I would select. They met and liked my spouse. If they had not been affirmative, it would be important. Nothing like that happened. I take my decisions by myself.

As it is mentioned before, especially in the process of finding spouses, the familiarity of spouses by the families seems as an important factor for marriage migration candidates. Here, where familiarity is rooted in should be questioned. Familiarity means for them to know the spouses or at least their families. In order to maintain familiarity, selection of spouses among acquaintances such as relatives, townsmen or neighbours are the common tendencies. In these cases the inclination of spouses to accept or to select marrying spouses among these groups is also worth to discuss. The reason behind this inclination is sometimes just because of the feeling of trust to the known people or sometimes it is because of the reason of making families happy with the given marriage decision to these spouses. Why families prefer to these marriages also necessitates further discussion with the own narratives of these families. Since it is not possible with this study, the attitude of spouses is linked to the given importance of both family values and family support, at the same time. Cases of Berrin and Fatoş below, illustrate the importance of their families' feeling of familiarity to their spouses – to whom they have close-kin relations.

At first, I was against to marry a relative. But now, I do not feel regret about my relative marriage. Relative marriage is very common in my family. My dynasty is composed of relatives. Everyone is everyone's relative in my dynasty. An unknown spouse is rarely seen in my family. When I marry to an unknown spouse, one can say something bad about him, then I can be easily upset. When everyone knows my spouse, there cannot be such a problem. Also, when I marry to a relative, everyone can come to our house without hesitation

thanks to familiarity to him. Besides, I trust my mother's ideas on this issue, she is not congenial to unknown people, but she likes our relatives. [J.Berrin. 20 years-old, vocational high school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), has an arranged cousin marriage)]

It was important for me that my spouse's mother is the sister of my mother. Thanks to this relationship, they did not feel foreignness to each other. If our relationship with my spouse breaks down, relation between my mother and my aunt (my mother-in-law) breaks down as well. Then, I may be very upset about this situation. In that way, close-kinship marriage is bad. However in general it is good. Your close-kinship relative is not like a foreign, she/he behaves you closer than a foreign person. Especially family of your spouse can hide your faults when you have some. For example, my aunt do not want me to bad, she ignores my faults. However, any other person whom I had not known before, may complain about my faults. [Q.Fatoş, 18 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), close-kinship marriage with love]

In the narrative of Nuran, it is similar to above cases in the sense that she is happy from the situation that her family and her spouse's family had familiarity to each other before. However, she seems that she does not support the close-kin marriages. Nuran [D. 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed), has an urban background (Ankara), has an arranged marriage that turned love], says:

My family and my spouse's family became close to each other. I think it is because they had known each other before as well as they are relatives. If he had been my close-relative, I would not like to marry him. I accepted to marry him since he is my far-relative.

Similar to Nuran, Nermin shares her reason of marrying a person among her far-kin with including her family's stance to close-kin marriages. Nermin [E. 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde)] who has an arranged marriage with a far-relative, says:

I am against the close-kinship marriages. Because my spouse is my far-relative, I accepted to marry him. However, my brother got engage to my uncle's daughter. He will migrate to Hamburg like me when he marries. I did not support their marriage but they had loved each other. However, when my mother heard that they love each other, she was pleased and supported their marriage decision.

Other than finding spouses among kin or townsmen, it is seen that being intermediaries for the marriage migration candidates is also widespread among kin and townsmen. As it is discussed in the role of transnational ties before, these people can both live in Turkey and Germany. The important thing here is

that they are people whom the respondents has known before thanks to their familiarity. Sometimes this person is a member of the family and sometimes s/he is somebody among other acquaintances.

In contrast to the some respondents who find their spouses among kin, townsmen or neighbour and seem to be supportive to the kin marriages, they are also other group of respondents who are against the kin marriages because of several reasons. While some argue that marriage decision should be an individual decision and application to kin is not valid in their families, some of them reject this pattern in terms of possibility to have disabled children or broken relationships with the whole families in the case of kin marriages. Some of them only accept far-relative marriages or love marriages with kin as exceptional cases for kin marriages.

I do not support kin marriages, but there are examples in my family. For example, my aunt's daughter married with my uncle's son. The family rejected at first however they had been in love, nothing happened later. I guess it causes many problems, it would be a different family. It's important to find someone whom we love. Not the voices from the outer world but the voices in my heart are important for me. [G. Türkan, 28 years old, open-university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

I don't support kin marriages. We have some relatives living abroad. My family reminded that, they had better living conditions. However I have never thought something like that. Of course, you can fall in love. In that case, I cannot say anything. [M. Kadri, 28 years old, high school graduate, cook, has an urban background (Kırıkkale)]

Kin marriage is something wrong, there are neither around us, nor within the relatives. Far relative can be accepted meanwhile marriage to a close relative is even not good for the health of children. It can only be possible if the genes don't match eachother. [O. Burak, 22 years old, high school graduate, assembler, has an urban background (Ankara)]

I don't support the kin marriages. You are obliged to seperate your family bonds in case of any misunderstandings. Yet if there is the love, I cannot say anything. [R. Elvan. 33 years old, vocational school graduate, dressmaker), has a rural background (a village in Çorum)]

I don't support the kin marriages. At the very beginning, there is the possibility to have disabled children. Also, I believe that the kin marriages are like arranged marriages. The family says, we have found this person suitable for marriage and the nominee, men or women accept the offer. The families should let their sons and daughters to give their own marriage decisions. Everyone should find his/her spouse by ownself. [U.Tevfik 26 years old, vocational high school graduate, electric technician), has a rural background (Gölcük-Kocaeli)]

Considering the whole narratives of respondents, it can be said that families or potential migrants are inclined to search for a spouse by the help of their transnational ties, kin, townsmen or neighbours. The underlying cause of this tendency is mostly lies on the fact that they – both spouses and families – would like to find somebody whom they had known before. When the spouses' migration is included to this analysis, it can be said that families prefer their children to migrate with a known person instead of an unknown person. Also, it is obvious that in the cases of arranged marriages, the family values and family support are taken into consideration more than the other types of marriages. In these cases, application to kin for finding spouses may also be seen. However, number of the arranged marriage cases is only four among 21 marriages, and one woman informant declared that this arrangement turned love in the process. Whole informants clarified that they say the last words about their marriages even if family decisions are also influential for them. Nobody in my research group was forced into marriage either. Also, as it is indicated with the narratives of informants, there are considerable numbers of people who are against to kin marriages in terms of several reasons. Only observing the patterns of kin marriages in the transnational context, cannot provide the whole picture.

Considering several parameters in the case of family forming migration with my research group, it can be said that, having forced marriages and having tendency to realize arranged kinship marriages in a transnational context are not valid for my whole research group, as indicated for Turkish transnational marriages by some researchers. In order to come to such a conclusion, the researchers should be blind for other parameters that are discussed in different parts of the study.

In order to analyse the patterns of family forming migration from Turkey to Germany, each parameter such as restrictive immigration policies, dissatisfaction from the living conditions in Turkey, presence of social capital and importance of family values should be taken into consideration, together. These, together, may lead potential migrants to make marriages as a strategy for migration at least. However, this cannot bring a generalization for these people in reproducing so called 'cultural' attitudes with their spouse selections or behaviours existing in the migration process. It is the easiest way to come to a

such a conclusion. Since the patterns of family forming migration necessitate further attention, next part discusses the gender differences in the process of marriage migration and perceptions of the potential migrants towards their marriage migration in general.

CHAPTER 6

GENDER DIFFERENCES in the PROCESS of MARRIAGE MIGRATION

Marriage is a term that include several parameteres to discuss in itself. As Hart (2007, p. 346) clarifies, “marriage is at the intersection of intimacy, economic and kin ties, evolving gender roles and transforming cultural practices on local, national and global levels.” Each parameter that Hart (2007) focuses on can be included in the analysis of marriage migration as well since a transnational marriage is mostly affected by kin relations that determine the differentiation of gender roles and transformation of cultural practices in several dimensions.

Considering the explanation above, this chapter aims to analyze gender dynamics that occur during the process of marriage migration. Not only marriage but also migration has different meanings for women and men. These meanings also continue to differentiate from each other when the two different cases; marriage and migration are united. For example, while women are mostly interested in their marriages, it is seen that men mostly focus directly to the migration. Therefore, in these cases marriages can be perceived for them as tools for migration. However, these dynamics also change according to education and knowledge about the country of immigration as well. In order to see these dynamics, this chapter focuses on the gender concept which directly paves the way for the analysis of established differences in several sub issues which are taken from the field research.

As it is mentioned before, field research was conducted with 11 women and 10 men who have several backgrounds in terms of education, work and the place where they live. Although the aim of this chapter is analysing the gender differences, it also carries the aim of analysing the differences according to the concepts mentioned above. It seems useful since gender differences are also shaped by the level of education, work and urban-rural categories.

Considering above-mentioned categories, firstly, I will start with the gender differences in the perceptions towards country of immigration. After the focus on expectations towards Germany, I will discuss perceptions towards spouse selection. After spouse selection, I will come to perceptions of gender roles aftermath of the marriage migration. Lastly, I will discuss the perceptions of honour in order to understand from what parameters a marriage migration can be affected.

6.1 Gender Differences in the Perceptions of Country of Immigration: Germany

Narratives of interviewees on their perceptions towards country of immigration enlighten the path that I follow for the analysis of dynamics behind the marriage migration. Perceptions towards Germany hide expectations as well as motivations and concerns from migration. In that sense, considering gender dimension, perceptions towards Germany designate not only the marriage itself, but also migration that comes with a marriage.

Perceptions towards Germany are three-folds. Firstly, Germany, for the respondents, is a country in any case, which has better living conditions than Turkey. What is understood from better living conditions also has four different meanings. Better living conditions mostly refer to having better employment opportunities and earning more money. In the absence of better jobs, knowledge on the existence of temporary jobs is the second way of understanding that brings the belief of having better living conditions. Moreover, in the absence of both types of jobs, knowledge on the existence of state aids in Germany is another factor that is not found in Turkey and understood in any case as having better life status in Germany. Other than these three economic parameters, fourth factor in this category is the belief of having more rights in Germany than in Turkey. Rights are differentiated from each other in terms of life standards and women's rights as well.

Second layer in the perceptions towards Germany constitutes the assumption of discrimination towards Turks in Germany. Besides, the belief on 'loss of cultural values' in Germany is also seen. In that sense, it is difficult to

live in Germany for them. However, it is seen that negative perceptions on the country do not prevent them from changing their marriage migration decisions. They try to focus on advantageous sides of the marriage migration in terms of opportunities in Germany.

Third layer is composed of social relations in Germany. Social relations, most of the time, include relations with spouses and families of the spouses in Germany. Sometimes it is rooted in unfamiliarity to the spouses' families as well as spouses in detail. It should also be noted that although types of the marriages do not create big differences in the above mentioned perceptions, it is an influential parameter in shaping the perceptions towards social relations in Germany. The cases of arranged marriages or marriages including family affect are performed in short times. In those times, concerns about Germany directly related with the concerns towards social relations in Germany. However, this concern is mostly seen among women narratives. Although my aim is to designate the picture of Germany in the potential migrants' minds, it should also be considered that due to the traditional gender roles existing in Turkey in some level, women are expected to talk about their marriages and relations. In contrast, men are expected to talk about their economic gains and work status in general. Therefore, while analyzing the words of women and men, this side also needs to be taken into account.

Other categories mentioned above also necessitate the analysis which is based on gender dimension. In the perceptions of better living conditions, men's focus is directly related to the economic expectations towards better employment opportunities and existence of temporary jobs. In the case of economic concerns resulting from unfamiliarity to the country and absence of skills for a profession, their focus turns to the state aids for men, as well. In this respect, men's marriage migration reminds us what Bourdieu had claimed on 'economic capital (1986)'. Narratives of men indicate that they perceive their marriage migration as 'convertible into money' (Bourdieu, 1986). In contrast, what women understood from better living conditions is rights that they would have in Germany. Focus of rights comes for men only as an additional point after their economic expectations and concerns. Besides, men perceive 'discrimination towards Turks' and 'loss of cultural values' as demotivating factors for

migration. In short, men in general seem that they have more knowledge towards Germany in terms of employment opportunities, life in Germany and the city where they are about to migrate. Knowledge of the Germany as well as city where they live is only found in few women's narratives.

In the narrative of Davut, shared below, it is obvious that his expectations towards Germany are on the economic way. Even if he has the concern on not finding a proper job, Germany's conditions are, in any case, better than Turkey. He also indicates how his migration can refer to a temporary living until he saves enough money to buy a house in Turkey:

I was willing to go away from Turkey, when my uncle-in-law suggested my spouse to me, I accepted to marry her. I am only afraid of not finding a job in Germany. I am a baker and as far as I know in Germany there is no need for bakeries since they are doing everything with machines. On the other hand, I know that health service and economy in Germany are better than in Turkey. If I earn 1500 TL here, I earn 2500 TL in Germany. My only target in my life is to buy a house. I plan to work for 10 or 20 years in Germany, then to return Turkey. I want to buy a house in Mersin²¹. Foreign country is attractive for me in this economic way. [B.Davut, 28 years old, primary school graduate, and baker), has an urban background (Mersin and Diyarbakır), has a marriage with kin intermediary]

Davut, even if he is afraid of 'being jobless' since his specialization carries the risk of being invalid in Germany, he is sure that he will earn more salary in Germany and it will ease his life to continue. For the case of Bayram and Ümit, although they are similar to Davut in carrying the fear of not finding jobs, in contrast to Davut, both of them trust state aids. In addition to this, Bayram also seems that he trusts temporary jobs that do not exist in Turkey:

Germany is not the old Germany, she is exhausted. Her economy is not good, I'm scared of not finding a job. I heard that the ones going to Germany work in bad works. However, it is in any case better than Turkey. I heard that state makes the financial support even though you don't work. They give the unemployment aid. There isn't anything like that in Turkey. You can even find a job for two hours. Here, we don't have a choice like that. [L. Bayram, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, crane operator), has an urban background (Yozgat) marriage with love]

We were going to live in Turkey; because I didn't have a job, my spouse told me that we should go, I was convinced. I'm going there because of economic reasons, I get the state aid even if I don't work there. If we have the settlement permit, I heard that the state gives married people, around 1200

²¹ The province where he lives in Turkey.

euros, enough for the living. [Ümit, 25 years old, high school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Nevşehir), has a kin marriage with love]

Whereas Davut, Bayram and Ümit are in common in their belief that they would have better economic conditions although they can face difficulties to find jobs, Kadri and Mehmet seem that they sure about what to do in Germany.

For me, Germany means to live in high welfare level. My profession is valid wherever I go. I thought that I can find a job there under any circumstances. I heard that Dortmund is the mining place, there are several workers in that field. In my opinion, Germany is better than Turkey. [Kadri, (M. 28 years old, high school graduate, cook, has an urban background (Kırıkkale), has a love marriage)]

Germany is an important place for me. There are nice things waiting for me in Germany. My work is prepared, what I would want more. I had been earning 1750 euros previously though I had been a tourist there. If I go at the moment, I would work there by the work permission. I will get the settlement permission with the help of my spouse. I would earn 3000 euros without difficulty. For me, everything is like gold in Germany. The state pays for health. However, we suffer in Turkey. You have the suitable conditions as long as you work in Germany. [T. Mehmet, 35 years old, primary school graduate, farmer and had experience in restaurants), has a rural background (a village in Karaman) and lived in Germany before, has a love marriage with intermediary of kin)]

According to the most of the men narratives, it is seen that whether expectations are towards state aids, temporary jobs or economic motivations rooting in their professions, they are in common in having economic plans within their marriage migration. Also, this leads them to believe that they would have better living conditions which comes from the economic conditions in Germany. In contrast to men, none of women shared their economic expectations while focusing on better living conditions. The focus is mostly to the life standards and rights in Germany:

Germany is better than Turkey in terms of life standards and value that is given to a person. The health opportunities and transportation system is exactly very good. Country provides you the feeling that you are a human being. [(G.Türkan, 28 years old, open-university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), had lived in Germany before, has a love marriage)]

Germany is better than Turkey in terms of life standards. We don't care about the women's rights here, there they pay attention to the rights of women. We will have more rights than here. An example, if a woman wants to divorce, I heard that the state helps the women. [Q. Fatoş, 18 years old, secondary school

graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), has a love marriage with kin)]

Among interviewees, women who have arranged marriages, in other words, women whose marriages are mostly affected by family and kin, mostly focus on their social relations with spouses and families of the spouses. The reason behind this is rooted in the short processes of getting married. In this respect, women do not have time to think about Germany in terms of rights or life standards and they turn their attention to the lives within the family after the marriage migration. This also brings that they do not have enough knowledge about Germany. Therefore, their perceptions towards host country is only limited to their relations as well as little information taken by their spouses.

Since I trust my spouse much, I do not think that we will have problems when I go to Germany. However, I worry that he may be under pressure of his mother. He did not send me money for two months only because his mother said him to do this. My mother-in-law thinks that I am bribing to my sister and brother. This is a lie and my aunt whom I have bad relations with, tell this lie to my mother-in-law. My spouse gives the money that he earns directly to his mother. I warned him several times and said him that if he continues, I will not come to Germany. Then, he became upset and sent me money. I am a little bit anxious due to my mother-in-law's behaviours. I will see how they behave me when I go. I hope he will not be under pressure of his mother. [D. Nuran, 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), has an arranged marriage that turned love]

About her unfamiliarity to the country, she continues:

I am going to a country that I had not known before. When you tie a person and then let her/him go, she/ he may become entangled. I see my future situation like this. I have doubts about the things that I will face. I am not afraid of them but I am a little bit abstaining from them. Also, I do not know about the political and cultural atmosphere in Germany. [(D. Nuran, 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), has an arranged marriage that turned love)]

Words of, Feraye are approximately the same as Nuran's:

My spouse only told that Germany is a beautiful country. He did not tell anything more about the country. I do not know laws and atmosphere in Germany. I had not ever wondered about these. I thought that I can learn when I go. [F.Feraye, 19 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (township in Mardin), has an arranged marriage with kin]

Given importance to family values and kin, lead these women either to consider social relations within the family or to have little knowledge about the country due to their short processes of getting married. However, the situation is

different in men's narratives even if their cultural obedience to their families or customs shape their marriages. In these cases, they believe that in Germany cultural and familial values are different than that of in Turkey. This brings them to have concerns about next generation, which refers to their children who would grow up in Germany. For instance:

I guess I cannot live there. I'm tied to my traditions. I heard that there is not the family as we understand, everyone is doing whatever they want. At the age of 18, the family sends the children wherever they want. They don't have the notion of supporting their children. [L. Bayram, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, and crane operator, has an urban background (Yozgat), has a love marriage with kin intermediary]

I don't have a concern about going to Germany in terms of losing my culture, yet I can't anticipate this from following generation of my family. We have grown up here with the nationalist, patriotic sensations. We have religious days, Ramadans, Sacrification Days, Military and the Police Forces. We respect them all. Yet the generation growing there cannot understand these. It's possible that my children would also have these kind of problems. [S. Tarik, 31 years old, still attending open-high school, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Karaman), has a marriage with kin intermediary]

It is observed that men who have kin intermediaries in their marriages or kin marriages are abstaining from Germany because they believe that 'loss of Turkish values and culture' may have risk of disappearing. In addition to this, abstaining from migrating to Germany has also one more reason for men: 'discrimination towards Turks.' Almost whole of the men respondents include their negative perceptions towards Germany according to this parameter, while it is not seen in most of the women narratives. Also, sometimes the belief on 'loss of cultural values' and 'discrimination towards Turks' in Germany are intermingled, and they are perceived as negative sides of migration to Germany. As indicated by the same men, above:

I heard that there is racism in Germany. They don't like the Turks, that's why I'm little bit hesitant. I will try for two years, if everything is not ok, I would return to Turkey. [L. Bayram, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, and crane operator) has an urban background (Yozgat), has a love marriage with kin intermediary]

I heard that there is racism in Germany. I know that they behave Turkish children at schools as second class citizens. [S. Tarik, 31 years old, still attending open-high school, unemployed), has a rural background (a village in Karaman), has a marriage with kin intermediary]

Davut also shares the same concerns like Bayram and Tarık. He says:

I know that Germans behave Turks badly, just yesterday some events happened, Dazlaklar²² destroyed everything. When I think this kind of things, I am abstaining from Germany. [B.Davut, 28 years old, primary school graduate, and baker), has an urban background (Mersin and Diyarbakır), has a marriage with kin intermediary]

As Bayram and Tarık designate, sometimes negative perceptions on Germany in the issue of ‘discrimination towards Turks’ can lead them to abstain from their migration decision. However, it is obvious that they are already on the way of marriage migration. In this respect, it can be said that demotivating factors for migration such as perceptions of ‘loss of cultural values’ or ‘discrimination towards Turks’ in Germany are not as strong as motivating factors like economic expectations. As it is seen in the narratives of men in general, the strongest motivation factor for them is related with economic targets. Trusting on their professions or having concerns on not finding jobs do not create a difference on expecting better living conditions; in the absence of skills to find better jobs than they have in Turkey, they trust both state aids and temporary jobs that exist in Germany. Also, types of marriages do not create a difference on economic expectations. The only difference between kin marriages, or marriages performed through the intermediary of kin and love marriages is that first group mostly abstain from migration because of their belief on ‘loss of cultural values’ in Germany. However, economic expectations in love marriages of men are also seen within their words. They migrate for the purpose of marriage thanks to their love, but at the same time they migrate for the economic purposes.

For the cases of women, types of marriages create more differences than that of men. In the cases of arranged marriages or marriages in which family affect is obvious, they mostly emphasize on social relations within the family and also they have limited knowledge about Germany. In contrast, in the case of love marriages, women have more knowledge towards country of immigration in terms of rights and life standards which they relate to better living conditions. However, the main difference between women and men in general is that better

²² He used ‘Dazlaklar’ for Neo-Nazis. It is used to refer the racist movements of Neo-Nazis.

living conditions do not refer economic gains for women, while it is directly linked to economic opportunities for men. Economic targets reminds what Shaw (2001) had found for the case of Pakistani marriage migration to London. According to her, marriage of a Pakistani man to a woman raised in Britain is a strategy to continue the earlier phase of male-dominated labour migration within the constraints of immigration control and economic expectations (Shaw, 2001, p. 327). When men's marriage migration from Turkey to Germany is considered with the perceptions of Germany, similar pattern is seen. In order to analyse the developed strategies, next part turns its focus to the expectation from German citizenship.

6.1.1. Perceptions towards German Citizenship

Citizenship discussion is found necessary for this marriage migration study since it also hides some patterns of family-forming migration. Perceptions of German citizenship are analyzed from two sides. Firstly, knowledge of the spouses' citizenship status is questioned. Secondly, knowledge of the advantageous sides of the German citizenship is questioned. The reason behind these is rooted in the related sections in German Residence Act 2007, focusing on the status of 'subsequent immigration of dependents to join a German national and foreigner.' According to German Residence Act Section 28 no.1, when a dependent – *person on the way to the family-forming migration* – joins a German national (*who has German citizenship*), "the residence permit shall be granted to the foreign" and "the residence permit entitles the holder to pursue an economic activity" (Section 28, no.5). In this respect, marrying a German national directly provides dependent the right to have a job. Considering these, taking knowledge about the spouses' citizenship information enables us whether dependents pursue to reach economic goals with marrying a German national or not. In my research group, among 9 men's spouses, 6 of them have German citizenship. In parallel to this, men whose spouses have German citizenship mostly have positive perceptions on having German citizenship and advantageous sides of it are attractive for them. Also, for remaining men, even if their spouses are on the application process for German citizenship, they have knowledge about it.

The narratives of women in my research group prove that among 10 women's spouses, 6 of them have German citizenship as well. However, remaining four is not like the cases of men, they are not on the application process; 3 of them is declared as Turkish citizens and one woman clarified that she does not know the citizenship status of her spouse. Also, the main difference between perceptions of women and men on German citizenship is that, while women – mostly women who have high education level – perceive German citizenship advantageous in terms of adaptability to the country and utilizing from the rights there, men regardless of their education level, perceive it advantageous in terms of finding better jobs and reaching high life standards with economic gains. Narratives shared below indicate how positive perceptions on German citizenship changes between women and men:

We are Turkish citizens. Yet, I want to be German citizen, as only for the purpose of benefiting from the rights. At the end, I will live there. [Türkan, 28 years old, open-university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

My spouse is German citizen. I would think about the citizenship issue according to the conditions. Beyond having the Turkish or German citizenship, I will live there. One must obey the rules of the country wherever it is, I would be the citizen of that country if needed. [R. Elvan, 33 years old, vocational high school graduate, dressmaker, has a rural background (a village in Çorum)]

My fiancée is citizen of Germany. If I have the same chance, I would be. By all the taxes and the legal rights, you get advantageous. Of course, there I find the work easily if I can be a citizen. [M. Kadri, 28 years old, high school graduate, cook, has an urban background (Kırıkkale)]

I would be the citizen because of the rights in Germany. If my spouse had been Turkish citizen, it would have been difficult for her to take me. Because she is a citizen, I guess that after passing the exam, everything would be easy for me. Germans make discrimination about the citizenship. They give priority to the ones who have the settlement permission. I wouldn't have difficulty in Germany if I have the right of citizenship. [T. Mehmet, 35 years old, primary school graduate, farmer and had experience in restaurants, from a village in Karaman and had lived in Germany before]

As it is illustrated by above narratives, men focus on the economic sides of the taken German citizenship as well as taken rights. In my research group, there is no woman who emphasizes on the economic opportunities that they have through German citizenship. Rather, women seem that they had not ever thought about either their or their spouses' citizenship status in contrast to men. Besides,

women have the tendency to reject to take German citizenship due to the will on ‘remaining Turk’ and ‘the feeling of proud towards Turkishness.’ For instance;

I feel myself as Turkish citizen, I will feel like that till the end of my life. German citizenship is not important for me, I wouldn’t want to be German citizen. I’m Turkish, why I would be German citizen? [P. Hülya, 19 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

I’m Turkish, I also feel like a Turkish. In my opinion, feeling like that is the most important one. My spouse is also Turkish citizen. I am proud of my Turkishness. I also wouldn’t like to change my citizenship. [C.Nergis, 29 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Erzincan)]

Although ‘being Turk’ and ‘having German citizenship’ is different, both women and men have tendency to perceive these two as same things. However, the difference between them is their perceptions towards their future attitude; while women clarify that they directly reject to take German citizenship because they want to remain as ‘Turks’, the story for men is complicated. They are also proud of ‘their Turkishness’. However thanks to their knowledge on the advantageous sides of German citizenship especially on economic sides, they represent a dilemma: whether to remain in their own nationalities or to take German citizenship is like a challenge for them. For instance;

My spouse had applied to the German citizenship before we met. In the near time, she will be German citizen. I’m Turkish and I feel myself like a Turkish, I’m proud of that. If I want to adopt, if I will live there, if it will be advantageous for my child, if there is the need to adapt to them and it necessitates German citizenship, I would be German citizen. Citizenship is not important for me, I am proud of my Turkishness. I only change my citizenship, if I would be in an advantageous position. [A.Levent, 29 years old, university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

My spouse is Turkish citizen yet she also applied for the German citizenship, for the purpose of providing a better life. I don’t want to concede from my Turkishness, I believe citizenship is not important. After going, I would consider about the economic gains of citizenship. [Ümit, 25 years old, high school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Nevşehir)]

Although these men insist on their will to remain Turkish citizens, they seem to change their decisions when economic advantages are taken into consideration. Also, their situation necessitates further point. Even if these men avoid to point out their future work status, it is known that when dependents get residence permit thanks to their spouses’ residence permits, “the residence

permit shall entitle the holder to pursue an economic activity where the foreigner whom the subsequently immigrating dependents are joining is entitled to pursue an economic activity” (German Residence Act, Section 29, no.5). In this respect, it should be noted that including above men’s spouses, other men’s spouses who are still Turkish citizens, can pursue economic activities in Germany. As it is clarified, men’s citizenship perceptions focus on the economic advantages of it. In that sense, in the lack of their spouses’ German citizenship, they would find economic activities thanks to their spouses’ work status. Considering these information, they do not need to ‘compromise’ their ‘Turkishness.’ They, in any case, can handle their challenge thanks to the opportunities coming from their spouses’ residence permits.

Including respondents’ perceptions on German citizenship, perceptions towards Germany in general, give us the picture of Germany that they have in their minds in the case of a marriage migration. However, perceptions towards their marriages as separate unit also necessitate further discussion in order to understand their motivations towards marriages, as well. Motivations towards marriages can be understood with their preferences of spouses. In this respect, next part discusses perceptions towards spouse selection of both women’s and men’s.

6.2 Gender Differences in Perceptions of Spouse Selection

As it is analysed in previous chapter in detail, families have important roles in the process of marriage migration, including the process of finding the spouses with the help of townsmen, kin and neighbourhood relations, finding the language course and also establishing ties with the country of destination. Although significance of family values and roles of families directly affect both women and men’s preference on spouse selection, their roles mostly seen in the marriages of women. Since the influence of family on the spouse selection was analysed within the words of interviewees in previous chapters, they are not repeated in this chapter. However, in the marriages of women which directly affected both by family values and family’s position, women clarified the reasons of their spouse’s preference towards them instead of their preferences towards their spouses. Although it constitutes a secondary information, they are

discussed in this chapter. In addition to these, the individual preferences of both women and men on the spouse selection are discussed in this part of the study. When directly influence of the families on marriages decreased from the whole women cases, remaining cases which include individual preferences on marriages are 7. However, it should also be noted that among this 7 women, 6 of them have kin intermediary in their marriages and also two of them among these 6 women have kinship marriages which include love. Intermediary of kin is also common in men's marriages. Even if kin intermediary in marriages is the common pattern for both women's and men's marriages, 'kin' which is one of the factors that affect marriages, creates some similarities and differences between men's and women's process of marriages as well as spouse selection. As a difference, kin in women's marriages lead women to have arranged marriages in which family affect is mostly seen. In the cases of arranged marriages, two different patterns are seen Firstly, almost all of the women in this group shared their spouses' preferences towards them, not theirs. They had fewer words about their spouses. They are also in common that their spouses prefer them since they are 'domestic' and 'well-behaved.' Secondly, there also other group of women whose marriages are turned 'love' after the arrangement. Examples for the first group of women as follows:

I asked him why he and his family had chosen me as a partner and why they had come to Turkey for this purpose. Since there is a Turkish community in Germany, I was wondering their reason. He said to me that everyone whom they asked me said I am a pure, virtuous and modest girl.²³ He also said that they (he and his family) can not cope with these girls. I understood from his sentences that the 'girls' in Germany are too free. That's why he did not want to marry a girl from Germany. Because I am living in a small village, my freedom is restricted here. I do not think that it will change when I go to Germany. I think, I cannot go somewhere by myself in Germany as well. [Nermin, E. 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde), has an arranged marriage]

My husband had not ever thought marriage to a partner from Germany. He said to me that he always wanted to marry to a well- behaved girl who bounds up with her family and follows the advice of both her family's and her husband's. He also added that he prefers a girl who does not give decisions by

²³ Although the whole women informants except one were above 18 years old, they were calling themselves as 'girl' Here, the naming of the 'girl' refers to the necessity of being virgin for the women who had not married before.

her own. [J.Berrin, 20 years-old, Vocational High School Graduate, has an urban background (Ankara), unemployed, has an arranged cousin marriage]

As illustrating second group of women, Nuran (D. 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed) who has an urban background (Ankara) says:

My spouse and his family are our far relatives. He's the son of my step grandmother's sister's husband's sister. I have not been familiar with them before. Yet they knew us. They have been talking about me for two years. Previously, I was carrying the idea that the marriage is far away from me like the stars. I decided when I saw him. It was like an arrangement but my family didn't force me to do so, I decided. His family asked him, my family asked me. We decided spontaneously. Nobody influenced me, I was affected by him when I first said "welcome" to him.

Nuran's case illustrates how "an arrangement can create love" (Hart, 2007, p. 359). The narratives of the women in the cases of arranged marriages including kin relations verify that these women have family affect on their marriages. However, it is also verified by the narratives of women that even if they have family influence in their marriages they give the last decision about their marriages both because they are satisfied to be selected or they believe that they have positive feelings to their spouses. Since none of men who have kin relations with their spouses do not refer their marriages as 'arranged', it is accepted as a difference for cases of women. However, most of the time they are in common that kin provide them to find spouses who are supported by their families or who are suitable for their 'family values.' Here, what men understand from family values is 'obeying the rules of family' and 'being suitable for their own cultural codes' which sometimes refers to 'being religious' and sometimes 'domestic.' Kin, here, facilitates their works of finding spouses according to their own 'values.' For instance;

We are not close relatives with my spouse. She's the relative of my aunt's husband and neighbour at the same time. We are becoming relatives namely. I guess becoming relatives is something good. If there are familiar people, it's better. For example, not everyone would suffer the life of the baker. We work from 5 o'clock in the morning to 20.00 o'clock at the evening. I come to home in dirty clothes. If your spouse is your relative, then she can tolerate you. My spouse has grown in Germany, but she is very polite, very suitable for our family. To tell the truth, it's important that my spouse is a one who knows about the etiquette, not a one to make me ashamed. [B. Davut, 28 years old, primary school graduate, baker, has an urban background (Mersin and Diyarbakır)]

Having kin relations in marriages constitutes the largest group of my research group. I suppose that thanks to kin, men feel comfortable about their spouses. Although kin is the most seen denominator in the narratives of men, the other ties such as townsmen and neighbours are also influential in men's spouse selection. The common point of these different groups is the fact that the intermediaries in their marriages all constitute 'trust networks' which is defined in the earlier parts of the study by Tilly. (2007) Men interviewees mostly prefer to select women, suggested by the people whom they trust about their ideas towards these women. Moreover, like in the kin affect, this group of men also is in common in the preference of 'domestic and well-behaved' women who are perceived as suitable to the 'cultural norms' of men's families. Also, intermediaries of their trust networks provide them to feel that these people are familiar to preferred women's 'cultural norms.' For instance,

We were working at the same place with my spouse's uncle's. We met when she came for a visit to her uncle. My spouse has lived in Nürnberg, her mother is German. When her parents divorced, she turned back to Turkey. My mother's neighbour from Adana has looked after her during the childhood. She told that she is a suitable one for me. Then I met and liked her. [L. Bayram, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, crane operator, has an urban background (Yozgat)]

As it is seen in the narratives of Davut and Bayram above, even if they select their spouses among Turkish community in Germany, they have negative ideas about Turkish women who had grown in Germany. If so, what does women grew up in Germany refer to these men? They claim that these women are 'free, immoral and do not care about Turkish customs and traditions.' Although they mostly think on that way, when the issue comes to their own spouses, they focus on their spouses' adaptability to 'family discipline' (Bourdieu, 2009) and 'obedience to the rules of Turkish tradition or religion, or at least their difference – according to their understanding – than 'others.' Illustrating this fact, Tarık (S. 31 years old, still attending open-high school, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Karaman) says:

I believe that my marriage decision is right. My wife is not like the conventional style of the ones living in Germany. They are mostly out-going people. My spouse is not like them. Moderate, frank.

Burhan's words also useful to include to the study although he grew up in Germany and he constitutes the secondary part of this study. He illustrates that men living in Germany share the same ideas with that of in Turkey about women in Germany. Burhan [24 years old, vocational school graduate, restaurant manager, has an urban background (Kırşehir)] says:

I had not ever thought marry to a Turkish woman from Germany, I do not think as well. You may be in trouble with them. I do think seriously in a relationship, but I cannot know what she think. I believe, Turkish girls in Germany are unreliable. The number of Turkish girls who attend to our traditions, customs, use and wonts are very low in Germany. There, Turkish mothers and fathers work all the time, nobody shows an interest in them, the children stay at home then they go out, grow with the German culture. I perceive German culture as impudence.

The narratives of men verify that they prefer women who are fitted to their cultural norms. Although this tendency is seen mostly among the respondents who have kin, townmen or neighbour intermediary or relations in their marriages, it is also seen among men narratives who find their spouses individually. This demonstrates the fact that 'suitability to the spouses of their families' can have different sources: While kin is the most influential source for men, since it facilitates the familiarity to the spouses in some level, perception of religion and customs are other sources that men utilize to feel comfortable for their spouses' suitability to their cultural norms. For instance, Tevfik (U.26 years old, vocational high school graduate, electric technician) who has a rural background (Gölcük-Kocaeli), who found his spouse individually says:

My spouse is an extraordinary one, her attitudes, habits, she's wearing a headscarf, she prays five times a day. She knows how to speak, how to act, she obeys the traditions. I'm admiring her.

For the patterns of spouse selection, it is seen that the tendency towards searching spouses who have the 'Turkish cultural behaviours' – which is understood according to the religious stance or honour perception – is the common pattern among women, like men as well. They both carry the will of finding someone according to their own understanding. However, in the absence of this, they want to change something in their spouses' religious stances or behaviours in general. From this perspective, while men mostly find spouses whom they believe they are already fitted their norms; women, in contrast

believe that they can manage to change these when they migrate. It can be concluded that, the patterns of spouse selection in this context, is the same in some level for both women and men. Examples of women cases illustrating this fact are as follows:

I do not think that we will have problems resulting from cultural differences despite the fact that he grew up in Germany. He is like a man who grew up in Turkey. I mean, he tells about himself on that way. When I go to Germany, I will see his life. I asked him whether he had a girl friend or not before, and he said that he did not have. I believed him, the only thing that I can is to believe him. [E. Nermin, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde)]

I will teach him our culture when I go there. He doesn't have enough knowledge about our religion. For example, he's been going to mosque, but he doesn't know how to pray. [F. Feraye, 19 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (township in Mardin)]

For the cases of Nermin and Feraye, it is seen that they are expecting from their spouses 'not to have a girl friend before' or 'being more religious' since they believe that growing in Germany can affect them on forgetting their 'cultural' behaviours. Because of these, they carry the will of changing these behaviours. One of the main argument of this thesis is complementary to the narratives of these women. If they believe that men growing in Turkey are more religious and more suited to their cultural norms than that of in Germany, why they prefer to have a family-forming migration? Why they carry the aim of migration through marriage even if their spouses do not match their cultural understandings? I suppose that spouses are perceived more than marriage partners, they are also perceived as people who are facilitating the interviewees' entrances to Germany. In this case, marriage as well as spouse selection cannot be identified as separate units, they are both influenced by the motivations of respondents towards migration. For instance;

I married him not only because I love him, but also because I will live in Germany with him. As far as I know, Germany is more beautiful than Turkey. Normally, I was planning the go high school in Turkey. However, I thought that in any case I can go high school in Germany. [Q.Fatoş, 18 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), has a love marriage with kin]

I like my spouse's character. Besides my positive feelings and ideas about him, I wanted to change something in my life with migrating to Germany

as well. I thought that if I would not succeed in living in Germany, I could return. [R.Elvan, 33 years old, vocational school graduate, dressmaker, has a rural background (a village in Çorum), has a love marriage]

In the cases of Fatoş and Elvan, it is seen that marrying a Turkish spouse from Germany is important for them not only because they love their spouses, but also they believe that Germany is better than Turkey in terms of several factors. While this is the life and beauty of Germany for Fatoş, it is any other factor that pushes Elvan to give this decision. What she means from ‘changing something’ in her life, should be discussed in detail. Elvan is a divorced woman after 8 months of a marriage in which she experienced physical violence by her husband. It is known that it is difficult to be a divorced woman in Turkey due to several reasons. Firstly, there is a tendency in Turkey to perceive women within the boundaries of family. In this respect, a divorced woman is analyzed as ‘free woman’ who can behave against ‘traditional norms.’ Secondly, violence against divorced women by their ex-husbands who reject to divorce is seen. According to the statistics of the National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey 2008, the rate of women who are divorced or living separately from their husbands is 73 percent. Although this rate is not directly refers to the experienced violence after marriage, instead, it refers to the violence experienced in some time of these women’s lives, it indicates how violence against divorced women is common. When the narrative of Elvan is considered according to this information, it can be said that she has expectations from Germany to open herself a new life in which she can be more free as a divorced woman. Also, her preference of her spouse is directly related to her expectation; she prefers to be equal in her private life as well. In this respect, a spouse who took German culture, is a positive thing for her, in contrast to other women as discussed above. Within her own words, the situation is like that:

I experienced too much physical violence by my ex-husband throughout 8 months. He was very authoritarian. After 8 months, I divorced from him. After some time passed, I wanted to marry to a kind man, I did not want to marry with my family’s arrangement like in my first marriage. Then, we met each other with my present spouse. I was not willing to marry to a Turkish man anymore since I thought that every Turkish man is the same. However, my present husband is totally different than a classical Turkish man. Maybe it is because he grew up in Germany and took the culture of Europe. He does not insist on his demands all the time. He supports my all decisions and wants

women to stand on their own feet. He thinks on the way that a man who likes his partner does not injure her. [R.Elvan, 33 years old, vocational school graduate, dressmaker, has a rural background (a village in Çorum), has a love marriage]

According to the narratives of informants, it is seen that family-forming migration as one of the categories of marriage migration can also have individual reasons as Strassburger (2002) reminds us. In the case of a spouse selection, individual reasons take several forms. While most of the men have tendencies towards selecting women whom they believe that they are suited to their own 'cultural values' which sometimes refers 'being domestic or religious', this pattern is also seen among women respondents. Kinship, townsmen and neighbourhood ties are also influential to their selections since they facilitate their works to find 'suitable' spouses. However, in the case of perceiving some deficiencies in their spouses in adaptability to their cultural norms since they had grown in Germany, the tendency is towards will to change some behaviours of these spouses. In this respect, it should also be considered that the reason behind finding spouses among Turkish community in Germany lies on the fact that both women and men have some expectations towards host country. That's why marriage and migration should be considered together in the spouse selections of potential migrants. Different perceptions on spouse selection necessitate to observe the perceptions of gender roles after the respondents' migration. Since it is linked to the preferences of respondents, next part will turn its attention to this issue.

6.3 Gender Differences in the Perceptions of Gender Roles

As Goulborne et. al. (2010, p. 6) clarify, a transnational family can bring matters of "gender and sexuality." It has several reasons in terms of different categories. Firstly, it is not easy for 'transmigrants' to quit their perceptions that they have in their home country after the entrance to the new country. While migrating, they carry their "cultural baggages" to the host country, at the same time. Because of this reason, firstly, what women and men separately understand from gender roles in Turkey should be discussed. In Turkey, mostly roles in the household (private sphere) are given to the women, while men are perceived as

responsibles for the public sphere. It refers to the fact that women are responsible for looking after children and doing houseworks while men are “breadwinners” and they should earn money. It is not expected from women to work or earn money, they are not perceived as the primary ‘duties’ of the women. These kind of patriarchal norms are still valid in most of the families in Turkey. Gender roles are not limited to the shared works in the private and public domains. Taking permissions from the husbands for different issues, believing that they are the “heads of families” are also other faces of patriarchy that are seen among women narratives. The importance of pointing to the gender roles in this study comes from the will to observe whether perceptions of gender roles are shaped by the process of migration or not. As Charsley (2005) states in her study about transnational marriages from Pakistan to Britain, ‘unhappy husbands’ can exist in the case of a transnational marriage of a man resulting from the ‘living in laws’ family’, unsatisfied economic conditions due to facing difficulty in the adaptation to the country as well as learning the language. She also points to the differentiated gender roles that men are not get used to in their home countries, which refers to the ‘powerful situations’ of the women in contrast to men’s incapable positions in the country of destination. It is seen that Charlesy’s arguments on ‘unhappy husbands’ is influential for Turkish transnational marriages to Germany as well. In my research group, there are two different patterns that men developed in the case of their marriage migration rooting in their cultural understandings in Turkey. Men in this group illustrates what Charsley found for Pakistani transnational marriages: they seem that they are trying to eliminate their future “unhappy situations” with mostly planning to restrict the behaviours of their spouses in the public domain with preventing their spouses from work because they feel uncomfortable with their future disadvantageous positions. In that sense, powerful positions of their spouses are something that they aim to change. Although they constitute the dominant group among the men respondents, there are several cases of men who are not disturbed from their spouses’ advantageous positions and perceive these as motivating tools for their personal developments. Narratives of men, illustrating the first group, are as follows:

My wife was born and grew up in Hannover. Now, she lives in Berlin. She works in a kindergarten as a teacher. In fact I don't want her to work. However I cannot tell her something like that. We don't have a child at the moment, but we will have at last. I prefer that she stays home and take care of our baby. Our family does and says so. Of course, I don't interfere in her work status. However I can do so when the child is little. To whom you can leave the baby? I cannot trust anyone. [U. Tevfik, 26 years old, vocational high school graduate, electric technician, has a rural background (Gölcük-Kocaeli)]

If I do not work in Germany, I feel uncomfortable. It is necessary for me to work. I am a classical Turkish man, as it is called 'patriarchal'; the head of the family is the man. I should learn German in one year, there is no other possibility. My spouse works in a Beauty Parlour in Bochum. However, I do not want her to work. She can work until I find a job. Then, she should stay at home and raise children. [Ümit, 25 years old, high school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Nevşehir)]

My wife was born in Nurnberg, grew up there for a while, took well education. Now she takes professional courses. She works nearby the lawyer as a secretary in Germany. However, I don't want her to work. It's better that she takes care of the baby. [Bayram, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, crane operator, has an urban background (Yozgat)]

Narratives of Tevfik, Ümit and Bayram indicates that their will to restrict their spouses' working status have different reasons. As Tevfik clarifies, the perceptions towards gender roles can be rooted in familial understandings. Since his family taught the role of women as 'being housewives' to him or since gender roles in his family were like that, he wants to continue this behaviour in his transnational marriage as well. In the second case, Ümit targets to use German as a tool in finding a job, since he believes by this way he would be the head of the family again and his disadvantageous position can turn to the advantageous one. They are in common that they believe the role of raising children is women's not theirs. Among narratives of men respondents, perceptions of gender roles are not limited with restricting women's work status and making them 'housewives.' The will on restricting women's visibility in public domain also has another dimension. Phases of patriarchy that are reflected to the men's words also continues with the will on restrictions of women's behaviours in public domain. Different wills on the restrictions are complementary to each other and refer to their fear towards being 'unhappy' resulting from the women's powerful positions. For instance, although Davut accepts that his spouse will have more roles than him in the public sphere thanks

to her ability to communicate in German, he carries the aim of limiting the roles of her with increasing his visibility around her and giving the message that he guards ‘the woman beside him.’ He says:

To tell the truth, because my spouse knows German, at the first step, she knows everything better than me. Yet, when there’s the man, it’s not the business of the woman paying for the tea, I also go with her. Even if I do not talk, I stand with her, then everybody understand that she is guarded. [Davut, 28 years old, primary school graduate, baker, has an urban background (Diyarbakır and Mersin)]

Narratives above constitute the first group as it is mentioned. In order to see the whole perceptions of men towards gender roles, second group of men should also be discussed. They are illustrating the opposite of the first group: they seem that they are not disturbed from their spouses’ advantageous positions, in contrast, they believe that their spouses’ situations may help them to improve themselves. For instance;

We met with my spouse without anyone’s mediation. She thrills me, her life style is proper, she likes reading, sport, innovative one. She was born and grew up in Germany, lives in Stuttgart. She had her education in a technical school, on management, she’s expertising on management. She is working in the accounting department of a company for nearly ten years. I’m supporting her in the working issue. I even don’t think about interfering in her life. I even like working on innovative things, I’m an innovative one. My spouse is a person who likes improving her skills. I try to do so. For example, I want to learn German well enough. Because I worked in the foreign trade previously, after learning German, with the ease of Russian and English, I hope that I would be able to find job more easily and live in welfare with my spouse. [A. Levent, 29 years old, university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

My fiancé studies law in Germany. She also works in a store (Esprit) in a part-time job. She wants to do her own business after the graduation. If I need a decision in Germany, I consult to her definitely. Since she is a lawyer, she knows everything. I do not say that men should have the last word, it is not important. Because everything that she suggests is logical, I accept. I will also work when I go. I will continue to learn German, but I also would like to learn English. My fiancée knows 4 or 5 languages since she studied in German schools. I believe that I will be more suitable to her when I learn German. [O.Burak, 22 years old, high school graduate, assembler, has an urban background (Ankara)]

The focuses of these men are on the education levels and work status of their spouses. They aim to learn German in order to adapt to the country’s atmosphere in terms of work status and language efficiency which paves the way

for them to be equal to their spouses. As it is seen, the narratives of these men are totally different than the above group. What makes this difference necessitates further attention to their backgrounds and types of marriages at the same time. Fox (1975, pp. 191-192) indicates that “if the marriage was a love-match, the marriage tends towards an equalitarian and open structure. If the marriage was arranged, the marriage tends to be a traditional one with husband dominance, sex segregation and constriction of the wife’s world.” I found useful to modify what Fox had argued. I suppose that marriage type cannot be the only parameter while analyzing the gender roles as ‘patriarchal-traditional’ or ‘equalitarian.’ Levels of education, obligation to familial values (which include gender roles within the family), and community background should be added to the types of marriage categories in this kind of an analysis since they are complementary to the each other. For my research group, the last two cases of men who have ‘equalitarian approaches’ towards gender roles both within and outside the family, have love-match marriages and one of them has the highest education level among men. However, in the first group of men, Tevfik has also a love-match marriage and has higher education than the remaining others. Even if the case is like that, he has a patriarchal and traditional stance to the gender roles in his marriage. When his words towards his family and what he has seen in his family is considered, it can be understood that his primary importance is the family values. In this case, neither his love-match marriage – as Fox states – nor his education level makes his stance ‘equalitarian.’ When the other narratives are considered, it is also seen that their community backgrounds which refers to the cultural norms and also gender roles in the place where they grew up, are effective on the men’s stances towards gender roles in their own marriages.

For the cases of women respondents, the situation in general is different than men’s. Firstly, it should be said that women have fewer words about gender roles in their marriages than men. They do not give any concern about the roles within the family. About their work status, some of them give clues about their perceptions on gender roles. They think that they have to get permissions from their husbands in order to work. Also, they said that about any decision in their lives, they should consult to their spouses. However, all of the women in this

group have arranged marriages. Fox's argument, mentioned above, is verified for the cases of women's marriages more than men. Women who have arranged marriages have tendency to be 'traditional or patriarchal' and seem that they are ready to have 'secondary positions' both within and outside the household. Since they perceive that 'traditional roles' are usual, they do not need to have any concerns towards this issue. However, argument of Fox is not valid for the whole arranged marriage cases, as well. For instance, although Berrin's ideas about the necessity of taking permission from her husband are similar to that of Nuran – which I believe in that sense she is 'traditional' – her spouse's stance is not like Nuran's, which refers to the husband dominance and constricting of women's life. According to these, I have the same argument for women cases as well: marriage type is deficient to explain gender roles within a marriage, additional parameters are necessary. In the below cases, there are differences between Nuran's and Berrin's narratives. It is seen that education level of Berrin creates this differentiated perceptions on gender roles even if her marriage is arranged like Nuran's.

Of course, I get the permission of my spouse. I all the time think like "whatever the man of the household says, it's valid." We take our decisions collectively yet I don't do anything without consulting to him. I also expect him to ask me. I want to work in Germany. However he doesn't want me to do so. I'm obliged to listen to him. [(D. Nuran, 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara))]

I talked with him and I told that I cannot stay at home, I work. He said "okay" then. He doesn't interfere in my decisions. Of course I consult to him, at last, I will spend my life with him. I'm a patient one, I obey my partner. I don't oppose. My spouse respects me because of my identity as a university graduate. He says "teach me that, I don't know about that".[J. Berrin, 20 years old, vocational high school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara)]

Like in the case of Berrin, education of women in general creates a difference in the perceptions of gender roles. Other than examples above, there are cases in my research group who directly refers their will to work without any further explanation like getting permissions from husbands. These women have love marriages and found their spouses individually. Also, their education levels are higher than the others. However, when women and men narratives on their perceptions of gender roles are compared, it is obvious that men have more fear

towards living in a new country in which they have the possibility to lose ‘their patriarchal dominance’ that they get used to have in Turkey. This is because they get used to prove themselves with their ‘masculine’ identities both in the private and public domains. If a little possibility of losing their ‘masculinities’ exists, they try to search new ways to gain their ‘hegemonic’ positions. In most of the cases, men search spouses who are fitted to their cultural norms and who have the possibility of accepting their restrictions in general. In the spouse selection part, the preferences of informants were discussed. Although the tendency among men is towards ‘well-behaved’ and ‘honourable’ women, what they mean by ‘honourable’ needs further discussion. Next part will observe both women and men’s honour perceptions.

6.4. Gender Differences in the Perceptions of Honour

In this part of the study, I will analyse the perceptions of honour with considering gender concept again, since I think perceptions of honour are directly related with the spouse selection and gender roles as discussed above. I find these three parameters complementary for each other because they all give us idea about the patterns of marriage migration in general. The importance of honour perceptions for this study comes from the fact that discussions towards family-forming migration in literature goes hand in hand with blaming Turkish transnational marriages for reproducing religious behaviours with selecting ‘backward’ women. Also, transnational marriages are perceived as ‘arranged and forced’ marriages. In these discussions, mostly the reference point for these claims are coming from the arguments that ‘Turkish women are domestic’ and ‘they are chosen because they are ‘enough honourable.’ I aim to understand what ‘honourable’ means for both women and men in the process of family-forming migration and learn how they perceive honour. In this respect, where the basis of honour understanding comes from and whom they think honour pertains to, are questioned.

Firstly, I suppose that ‘being honourable’ does not have to refer only ‘one meaning.’ Secondly, I argue that preference of ‘honourable women’ does not lead people to have arranged or forced transnational marriages. However, I also argue that ‘honour’ is like a family project in my research group rather than

a personal issue. There is a little amount of perceptions towards individuality of 'honour'. 'Honour' is something that should be 'preserved' according to the family values. 'Honour' constitutes an ideology towards 'culture' and 'religion.' In this respect, 'honourable' refers to being suited to the 'cultural and religious values' of the spouses. Priority of finding 'honourable' spouses, lead families to utilize from kin relations in the case of a family-forming migration, since they prefer to continue their 'family values' in the host country. In that sense, spouses among kin mostly refer to the importance of family values, religion and customs as parameters in shaping their perceptions of honour. For instance;

Honour is something related to the religion primarily. However it's also related to the family. One must obey the traditions. Honour is related to individual and the family, but you're definitely responsible to the family. [Feraye, 19 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (township in Mardin), has an arranged marriage with close-kin]

In my opinion, honour is something according to the traditions. It's necessary to behave according to the family. Honour is tied to the family and person. However, a person is responsible to her/his family. [B. Davut, 28 years old, primary school graduate, baker, has an urban background (Mersin and Diyarbakır), has a marriage with kin intermediary]

There is another side of the priorities that are given to the family values and customs; they are not necessary to be talked within the boundaries of families, perceptions are also shaped by family values with only the perceptions of families that informants 'feel'. Unspoken side of the honour within the families also creates the internalization of honour according to family values. As Tarik states:

I don't talk about the honour issues with my family. However, I know the wearing styles are important for my family. I don't interfere in first two buttons of my spouse's shirt. However, if the additional second button is not tied, my family opposes. I care about their views. [S.Tarik, 31 years old, still attending open-high school, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Karaman), has a marriage with kin intermediary]

The narratives of informants, who have kin marriages, indicate how their understanding of honour is embedded to their both 'spoken' and 'unspoken' family values. Family values including their societal stance towards honour are influential in the respondents' honour perceptions and feeling of responsibility to their understanding of honour comes, afterwards.

In the perceptions of honour, tendency to have words on ‘virginity of women’ is obvious, especially in kin marriages. Preserving virginity is mostly linked to be ‘honourable’ in both women and men narratives. For women honour is something to be preserved with experiencing no premarital sexual intercourse for themselves, their spouses and family together; priority to families and spouses are intermingled. Also, some men, explain their understanding of honour according to women’s virginity which is shaped by family values again. For Nermin and Nuran, virginity seems significant for both their spouse and their families. In addition, for Tevfik, how his ‘honour’ perception’ linked virginity, which also comes from his family takes extreme sides, is seen:

Honour is not something like the woman’s exhibiting herself all the time. For example, the women shouldn’t experience the premarital sexual intercourse. At the moment, my honour is also the honour of my spouse and my family. [E.Nermin, 25 years old, secondary school graduate, unemployed, has a rural background (a village in Niğde), has an arranged marriage with kin]

My family is also careful about the honour. It’s important to behave according to the family culture. By that reason, honour is according to the culture because the traditions say the same, here the people care about the garment covering the women from head to feet. There’s the option that being put to the father’s house saying “this is not a virgin”, there is also the option that being put to the same saying “this girl is my honour”. My honour is just for me yet there’s the saying of someone “this girl is honourless” or there’s the saying of someone “oh, this girl is careful for the honour, loyal”. Because of all these, it’s also related to the family. [D. Nuran, 27 years old, primary school graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), has an arranged marriage with kin that turned love)]

According to the perceptions of people living in Turkey, if someone has a premarital sexual intercourse, that person gets notoriety. If that person is a man, he’s perceived as a womanizer or the people say him “good on.” In my opinion, neither a man nor a woman should have eyes on somebody else. I like to admit my spouse as virgin. Would you eat the cake if it was half eaten? Or they put the hamburger for you to eat and the hamburger was bitten, who would want to eat this? I would never. Of course, men shouldn’t also behave like that, but they do in Turkey. I would say nothing happens if the men do, but it is important for the women in Turkey. Honour means not having eyes on somebody else, it means being loyal to the family values. [U.Tevfik, 26 years old, vocational high school graduate, electric technician, has a rural background (Gölcük-Kocaeli), has a love marriage]

As narrative of Tevfik indicates, types of marriages (being a love marriage or arranged marriage) do not create a big difference in the marriages of both women and men. Instead, the degree of family affect creates such a difference. In the marriages in which family affect is seen, the tendency towards

perceiving honour with the virginity of women is common. Religion and culture are other parameters that are seen as complementary to the family values in these marriages. Even if there are some cases as Tevfik, it is obvious that degree of family affect in shaping the perceptions of honour in kin marriages, is higher than that of love marriages. In the case of love marriages, perceiving honour as an individual issue rather than a family project, is common. In that sense, honour is a notion related to character instead of virginity and in the minds of the people instead of the behaviours. For example;

A woman in Turkey protects her own honour. You live without glory but you say that you're honourable, it's senseless. Honour is not something like praying, having the ablution or wearing a head-scarf. I'm divorced, am I now a honourless person? In my opinion, honour is not related to the premarital sexual intercourse. If I wanted, I would have lived the premarital sexual intercourse. I would have a lover, I would have trusted him, later we decide to break the relationship, then do I get honourless? None sense. I'm not compulsory to live all the time for explaining that. It's not necessary to live with these ideas in the whole life. It's not usual in Turkey, the people feel forced to live accepting these ideas. I live according to my understanding. Honour is important but I do live as I desire. [R. Elvan, 33 years old, vocational high school graduate, dressmaker, has a rural background (a village in Çorum), has a love marriage]

I think that the honour is something in person's mind and brain. I'm not strict about the premarital sexual intercourse. Honour is something individual. It would be somewhat simple, but I would say it's not between two legs, it's something in my mind and heart. Honour is completely related to the person oneself. [G. Türkan, 28 years old, open-university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background, has a love marriage]

For the cases above, it should be noted that type of the marriages (which are love marriages) is not the only parameter that influences women's perceptions of honour. This difference may be rooted in the life experience of the first woman since she is older than the others and experiences her second marriage. She also does not care about the family rules because she has already a proper job –dressmaker – in Turkey which provides her to be self-sufficient. For the case of second woman, this difference seem that it is rooted in her and her family's educated stance. She is the only interviewee among 11 women who has graduated from a four year faculty. In this respect, the differences are not resulted from the categories of geography (rural/urban) or class since their binding categories are also similar to other women. For men, experienced love marriages, the situation is similar to women above. Educated stance creates

differences in the perceptions of honour. For instance, Levent as being the only respondent among 10 men who graduated from a four-year faculty, links honour to the character instead of virginity.

If we think according to the women, honour is not between the two legs in my understanding. I find the premarital sexual intercourse very usual. If I say I hadn't such a relationship, it becomes a lie. Yes I had yet I'm not strict in those issues. I don't perceive this issue within the concept of honour. I believe, honour is related to the character of a person and pertains to the person oneself. [A. Levent, 29 years old, university graduate, unemployed, has an urban background (Ankara), has a love marriage]

Women's and men's narratives indicate that education and family affect are two factors that have impact on shaping the perceptions of honour. Besides, types of the marriages such as love or arranged marriages are not independent factors from the family affect. Given priority to the family values may also be seen in love marriages. Here, religious stance of the families and respondents' priorities on cultural values shape their perceptions. However, kin marriages facilitate spouses to be affected by familial and cultural values, as well. In love marriages, in which family influence is not considered resulting from education level or life experience, tendency to explain honour as an individualistic thing and based on the character is common. In contrast, tendency to explain honour with linkage to the virginity of women rooted in the familial and cultural values is common among respondents who have kin marriages and have low education levels.

In the case of a marriage migration, taking perceptions of honour is useful in order to understand in what level potential migrants who are on the way of family-forming migration target to reproduce their traditional values in the host country. It is seen that searching for honourable spouses according to traditional codes is some level common in the marriages that are affected by kin or family. However, it does not constitute the whole cases. Religious and cultural stances are mostly not taken into consideration in the case of the love marriages or marriages of high educated people. In that sense, role of kin, family affect and levels of education are together should be considered and differences of marriages according to these parameters are taken into consideration at the same time in the analyses of family-forming migration.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

As it is mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, migration from Turkey to Germany is one of the issues that migration literature mainly had focused on before. However, it should be considered that migration is a dynamic and ongoing process patterns of which has been changing throughout history. In this respect, each period of time necessitates separate discussions considering both home and host countries' political and cultural dynamics. In this study, I observed the patterns of Turkish transnational marriages within the family-formation system as a separate migration phenomenon in the case of migration from Turkey to Germany. In order to analyse these patterns, my research questions for this thesis are: 1. "How do the migration policies encourage the dynamics of transnational marriages?" 2. "How gender dynamics affect the process of transnational marriages?" 3. "How migration policies affect the strategies of migrants?" 4. "How do the societal factors such as dissatisfaction from the living conditions in the home country, restrictive policies of host country, transnational ties and network and family affect the transnational marriages?" In doing so, I conducted 19 in-depth interviews with women and men who were going to the language courses of Goethe Institute, Active Language Course and Alman Book Store for the purpose of taking Start Deutsch 1 exam as a requirement of German Language Legislation within the German Residence Act 2007, for the people on the way of family-forming migration. Additional two people as the spouses of family-forming migration were also included to the study.

As it is discussed in the previous parts, a transnational marriage can be both an individual and a family project. Based on either individual or familial reasons, a transnational marriage can be an immigration strategy, influenced by the societal factors that exist in both home and host countries and gender differentiations in the process of family-forming migration. While each societal

factor has independent effect on the strategies in some time, some another time whole factors can be complementary.

First societal factor that paves the way for the strategic use of transnational marriages is the restrictive policies of Germany in the entrance to the country. Since entrance to Germany is possible for third country nationals only through the way of marrying a person raised in Germany other than by seeking asylum, most of the people who target to enter the country with several reasons select overcoming the close of other ways with the intermediary of one type of marriage migration: via family formation. For instance, people who aim to find better jobs in a developed country may turn their faces to this only way with finding spouses from Germany especially who have Turkish origin. Also, the discussion turning around the sham marriages is directly related to this way. As Strassburger (2002, 206) states, “transnational marriages contradict the political goal of reducing family forming migrations to Germany and they challenge one of the main functions of the states, i.e to control the border and to decide how many people are allowed to cross it for the purpose of permanent settlement.”

Although family-formation is the only way to enter the country, several policies are developed in order to restrict this only way. Although language knowledge prior to migration is supported, the perception of Language Law 2007 as restriction, rooted in the fact that it is for selected countries including Turkey. Considering the family unity as a right according to the international legal documents, it can be concluded that this policy lead potential migrants to face several difficulties while they are trying to form or unite their families. The insistence of respondents on learning German in the home country due to the necessity of policy, can both because of the will of reaching their spouses or utilizing marriages as strategies for the purpose of immigration. It is seen that, this policy does not lead people to change their marriage migration decisions. It only leads them to extend their migration plans. Within the first societal factor, while family-forming migration as being only way to enter the country creates the strategy of a transnational marriage, restrictions in family-forming migration do not prevent the establishment of a transnational marriage. How this first

societal factor can be complementary with the others necessitates further discussion.

As a second societal factor, dissatisfaction from living conditions in Turkey, fastens the process of the family-forming migration, especially for men. Men in my research group were working mostly in temporary jobs in the service sector and they were not satisfied with their economic conditions in Turkey. Rooting in their dissatisfactions, they have high material and economic expectations from their migration, more than their marriages. In this respect, their perceptions towards Germany are directly related to the economic opportunities of the country, that they could not find in Turkey. Having temporary jobs, utilizing from state aids are some of these economic opportunities.

In that sense, marrying a woman who has German citizenship or work permit is easing their way that is followed. Their knowledge on their spouses' citizenship information and at the same time, advantageous sides of the German citizenship are tools for us to understand how their marriages carry the possibility of being strategies for them. That's why citizenship discussion is included to the study. German citizenship is perceived by most of the men as a way for reaching better living conditions in terms of economic opportunities and better jobs. In that sense, they have knowledge about their spouses's citizenship information even if they are on the process of application to German citizenship. Besides, although there are some tendencies in rejection of taking German citizenship because of the insistence on 'remaining Turks', the advantageous sides of it are also known by men. In this respect, taking citizenship or not is like a dilemma for them. In contrast, most of the women did not emphasize on the role of citizenship in their lives. Among women who emphasized on the German citizenship, the focus is on its advantageous sides in facilitating ways of the life, it is not directly linked with reaching better employment status like men. In this respect, when men's economic expectations which are mostly related to finding better jobs thanks to their trust on the spouse's citizenship status are considered, it is possible that the marriage of a Turkish man to a woman raised in Germany is a strategy to continue the earlier phase of male-dominated labour migration within the constraints of immigration control and other dynamics mentioned

above as Shaw (2001) emphasizes for the case of Pakistani marriage migration to London.

In contrast to men, women's dissatisfactions from living conditions are not based on economic targets. Since women are not active in labor market of Turkey, their motivations towards Germany are not rooted in their employment or economic status. Rather, it is rooted in their restricted freedoms – depending on the city where they live or patriarchal rules among their communities – or low life standards of Turkey. In that sense, they target to have better living conditions in terms of life standards and rights in Germany as well as to reach more freedom or to be the part of the developed country. In women's marriage migration, although their primary emphasis seems on their marriages, it is seen that they also consider reaching the life in Germany. In that level, their strategic use of a transnational marriage is also on the agenda, but not as much as strong than that of men's.

Third social factor, that directly affects the processes of transnational marriages and facilitates the realization of them is the existed transnational ties as social capital. Existence of transnational ties has two meanings for respondents and these are affected by gender differences. First, transnational ties established in Germany, provide women to have the feeling of security and 'trust' in their future lives. Also, they are perceived as facilitating ways of their living conditions after the realization of migration. However, for men, transnational ties in Germany provide them to be comfortable about their future employment status thanks to their perceptions of transnational ties as facilitating tools in finding better jobs. Second, kin, townsmen, neighbour and friends as transnational ties, existing both in Turkey and Germany, directly involve to the processes of finding spouses for the respondents. They are strategically applied to find a proper spouse when the target is on the migration itself. The reason behind for their acceptance as tools, applied in the processes of marriage migration, is that they provide respondents not to 'lose time' to be familiar to their potential spouses. Since they were already approved by people whom respondents 'trust', they do not spend too much time with their spouses before marriage and they easily focus on their migration more than their spouses or marriages.

However, the perception of ‘loss of time’ is also seen in love marriages even if the time spent each other is mostly two months before the marriage decision. In that sense, other parameters such as education or work status are influential in their marriage migration decisions. Most of the respondents in my research group are secondary school or high school graduates. Only one of the 21 respondents has graduated from a four-year faculty. However, he is also in common to others who got married in short times. Also, they are in common that they do not have proper employment status in Turkey. In this respect, the will on marriage migration is not directly comes to the feeling of love or motivations towards marriage. Economic expectations towards migration, rooted in the dissatisfaction from the living conditions in Turkey as a result of temporary job status, make the processes of getting married fast and lead marriages to be utilized for the purpose of immigration. It is true that respondents trust their transnational ties in terms of finding proper spouses and this lead the process of getting married to be short. However, short time of a marriage process in love marriages indicates that transnational tie is not the only parameter and economic expectations from migration should also be considered in the explanation of short times of marriage processes. If the focus had been only to the spouses and marriages, familiarity to spouses in terms of their lives, education levels or characters would have been more clear in their minds. In other words, a marriage aim of which is to be with the spouse, necessitate the knowledge about the partner. However, due to the limited time that spent to get familiar to spouses, knowledge about them is restricted. Decision to marry an unfamiliar spouse indicates how marriage is utilized as a strategy for the purpose of immigration which hides goals towards migration not towards marriage itself.

There is only difference for women who got married with love. Their processes of getting married are longer than that of above. They waited for years to be familiar to spouses. Although in these cases expectations towards Germany are related to better living conditions and rights in Germany, it is seen that they are more interested in their marriages than above groups. In that sense, strategic use of marriages for the purpose of immigration is relatively low for them.

In addition to the role of transnational ties mostly consisting of kin in the marriage migration process, application to kin has also another meaning for

them. This meaning is the fourth factor that is complementary to the others. Fourth factor is the pattern that is seen in the processes of transnational marriages, resulting from the presence of transnational ties. While first three factors facilitate the use of marriages as strategies for migration, fourth factor works for the realization of the process according to the family values they have. Given importance to family values comes from the purpose of finding spouses who are proper to their familial values in terms of culture, religion or their own 'family stance.'

Cultural and familial values is shaped by gender phenomenon as well as marriage types. Priority to the cultural and familial values mostly refer to the selected spouses' cultural or religious stances and taking family support in their marriages. Cultural stance designates to obligation to family rules or 'being honourable' while religious stance indicates the behaviours according to Islam. For men, while common tendency is to expect from selected spouses to be 'honourable', for women, it is to have family support or approval for their marriages.

The common denominator between women and men is the belief on 'cultural matches' between them and their spouses even if they know that their spouses grew up in Germany. They believe that their spouses have 'enough Turkish culture' and in that sense they are suited to their norms. In the lack of this belief, they target to change some 'cultural behaviours' of their spouses. Having enough Turkish culture points to the having 'family discipline.' Preference of spouses who have family discipline brings the necessity to be familiar to both spouses and their families. In that sense, kin is the most effective intermediary to find proper spouses. However, this does not lead them to be supportive of kin marriages. More than kin relations, intermediary of kin in marriages is obvious which resulted from the trust on the role of kin in finding proper spouses and opening the space for spouses to meet. Also, support of kin marriages because it facilitates the relations between families is on the one side of the transnational marriages. Even if the marriages are arranged, only far- kin or the intermediary of kin is acceptable. Besides, arrangement of marriages does not directly makes the marriages traditional. In the case of arranged marriages,

last words are given by the women themselves and also the marriages have the possibility to turn love marriages as Hart (2007) found in her study.

For the cases of love marriages, priority to given familial and cultural values are less than that of arranged or kin marriages. Since the individual preferences are mostly common in that of love marriages, taken family support are only seen at the last stage. Also, more than the religious stances or suitability to the 'Turkish culture,' personal matches are searched in these marriages. Besides, for the love marriages of women, to search for a free 'transnational living' with an 'open-minded man having European culture' is also seen.

The other difference between arranged, kin and love marriages is on the perceptions towards future gender roles. Women in arranged marriages are inclined to approve the 'patriarchal norms' that would come with the dominance of husbands on their lives. However, even if the marriages are arranged, women's levels of education create the difference on perceptions of future gender roles. If the education of women is high, the rejection of husband dominance is seen.

In kin marriages of men, the fear of being 'unhappy husbands' (Charsley, 2005) due to the lack of knowledge about the host country is widespread. In that sense, the patriarchal norms that men internalize are reflected to their targets on 'restricting women's work status and behaviours' in public sphere. In contrast, in love marriages of men, the aim is to be equal with the spouses whom already had more knowledge about the country than they had. In that of love marriages, to be equal designates their will on learning language well and improvement of themselves in several sides. There is not restricted attitudes in these cases. However, marriage type is not the only parameter that leads a marriage to have patriarchal attitudes inside or not. In love marriages, education levels of men are higher than that of kin marriages. However, being high-educated does not retain a man to be patriarchal. Perceptions of restricted attitudes in future gender roles that are seen in love marriages indicate that patriarchal norms are not necessarily dependent on education level. They are mostly affected by familial values and religious stances.

After pointing out to the main findings of my research and significant issues discussed in this study, it is worth to mention what makes this study a

social policy master thesis. Patterns of migration are mostly discussed in the literature within the discipline of sociology. The significance of this study, focusing on the patterns of Turkish family-forming migration to Germany, as a master thesis in social policy program comes its emphasis on restrictive policies of Germany in the case of family-forming migration. This study is utilized from a research group who are on the way of family-forming migration and therefore, perceptions towards Germany's language law 2007, are taken. In that sense, the study touched policy issues with utilizing the narratives of this group. Also, since debates on Germany's legislations are ongoing, study keeps up to date.

Considering these, this study, as a social policy master thesis, has some recommendations in policy basis. Firstly, as verified by the narratives of respondents, language law of Germany does not have sides on preventing family-forming migration. It only leads people to have in difficulty in this process. Also, most of the people on the way of family-forming migration are willing to learn German, only some of them target to live in their own Turkish communities without using German. However, common tendency is towards supporting the idea that learning the language of country facilitates adaptability to the country. In that sense, considering the narratives of my research group and the possible difficulties that they can face after their migration, I perceive the knowledge of German prior to migration as a significant step for the process of migration. Also, I found Language Legislation beneficial. However, having language criteria for selected countries is like a discrimination and includes assumptions that Turkish migrants reject the integration to the country with the rejection of learning language. Considering the narratives of my research group, it is seen that general tendency is to learn German in any case. Rejection of the language legislation is only based on temporary difficulties that potential migrants face in the process before their migration, as transnational families. The focus of Germany should not be on restricting the ways of family formation since these policies do not have preventive sides for the people who have economic targets and use their marriages for the purpose of migration. If the other ways for migration opens, strategic targets in/of transnational marriages can be diminished.

Although Germany targets to prevent so called ‘fake’ marriages or people who utilize from their marriages as strategies for the purpose of immigration, there is nothing done to change this. Opening the other ways of migration for people who aim to work there, would be one solution. It is obvious that Germany wants qualified people to immigrate and work there. However, as one of the underlying causes of migration decision, dissatisfaction from the living conditions in Turkey should also be taken into consideration. Dissatisfaction is rooted in the low economic status in Turkey, in that sense, it is obvious that migration is mostly preferred by the people who have low economic status. If the ways for migration of this group are opened, these people may not utilize from their marriages as ways for migration. Besides more economic opportunities should be created in Turkey, as well. At the same time, if more ways for the involvement of women to the labor market in Turkey are opened and opportunities are created, the perceptions towards traditional gender roles are transformed and this also affect positions of women and men in the process of the transnational marriages.

In addition to these, my second recommendation is the necessity of orientating public discourse on Turkish transnational marriages. In the public discourse in Germany, Turkish transnational marriages are mostly blamed for reproducing culturalist behaviours of ‘forcing women into marriages’ or arranging marriages in a transnational context. However, as discussed within the contributions of other studies, as well as my indicators, this is not the case for Turkish transnational marriages. Patterns of family-forming migration can only be understood with whole parameters such as dissatisfaction from the living conditions in the home country, policies of host country, presence of social capital and family values. Also, further studies can contribute these patterns with additional parameters. As Strassburger (2002) reminds us structural and demographic factors, social and cultural resources and individual preferences are influential on transnational marriages.

Because of the limitations of this study, I believe there are some untouched issues such as perceptions of spouses living in Germany and families on preferences of a transnational marriage remained in the case of family-forming migration from Turkey to Germany. For this reason, for further studies

and researches I suggest that families and spouses of the potential migrants living in Germany could be involved to a study on this topic. Within this way, complementary sides of a marriage migration study could also be examined.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Kişisel Bilgiler

Individual Information

1. Kaç yaşındasınız? How old are you?
2. Şimdiye kadar en uzun süre nerede yaşadınız? (Köy, kasaba, kent) Where have you longest lived until now? (Village, County, City)
3. Eğitim seviyeniz nedir? What is your education level?
4. Düzenli olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz var mı? Daha önce çalıştınız mı? (Çalışmıyorsa) Yurtdışında çalışmayı düşünüyor musunuz/istiyor musunuz? Do you have a regular work? What is your job? Have you worked before? Do you plan / want to work in Germany?
5. Kendinize ait bir kazancınız var mı? Do you earn money by yourself?
6. Kendinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? How do you define yourself?
7. Sizin için en önem verdiğiniz kişiler kimlerdir? (Aile/Arkadaş/Eş) Who are the most important people in your life? (Family/Spouse/Friend)

Evlilik

Marriage

8. Evli misiniz? Are you married?
9. Evlenmeyi düşündüğünüz/düşüneceğiniz/evlendiğiniz kişide aradığınız özellikler nelerdir? What are the particular characteristics that you are looking for in your spouse/your fiancée/person whom you plan to marry?
10. Evlendiğiniz/evleneceğiniz kişiyle nerede /nasıl tanıştınız? Where /how did you meet your spouse/fiancée?
11. Kendinizi evliliğe hazır hissetmiş miydiniz/hissediyor musunuz? Did you feel ready to a marriage? Do you feel ready to a marriage?
12. Tanıştıktan ne kadar zaman sonra evlenmeye karar verdiniz? How long did it take you to decide for a marriage after the first dating/meeting?
13. Evlilik kararınızla ilgili süreci anlatır mısınız? Could you please tell me your process of getting married?
14. Evlilik kararını kim verdi? (Kendisi, ailesi, birlikte olduğu kişi, sosyal çevre) Who gave the decision of your marriage? (You, family, spouse, acquaintances)
15. Evlilik kararı sırasında üzerinizde etkisi olan birileri oldu mu? Is there anyone who influenced you in your process of getting married?

16. Kendi hayatınızla ilgili bir karar söz konusu olduğunda (kursa gitmek, çalışmak) eşinizden izin almak gerektiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Do you think that there is a need to get permission from your spouse in any kind of an individual decision (go outside, work etc.) during your marriage?
17. Size göre evlilikte en önemli şey nedir? What is the most important thing for you in a marriage?

Birlikte Olduğu Kişi (Eş/Nişanlı)

The Person in Relation (Fiancee/Spouse)

18. Eşiniz/nişanlınız kaç yaşında? How old is your spouse/fiancée?
19. Şimdiye kadar en uzun süre nerede yaşadığını biliyor musunuz? (Köy, kasaba, kent) Where has s/he longest lived until now?
20. Eğitim seviyesi nedir? What is the education level of your spouse?
21. Birlikte olduğunuz kişi düzenli bir işte çalışıyor mu? Daha önce çalışmış mı? (Çalışmıyorsa) Çalışmayı düşünüyor mu? Siz birlikte olduğunuz kişinin çalışmasını ister misiniz? Does s/he have a regular job right now? Does s/he work? Has s/he ever worked before? Does s/he plan/want to work? Do you want your spouse to work?
22. Eşiniz/nişanlınız şu an nerede? Ne yapıyor? Where is your spouse now? What is s/he doing?
23. Birlikte olduğunuz kişiyle aranızda akrabalık var mı? (Varsa) Akrabanızla evlenmenin aile ilişkilerinizi nasıl etkileyeceğini düşünüyorsunuz Do you have kin relations with your spouse/fiancee? (If you have) How do you think your relations with your family will be affected from your kin relations?
24. Akraba evliliği konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? What do you think about kin marriage in general?
25. Eşiniz hiç Almanya'daki Türkiyeli topluluktan biriyle evlenmeyi düşünmüş mü? Neden sizi seçtiğini düşünüyorsunuz? Have your spouse ever thought to marry a person from the Turkish community in Germany? Why do you think that s/he prefer you to marry?

Aile, Evlilikte Aile Algısı

Family, Family Perceptions on Marriage

26. Aileniz nerede yaşıyor? (Köy, kasaba, kent) Where does your family live? (Village, county, city)
27. Ailenizin eğitim seviyesi nedir? (Anne, baba, kardeşler, anneanne, dede..) (What is the education level of your family? (Mother, father, grandparents, siblings etc.)
28. Ailenizde en çok söz sahibi kimdir? Who is the most influential person in your family?

29. Aile bireyleriniz çalışıyor mu? Ne iş yapıyor? Do your family members work? What are their jobs?
30. Evlenme kararınızda ailenizin etkisi oldu mu? Ne ölçüde oldu? Was your family effective in your marriage decision? If so, what was the level of their influence?
31. Aileniz sizin kararlarınızı önemser mi? Does your family consider your decisions?
32. Bugüne kadar verdiğiniz herhangi bir kararda ailenizin etkisi ne oranda oldu? (Okul, iş, evlilikle ilgili) In what level your family was effective in any kind of your decision (about education, work, marriage)?
33. Evlendiğiniz/evleneceğiniz kişiyi ailenizin tanınması sizin için önemli midir? Does your family's familiarity to your spouse/fiancee is important for you?
34. Aile içinde kendi kararlarınızı verebiliyor musunuz? Sizin adınıza karar veriliyor mu? Can you give your own decisions within your family? Is there anyone in your family who gives the decisions in an issue related to you?

Göç ve Evlilik

Migration and Marriage

35. Yurtdışına gitmeye nasıl karar verdiniz? How did you decide to migrate to Germany?
36. Yurtdışına gitmek sizin için ne ifade ediyor? (Korku, heyecan, beklenti, iyi yaşam) Türkiye ile gideceğiniz ülkeyi hangi açılardan kıyaslıyorsunuz? What is the meaning of migration (anxiety, excitement, expectation, better life) for you? How do you compare Germany with Turkey?
37. Evleneceğiniz kişiyle yurt dışında yaşayacak olmak, evlilik kararınızı nasıl etkiledi? How was the influence level of the idea that you will be living abroad on your marriage decision?
38. Aileniz yurt dışına gidecek olmanız konusunda ne düşünüyor? What does your family think about your marriage migration?
39. Gideceğiniz ülkede akrabalarınız/hemşerinizi/yakınlarınız var mı? Do you have any relatives/townsmen/acquaintances in Germany?
40. (Eğer varsa) Yakınlarınız Almanya'yı nasıl anlatıyorlar? Nasıl bir yere gideceğinizi düşünüyorsunuz? How do your acquaintances tell about Germany? What kind of a place do you think you will go?
41. Gideceğiniz ülkenin Göçmenlik Yasası hakkında bilginiz var mı? Ne düşünüyorsunuz? Do you have any knowledge about the Germany's migration legislation? What do you think about this?
42. Almanya'nın Dil Yasası hakkında bilginiz var mı? Destekliyor musunuz? What do you know about Germany's language legislation? Do you support?
43. Gideceğiniz ülkenin siyasi/kültürel ortamını takip ediyor musunuz? Do you follow the cultural and political atmosphere of Germany?

Namus, Namus Algısı

Honour, Perceptions of Honour

44. Size göre namus ne anlama geliyor? What is the meaning of honour for you?
45. Size göre aileniz namusu nasıl algılıyor? How do you think your family perceives honour?
46. Ailenizle namus konularını konuşur musunuz? Do you talk the issues of honor with your family?
47. Evlilik öncesi cinsel hayata nasıl bakıyorsunuz? Ailenizin bu konudaki görüşlerini biliyor musunuz, onlar nasıl bakıyor? What do you think about premarital sexual intercourse? Do you know your family's perception on this issue?
48. Namus kavramını neye göre tanımlıyorsunuz? (Din, kültür, gelenek, aile algısı) What do you relate the concept of honour? (Religion, culture, family perception)
49. Evliliğinizde geleneklere uyduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz? Do you think you abide by the traditions in your marriage?
50. Size göre namus kimi ilgilendirir? In your opinion to whom does honour/pertains to?

Vatandaşlık

Citizenship

51. Kendinizi hangi ülkenin vatandaşı gibi hissediyorsunuz? Which country's citizen do you feel yourself?
52. Hangi ülke vatandaşısınız? Which country's citizen are you?
53. Almanya vatandaşı olmak ister misiniz? Would you like to be the citizen of Germany?
54. Eşiniz Türkiye vatandaşı mı, Almanya vatandaşı mı? Does your spouse have Turkish citizenship or German citizenship?
55. Avrupa vatandaşlığına sahip olmak sizin için önemli mi? Ne kadar önemli? Is it important to be a European Citizen for you/how much is it important?

Dini- Etnik Kimlik

Religious, Ethnic Identity

56. Hangi dine mensupsunuz? Do you belong to a religion?
57. Eşiniz, nişanlıınız, hangi dine mensup? Which religion does your spouse belong to?
58. Etnik kimliğiniz varsa, nasıl tanımlarsınız? If you have an ethnical identity, how do you define yourself?

59. Yurtdışında yaşayacak olmanın kendi dininize, etnik kimliğinize, kültürünüze ne şekilde etki edeceğini düşünüyorsunuz? What sort of influence do you think your religion/ethnicity/culture will affect your life in Germany? Dini törenle mi yoksa resmi törenle mi evlenmeyi tercih edersiniz? Evlendiniz? Düğün yaptınız mı? Yapacak mısınız? Do you prefer a civil ceremony or religious ceremony? Did you prefer the civil ceremony or religious ceremony? Did you/do you plan to perform a wedding ceremony?

İrade – Baskı

Consent- Coercion

60. (Uyan durumlar için) Aileniz evlenmenizi istediğinde nasıl tepki verdiniz? (Related to the case) How did you react when your family wanted you to get marry?

61. Karşı çıkmak istediniz mi? Did you ever wanted to oppose for the idea?

62. Sizin için hayattaki en önemli şey nedir? (Aile, eş, din, kültür) What is the most important thing for you in life? (Family, spouse, religion, culture)

63. Evliliğinizde mutlu olacağınızı düşünüyor musunuz? Do you think you will be happy in your marriage?

Danışmanlık – Etki Derecesi

Consultancy, Levels of Influence

64. Göç sürecinizde herhangi bir kurumdan destek aldınız mı? Did you get any support from any institution in your migration process?

65. Hangi konularda ve hangi kurumlardan danışmanlık aldınız? (Which institution/on what sort of subject did you get consult?)

66. Ailenizin/sizin/eşinizin bağlı olduğu/olduğunuz dini, kültürel bir grup var mı? Do you have a membership/link between any religious or cultural group? Does your family/spouse have any link membership or link to any religious or cultural group?

67. Dil kursuna gittiniz mi? / Gidiyor musunuz? / Gideceğiniz ülkenin dilini öğrenmek konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?/Almancayı gittiğinizde nasıl öğrenmeyi düşünüyorsunuz? (Kursa gitmek, eş yardımı almak, yakınlarla sormak, meslek kursu, entegrasyon kursuna gitmek) / Did you attend to a language course? / Do you attend to language course / What do you think of learning the language of the country that you will be going? / How do you think you will be learning German when you go? (Attending a course/with the support of the spouse/by asking the relatives/ occupational course/by attending to an integration course)

APPENDIX B

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF RESPONDENTS

Name	Sex	Age	Education Level	Employment Status	Place of Origin	Marital Status
A.Levent	Male	29	University	Unemployed	Ankara (City)	Married
B.Davut	Male	28	Primary School	Baker	Mersin and Diyarbakır(City)	Married
C.Nergis	Female	29	Primary School	Unemployed	Erzincan (Village)	Married
D.Nuran	Female	27	Primary School	Unemployed	Ankara (City)	Married
E.Nermin	Female	25	Secondary School	Unemployed	Niğde (Village)	Married
F.Feraye	Female	19	Secondary School	Unemployed	Mardin (County)	Married
G.Türkan	Female	28	Open university	Unemployed	Ankara (City)	Married
H.Burhan	Male	24	Vocational School	Restaurant Manager	Kırşehir (City), lives in Germany	Married
İ. Gülcan	Female	25	Primary School	Unemployed	İzmir (County)	Married
J. Berrin	Female	20	Vocational High School	Unemployed	Ankara (City)	Married
K.Sevim	Female	24	High School	Worker in a cafe	Kırşehir (City), lives in Germany	Married
L.Bayram	Male	25	Secondary School	Crane Operator	Yozgat (City)	Married
M. Kadri	Male	28	High School	Cook	Kırıkkale (City)	Engaged
N.Ümit	Male	25	High School	Waiter	Nevşehir (City)	Married

O. Burak	Male	22	High School	Assembler	Ankara (City)	Engaged
P.Hülya	Female	19	Secondary School	Unemployed	Ankara (city)	Married
Q.Fatoş	Female	17	Secondary School	Unemployed	Ankara (City)	Married
R.Elvan	Female	33	Vocational School	Dress-maker	Çorum (Village)	Married
S. Tarık	Male	31	Open High School-Continues	Unemployed	Karaman (Village)	Married
T.Mehmet	Male	35	Primary School	Farmer	Karaman (Village)	Married
U. Tevfik	Male	26	Vocational High School	Electric Technician	Kocaeli (County)	Married

APPENDIX C

QUATATIONS in TURKISH TAKEN FROM INTERVIEWS

Chapter 5

“Şu an çalışmıyorum, 6 yıl İstanbul’da bir restoranda garson olarak çalıştım. Almanya’da tabii ki çalışırım, ama orayı bilmiyorum, ne iş yaparım kestiremiyorum, herhalde yine garson olarak çalışırım ya da gıda sektöründe başka bir iş bakarım. Paraya bakarım açıkçası oraya gidince, hangi iş para getirecekse orda çalışırım. Cumartesi-Pazar çalışmıyormuş Almanya’da. Akşamları da erken kapatıyorlarmış işyerlerini. 40 saati aşamıyorlar diye biliyorum, bizden daha az çalışıyorlar. Bizde 70 saat çalışan yerler de var. Ama mesaileri olursa Alman firmaları çok para veriyor diye biliyorum.” (S. Tarık, 31)

“Aşçılık yapıyorum uzun süredir. Gıda sektöründe, kendimi geliştirdim. Şu an kursa gittiğimden çalışmıyorum. Almanya’da çalışmayı kesinlikle düşünüyorum, yine gıda sektöründe bir iş bulurum diye umuyorum. Almanya’da istediğim kadar kazanabilirsem Türkiye’ye dönmek isterim, 6 ay Türkiye’de, 6 ay Almanya’da kalırım. Ayda 4000 liralık kira gelirim olsa mesela, yine gelirim Türkiye’ye.” (M. Kadri, 28)

“Benim Türkiye’de düzgün bir işim olmadığı için, Türkiye yerine Almanya’da yaşamaya karar verdik. Eşimin Almanya’da düzgün bir işi var, işletmeci olarak çalışıyor; biz de o yüzden orda yaşamamanın daha iyi olacağını düşündük. Şu an bir kazancım yok, çalışmıyorum ama daha önce 2 sefer dış ticaret sektöründe çalıştım, Yurtdışında çalışmayı planlıyorum. Formasyonum var, öğretmenlik yapabilirim ama dış ticaret alanında da çalışabilirim.” (A. Levent, 29,)

“Ortaokul mezunuyum okumadığım için çalışmıyorum. Okusaydım ben de çalışırdım herhalde. Bizim orda kızlar çalışmaz, akrabalarından hiç çalışan kız yok. Erkeklerle güvenmiyor, o yüzden çalıştırmıyor babam. (F. Feraye, 19)

“Şu an çalışmıyorum, evlendikten sonra işi bıraktım, eşim çalışmamı istemediği için. Daha önce Maltepe’de bir kozmetik-bijuteri dükkânında tezgahtar olarak çalışıyordum. Yurtdışında çalışmak istiyorum ben ama eşim çalışmamı istemiyor. Onu dinlemeye mecburum.” [D. Nuran.,27)

“İlkokul mezunuyum, maddi nedenlerden dolayı okuyamadım. Ama çok istedim. Daha önce çocuk bakıcılığı yaptım, konfeksiyonda perde dikimiyle uğraştım. Almanya’da çalışmayı düşünüyorum ama ne iş yaparım hiç bilmiyorum” (İ. Gülcan, 25)

“Markette çalışıyordum ama kursa gelmek için bıraktım. Almanya’ya gidince dilini daha iyi öğrenip liseyi bitirmek istiyorum, sonra da çalışmak istiyorum. (Q. Fatoş, 18)

“Kırşehir üniversitesi meslek yüksek okulu grafik bölümü mezunuyum. Daha önce giyim mağazasında çalıştım. Şu an çalışmıyorum. Almanya’da mesleğim üstüne iş bulursam çalışırım.” (J. Berrin, 20)

“Şu anda çalışmıyorum ama daha önce hem özel bir şirkette halkla ilişkiler alanında hem de ÖSYM’de çalıştım. Almanya’da da kendi alanımla ilgili bir işte kesinlikle çalışmak isterim”. (G. Türkan, 28)

“Kendime ait bir dikiş nakış dükkanım var, o işlerden iyi anlarım, meslek eğitimi gördüm. Almanya’ya gidince de bu işleri yapmayı düşünüyorum”. (R. Elvan, 33)

“Burda görüyoruz Almanca’yı, oraya gidince orda da görecekmiz 600 saat kadar. Bence ya burayı kaldırsınlar, ya da orayı kaldırsınlar, gidişimizi zorlaştırdılar. Bizi ülkeye almamak için yapıyorlar. İkincisinde de geçemedin, hiç geçemedin, ne olacak sonra, gidemeyecek miyiz? 3 kere hak versinler orda, geçemeyince geri göndersinler, burda bizi uğraştırmassınlar. Çoğu Türk vatandaşı orda dil öğreniyor. Ben de orda öğrenmeyi tercih ederdim. Daha önce aldıkları gibi gene alsınlar bizleri şart koşmadan.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“ Aslında ben burda bize Almanca şartını getirmelerine kızıyorum. Burda dili konuşamıyoruz ki, nasıl öğrenelim. Almancayı orda öğrenmeliyim. Eşin orda sana öğretir. İnsan üzülüyor ayrı kaldığı için, kavuşmanın bu kadar zor olduğunu bilmiyordum.” (C. Nergis, 29)

“Şimdi çok yorgunum aslında. Kafam yoruluyor, eşim yok yanımda. Her şeyle kendim uğraşıyorum. Uzaktan bana destek olamıyor. Köye gittiğimde de dedikodu oluyor, kimse sınavı bilmiyor, daha gitmedin mi diyorlar. Evimin, yuvamın olmasını istiyorum. Gittiğimde kursa gitmek isterim Almanya’da. Orda bedavaymış zaten. Ben dil kursu olmadan gitmek istiyorum. Ama öğrenmek için de gelmek zorundayız kursa. Bu yasaya karşıyım” (E. Nermin, 25)

“Ankara’da ailen yok, gidip gelmek problem taa Niğde’den, bir kağıt parçası için geliyorsun, konuşmasan da anlıyorsun sonuçta, ama sınavı geçemiyorsun. İlle sınavı geçeceksin. Her ilde açılın bu kurslar madem. Bizi uğraştırıyorlar.” (E. Nermin, 25)

“Markette çalışıyordum önceden ama kursa gelmek için bıraktım. Kursa gelmek gerektiği için kızıyorum bu yasaya. Az da olsa para kazanıyordum, hayatım bu kurs oldu şimdi. Gidince öğrensek ne olur sanki.”(Q. Fatoş, 18)

“Goethe’ye dil sertifikası mecbur olduğu için de geliyorum ama konuşabilmek istiyorum ben orda da. Çay isteyeceğim mesela orda, Türkçe konuşsam beni kimse anlamaz, 3-4 ayda konuşmayı öğrenip, kendi işimi kendim yapmak

istiyorum. Öğrenmeden gitmemek daha iyi, yasa olmasa belki de kimse öğrenmeyecekti burda.” (B. Davut, 28)

“Almancamı ilerletebildiğim kadar ilerletmek istiyorum hem burda hem Almanya’da. Bence bu yasa bizim işimizi kolaylaştırıyor, Almanya’ya gittiğimizde biraz konuşabiliyor olacağız bu sayede. Hem ülkeye daha kolay uyum sağlarız hem de ilerlettiğimiz takdirde iyi bir iş bulma ihtimalimiz artar.” [A. Levent, 28)

“İki aydır kursa geliyorum, bir kere sınava girdim, geçemedim. Almanca öğrenmek çok zor ama öğrenmek istiyorum, mutlaka öğreneceğim. Orda da konuşmak istiyorum. Bilemeyince ben kötü olcam sonuçta. Yasa olmasaydı gidince öğrenirdim ama öğrenip gitmek zorundayım. Eşim için katlanıyorum.” (C. Nergis, 29)

“2 kere kaldım Almanca sınavından. Ama geçene kadar uğraşacağım. Mesleki açıdan önemli Almanca. Gittiğimde hemen iş bulmak istiyorum. Mesleğim var aslında ama Türkiye’de yapıyorum vinç operatörlüğünü. Orda geçerli mi bilmiyorum. Gidince bir şey bulamazsam yine meslek kursuna da giderim diye düşünüyorum başka bir meslek öğrenmek için. Orda mutlaka çalışmalıyım. Bunun için de Almanca bilmem gerekiyor”. (L. Bayram, 25)

“Benim dedemle eşimin anneannesi kardeş olmasına rağmen ben onu önceden tanıımıyordum. Ama aileler tanıyormuş tabii. Benim amcam ve ailesi de Almanya’da yaşıyor. Eşimin ailesiyle komşularmış Almanya’da. Amcamın hanımı bana, ‘iyi çocuktur, evlen’ dedi.” (D.Nuran, 27)

“Benim Almanya’da eniştem var, 30 yıldır orda çalışıyor, beni hep evlendirmek istemiştir, benim onda bir fotoğrafım vardı, kıza (eşime) göstermiş fotoğrafımı. Beğenmiş o da. İçi ısınmış bana, öyle dedi, neyime ısındı ben de bilmiyorum valla. (Gülüyor.) Fotoğrafımı görünce hemen geldiler zaten eniştemle yazın, 15 gün bizim evde kaldılar. Evlenme kararını ben verdim ama tabii eniştem hep aracı oldu. Ben ona gözüm kapalı güvenirim. Sadece onun etkisi olmuştur üzerimde.” (B. Davut, 28)

“Eşim uzaktan akrabam ama ben Almanya’da yaşadığım için buradaki akrabalarla bağlantım yok. Eskiden annemin komşunun kızımı Kırşehir’de. Annem aracılığıyla tanıştık.” (H. Burhan, 24)

“Almanya’da çok tanıdığımız var. Kendi akrabalarım, amcamın çocukları, halamın görümcesi, çoğu Münih’te, Berlin’de ama birbirlerine gidip gelirler. Zorluk çekmem orda akrabalarım olduğu için. Onların çoğu çocukluğundan beri orda yaşıyorlar. Onlar da akrabalarımız vasıtasıyla gitmişler.” (E. Nermin, 25)

“Orda benim çok akrabam, arkadaşım, köylüm var. O yüzden korkum yok. Dimdirek tek başına gitmen var, eşine dostuna güvenmen var. 7-8 yıllık bir arkadaşım orda benim. Hamburg’daki kişilerden bizim köyden çok kişi var.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“Ailem Almanya’da hiç akrabamız olmadığı için üzüyor. Ama benim Almanya’ya gitmeme karışmadılar. Ailem orda Köln’ yakın oturan hemşerilerimiz olduğunu söyledi, ama ben tam nerde oturduklarını bilmiyorum Ailem ben gidince onların beni arayacağını söyledi.” (C. Nergis, 29)

“Almanya’da pek çok tanıdık, hemşehri, akraba var, amcalarımın bütün çocukları nerdeyse orda. Kendi işimi yapamam bile abimle kasap dükkânımız olacağından iş konusunda bir korkum yok. Abim işletiyor şu anda, ben de gidince onun yanında çalışacağım.” (U. Tefik, 26)

“Almanya’da halam, teyzem var. Onlar da belki iş bulmamda yardımcı olur diye düşünüyorum.” (L. Bayram, 25)

“Onların ziyaretinden ve verilen evlilik kararından sonra, ailelerimizle alışverişe gittik. Alışverişten hemen sonra, nişan yüzüklerimiz parmağımıza takıldı. Ben evlenmek üzere olduğumu, evlilik için imza atarken fark ettim. Eşimi tanımak ve onunla evlenmek için daha çok zamanım olsun istedim. Nişan yüzüğünü atabilirsiniz, ama evlilik yüzüğünü atamazsınız, aksi takdirde evlilikten dönmüş olursunuz. Ben Almanya’da yaşayacağımızı düğünden sonra öğrendim. Hem Türkiye’de hem Almanya’da evleri olduğu için, Türkiye’de yaşarsınız diye düşünüyordum. Bu yüzden daha önce sormamıştım eşime. Öğrendiğimde, eşime onunla gitmeyeceğimi söyledim. Bana şakayla cevap verdi ve ‘evlilik yüzüğün artık benim, bunu yapamazsın’ dedi. Ben bunun şaka olduğunu biliyordum ama yine de dediğim gibi, her şey hakkında konuşabilmek ve birbirimize alışabilmek için daha çok zamanımızın olmasını istedim. Eğer evlilik kararı bana kalsaydı, resmi nikahı o tarihte yapmazdım.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“Eşimin eğitim seviyesini tam bilmiyorum, ortaokul ya da lise mezunu olabilir.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“Eşim ve ailesi akrabamız olduğundan köye ziyarete gelmişler beni görmek için. Mart ayında geldikten 2-3 gün sonra biz nişanlandık, sonra hemen bir hafta içinde nikah yaptık zaten. Eşimle 1 ay ancak görüşmüşüzdür. İşlemlerimiz hızlansın diye nikah yaptık düğün yerine. Eşim inşaat mesleğiyle uğraşiyor. Hangi okulu bitirmiş tam bilmiyorum, herhalde lise oluyordur.” (E. Nermin, 25)

“Fotoğrafımı görünce hemen geldiler zaten eniştemle yazın, 15 gün bizim evde kaldılar. Sonra hemen 8-10 akrabayla nikah kıydık. Evliliğe hiç hazır hissetmedim ben, ama gitmem gerekiyordu benim. Gitmek istiyordum. Eniştem önerdi, baktım, beğendim, olur dedim. O benden bir yaş küçük, 27 yaşında. Okuması yazması var, Almanya’nın okul sistemini bilmiyorum, ne okuduğunu da bilmiyorum, ama şu an bir devlet hastanesinde hemşirelik yapıyor. Aslında çok da tanımıyorum ben onu. Gidicem, anlaşabiliyor muyuz bakıcım, ne olursa olsun. Oraya gidince karar vericemi birbirimize uyup uymadığımıza.” (B. Davut, 28)

“Eşim 22 yaşında, Mcdonalds’ta çalışıyor, bir de güzellik merkezinde çalışıyor. Valla eğitimini bilmiyorum, zaten 1.5 ay görüştük, o kısa zamanda da hiç sen ne okudun, ne mezunusun diye sormak aklıma gelmedi, ama konuşması, oturması

kalkması iyidir, herhalde okumuştur, meslek de yaptığına göre. Kuzenim önerdi zaten, ben de hiç düşünmedim bana uygun mudur diye. Tamam dedim.” (T. Mehmet, 35)

“Eşimle Ankara’ da emlak bürosunda tanıştık. Eşim ve ailesi yurtdışında gurbetçi olarak yaşıyorlardı. Türkiye’de yaz tatiline gelmişler, Ankara’dan daire almak istemişler. Ailem ekstra emlakçılık ve sigortacılıkla uğraşiyor ben de dükkanımızda onlara yardım ediyordum. Onlar dükkana gelince tanıştık. Müşteri-emlakçı ilişkisi oldu aramızda. Tanışma safhasından sonra dışarıya çıkmaya kahve içmeye darken daha sonra hayatımızı birleştirdik. Onunla yeterli vakti de geçirdiğimizi düşünüyorum, 30 günlük izni vardı, 20 günü burdaydı, 20 gün sürekli beraberdik. Evliliğe hazır hissetmedim kendimi aslında ama o Almanya’da yaşadığı için ve planlarımızı Almanya üzerine yaptığımız için evlenmemiz gerekti, hazıranda tanıştık 5 ay sonra kasımda evlendik.” (A. Levent, 29)

“Ben eşimle Nürnberg’de tanıştım. Kuzenim evleniyordu, evlendiğim kişi kuzenimin evlendiği kişinin kuzeni. Düğünde tanıştık. Ben düğünden sonra bir süre daha Nürnberg’de kaldım. Zaten Nürnberg’de başka tanıdıklar da var. O 1 yıl içinde o gelip gitti, ben de birkaç kere gittim geldim, telefonlaştık sürekli. İnternette haberleştik. Birbirimizi yeteri kadar tanıdığımızı karar verince de 1 yıl içinde evlendik.” (G. Türkan, 28)

“Tanıştık biz eşimle geçen sene gibi, evlenene kadar eşim dört-beş kere beni ziyarete geldi. Telefonla çok konuştuk. Birbirimizi 1.5 yıldır falan tanıyoruz. Yeteri kadar tanıdığımızı inanınca evlenelim dedik.. Bir ay önce de evlenmek için geldi eşim. 21 gün kaldı burda, nikahımızı yaptık. (R. Elvan, 33)

“Şu an nişanlıyız. 2005’te tanıştık, 2009’da nişanlandık. Ben o zaman Yeni mahalle’de çalışıyordum, onun da orda teyzesinin evi varmış, bizim dükkan teyzesinin apartmanının karşısındaydı. Gidip gelirken tanıştık. Tatil amaçlı gelmiş o zaman Türkiye’ye. İlk geldiğinde 20 gün falan kaldı Türkiye’de. Sonra da yılda 6 kere falan beni görmeye geldi hep. Ben gitmek istedim daha önce onun yanına ama vize çıkmadı, o hep gelmek durumunda kaldı. Uçak parası vermektten o da yoruldu, bari evlenelim dedik. Zaten 16-17 yaşlarında tanıştık, o zamandan beri de görüşüyoruz. Onu çok iyi tanıdığımı düşünüyorum bu yüzden.” (O. Burak, 22)

“Ailemin isteğiyle oldu bizim evlenme işi, anneme bıraktım ben evleneceğim kızı seçsin diye, güvendiğim için ona. Akrabamız değil eşim ama Karaman’dan aynı köyden. Yakın akrabamın tanıdıkları bir aileden evlendiğim kız. Anneanesi bizim komşumuz, ailede de o aileden evli olanlar var. . Annem kötülüğümü istemez, dayılarını falan tanıyordum ailenin, hem tanıdık olunca hem annem onaylayınca çekinmedim evlenmekten.” (S. Tarık, 31)

“Evlilik kararında en önemli şey ailemin kararıdır benim için. Ben kesinlikle evleneceğim kişiyi ailemin tanımasını isterim. Ailemin evlenmemi istemediği biriyle evlenmeyi hiç düşünmedim.” (E. Nermin, 25)

“Benim için hayattaki en önemli şey evliliğimin ailem tarafından onaylanmasıdır. Eşim benim uzaktan akrabam olduğu için, ailem onun hakkında her şeyi biliyordu. Ama yine onunla ilgili gerekli araştırmaları yaptı ailem. Eğer ben tanınmayan biriyle evlenmek isteseydim, kesinlikle yine ailemin onunla ilgili onayını almak isterdim. Ailem her zaman benim evlenmemi istemişti, ama ben eşimi görene kadar, evlenmeyi planlamıyordum.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“Eşimle uzaktan akrabayız. En çok huylarını sevdim. Kısmetim o benim. Önce o evlenme teklifi etti ama bütün aile destekledi evliliğimizi. Bizim birbirimize yakıştığımızı düşünüyorlarmış zaten önceden. Onun kuzenleri, teyzeleri herkes evlenmemizi istedi. Eşimi ailemin tanınması benim için her şeyden önemlidir.” (K. Sevim, 24)

“Ailemin eşimi tanınması onaylaması benim için çok önemli. Onlar bu kız olmaz deseydi ben dinlerdim onları. Ama onayladılar onlar da beğendi. Valla bir ara kafam karıştı, doğru bir şey mi yapıyorum diye, ama sonra geçti, evleneyim dedim, ailem hep bana bıraktı. Ama eniştemin akrabası diye de onlar evlenmemi istediler.” (B. Davut, 28)

“Eşim benim teyzemin oğlu, kuzenim. Ben teyzemin oğlunu 20 yıldır hiç görmemiştim. Eşim ve ailesi Almanya’da yaşıyorlardı. İzmir’e yaz tatiline gelseler bile, Mardin’e hiç gelmemişlerdi. Benim fotoğrafımı bilgisayardan görmüş ve beni beğenmiş. İlk bana annem seni istemeye gelecekler Türkiye’ye dedi. Ben onu tanımadığım için, önce kabul etmedim. Annem azıcık ısrar etti evlenmem için, ben de sonra beğendim onu. Annem de onu görmemişti ve tanıyamıyordu önceden, ama İzmir’de yaşayan anneannem, orayı ziyaretlerinden onu tanıyormuş. O demiş anneme iyidir, evlensin diye. Düşündüm, dürüstlük dersin dürüstlük var, kabul ettim sonra ben de. Evliliğimde ailemin kararı ve onların evliliğimi onaylaması benim için hayattaki en önemli şeylerdir. Tanımadıkları kişiye vermezler zaten beni.” (F. Feraye, 19)

“Evlilik kararında ailemin etkisi olmadı, annem hatta kızım, düşün taşın dedi. Daha önce beni istemeye gelenlere ısınmamıştım çünkü. Ama onlar kimi seviyorsam onunla gideyim isterler. Ailem tanıdı eşimi, onlar da sevdi, sevmeselerdi üzerimde olumsuz etkisi olurdu. Ama öyle bir şey olmadı. Ailede kendi kararlarımı kendim veririm.” (İ. Gülcan, 25)

“İlk başlarda çok karşıydım akrabayla evlenmeyeyim dedim, ama şimdi akrabamla evlendiğim için pişman değilim. Akraba evliliği benim ailemde çok yaygındır. Sülalemiz akrabalarından oluşur. Herkes herkesin akrabasıdır sülalede. Tanınmayan biri çok nadir görülür ailemde. Eğer tanınmayan biriyle evlenirsem, biri onun hakkında kötü bir şey söyler, ben de kolayca üzülürüm. Ama herkes eşimi tanırsa, böyle bir problem olmaz. Ayrıca akrabayla evlendiğimde, herkes eşimi tanıdığından çekinmeden evime gelebilir. Bir de, ben bu konuda annemin düşüncelerine güvenirim, annem dışarıdan birine canayakın davranmaz ama akrabalarımızı sever.” (J. Berrin, 20)

“Evlendiğim kişinin annesinin benim annemin kardeşi olması benim için önemliydi. Böylelikle birbirlerine hiç yabancılık çekmediler. Eğer eşimle ilişkim

kötüye giderse, annemle teyzem (kayınvalidem) in ilişkisi de bozulur. Sonra ben de bu duruma çok üzülebilirim. Bu açıdan kötü akraba evliliği, ama genelde iyi. El gibi olmuyor akrabam, sana daha yakın davranıyor yabancı birine göre. Özellikle eşinin ailesi kusurların olduğu zaman örtüyor. Teyzem benim kötü olmamı istemez mesela, hatalarımı görmezden gelir. Ama daha önceden tanımadığım bir başkası, hatalarımla ilgili suçlayabilir beni.” (Q. Fatoş, 18)

“Benim ailemle eşimin ailesi birbiriyle hemen kaynaştılar. Bence bu hem birbirlerini önceden tanımalarından hem de akraba oluşlarından ileri geliyor. Ama eşim yakın akrabalarım olsaydı ben evlenmeyi istemezdim, uzak olduğu için kabul ettim.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“Yakın akraba evliliklerine karşıyım. Eşim benim uzaktan akrabam olduğundan, onunla evlenmeyi kabul ettim. Ama kardeşim amcamın kızıyla nişanlandı. Benimle birlikte o da Hamburg’a göç edecek evlenince. Ben evliliklerini desteklemedim, ama onlar birbirlerini sevmişler. Ama annem onların birbirini sevdiğini duyunca çok sevindi ve destekledi evlilik kararlarını. (E. Nermin, 25)

“Akraba evliliği benim onayladığım bir şey değil. Ailemde yapanlar var ama. Mesela teyzemin kızı amcamın oğluyla evlendi, aile karşı çıktı ama onlar birbirlerini sevmişler, bir şey demediler sonra. Bana fazla yüz göz olunur gibi geliyor, farklı bir aile olmalı. İkimiz için de önemli olan sevdiğimiz biri olması, ailenin istediği değil. Dışarıdan gelen sesler değil, kendi sesim önemli benim için.” [G. Türkan, 28)

“Akraba evliliğini tasvip etmiyorum. Yurtdışında yaşayan akrabalar var, ailem mevzusunu etti, koşulları daha iyi diye, ama ben hiçbir zaman düşünmedim. Ama tabi aşık olabilirsin, o zaman bir şey diyemem.” (M. Kadri, 28)

“Akraba evliliği bence yanlış, ailemizde de, çevremizde de yok. Uzak akraba belki kabul edilebilir, ama yakın akraba çocukların sağlığı açısından da iyi değil. Ancak genler uyuşmadığında olabilir. (O. Burak, 22)

“Akraba evliliğini ben desteklemiyorum, en ufak anlaşmazlıkta aileyle bütün bağlarını koparmak zorunda kalıyorsun, ama aşık olursan o başka tabi, ona bir şey diyemem.” (R. Elvan,33)

“Desteklemiyorum akraba evliliğini. Çocuğunuz sakat doğabilir her şeyden önce. Bir de görücü usulü gibi oluyor bence akraba evlilikleri. Bak biz sana şunu uygun gördük diyor aile, evlenmek isteyen kız ya da erkek de kabul ediyor. Aileler, çocuklarının evlilik kararını kendilerine bırakmalılar. Herkes kendi bulmalı bence eşini.” [U. Tevfik, 26)

Chapter 6

“Valla ben uzağa gitmek istiyordum, eniştem eşimi önerince, onunla evlenmeyi kabul ettim. Orda sadece iş bulamam diye korkuyorum. Ben fırıncıyım ve bildiğim kadarıyla Almanya’da fırıncıya ihtiyaç yok her şeyi makineyle yaptıkları için. Öte yandan, Almanya’nın sağlık hizmetleri ve ekonomisi Türkiye’dekinden daha iyi diye biliyorum. Burda ayda 1500 kazanıyorsam Almanya’da 2500 kazanırım bence. Benim tek hayalim var hayatta, o da bir ev almak. Almanya’da 10-20 yıl çalışmayı, sonra Türkiye’ye dönmeyi planlıyorum. Evi Türkiye’den Mersin¹’den almak istiyorum. Yurtdışı böyle ekonomik anlamda çekici geliyor bana.” (B. Davut, 28)

“Almanya eski Almanya değil, bitik Almanya. Ekonomisi kötü, iş bulamam diye korkuyorum, gidenlerin çoğu kötü işlerde çalışıyormuş. Ama Türkiye’ye göre daha iyi bence gene de. Çalışmazsan da devlet yardım ediyormuş, işsizlik parası var. Türkiye’de yok öyle bir şey. Ya da 2 saatlik de olsa iş çıkıyormuş. Burda öyle iş yok ki.” (L. Bayram, 25)

“Başta Türkiye’de yaşayacaktık, ama benim doğru düzgün bir işim olmadığı için, eşim gidelim dedi, beni ikna etti. Ben oraya ekonomik nedenlerden dolayı gidiyorum, çalışmasam bile devlet yardımı alırım. Oturum olduğunda, evli olunca 1200 euro mu ne veriyormuş devlet, onunla geçinirsin.” [N. Ümit, 25)

“Almanya, yüksek refah seviyesinde yaşamak demek benim için. Benim yaptığım işin her yerde geçerliliği var, orda da bir şey bulurum diye düşündüm. Dortmund maden yeriymiş, o alanda çalışan çok insan varmış. Almanya bence Türkiye’den daha iyi.”(M. Kadri, 28)

“Almanya benim için önemli bir yer. Beni çok güzel şeyler bekliyor gittiğimde. İşim hazır, daha ne isterim, imalathanede kıyma yoğurma işi yapıyorum, eskiden turist olmama rağmen 1750 euro kazanıyordum, şimdi gitsem kağıtlı çalışıcım, oturum alıcım eşimin sayesinde, rahat 3000 euro kazanırım. Benim için taşı toprağı altın gibi bir yer orası. Sağlık desen, devlet paranı ödüyor, burda sürdürüyorlar, çalıştığın müddetçe iyi muamele görüyorsun orda.” (T. Mehmet, 35)

“Yaşam şartları ve insana verilen değer açısından Almanya daha iyi. Almanya’nın sağlık olanakları, ulaşımı kesinlikle çok iyi, orda insan olduğunuzu hissettiriyorlar.” (G. Türkan, 28)

“Hayat standartları bakımından daha iyi Almanya. Burda kadın hakları önemsenmiyor, orda önemseniyormuş. Orda daha çok hak sahibi olacağız. Kadın boşanmak isterse mesela devlet onlara destek oluyormuş.” (Q. Fatoş, 18)

“Eşime çok güvendiğimden aramızda bir anlaşmazlık çıkacağını düşünmüyorum orda da. Sadece eşim kaynanamın etkisi altında kalabilir diye çekiniyorum. Bana bir iki ay para göndermedi eşim sırf kaynanam istiyor diye. Kaynanam benim abime ve ablama para yedirdiğimi düşünüyor. Halamla aram bozuk, bunların

hepsini o uyduruyor, kaynanama o anlatıyor. Eşim işten kazandığı parayı doğrudan kaynanamın eline verir. Ben onu birkaç kere azarladım, böyle yapacaksa Almanya'ya gelmeyeceğimi söyledim. Sonra üzüldü, gönderdi para. Ama yine de kaynanamın davranışlarından dolayı biraz tedirginim, gittiğimde göreceğim nasıl davrandıklarını. Umarım annesinin etkisi altında kalmaz.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“Bilmediğim bir memlekete gidiyorum. Bir yere bağlarsınız insanı, bıraktığınızda ne olduğunu şaşırır ya, öyle olacak gibi geliyor benim durumum. Karşılacağım şeylerle ilgili tereddütlerim var, korkmuyorum ama çekiniyorum biraz. Bu yüzden de, Almanya'nın siyasi ve kültürel ortamı hakkında bir bilgim yok.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“Eşim Almanya 'nın güzel bir yer olduğunu söyledi. Başka bir şey anlatmadı Almanya ile ilgili. Almanya'nın yasalarını, ortamı falan hiç bilmiyorum. Hiç merak etmedim, oraya gidince nasıl olsa öğrenirim diye düşündüm.” (F. Feraye, 19)

“Ben orda yapamam gibi geliyor, geleneklerime göreneklerime bağlıyım. Orda aile kavramı yokmuş, herkes onla bunla düşünüp kalkıyormuş. 18 yaşına gelince ailesi çocuğu istediği yere gönderiyor, destek vereyim çocuğuma diye bir şey yok onlarda.” (L. Bayram, 25)

“Almanya'ya gitmek, kültürüme zarar verir diye bir çekincem yok ama benden olacak nesli bilmiyorum, ben burda vatan, millet, sakarya diye büyüdüm, orda doğanlar büyüyenler bunu anlayamazlar. Bizim bayramlarımız, ramazanımız, kurbanımız, askerimiz, polisimiz var, hepsine saygı duyarız. Ama ordaki nesil bunları anlayamaz, Benim çocuğumda da bu sorunlar görülebilir orda yaşayacağı için.” (S. Tarık, 31)

“Almanya'da ırkçılık varmış, Türkleri pek sevmiyorlarmış, biraz çekiniyorum o yüzden. 2 sene deneyeceğim, yolunda gitmezse, Türkiye'ye dönerim.” (L. Bayram, 25)

“Ayrımcılık varmış Almanya'da. Okullarda Türk çocuklarına 2.sınıf insan muamelesi yaptıklarını biliyorum.” (S. Tarık, 31)

“Almanların Türklere kötü davrandıklarını biliyorum, daha dün olaylar oldu, Dazlaklar yaktı yıktı ortalığı. Böyle şeyleri düşününce de çekiniyorum Almanya'dan.” (B. Davut, 28)

“Eşim de ben de Türkiye vatandaşıyız. Ama istiyorum Alman vatandaşı olmayı, sadece haklarımdan daha iyi yararlanmak için, sonuçta orda yaşayacağım. (G. Türkan, 28)

“Eşim Alman vatandaşı. Şartlara göre ben de düşünürüm, orda yaşayacaksam, Türk ya da Alman vatandaşlığından ziyade uyum sağlamak zorundasın. İnsan nereye gidiyorsa oranın kurallarına uymalı, ben de gerekirse vatandaş olurum.” (R. Elvan, 33)

“Nişanlım Alman vatandaşı. Vatandaşlık imkanı doğarsa ben de olurum. Her tür vergi konusunda, yasal haklarda avantajlı oluyorsun. Bir de tabi daha rahat iş bulurum vatandaşı olursam. (M.Kadri, 28)

“Vatandaş olurum ben. Ordaki haklarımdan dolayı olurum. Eşim Türk vatandaşı olsaydı beni götürmesi zor olurdu, ama o vatandaş olduğundan sınavı geçersen kolay olacak diye düşünüyorum. Vatandaşlık konusunda ayrımcılık yapıyor Almanlar. Kağıdı olanlara öncelik tanıyorlar her yerde. Vatandaşlık alırsam iş sıkıntısı çekmem orda.” (T. Mehmet, 35)

“Kendimi Türk vatandaşı hissediyorum, sonuna kadar da öyle hissetçem. Alman vatandaşlığı önemli değil benim için, Alman vatandaşı olmak istemem. Türküm ben, niye Alman vatandaşı olayım ki? (P. Hülya, 19)

“Türküm, Türk gibi de hissediyorum. En güzeli de bu bence. Almanya vatandaşlığı konusunu hiç düşünmedim, cevap vermek için bile bir düşünmem lazım. Eşim de Türkiye vatandaşı. Gurur duyuyorum Türklüğümünden, geçmeyi düşünmem.” (C. Nergis, 29)

“Eşim benle tanışmadan önce Alman vatandaşlığına müracaat etmiş, yakında Alman vatandaşı olacak. Ben Türküm ve kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum ve bundan gurur duyuyorum. Uyum sağlamak istiyorsam, orda yaşayacaksam çocuğum için orda yaşamak daha avantajlı olacaksa, onlara uyum sağlamak gerekiyorsa ve bu vatandaşlık gerektiriyorsa Almanya vatandaşı olurum. Benim için vatandaşlık önemli değil Türklüğümünden gurur duyuyorum. Ben sadece avantajlı duruma geleceksam geçerim.” (A. Levent, 29)

“Eşim Türk vatandaşı, ama Alman vatandaşlığına başvurdu, daha rahat edebilmek için. Türklüğümünden ödün vermek istemiyorum ben, vatandaşlığı önemli görmüyorum. Sadece ekonomik getirilerini düşünürüm gidince. (N. Ümit, 25)

“Eşime, onun ve ailesinin neden eş olarak beni seçtiklerini ve bu amaç için neden Türkiye’ye kadar geldiklerini sordum. Almanya’da da Türkler olduğundan, onların gerekçelerini merak ediyordum. Beni sordukları herkesin benim için, ‘namuslu, dışarı çıkmaz, her şeye karışmaz, kendi halinde bir kız’ dediklerini duyduk” dedi. Hatta bana ‘biz ordaki kızlarla başa çıkamayız’ da dedi Onun cümlelerinden ordaki kızların fazla özgür olduğunu anladım. O yüzden, ordaki kızlardan biriyle evlenmek istememiş. Ben küçük bir köyde yaşadığımdan, özgürlüğüm kısıtlı burda. Almanya’ya gidince de bunun değişeceğini düşünmüyorum. Orda da tek başıma bir yere gidemem, bence.” (E. Nermin, 25)

“Eşim Almanya’dan biriyle evliliği hiç düşünmemiş. Bana hep iyi huylu, ailesinin ve eşinin sözünü dinleyen bir kızla evlenmek istediğini söyledi. Başına buyruk, kendi kararlarını kendisi veren birini tercih etmediğini söyledi ayrıca.” (J. Berrin, 20)

“Eşim ve ailesi bizim uzaktan akrabamız. Üvey babaannemin kardeşinin görümcesinin oğlu. Önceden tanıımıyordum onları. Ama onlar bizi tanıyorlarmış. 2 senedir de beni konuşuyorlarmış. Önceleri ‘evlilik benden yıldızlar kadar uzak olsun’ diyordum ama eşimi gördüğüm anda film koptu. Görücü usulü oldu ama ailem beni zorlamadı ben kendim de istedim. Onun ailesi ona dönüp sormuş bir odada, benim ailem de bana sordu ayrı bir odada. Birbirimizden habersiz tamam demişiz. Beni etkileyen biri olmadı. Ben kendim eşime ‘hoş geldin’ dediğim an etkilendim ondan.”(D. Nuran, 27)

“Eşimle yakın akraba değiliz, ama o eniştemin akrabası ve komşusu. O şekilde, akraba olmuş oluyoruz. Bence iyi bir şey akraba olmak. Tanıdık olunca iyi oluyor. Mesela fırıncıyı herkes çekmez. Sabah 5ten akşam 8’e kadar çalışıyorum. Eve pis geliyorum. Tanıdık olunca kahrınızı çeker. Bu kız mesela Almanya’da doğmuş büyümüş ama edepli, ailemize yakışıyor gibi geldi bana. Valla oturması kalkmasını bilen, gözü yükseklerde olmayan, düzgün, beni utandırmayacak biri olması önemli eşimin. (B. Davut, 28)

“Eşimin amcasıyla aynı işyerinde çalışıyorduk. O amcasını ziyarete geldiğinde tanıştık. Eşim, Nürnberg’de yaşamış, annesi Alman. Annesi babası ayrılınca Türkiye’ye dönmüş çocukluğunda. Annemin Yozgat’tan komşusu var Adanalı, o büyütmüş. Komşusu büyüttüğünden iyi ve ahlaklı dediler onun için, ben de tanıyınca öyle olduğuna karar verdim, sevdim sonra.” (L. Bayram, 25)

“Evliliğim benim içime sindi. Eşim bilindik gurbetçi tarzı kişilerden değil. Onlar dışa-dönük oluyorlar ya genelde, eşim hiç öyle biri değil. İlmli, içten biri.” (S. Tarık, 31)

“Almanya’daki Türklerden evlenmeyi hiç düşünmedim, düşünmem de. Onlarla başına bela alabilirsin. Ben bir ilişkide ciddi düşünürüm ama onun ne yaptığını bilmem. Bana göre, ordaki kızlar güvenilmezdir. Geleneğimize, göreneğimize, örf ve adetimize sahip çıkan kız sayısı çok azdır. Orda anne baba çalışıyor kimse onlara ilgi göstermiyor, çocuk evde kalıyor sonra sokağa çıkıyor ve Alman kültürüyle büyüyor. Alman kültürünü ben ahlaksızlık olarak görüyorum.” (H. Burhan, 24)

“Eşim fevkalade biri, huyu suyu, alışkanlıkları, kapalı (türbanlı) eşim, 5 vakit namazını kılar, konuşmasını, nasıl davranması gerektiğini bilir, geleneklerimize uyar, ben hayranım ona.” (U.Tevfik, 26)

“Eşim Almanyada büyümesine rağmen kültürel farklarımızdan dolayı problemlerimizin olacağını düşünmüyorum. O Türkiye’de büyümüş bir erkek gibi. Yani, bana böyle söylüyor. Almanya’ya gidince göreceğim onun yaşantısını. Ona daha önce kız arkadaşının olup olmadığını sordum, o da olmadı dedi. İnanırım ona, yapabileceğim tek şey ona inanmak zaten.” (E. Nermin, 25)

“Ben ona kendi kültürümüzü öğreticem gidince. O dinimizi çok bilmiyor. Camiye gidiyormuş mesela, ama namaz kılmayı bilmiyor.” (F. Feraye, 19)

“Ben sadece eşimi sevdiğim için değil, eşimle Almanya’da yaşayacağımız için de evlendim onunla. Bildiğim kadarıyla, Almanya Türkiye’den daha güzelmiş. Normalde liseye gidecektim Türkiye’de, ama, orda nasıl olsa giderim diye düşündüm. (Q. Fatoş, 18)

“Ben eşimin karakterini seviyorum. Eşime yönelik olumlu duygu ve düşüncelerimin yanı sıra, Almanya’ya giderek hayatımda da bir şeyleri değiştirmek istedim. Orda yaşamayı başaramazsam, geri dönerim diye düşündüm. (R. Elvan, 33)

“İlk eşimden 8 ay boyunca aşırı şiddet gördüm. Çok otoriterdi ilk eşim. 8 ay sonra ondan boşandım. Bir süre geçtikten sonra, kibar biriyle evlenmek istedim. İlk evliliğimde olduğu gibi görücü usulüyle evlenmek istemedim. Sonra şimdiki eşimle tanıştık. Bütün Türk erkekleri aynıdır diye düşündüğümünden bir Türk erkeğiyle evlenmek istemiyordum. Ama şimdiki eşim klasik Türk erkeğinden tamamen farklı biri. Böyle olmasının nedeni belki Almanya’da büyüdüğünden ve Avrupa kültürü almış olmasındandır. Eşim, kendi istekleri konusunda ısrarcı olmaz. Astığım astık, kestiğim kestik bir erkek değil. Benim bütün kararlarımı destekler ve kadınların kendi ayakları üstünde durmalarını ister. Eşini seven bir erkek, onu incitmez diye düşünür. (R. Elvan, 33)

“Eşim, Hannover’da doğmuş, büyümüş, Berlin’de oturuyorlar şimdi. Kreşte çalışıyor öğretmen olarak. Aslında ben eşimin çalışmasını istemiyorum ama eşime de söyleyemiyorum bunu. Şu anda çocuğumuz yok, ama olacak eninde sonunda. Onun evde kalıp çocuğuma bakmasını tercih ederim. Ailemiz de bayana ‘sen otur evinde, ben gelince yemeğim hazır olsun önümde, ben hiçbir şeyini eksik etmeyeyim’, diye bakar. Karışacak değilim ona ama çocuk küçükken karışırım. Çocuğu kime emanet edeceksin ki. Kimseye güvenemem ben.” (U. Tefvik, 26)

“Ben Almanya’da çalışmazsam, rahatsızlık duyarım, çalışmam gerekir. Klasik Türk erkeğiyim, ataerkil derler ya, öyle, evin reisi erkektir. Almancayı 1 yıl içinde öğrenmem lazım, başka türlü olmaz. Eşim Bochum’da güzellik salonunda çalışıyor. Ben çalışmasını istemiyorum, ben işe girene kadar çalışabilir, sonra ben işe girdikten evde oturup çocuk büyütmeli.” (N. Ümit, 25)

“Eşim Nürnberg’de doğmuş, büyümüş bir süre, iyi eğitim görmüş, meslek görüyormuş şimdi. Almanya’da avukatın yanında sekreter gibi çalışıyor ama ben onun çalışmasını istemiyorum. Çocukla ilgilensin daha iyi.” (L. Bayram, 25)

“Valla eşim dil bildiğinden mesela o daha çok bilir her şeyi ilk etapta. Ama erkek varken kadına hesap ödemek, çay almak düşmez, ben de giderim yanında. Dururum öyle yanında konuşsam da, sahipli olduğunu anlarlar.” (B. Davut, 28)

“Eşimle kendimiz tanıştık. Beni heyecanlandırıyor, hayat tarzı bana uyuyor, okumayı sporu seviyor, yenlikçi biri. Almanya’da doğmuş, büyümüş. Stuttgart’ ta yaşıyor. Teknik bir okulda okumuş işletme üzerine, işletmecisi kendisi. Yaklaşık 10 yıldır özel bir firmanın muhasebe departmanında çalışıyor. Ben

onun çalışmasını destekliyorum. Zaten onun alıştığı yaşama karışmayı bir an bile düşünmem. Ben de yeni şeyler üzerinde çalışmayı da severim, yenilikçi biriyim. Ve eşim de kendini geliştiren biri olduğu için, ben de öyle yapmaya çalışıyorum. Mesela Almancayı daha iyi seviyede öğrenmek istiyorum. Daha önce dış ticaret alanında çalıştığım için, Almancayı da öğrenince Rusça ve İngilizce bilgimle iyi bir iş bulacağımı ve eşimle kaliteli bir yaşam süreceğimizi umuyorum.” (A. Levent, 29)

“Nişanlım Almanya’da hukuk okuyor, bir de şu an Hannover’da part-time Esprit mağazasında çalışıyor. Mezun olunca kendi işini kurmak istiyor. Almanya’da günlük hayatımda bir karar vermem gerekse ona muhakkak danışırım, hukukçu zaten, her şeyi biliyor. Ben erkek sözü geçsin diye bir şey demem, fark etmez, zaten onun söylediği şeyler genelde mantıklı oluyor ben de kabul ediyorum. Ben de çalışsam gidince. Almancaya devam edicem ama İngilizce de öğrenmek istiyorum, nişanlım 4-5 dil biliyor Alman okullarında okuduğundan. Almancayı öğrendiğimde ona daha çok yakışacağını inanyorum.” (O. Burak, 22)

“Eşimden bir konuda tabii ki izin alırım. Her zaman için ‘evin erkeği ne derse o olur’ diye düşünüyorum ben. Kararlar ortak alınır ama ona sormadan hiçbir şey yapmak istemem. Ama onun da bana sormasını beklerim. Almanya’da çalışmak istiyorum ama eşim çalışmamı istemiyor. Onu dinlemeye mecburum. (D. Nuran, 27)

“Onunla konuştuk ama ben evde duramam çalışırım dedim, o da tamam dedi. Karışmıyor bana. Bir karar verme durumunda tabii ki izin alırım ondan, ömrümü onunla geçiricem sonuçta. Sabırlı bir insanım, suyuna giderim karşıdakinin. Karşı gelmem. Eşim de bana saygı duyar üniversite mezunuyum diye, ‘bana bunu öğret, ben bilmiyorum’ der.” (J. Berrin, 20)

“Namus başta dinle ilgili bir şey, ama aileyle de ilgili bir şey. Örfüne, adetlerine uymak lazım. Namus hem kişiyi ilgilendirir hem de aileyi ama aileye mutlaka sorumlusun.” (F. Feraye, 19)

“Namus geleneklere göredir bence. Aileye uygun davranmak lazım. Aileyi ve kişiyi ilgilendirir namus. İnsan ailesine karşı sorumludur.” (B. Davut, 28)

“Ailemle namus konularını konuşmam. Ama eşimin giyim tarzı konularının onlar için daha önemli olduğunu bilirim, ben gömleğinin ilk 2 düğmesine karışmam, ama ailem o ek bir düğme açık olsa hoşlanmaz. Onların düşüncelerini önemserim.” (S. Tarık, 31)

“Namus kadının kendini ortaya çıkarması değildir illa. Evlenmeden önce cinsel ilişkiyi yaşamayacak mesela kadın. Şu an benim namusum, eşimi de ilgilendirir, ailemi de ilgilendirir.” (E. Nermin, 25)

“Ailem de namusa çok düşkündür. Aile kültürüne göre hareket etmek önemlidir. O yüzden, kültüre göredir bence namus, çünkü geleneklerimiz göreneklerimiz söyler, çarşaf olayı olan bir yerdir burası. Baba kapısına ‘bu kız değil’ diye koyması vardır, bir de ‘bu benim helalim’ demesi vardır eşinizin. Namusum beni

ilgilendirir, ama bir insanın ‘bu kız namussuz’ demesi vardır, ‘aa çok namuslu, namusuna sadık’ demesi vardır, aileyi de ilgilendirir o yüzden.” (D. Nuran, 27)

“Türk halkının baktığı göz, kadın evlenmeden birlikte olursa adı kötüye çıkar, erkek olursa adı hovardaya çıkar, ya da ‘helal olsun’ derler. Bana kalırsa ne erkeğin ne de kadının gözünün dışarıda olmaması lazım. Ben kız oğlan kızı kabullenmeyi severim. Önünüze pastanın yarısı yenmiş gelirse, yer misiniz pastayı? Ya da önünüze hamburger geldi, hamburgerden ısırık alınmış bir sürü, kim ister bunu? Ben istemezdim. Erkek de yapmamalı, ama Türkiye’de yapıyor, şimdi erkek yaparsa da bir şey olmaz diyeceğim ama, kadın için daha önemli bunun olmaması. Namus gözünün dışarıda olmaması demek, aile değerlerine bağlı olmak demek.” (U. Tefik, 26)

“Türkiye’de bir kadın kendi iffetini kendi korur. Onursuzca yaşamışsın ama namuslu olmuşsun, bunun anlamı yok. Namus kapanmak, abdest almak, namaz kılmak değildir. Ben evlenip, boşandım, bekaretim gitti, namussuz mu oldum şimdi? Bence namusun cinsel ilişkiyle ilgisi yok, istesem evlenmeden de yaşardım, sevgilim olabilir, ona güvenebilirim, sonra işler yolunda gitmez, ayrılabilirim, cinsel ilişki yaşadım diye namussuz mu oldum? Yok böyle bir şey. Hayat boyu bunun hesabını yaparak yaşayacak değilim. Hayat boyu böyle yaşanmaz. Bu anlayış bizim Türkiye’de normal değil, insanlar altında kalıyor bu düşüncelerin, ben istediğim gibi yaşarım. Namus önemlidir ama sadece kişiyi ilgilendirir.” (R. Elvan, 33)

“Namus bence aklında ve beyninde olan bir şey. Evlilik öncesi cinsel ilişkiye karşı katı değilim. Namus bence kişisel bir şey. Belki biraz amiyane olacak ama iki bacak arasında değil, aklımda beynimde kalbimde atan bir şey. Tamamen kişiyi ilgilendirir namus.” (G. Türkan, 28)

“Namus, özellikle bayan üzerinden konuşursak, iki bacağın arasında değildir benim için. Evlilik öncesi cinsel ilişkiyi gayet normal karşılıyorum. Evlik öncesi cinsel hayat olmadı dersem yalan olur. Oldu ama o konularda katı bir insan değilim. Bunu ben namus olayına sokmuyorum. Namus bence insanın karakteriyle alakalı ve kişinin kendisini ilgilendirir.” (A. Levent, 29)