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# Inddannelse

Et Grounded Theory studie af  
en gruppe ufaglærte, arbejdsløse tyrkere i Europa  
- hverdag og arbejdslivsforventninger

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## Resume

Formålet med denne kvalitative forskningsundersøgelse, hvis empiriske materiale består af fire individuelle interviews, har været at udvikle en teori inden for rammerne af Grounded Theory metodologien, der kan forklare hverdags erfaringer og arbejdslivsforventninger blandt en gruppe arbejdsløse, ufaglærte indvandrere fra Tyrkiet. Grounded Theory metodologien er valgt, idet det er opfattelsen bag denne afhandling, at denne er velegnet til at afdække respondenternes problem og efterfølgende genererer en teori, der kan forklare deres processuelle løsningsmodeller.

Ved anvendelsen af en systematisk analysemetode: Konstante sammenligninger af konceptuelle empiriske og teoretiske kodninger, er en central teoretisk kategori, som jeg har valgt at betegne "inddannelse," fremkommet.

"Inddannelse" er et begreb, jeg har valgt at konstruere, og når jeg har valgt at konstruere dette begreb i stedet for at anvende etablerede forskningsbegreber som for eksempel akkulturation eller integration, er det for at understrege, at jeg i min undersøgelse har begrænset mig både til en defineret gruppe, (heterogen, hvad angår migrantstatus, men med visse fælles objektive træk: Baggrunden fra Tyrkiet, arbejdsløs, ufaglært status i Europa), og til visse udvalgte områder, der har øvet væsentlig indflydelse på tilværelsen i Europa, centrale områder der i mit empiriske materiale har vist sig at have haft væsentlig betydning.

Jeg har med denne konstruktion af et nyt begreb netop villet understrege, at min undersøgelse ikke foregiver at rumme alle aspekter af respondenternes hverdagsliv. Der indgår for eksempel ikke etiske, moralske eller religiøse aspekter; min undersøgelse indeholder heller ikke lingvistiske eller sociolingvistiske aspekter.

Gennem analyser af respondenternes handlings- og holdningsmønstre har det været afhandlingens formål at afdække, hvordan gruppen har forsøgt at indfri personlige arbejdsmarkedsforventninger, herunder deres eventuelle strategier til opnåelse af socioøkonomisk mobilitet.

Begrebet "inddannelse" betegner en proces defineret over tid, og begrebet anvendes til at vise respondenternes erfaringer, vurderinger, forandringer og efterfølgende positioneringer. Det er faser, der er fremkommet gennem analyser af min empiri, og faserne viser disse processer over tid. Det er min opfattelse, som jeg således også argumenterer for i min afhandling, at inddannelsesprocessen ikke forløber ad en linie, men ad en spiral, og at den er variabel og kompleks.

Den første fase i processen betegner den periode, hvor respondenterne gør sig deres erfaringer med tilværelsen i Europa; særlige erfaringer, de har tillagt betydning, og som har øvet indflydelse på deres inddannelsesprocesser. Den anden fase omhandler respondenternes vurderinger af disse erfaringer, vurderingerne er respondenternes refleksioner over særlige erfaringer ved tilværelsen, der har påvirket dem og haft betydning for deres handlinger. Den tredje fase omhandler forandringer, respondenterne har realiseret, eller er i færd med at realisere. For nogle har sociale og jobmæssige forandringer været en kontinuerlig proces, de selv har igangsat tidligt i deres tilværelse i Europa, for andre har ønsket om forandring måske nok været til stede, men de har i mange år ikke haft muligheden for at træffe personlige valg, eller de har ikke været i besiddelse af den kulturelle og sociale kapital, der var forudsætningen for at kunne sætte en sådan forandringsproces i gang. Den fjerde fase omhandler respondenternes positioneringer. For nogle er det status quo, for andre nogle mål de har sat sig, og som de er i gang med at realisere.

Kerne-kategorien, inddannelsesprocessens fire faser, sammenholdt med de fire centrale kategorier kontrollen, ægteskabet, identitetskonstruktioner og personpotentialer og systemtilbud udgør min Grounded Theory's variabler, og tilsammen danner disse variabler, variabernes sammenfatninger, som jeg betegner teoriens hypoteser, og deres indbyrdes sammenhænge teorien inddannelse. Teorien forklarer respondenternes forudsætninger for og bestræbelser på at indfri forventninger til tilværelsen i Europa.

Den induktive Grounded Theory metodologi eksisterer inden for to skoletraditioner med hver deres respektive videnskabsteoretiske, metodologiske og metodiske forskningstilgange. Jeg har valgt at lade mig inspirere af både Anselm Strauss og Barney Glasers positioner, og jeg har derfor valgt at anvende en bricolage model, hvor jeg har komponeret min egen forskningsstil, tilpasset denne afhandlings formål og dens objektive rammer og forudsætninger. Dog vil jeg understrege, at jeg har valgt at lægge mig tættest op ad den klassiske Grounded Theory udviklet af Barney Glaser, hvad angår undersøgelsens epistemologiske, metodologiske og metodiske niveauer. Og i selve analysearbejdet – de forskellige trin og kodningsprocedure har jeg nøje fulgt den klassiske Grounded Theory, som den er beskrevet hos Glaser. Dette valg er truffet, fordi jeg finder metoden vel beskrevet og mere tilgængelig hos Glaser end hos Strauss. Glaser har sikret forskeren optimalt tydelige og anvendelige anvisninger på sin metode fra den første åbne kodning til teoriens tilblivelse.

Men for begge de to Grounded Theory positioner gælder, at analyser af den sociale virkelighed genererer abstrakte konceptualiseringer, men abstraktionerne er ikke blot et spejl af den empiriske virkelighed, de er forskerens fortolkning af virkeligheden. Gennem konstante sammenligninger af abstrakte koncepter, afdækkes latente mønstre, som tilsammen danner et spejl af en given social virkelighed i et givent miljø eller forskningsfelt.

Ved at anvende denne metodologiske strategi er jeg overbevist om, at forskerens analyser gennem sådanne abstrakte konceptualiseringer og konstante sammenligninger kan få fat i latente mønstre i en virkelighed, der også eksisterer uden for forskerens rene erfaring.

Jeg er således enig med Glaser i, at Grounded Theory's metodologi er et godt bud på at minimere forskerens fortolkning eller konstruktion af respondenternes sociale virkelighed, så vidt det er menneskeligt muligt, og netop denne epistemologiske pointe var en af grundene til mit valg af metodologien Grounded Theory. Jeg ønskede netop at indfange de latente mønstre, der kunne forklare gruppens handlings- og holdningsmønstre, deres hverdag og arbejdslivsforventninger.

En Grounded Theory om inddannelse, er resultatet af denne afhandling.

### **Den sociale kontrol – teoriens første hypotese**

Teoriens første centrale kategori omhandler den sociale kontrol. Det er primært kvinderne, der har måttet lide under traditionens styrke.

At komme til Europa som nygift brud indebar et liv, der stillede store krav til den enkelte kvinde om tilpasning til de forventninger, traditionen foreskrev.

I ægteskaber indgået mellem to parter, hvor det traditionelle livsmønster, herunder den sociale kontrol, var stærkere i kvindens nye svigerfamilie, end det livsmønster, hun selv var opvokset med i

sin egen familie, var det for kvinden en oplevelse, hun omtaler som ”at være kommet fra byen til landsbyen”. En sådan oplevelse var fælles for de kvinder, der var vant til personlig frihed og fri adgang til det offentlige rum hjemme i Tyrkiet.

Men ligeledes for de kvinder, der blev gift med en nær slægtning, og hvor ægtefællerne delte en kultur og nogle traditioner fra deres fælles landsby, var tilpasningen til den nye tilværelse i Europa vanskelig. Traditionerne blev videreført fra livet i landsbyerne, og de unge nygifte brude tilbragte de første år i hjemmet hos kvindens svigerforældre, hvor forventningerne til den unge svigerdatter som traditionen foreskriver, var, at hun skulle være mor og svigerdatter først og fremmest. Det var ikke passende, at hun havde sine egne meninger; opgaven for hende var at være lyttende og at adlyde. Mandens ord var lov, og kvinden, som både i sin nye status var hustru og svigerdatter, skulle kende sin plads. Virkeligheden svarede ikke til drømmen om livet i Europa.

Kvinder, født eller opvokset i Europa, lærte sig op igennem deres opvækst at blive en del af en europæisk kultur. Samtidig lærte de sig evnen til at pendle mellem forskellige kulturelle kontekster, som sjældent havde berøring med hinanden. På vej i et europæisk livsbaneforløb mod uddannelse og en stræben efter et liv med personlig frihed blev deres fremtidsdrømme og mål afbrudt på grund af den kulturelle norm og traditionens styrke. De blev trukket hjem i hjemmene, hvor de forventedes at tilbringe tilværelsen med at passe små søskende og være behjælpelig med al husførelse, indtil de var klar til at indgå ægteskab. Herved kunne familien sikre sig kontrollen over datteren, og dermed beskyttelse af familiens ære.

Den sociale kontrol var en del af de fleste kvinders tilværelse, men enkelte kvinder kom fra mere moderne familier, hvor frihed til at træffe egne valg altid havde været en del af tilværelsen, eller hvor en frihedserobring var tilkæmpet allerede i barndommen.

At vinde, genvinde eller fastholde den personlige frihed har været en proces, der for kvinderne har antaget mange forskellige former. For nogle har frigørelsen fra kontrollen været en langvarig proces, der har stillet store krav til strategiske forhandlingsevner, mens denne frigørelsesproces for andre blev gennemført ved manifestering af personlig vilje og stædighed, og atter andre kvinder fastholdt deres personlige frihed gennem en distance og overbærenhed til svigerforældre-generationen. For nogle få kvinder var et brud i form af skilsmisse eneste løsning; endog var der enkelte tilfælde, hvor kontrollen blev gennemført med vold.

Kontrollen knyttet til æren og skammen har øvet indflydelse på hovedparten af kvindernes liv i Europa. Kvinder, der var i gang med et personligt livsbaneforløb i form af påbegyndt uddannelse i en europæisk kontekst, blev af forældrene påbudt at afbryde deres skolegang eller uddannelse. Andre kvinder, der kom til Europa fra et liv i Tyrkiet med relativ frihed, blev mødt med den europæiske landsbyramme, sladder og kontrollen. Kvinder, der hjemme fra landsbyen i Tyrkiet havde drømt om et liv med personlig frihed, oplevede at landsbynormerne ligeledes var gældende i Europa, og de måtte gennem strategisk forhandling over lang tid tilkæmpe sig drømmen om frihed. Nogle kvinder havde erobret sig den personlige frihed allerede før indgåelse af ægteskab, og dermed havde de brudt ud af den traditionelle ramme.

Mændene, der var født og opvokset i Europa, og som valgte at følge normen og gifte sig med en kvinde fra slægten eller fra hjemegnens landsby, mistede ikke på samme måde deres personlige frihed. De kunne, uden at skulle spørge nogen, fortsætte deres sociale liv uden for hjemmet, som før de blev gift. Der indgår i teorien om inddannelsesprocesserne således en kønsdimension, der viser

mænds og kvinders forskellige forudsætninger og dermed deres respektive holdnings- og handlingsmønstre.

### **Ægteskabet - teoriens anden hypotese.**

Teoriens anden centrale kategori omhandler ægteskabet. Det generelle ægteskabsmønster har været, at parterne har giftet sig på tværs af landegrænser, hvilket i denne afhandling betegnes som migrationsægteskabet. Hovedparten af ægteskaberne er indgået i en ung alder, og i de fleste tilfælde har familien været involveret i ægteskabsarrangementet. Der er således tale om ægteskaber, som er indgået mellem parter fra samme landsby eller fra nabolandsbyen. Selvom et sådant ægteskab er normen, er der afvigelser. Enkelte tilkendegiver, at de ikke har været med i beslutningsprocessen, hvor det antydes, at ægteskabsarrangementet er foregået under pres eller tvang, mens enkelte andre helt selv har valgt partner, uden familiens indflydelse eller direkte imod familiens ønske.

Kvinder født eller opvokset i Europa, der blev gift med en fætter, en slægtning eller en mand fra nabolandsbyen, måtte afbryde skolegang eller påbegyndt uddannelse. Forældrene isolerede dem i hjemmene, indtil de blev gift. Mænd født eller opvokset i Europa måtte ligeledes afbryde skolegang, eller de påbegyndte ufaglært arbejde umiddelbart i forlængelse af afsluttet folkeskole. I modsætning til kvinderne giver mændene udtryk for selv at have truffet disse beslutninger; de fulgte blot normen.

Men både mænd og kvinder har været påvirket af normen og traditionen, nemlig forberedelsen til indgåelse af migrationsægteskabet. Hvor manden har skullet forberede sig på sin forsørgerrolle, er kvinden af sine forældre tilsvarende blevet beredt til sin rolle som hustru og mor. Der har ikke fra familiernes side været strategier om uddannelse for deres børn. Ægteskabet har haft højeste prioritet.

Hvis mandens forældre var bosiddende i Europa, flyttede kvinden ind hos sin mand og sine svigerforældre og eventuelle svogre og svigerinder, hvor parret boede de første år af ægteskabet. Uanset om kvinden kom fra et lille landsbysamfund i Tyrkiet eller fra en større provinsby, er der en fælles erindring om et møde med et tyrkisk samfund med en traditionalitet mere traditionel end den, de kendte hjemme fra Tyrkiet, eller for nogle langt mere traditionel, end de havde drømt om derhjemme i landsbyen.

Migrationsægteskabet i min definition indeholder ligeledes den ægteskabsmodel, hvor begge parter er blevet forlovet eller gift med hinanden hjemme mens de begge boede i landsbyen. Ægteskabet er også her indgået ifølge traditionen enten med et familiemedlem, en fra slægten eller en nabo, herefter er den ene part blevet familiesammenført med sine forældre før sit fyldte 18. år og har efter et par år fået ægtefællesammenført mand eller kone til Europa.

Migrationsægteskabet har været den karakteristiske ægteskabsmodel blandt mine respondenter. Det er de færreste, der udtrykker erindring om massivt pres eller tvang i forbindelse med ægteskabsarrangementet, men at der har været tale om at vælge inden for en traditionel veldefineret og afgrænset ramme, gør de fleste gældende. Der hvor ægteskabet afviger fra denne model, er der eksempler på både tvang og kærlighed. Migrationsægteskabet har for både mandlige og kvindelige respondenter betydet, at familiens og slægtens fælles sociale livsstrategier har prioriteret ægteskabet højere end den enkeltes individuelle ønsker for mere personlige livsstrategier i form af for eksempel en uddannelse.

## Identitetskonstruktioner – teoriens tredje hypotese.

Teoriens tredje centrale variabel omhandler respondenternes syn på og kontakt til europæere og til egne landsmænd i Europa. Variablen viser således gruppens sociale og personlige identitetskonstruktioner.

Kontakten til og synet på europæerne varierer. Dette vises ved at opstille tre kategorier:

- I den første kategori har respondenterne ikke haft nære sociale relationer til europæere. På trods af dette manglende relationelle forhold har de på baggrund af distanceobservationer nogle markante synspunkter på og holdninger til europæerne, og der trækkes en markant grænse mellem *dem* og *os*, og således defineres, hvem de selv er.
- I den anden kategori har respondenterne tidligere haft tættere relationer til europæere, enten gennem fælles skolegang, fælles arbejdsplads eller for nogle af mændenes vedkommende gennem kæresteforhold med europæiske kvinder, før de blev gift med deres tyrkiske koner. I denne kategori har de derfor haft en tættere kontakt og en større mulighed for at erfare og opleve reelle forskelle og ligheder, og manglende sociale relationer med majoritetsbefolkningen begrundes på baggrund af denne kontakt. Respondenterne i den anden kategori har ligeledes en distance til *dem* og gennem konkrete eksempler trækkes grænser mellem *dem* og *os*, og derigennem manifesteres socialt tilhørsforhold.
- I den tredje kategori er der enkelte, der har skabt relationer og opbygget venskaber med europæerne, samtidig med at netværket blandt nogle af deres egne er bevaret. Den tredje kategori har ikke nogen skarp grænse til europæerne; de definerer deres sociale identiteter gennem kontakten til flere grupper, herunder også til grupper af europæere.

Men sociale relationer, opbygning af sociale netværk og venskaber med europæerne er ikke det udbredte mønster. De, der ikke taler sproget særlig godt, og som derfor heller ikke har muligheden for at komme i tæt dialog med majoritetsbefolkningen, har nogle fælles stereotype forestillinger om, hvordan europæere er. Europæere omtales som værende kolde, usympatiske og svære at komme i kontakt til, i modsætning til dem selv, tyrkerne, der er varmblodige og åbne mennesker. Blandt gruppen, der qua deres opvækst i Europa har haft relationer med europæere i skolen, på arbejdsmarkedet eller gennem personlige kontakter i form af kæresteforhold til europæiske kvinder, er det således, at langt størsteparten ligeledes i dag ingen sociale relationer har med majoritetsbefolkningen, men for dem bygger grænsedragningen på en mere nuanceret forklaring og begrundelse, og kulturelle forskelle gøres gældende.

De, der har valgt at skabe sociale relationer og danne netværk både blandt majoritetsbefolkningen og blandt egne landsmænd, trækker ikke grænser, og beskrivelserne af europæerne er udelukkende positive. De har på et tidspunkt i deres tilværelse besluttet sig for at forsøge at etablere sociale relationer uden for deres egen etniske gruppe. De har således næret et ønske om at blive i stand til at konstruere deres sociale identitet på tværs af etniske grænser.

Hvorfor grænsedragningen trækkes mellem *dem* og *os* enten ud fra distanceobservationer eller ud fra erfarede og erkendte forskelle, og hvorfor sociale relationer mellem europæerne og tyrkerne er ikke eksisterende, er der ikke dokumentation for at kunne besvare. Men empirien peger på, at etablering af sociale relationer med majoritetsbefolkningen for nogle har været et næret ønske, som de har formået at indfri.

Kontakten til og synet på egne landsmænd varierer tilsvarende. Her er ligeledes opstillet tre kategorier, der viser variationerne.

I den **første kategori** har alle et gruppetilhørsforhold til deres tyrkiske landsmænd, hvorigennem de definerer deres sociale identitet, samtidig med de markerer en personlig distance til gruppen. Gennem formulerede ønsker og konkrete handlinger forsøger de at skabe muligheder for social mobilitet enten for deres børn eller for dem selv. Ønsket om denne sociale mobilitet kommer til udtryk gennem en distance til deres tyrkiske landsmænd i Europa, som de med deres personlige identitetskonstruktioner skaber afstand til. Hvor mændenes og kvindernes formuleringer i grænsedragningen til deres tyrkiske landsmænd i Europa er fælles, når det gælder ønsket om social mobilitet for dem selv eller deres børn, har kvindernes grænsedragning ligeledes karakter af et ønske om muligheden for at skabe sig en ny kvinderolle med personlig frihed og personlige valg, herunder deltagelse i uddannelses- og arbejdsmarkedet i modsætning til de normative forventninger om en traditionel identitet defineret som mor, husmor og svigerdatter. Det er kendetegnende for respondenterne i den første kategori, at deres sociale relationer til majoritetsbefolkningen er yderst begrænset; dog har nogle af de mandlige respondenter i min undersøgelse tilkendegivet, at de før deres ægteskab har haft sociale relationer til majoritetsbefolkningen blandt andet gennem kæresteforhold til europæiske kvinder. Men efter indgåelse af ægteskab med en af deres egne landsmænd fra Tyrkiet har de mistet kontakten til europæerne.

I den **anden kategori** konstrueres sociale identiteter helt eller delvis i relationelle forhold til andre grupper end egne landsmænd, og personlige identiteter defineres i markant grænsedragning til de tyrkiske landsmænd i Europa. For nogle gælder, at de ingen relationer har til egne tyrkiske landsmænd i Europa, og for andre udgør kontakten til landsmændene en ud af flere grupperelationer. Derved er der i denne kategori skabt identifikationsmuligheder uden for den normative tyrkiske kontekst. Social mobilitet er for enkelte respondenter i denne kategori en realitet. Denne sociale mobilitet er opnået gennem jobs blandt europæerne, hvilket har medført muligheden for at lære sig majoritetssproget og skabe kontakter og netværk blandt europæerne. Hovedparten af kvinderne i den anden kategori har konstrueret deres sociale og personlige identiteter ud fra et fælles næret ønske om at bryde med den normative kvinderolle, de har været forsøgt påduttet af deres tyrkiske landsmænd omkring dem, og de har derfor brudt ud af den traditionelle ramme og væk fra kontrollen. Kendetegnene for denne kategori af respondenter er, at de ikke trækker en grænsedragning til majoritetsbefolkningen gennem et *vi* og et *dem*, og at de alle har etableret sociale relationer til europæere.

Den **tredje kategori** definerer social og personlig identitet udelukkende i relation til de tyrkiske landsmænd og kvinder, som udgør denne kategoris eneste sociale gruppetilhørsforhold. Ingen har formuleret en grænsedragning til gruppen af tyrkere omkring dem. De omtaler sig selv med et *vi*, og gennem dette *vi* konstruerer de deres identitet. Ingen har sociale relationer til majoritetsbefolkningen, og de har en ringe tro på, at fremtiden vil bringe dem muligheder for social mobilitet i form af uddannelse og job. De har accepteret og affundet sig med deres sociale status, med en identitet som arbejdsløs eller med en normativ tyrkisk kvinderolle. Denne kategori af respondenter har ingen relationer til majoritetsbefolkningen, deres sociale og personlige identitet konstruerer de udelukkende gennem et *vi* - gruppen af tyrkiske landsmænd omkring dem.



## **Personpotentialer og systemtilbud - teoriens fjerde hypotese.**

Teoriens fjerde variabel omhandler samspillet mellem individet og samfundenes krav eller tilbud i form af uddannelses- eller jobaktivering.

Og dette samspil er beskrevet gennem fem typologier. Medspil, modspil, afmagt, resignation og uafhængighed. Formålet med at opstille sådanne typologier er at skabe en indsigt i og en forståelse for forskellige typer af handlings- og holdningsmønstre, når individet bliver mødt med tilbud eller krav fra systemet.

Medspilleren er omfattet af aktiveringskrav eller tilbud og er således på offentlig forsørgelse enten i form af dagpenge eller bistandshjælp. Denne type ytrer sig positivt om systemets krav og muligheder, og spiller aktivt med i bestræbelserne for at opnå personlige mål i form af uddannelse, job og social mobilitet. Begge køn er repræsenteret her.

Modspilleren mødes ligeledes med krav eller tilbud fra systemerne, men i modsætning til typen af individer rubriceret i det jeg betegner som medspil, fremkommer et modspil hos dem. Dette modspil kommer til udtryk gennem negative ytringer, tvivl, frustration eller manglende tillid. Individerne her deler en opfattelse af at være blevet manipuleret med eller tvunget til deltagelse meget mod deres vilje, og de har grundlæggende ingen tro på, at de gennem et sådant aktiveringstilbud vil opnå et kompetenceløft, der vil bibringe dem øgede muligheder i form af bedre adgang til uddannelse, bedre jobs og dermed mulighed for social mobilitet. Begge køn er ligeledes repræsenteret her.

Enkelte tilkendegiver en resignerende holdning. I interaktionen med systemet opstår hverken et medspil eller et modspil, men en accept af spillets regler. Her næres ingen forhåbninger om, at tilbuddet skal bibringe social mobilitet, men status quo som indebærer begrænsede muligheder på arbejdsmarkedet accepteres. I samspillet med systemet er der ingen aggressivitet eller afmægtighedsfølelse, men en passiv resignation. Her er begge køn repræsenteret.

Typen, der tilkendegiver afmagt, har en opgivende og sortseende attitude. Der lades enten stå til, eller den fremtidige skæbne overlades i systemets eller i Allahs hænder. Denne type er fælles om at tilkendegive en manglende tro på fremtidige chancer på job- og/eller uddannelsesmarkedet, og typen er fælles om at dele en oplevelse af afmagt og mismodighed. Her er kun mænd repræsenteret.

Den sidste type er de "uafhængige". De er ikke på en form for offentlig forsørgelse, hvor de bliver mødt med krav fra systemet om aktiveringspligt. Det fælles træk ved denne type individer er, at de opsøger eksisterende muligheder på eget initiativ, og de er derfor således ikke på nogen måde under pres, kontrol eller tvang. Her er udelukkende kvinder repræsenteret.

Gruppen af ufaglærte, arbejdsløse indvandrere fra Tyrkiet handler og reagerer væsensforskelligt i deres samspil med samfundenes tilbud eller krav. Trods visse former for fælles traditioner og visse fælles livsstilstræk over personlige potentialer eller habituelle livsstrategier, hvori indgår faktorer som ægteskab, familiebaggrund, sociale relationer og identitet, ikke uvæsentlig indflydelse på den enkeltes inddannelsesprocesser.

## **Inddannelsesprocesserne**

Teoriens centrale kernevariabel selve inddannelsesprocessen forklarer gruppens erfaringer, vurderinger, forandringer og positioneringer over tid. Faserne er konstruerede og har til formål at vise diversiteten i gruppens handlings- og holdningsmønstre, herunder deres sociale og personlige

livsstrategier, og deres forventninger til arbejdstilværelsen i Europa. Inddannelsesprocesserne er influeret af fire variabler; Kontrollen, ægteskabet, identitetskonstruktionerne, samt den enkeltes samspil med samfundenes tilbud eller krav om uddannelses- og job aktivering.

Respondentgruppen er således ikke blot en heterogen gruppe, hvad angår migrationsstatus; deres individuelle historier, deres sociale identitetsudvikling, mødet med kontrollen og det arrangerede ægteskab, personlige potentialer og individernes samspil med samfundets tilbud og krav, udgør tilsammen en helhed, der danner et mønster af gruppens komplekse inddannelsesprocesser.

## **Kvindernes inddannelsesstrategier**

Forventninger og krav fra svigerforældre og forældre om at leve op til den normative, traditionelle kvindes rolle har skabt barrierer for nogle af kvindernes muligheder for at realisere personlige ønsker og mål med tilværelsen i Europa. Sådanne familiemæssige forventninger og krav til kvinderne har for nogle forårsaget, at påbegyndte uddannelser eller planlagte livsbaneforløb er blevet afbrudt, eller for andre har det betydet, at de ønsker og forventninger, de havde til tilværelsen i Europa, er blevet blokeret eller bremset af traditionen.

Migrationsægteskabet har for nogle betydet, at personlige livsbaneforløb og fremtidsønsker blev afbrudt. Den første tid i tilværelsen i Europa var de isolerede i svigerforældrenes hjem. Senere erhvervede disse kvinder sig adgang til arbejdsmarkedet, hvilket for nogle kun blev muligt gennem taktiske forhandlinger. Kvinderne fik status som husmødre, eller de kombinerede deres husmorrolle med et ufaglært job, efter bruddet med tilværelsen i svigerfamiliens hjem. Ingen af disse positioner bragte kvinderne tæt på europæerne.

Det er karakteristisk for kvinderne, at de nærer et ønske om forandring. Deres børn er blevet større, og de giver samstemmende udtryk for, at de vil genoptage den drøm eller den plan, de havde fra før de blev gift. Nu får de chancen for forandring, og de er motiverede for at skabe sig en ny position. Ingen er begejstrede for de job, der udelukkende bringer dem ud på et arbejdsmarked, hvor de ikke møder europæerne. De ønsker at tilføje deres sociale identitet nye perspektiver.

For andre kvinder har muligheder for personlige beslutninger og personlige valg altid været en del af tilværelsen. De har selv valgt deres ægtefælle, de har gennemført deres skolegang, eller de har deltaget i sprogundervisning opfordret af forældrene, da de ankom til Europa. Sådanne familier har ikke sat barrierer for kvindernes personlige livsbane strategier; tværtimod har nogle været medvirkende til at fremme kvindernes personlige ønsker.

Forældregenerationens syn på og forventninger til deres døtres rolle er ikke entydig blot på grund af en fælles etnisk identitet som tyrkere, eller en social fælles status som bønder eller ufaglærte. Dette har nuancerne og mangfoldigheden i gruppens inddannelsesprocesser påvist.

Kvinder med personlig frihed og retten til at træffe personlige valg er alle i færd med at skabe sig social og jobmæssig mobilitet. For nogle er dette blevet en livslang inddannelsesproces, hvor etnicitet er blevet et spørgsmål om valg.

Den enkelte kvindes personlighed har været afgørende for, hvorvidt hun har tacklet eventuelle forsøg på kontrol og styring af sin adfærd og sine handlinger gennem forhandling, eller gennem en mere radikal løsning i form af fysisk adskillelse. Sådanne kvinder har fastlagt egne personlige præmisser for deres inddannelsesprocesser.

For at anskueliggøre kompleksiteten i henholdsvis mænds og kvinders inddannelsesprocesser har jeg opstillet nogle idealtyper, der alle er repræsenteret, om ikke i deres rene form, blandt respondenterne i min undersøgelse.

Da gruppens profil er af en sådan karakter, at den kan betragtes som en marginaliseringstruet gruppe af arbejdsløse, er der god grund til at tydeliggøre fremmede såvel som hæmmende faktorer, der ifølge respondenterne selv har øvet indflydelse på deres sociale mobilitetsmuligheder. Formålet med opstilling af en sådan typologi er således at fremme en erkendelse af og et overblik over den diversitet og kompleksitet, der eksisterer blandt respondentgruppen.

## **Kvindetypologier**

### **Konsonant forhandlings - og afhængighedsstrategi**

Denne kvindetypes inddannelsesstrategier har været præget af forhandling. En forhandling, der signalerer et ønske om på en og samme tid at efterleve den mere moderne livsstil, der eksisterer rundt omkring dem, samtidig med at respekten for familiens og slægtens traditionalitet bevares. Denne kvindetype kommer primært fra små landsbysamfund i Tyrkiet, hvor familiens humane kapital kan betegnes som værende lav. Kvinderne har været underlagt førstegenerationens normer, værdier og traditioner. Definitioner på kvinderollen og modellen for det arrangerede ægteskab har ikke været til diskussion. Traditionen har sejret. Denne type kvinder har fået afbrudt deres påbegyndte livsbane i Europa, eller de er kommet op til en tyrkisk landsby i Europa, hvor livet er fortsat uændret efter samme norm og regelsæt, som havde det været hjemme i landsbyen i Tyrkiet. Fælles for denne type kvinder er, at de har forhandlet sig til accept af deres personlige handlinger primært i form af arbejdsmarkedsdeltagelse. Der ses konsonans mellem dem og deres familie-medlemmer. De etniske netværk har ydet støtte og opbakning ofte i form af jobformidlingen, og familiens ressourcer er anvendt til at vejlede i, hvordan inddannelse burde forme sig for deres døtre og svigerdøtre. Denne kvindetype ønsker forandring og ser tilbuddet om uddannelse og opkvalificering som en chance for social mobilitet og status ændring for deres egen, men ikke mindst for deres børns skyld. Typen konstruerer social identitet ved en skarp skelnen mellem *dem* og *os*.

### **Konsonant handlings- og uafhængighedsstrategi**

Denne kvindetypes inddannelsesstrategier har ikke været præget af forhandling. Typen er opvokset med en vis personlig frihed og med i nogen grad mulighed for at træffe beslutninger på egne præmisser. Typen kommer enten fra en landsbyfamilie med tradition for at betragte skolegang og uddannelse med en vis vægt, eller fra en familie med en urban livsstil enten fra en provinsby eller en større by i Tyrkiet. Denne kvindetype har ikke haft brug for at forhandle sig til personlig frihed, men har i højere grad end det har været tilfældet for den første type været i stand til at træffe personlige beslutninger. Typen er opdraget til en relativ personlig frihed. Derfor er det således et fælles karakteristisk træk, at man ser sig selv som værende anderledes end landsmændene omkring sig. Etnicitet er blevet et spørgsmål om valg. Dog fremkommer flere identifikationsmodeller inden for denne typologi. En skelnen mellem *dem* og *os* forekommer hyppigst, dog er der afvigelser, hvor social identitet ligeledes findes i en mere nuanceret konstruktion med relationelle forhold etableret både til egne landsmænd, men ligeledes til europæere. Inden for denne kvindetype er der ligeledes konsonans mellem individ og familie. Men i modsætning til den første type har denne kvindetype frigjort sig fra den entydige afhængighed af det etniske netværk gennem etablering af andre

kontakter på egen præmisser. Nye relationer fremkommer etableret gennem job eller uddannelse blandt europæere.

### **Dissonans handlings- og uafhængighedsstrategi.**

Den fraskilte kvindetype har en markant anderledes inddannelsesstrategi. Her er bruddet med slægtninge og landsmænd nødvendigt eller evident. Et sådant brud eller en distance gennemføres frivilligt eller tvunget. At skabe sig en ny identitet er nødvendig. Ønsket om at skifte sin identitet er en af strategierne. At skabe nye netværk og at handle uden støtte fra slægt, familie og tidligere venner er vilkårene for den fraskilte tyrkiske kvinde. Akkulturationen går stærkt, for der eksisterer intet alternativ. Uddannelse og personlig udvikling tillægges stor betydning, fordi det baner vejen for social mobilitet og evnen til at iscenesætte sin egen tilværelse uden nogen form for støtte fra det etniske netværk, en støtte der ellers altid har været der. Dissonans kendetegner relationen mellem denne kvindetype og hendes slægt og familie.

### **Mændenes inddannelsesstrategier**

Der er ikke på samme måde empirisk dokumentation for, at forældre/svigerforældre generationen har sat barrierer for mændene og deres personlige handlinger og holdninger til, hvordan de har villet forme deres inddannelse, således som det er tilfældet for hovedparten af kvinderne. Mændene vurderer, at der ikke er andre, der har øvet indflydelse på deres beslutninger og handlinger. Men langt den overvejende del af de mandlige respondenter er blevet gift inden for den traditionelle ramme, og migrationsægteskabet har også for dem været ægteskabsmodellen.

Nogle mænd vurderer, at deres livsbane var afstukket i barndommen. De vidste, at de skulle til Europa. Andre mænd i Europa droppede ud af skolen eller stoppede med at uddanne sig for at tjene penge. Det er karakteristisk for mændene, uanset om de er opvokset her, eller de er kommet til Europa som unge eller voksne, at de hurtigt fandt arbejde. Jobbene blev formidlet til dem gennem netværket af tyrkiske landsmænd. Det er således dette netværk, der sikrer dem et job, og derved udgør dette netværk en ikke ubetydelig styrke i mændenes inddannelse, i hvert fald hvad angår inddannelse til visse afgrænsede segmenter af det europæiske arbejdsmarked. Men disse job har ikke bragt mændene tæt på europæerne. De har ikke haft europæiske kolleger. Det er således få af mændene, der har nære relationer til majoritetsbefolkningen. Dog har enkelte mænd bevidst valgt at etablere kontakt og venskaber med europæerne, og disse mænd giver udtryk for, at de tillægger denne kontakt stor betydning for deres egen og for deres børns tilværelse i Europa.

I modsætning til den kvindelige respondentgruppe er hovedparten af mændenes motivation og målrettethed mindre entydig. Nogle er opgivende og afmægtige og ser sort på fremtiden, andre læner sig tilbage og forlader sig på systemet; og enkelte andre er målrettede og har en plan for forandring i form af enten påbegyndt eller planlagt uddannelse.

Ønsket om forandring er markant mere fremtrædende blandt kvinderne end blandt mændene.

### **Mandetypologier**

#### **Konsonant gensidig afhængighedsstrategi**

Denne type af mænd stammer små landsbysamfund i Tyrkiet. Familiens humane kapital er lav, og der er ingen tradition for uddannelse. Typen her er afhængig af det etniske netværk, og har i deres sociale identitetskonstruktioner, en markant skelnen mellem *dem* og *os*. For denne type er

europæisk livsbaneforløb i form af skolegang og eventuel videre uddannelse blevet afbrudt til fordel for lønarbejdet formidlet af deres etniske netværk. Kontakten til europæerne er yderst begrænset. Denne mandetype har en bevidst erkendelse af social status, og selvom typen giver udtryk for et ønske om at ændre denne status og opnå social mobilitet gennem erhvervelse af andre typer af jobs, er der hos denne type ingen målrettede planer om at opnå et sådant statusskift. Netværket har lukket sig om sig selv, og denne mandetype er enten resignerende eller opgivende, hvad angår forandring. Her eksisterer konsonans mellem individ, familie og slægten.

### **Konsonant handlings- og uafhængighedsstrategi.**

Denne mandetype kommer ligeledes fra landsbyfamilier med lav *human capital*, hvor uddannelse ikke har været tillagt betydning. Typens sociale identitet konstrueres både gennem netværk af egne landsmænd og netværk blandt europæere, hvilket for denne type af mænd har været et bevidst valg. Derved bliver en dyb afhængighed af det tyrkiske netværk mindre betydningsfuldt, og her skelnes ikke så markant mellem *dem* og *os*. Beslutningen om forandring er truffet, og indsatsen for at opnå forandring er påbegyndt. Gennem igangværende uddannelse er målet at erhverve sig adgang til et nyt jobmarked, der vil kunne bibringe mulighed for nye sociale netværk og for social mobilitet.

### **Uafhængig individbaseret mobilitetsorienteret strategi**

Denne type har en medbragt uddannelse på mellemlang eller videregående niveau med sig fra Tyrkiet. Typen kommer enten fra en provinsby eller en større by i Tyrkiet, og familien har enten tradition for uddannelse eller har set uddannelse som afgørende for børnenes muligheder for socioøkonomisk mobilitet. Denne mandetype er sig bevidst om sin status og mønsterbryderrolle, og har uddannelse i Europa som strategi for at positionere sig med samme status i sin nye tilværelse. Typen har derfor fra begyndelsen en målrettet plan og et overblik over muligheder og krav. Afhængighed af det etniske netværk fortaber sig efter en kort periode. Typen gør sig hurtigt uafhængig af sine landsmænd, og konstruerer sin sociale identitet gennem relationelle forhold både med europæere og egne landsmænd.

### **Dissonant eller konsonant strategi, et etnisk dilemma.**

Denne type er repræsentant for kulturpendleren, hvor der pendles mellem flere identiteter afhængig af den kontekst, man indgår i. Dilemmaet opstår, der hvor modsatrettede normer og værdier støder sammen. Valg af ægteskabspartner er et eksempel herpå. Etnicitet er ikke kun et spørgsmål om valg, men bliver ligeledes et dilemma der, hvor konsonans med familiens normer ikke er samstemmende med individets. Netværket af tyrkiske landsmænd er af mindre betydning. Social identitet konstrueres gennem flere relationelle gruppetilhørsforhold. Familiebaggrund fra et miljø med lav *human capital*. Ingen gennemslagskraft fra det omgivende etniske samfund. Ingen målrettet plan for en fremtidssikret mobilitetsstrategi. Læner sig op ad systemet.

Teoriens hovedpointer er illustreret gennem ovenstående typologier for henholdsvis de mandlige og de kvindelige respondenter. Inddannelsesmodellen viser faserne i inddannelsesprocesserne, som for nogle er livslange processer, mens det for andre er stagnation og status quo.

Inddannelse er betegnelsen for en teori, der redegør for hvilke faktorer der har øvet indflydelse på en afgrænset defineret indvandrergruppes personlige og sociale livsstrategier. Inddannelse forklarer ligeledes, hvordan forskellige typer af inddannelsesprocesser forløber over tid, og disse processer er beskrevet gennem en konstruktion af fire faser. Desuden er teoriens hovedpointer præsenteret

gennem opstilling af nogle typologier, der viser diversiteten og kompleksiteten i henholdsvis mænds og kvinders inddannelsesstrategier.

## Summary

The objective of this qualitative research, consisting of forty individual interviews, is to develop a theory within the framework of the Grounded Theory methodology in order to expound the everyday experiences and working life expectations of a group of unemployed, unskilled Turkish immigrants. The Grounded Theory methodology has been selected, as it is the assumption behind this dissertation that it is best suited to reveal the respondents' problems, and to generate a theory by which their processual solution models can be explained.

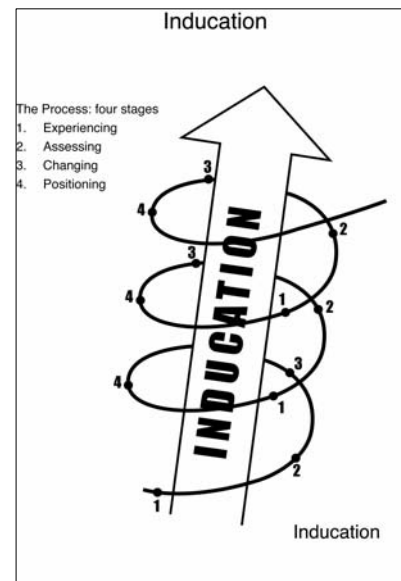
Through the application of a systematic method of analysis: continuous comparative assessments of conceptual, empirical and theoretical codings, a key theoretical category, which I have named "inducation", has emerged.

"Inducation" is my own invented term. I have decided to use this new term rather than established research terms such as for example acculturation or integration, in order to emphasize the fact that my study is confined to one specific group (heterogeneous, in relation to migrant status, although with certain objective traits - Turkish background, unemployed, unskilled status in Europe) and to specific areas which have had a considerable impact on the respondents life in Europe; key areas of focus which have proved to be of considerable significance in my empirical material.

My creation of a new term is specifically intended to emphasize the fact that my study does not pretend to embrace all aspects of the respondents' daily lives; I have not included, for example, ethical, moral or religious aspects, nor does my dissertation comprise linguistic or socio-linguistic aspects.

Through analysis of the respondents' behavioural and attitude patterns, this dissertation endeavours to reveal how the group has tried to satisfy personal expectations towards the labour market including their strategies for achieving socio-economic mobility. The term "inducation" signifies a process defined over time, and the term is used to describe the respondents' experiences, assessments, changes and subsequent positionings. These phases have emerged through the analysis of my empirical data, and they demonstrate the processes over time. I will also present arguments in my dissertation to support my belief that the inducation process is not linear, but spiralling, being both variable and complex

An illustration of the four phases as a continuous process through a life, or periods of a life. I deliberately choose to illustrate the flows as a descending continuum, rather than a linear process, in order to preclude any conception of causality or a cause/effect chain aiming at a final “goal”. After each completed process (experiencing, assessing, changing, positioning), the individual has attained a higher level of comprehension that serves as point of departure of a new process. Some will realise many, others fewer processes. The concept of “induction” thus covers these processes over time, and the concept is used to describe the four phases of the induction processes. The first phase in the process represents the period in which the respondents experience life in Europe - individual experiences which they consider significant and which have impacted on their induction processes. The second phase deals with the respondents’ assesment of these experiences. These assesments constitute their reflections on specific experience of life, which have influenced them and played a significant role in their actions. The third phase deals with the changes realized by the respondents, or which they are in the process of realizing. For some, social and employment changes may have been an ongoing process, which they have initiated themselves early on in their life in Europe. For others, the desire for change may have been latent, but they have not been able to make any personal choices for many years, or they have not possessed the cultural and social capital required to initiate such a process of change. The fourth phase discusses the respondents’ positionings. For some, it remains status quo, whereas for others it implies goals they have set themselves and which they are in the process of realizing.



The core category, the four phases of the induction process, in conjunction with the four key categories control, marriage, identity constructions, personal potentials and public schemes, comprise the variables of my Grounded Theory, and these variables, their conclusions, and their reciprocal coherence collectively constitute the hypothesis of the theory of induction. The theory explains the respondents’ conditions for, and endeavours in, the realization of their expectations of life in Europe.

The inductive Grounded Theory methodology exists within two schools, each possessing its own position of theory of science, methodological and methodical research approaches. I have chosen to be inspired by both Anselm Strauss’ and Barney Glaser’s positions, and have therefore decided on applying a bricolage model, in which I have formed my own research style, adapted to the purpose of this dissertation, its objective frameworks and conditions. However, I would like to emphasize that I have opted to follow the classical Grounded Theory developed by Barney Glaser in depth as to this study’s epistemological and methodological levels, and I have elected to follow the classical Grounded Theory meticulously in the actual analysis work on the various levels and coding procedures, as described by Glaser. I have chosen this approach because I find the method well described and more accessible through Glaser than through Strauss. Glaser has provided researchers with optimally clear-cut and practical instructions on using his methodology from the first open coding to the emergence of the theory.

However, in both these Grounded Theory positions, it is vital that the analyses of social reality generate abstract conceptualizations, although these abstractions are not merely a reflection of empirical reality, but are rather the researcher's interpretation of reality. By means of continuous comparisons of abstract concepts latent patterns are revealed, which together form a mirror image of a given social reality in a given environment or research area.

By applying this methodological strategy, I am convinced that the researcher's analyses through these forms of abstract conceptualizations and constant comparisons can reveal latent patterns in a reality which also exists outside the researcher's actual realm of experience.

Thus I must agree with Glaser that the Grounded Theory's methodology is a good rule in minimizing the researcher's interpretation or construction of the respondents' social reality, as far as this is at all possible. And this epistemological point was precisely one of the reasons for my choice of using Grounded Theory methodology. I specifically wanted to capture the latent patterns that could explain the group's behavioural and attitude patterns, as well as their everyday and working life's expectations.

A Grounded Theory on induction is the result of this dissertation.

### **Social control – the first hypothesis of the theory**

This theory's first key category deals with social control. It is primarily women who had to bear the heavy yoke of tradition.

Arriving in Europe as a new bride meant a life with huge demands placed on each woman in adapting to expectations ordained by tradition.

Marriages between two parties in which the traditional life pattern, including social control, was stricter with the woman's new in-laws than in the life pattern with which she had grown up herself in her own family, proved to be an experience for the woman which she describes as "like coming from the city to the village". This was a common experience for all the women who were used to personal freedom and free access to the public space back in Turkey.

Adaptation to the new life in Europe was, however, equally difficult for women married to close relatives where the couple shared a culture and traditions from their common village. The old countryside traditions were carried on, and the young brides had to spend their first years of married life living at their in-law's home where the young daughter-in-law was expected to adopt the roles of a mother and daughter-in-law first and foremost in keeping with tradition. It was not appropriate for her to have her own opinions; her duty was to listen and obey. The man's word was law and the woman, in her new status of wife and daughter-in-law, was expected to know her place. Reality bore little resemblance to the dream of a life in Europe.

Women, born or brought up in Europe, learnt throughout their childhood to integrate with European culture, as well as acquiring the ability to commute between diverging cultural contexts which rarely impacted on each other. On their way into a European life trajectory advance towards education and a quest for a life of personal freedom, their dreams and goals for the future were brought to an abrupt halt thanks to the cultural norms and potency of tradition. They were incarcerated within their own homes, where they were expected to keep themselves busy looking after young children and help with the household chores until they were ready to get married. This



was the way a family was able to secure control of the daughter and thereby protect the family honour.

This social control was part and parcel of most of the women's lives, although some women came from more modern families where the freedom of making their own choices had always been part of their lives or where they had already won a hard fight for their freedom back in their childhood.

Gaining, regaining or maintaining personal liberty has proved to be a multifaceted process for the women. Some found liberation from this control to be a long drawn-out process, which exacted considerable negotiating skill, while others managed to achieve this liberating process through the manifestation of personal will and stubbornness, and other women maintained their personal liberty by keeping a distance and overbearing towards the parents-in-law's generation. Some woman found a clean break in the form of divorce as the only solution; social control was enforced by violence in some cases.

The control, which is linked to honour and shame, has impacted on the majority of women's lives in Europe. Some women starting a personal life trajectory in the form of getting an education in a European context were ordered to break off their college courses or school/education by the parents-in-law. Other women, who had arrived in Europe from a life of relative freedom in Turkey were met by the European countryside framework, the gossip and control. Women who had dreamt of a life of personal freedom back in their villages in Turkey discovered that the provincial norms applied all the same in Europe, and they had to undergo long-term strategic negotiations to attain their dream of freedom. Some women had conquered their personal freedom already before they got married and had therefore broken free from the traditional framework.

The men that had been born and brought up in Europe, and who chose to follow tradition and marry a woman either related to them or from their families' village of origin, did not lose their personal freedom in the same way. Without having to ask anyone's permission they were allowed to continue their social life outside the home as they had always done previous to marriage. The theory on the induction processes thereby takes on a gender dimension that differentiates men and women's different preconditions and, as a result, their behavioural and attitude patterns.

### **Marriage – the second hypothesis of the theory**

The theory's second key category deals with the issue of marriage. The general marriage pattern shows most parties getting married across national borders and this is therefore termed a migration marriage in this dissertation. The majority of marriages were entered into at a young age, and in most cases the families were involved in the prenuptial arrangements. Thus these marriages concern parties from the same or a neighbouring village. Even if this kind of marriage is the norm, there are exceptions to the rule. Some admit that they were not involved in the decision process and there are suggestions here of the prenuptial arrangements having proceeded under duress or force, whereas others have chosen their own partner themselves, with no interference from the family or even in direct conflict with family wishes.

Women born or brought up in Europe, who married a first cousin, a more distant relative or a man from a neighbouring village, had to leave school early or break off higher education. The parents isolated them in their homes until they were married. Men born or brought up in Europe also had to leave school early or get unskilled work immediately after having finished mandatory grade school.

Contrary to the women, the men give the impression that they came to these decisions themselves; they just adhered to norms.

But both men and women have been influenced by norm and tradition, namely preparing for a migration marriage. While the man had to prepare himself for his role as the provider, her parents in assuming her role as a wife and mother correspondingly groomed the woman. The families had no strategy for the education of their children. The marriage had highest priority.

If the man's parents were resident in Europe, the woman moved in with her husband and parents-in-law and any brothers and sisters-in-law, where the couple lived during their first years of marriage. Regardless of whether the woman came from a small village community in Turkey or from a larger provincial town, there is a common memory of a meeting with a Turkish community with far more conventional traditionalism than the one they were used to in Turkey, or, for some, far more traditional than they had dreamt of back home in the village.

The migration marriage in my definition contains by the same token the marriage model where the parties were engaged or married while they lived in the village. In accordance to tradition, the marriage in this case as well with a family member, a more distant relative or a neighbour. After that one of the parties undergoes family reunification in Europe with his or her parents before they reach the age of 18 and then after a couple of years has undergone marriage reunification with the husband or wife moving to Europe.

The migration marriage was the characteristic marriage model among my respondents. Only few express recollections of massive pressure or force in connection with their marriage arrangement, but most confirmed that the choice was kept within a traditional well-defined and limited framework. Where the marriage deviates from this model, there are examples of both force and love. The migration marriage for both male and female respondents has meant that the family's and other relatives' common social life strategies has given the marriage more import than the individual's quests for more personal life strategies in the form of, for example, education.

### **Identity constructions – the third hypothesis of the theory**

The theory's third key variable deals with the respondents' views on, and contact with, Europeans and their own compatriots living in Europe. The variable thus demonstrates the group's social and personal identity constructions.

The contact with and views on Europeans vary. This is demonstrated by establishing the following three categories.

- In the first category, the respondents have not had any close social ties with Europeans. In spite of this lack of relational proximity, they have marked views obtained through distance observations on and attitudes towards Europeans, and draw a distinct line between *them* and *us*, and thereby they define their own identity.
- In the second category, the respondents have previously had closer ties with Europeans, either through a common school period, common work place or, in the case of some of the men, through love affairs with European women before marrying their Turkish wives. This category opens for closer contact and greater potential for experiencing the actual differences and similarities, and the lack of social relations with the majority of the

population can be explained on the basis of this contact. Similarly, the respondents in the second category have a distance in relation to *them* and draw the line between *them* and *us* through tangible examples, and relationships of social affiliation are manifested through these.

- In the third category, some have created relationships and built friendships with Europeans while preserving their own Turkish networks. The third category has no sharp barrier towards Europeans as they define their social identities through contact with several ethnic groups, including Europeans.

But social relationships, building social networks and friendships with Europeans are not the common pattern. People unable to speak the language very well and who are therefore denied the opportunity of in-depth dialogue with the majority of the population, maintain some common stereotype preconceptions about Europeans. Europeans are regarded as being cold, unsympathetic and difficult to get to know, as opposed to the Turks, who are warm and open people. Among group respondents which have grown up in Europe and had relations with Europeans at school, in the labour market or through personal contact in the form of love affairs with European women, the results show that by far the vast majority likewise today have no social relationships with the majority population. For them, lines of demarcation build on more nuanced explanation, and cultural differences are stressed.

Respondents who have elected to form social relationships and create networks among both the majority population and their own compatriots do not draw borders, and their descriptions of Europeans are solely positive. At some point of time in their life they have determined to try and establish social relationships outside their own ethnic group. Thus they have nourished a wish to being capable of constructing their own ethnic cross-border social identity.

There is no documentation to draw conclusions as to why the line is drawn between *them* and *us* either on the strength of distance observations or experienced and accepted differences, or why social relationships between Europeans and Turks are non-existent. But the empirical data indicates that to some the establishing of social relationships with the majority population has been a definite aspiration, which they have endeavoured to realize.

Contact with and views on own compatriots vary correspondingly. Similarly, three categories are set out below showing the variations.

In **the first** category, everyone has a group affiliation relationship with their Turkish compatriots, through which they define their social identity, at the same time as marking a personal distance to the group. They are attempting to create opportunities for their own or their children's social mobility through formulated desires and tangible actions. The desire to realize this social mobility is expressed through a detachment from their Turkish compatriots in Europe, to which they have created a distance by means of their personal identity constructions. While both the men's and women's formulation of drawing demarcation lines towards their Turkish compatriots in Europe are shared in terms of a desire for social mobility for themselves or their children, the women's drawing of the line further reflects a desire to be able to create a new woman's role with personal freedom and personal choice, including participation in the educational and labour market in contradiction to the normative expectations of a traditional identity defined as a mother, housewife and daughter-in-law. A characteristic of the respondents in the first category is the extreme limitation of their social

relationships with the majority population, although some of the male respondents admitted that they had had social relationships with the majority population, including love affairs with European women, prior to marriage, but have lost contact with Europeans following their marriage to a woman from Turkey.

In **the second** category, social identities are built completely or partly in relational interaction with other groups than their own compatriots, and personal identities are defined in the distinct lines drawn towards Turkish compatriots in Europe. For some this implies no relations to their Turkish compatriots in Europe, and for others the contact with their compatriots is one of many group relations. Hence identification potential is created in this category outside the normative Turkish context. For some respondents in this category social mobility has become a reality. This social mobility is achieved through employment in European work places, which has resulted in their learning the majority language and potential for forming contacts and creating networks among Europeans. The majority of women in this second category have formed their social and personal identities based on a common desire to break with the normative woman's role which their Turkish compatriots have tried to force on them. Thus they have broken away from traditional confines and control. The hallmarks for this category of respondents are that they do not draw up a barrier to the majority population through and *us* and *them*, and that they have all established social relationships with Europeans.

The **third category** defines social and personal identities exclusively in relation to their Turkish compatriots and women, which constitutes this category's only social group attachment relationship. None of them have formulated a barrier with the group of Turks around them. They talk about themselves as *us*, and through this *us* they build their own identity. None have social relationships with the majority population, and they have little faith in the future bringing them opportunities for social mobility in the form of education and a job. They have accepted and reconciled themselves to their social status, accepting the identity of being unemployed or a normative Turkish woman's role. This category of respondents has no relationship with the majority population; their social and personal identity is exclusively built up through using an *us*: the group of fellow Turkish compatriots around them.

### **Personal potentials and public schemes – the fourth hypothesis of the theory**

The theory's fourth variable deals with the interaction between the individual and public requirements and schemes in the form of education or job activation.

This interaction is described through five different typologies: *cooperative*, *non-cooperative*, *impotence*, *resignation*, *independence*. These typologies are established to generate an insight into, and understanding of, different types of behavioural and attitude patterns by individuals when faced with an offer or a requirement from the system.

A cooperative person is given activation demands or schemes and is supported by public benefits either in the form of jobseeker's allowance or some form of public benefit. This type has a positive attitude towards the system's requirements and opportunities and is active in his or her efforts to achieve personal targets in the form of education, work and social mobility. Both genders are represented here.

A non-cooperative person is similarly given requirements or schemes from the system, but in contrast to the above mentioned individuals described as cooperative, this type is non cooperative.

This non-cooperation is expressed through negative actions, doubt, frustration or a lack of trust. These individuals share the opinion of being manipulated or forced to participate expressly against their will, and they basically do not believe that these activation schemes will provide them with a lift in competence which would improve their opportunities for enhanced access to education, better jobs and thereby opportunities for social mobility. Both genders are similarly represented here.

The type that acknowledges impotence maintains a defeatist and black attitude. Either they leave it be or their future is left to the system or put in the hands of Allah. These individuals share a lack of faith in their chances of getting a job in the future and/or on the education market, and they share feelings of powerlessness and dejection. Only men are represented here.

Some individuals adopt a resigned attitude. In the interaction with the system there is neither involvement nor resistance, but an acceptance of the rules of the game. There are no expectations for the scheme to bring them any social mobility; they accept a status quo of limited employment opportunities. In the interaction with the system there is no aggression or feelings of powerlessness, but merely passive resignation. Both genders are represented here.

The last type of individual is the “independent” type, receiving no form of public benefit entailing activity requirements from the public system. The common traits with this type of individual are seeking existing opportunities on their own initiative, and they are therefore under no pressure, control or enforcement. Only women are represented here.

The group of unskilled workers, unemployed immigrants from Turkey acts and reacts very differently in its interaction with governmental offers and demands. Despite certain forms of common tradition and some shared lifestyle features, personal potentials or habitual life strategies, including factors such as marriage, family background, social relationships and identity, exert a significant influence on each individual’s induction processes.

### **Induction processes**

The theory’s central core variable, the induction process itself explains the group’s experiences, assessments, changes and positionings over a period of time. These phases are established to demonstrate the diversity in the group’s behavioural and attitude patterns, including their individual social and personal life strategies, and their expectations of working life in Europe. The induction processes are influenced by four variables: control, marriage, identity constructions and the individual’s interaction with public requirements or opportunities for education and job activation.

The group of respondents are therefore not merely a heterogeneous group due to their migration status; their individual histories, their social identity development, their meeting with social control and the arranged marriage and the single person’s personal potential and interaction with public schemes or requirements all combine into a holistic image that forms the pattern of the group’s complex induction processes.

### **The women’s induction strategies**

Expectations and demands from parents and parents-in-law to live up to the normative, traditional woman’s role have created barriers for some of the women’s opportunities for realizing personal desires and goals for their lives in Europe. For some, such family expectations and demands on the women have caused them to break off education courses or planned life trajectory patterns while for

others it has meant that their desires and expectations for life in Europe have been blocked or held back by tradition.

The migration marriage has meant for some that their personal life trajectory pattern and future wishes have been broken off. Their first period of living in Europe was spent in isolation in their parents-in-law's home. Later on, these women entered the labour market, in some cases only after tactical negotiations. The women had the status of housewives or they combined their role of a housewife with an unskilled job following the break in life with their parents-in-law's home. None of these positions brought the women close to Europeans.

It is characteristic for the women that they want change. Their children have grown older and they express universally that they want to take up their dream again or the plan that they had before marriage. Now is their chance for change, and they are motivated to create a new position for themselves. None of them are happy with jobs that only provide access to a labour market where they do not meet with Europeans. They want to boost their social identity by adding new perspectives.

For other women, opportunities for making personal decisions and personal choices have always been there. They chose their husbands, completed their education, or went on language courses encouraged by their parents when they first arrived in Europe. In this respect, the families have not placed barriers for the women's personal life trajectory strategies; on the contrary, some have been driving forces to promote the women's personal desires.

The older generation's views on, and expectations of, their daughters' role are ambiguous because of a common ethnic identity as Turks, or a shared social status as farmers or unskilled workers. This has been proved by the nuances and diversity within the group's induction processes.

The women with personal freedom and the right to make personal choices are all creating social and work mobility for themselves. For some, this has been a lifelong induction process, in which their ethnicity has been a question of choice.

The individual woman's personality remains a decisive factor as to whether she tackles attempts at controlling her behaviour and actions through negotiation – or through a more radical form of physical separation. These women have established their own personal premises for their induction processes.

To make the complexity of the induction processes of men and women respectively more tangible, I have listed some model types all represented, if not in their pure forms, among the respondents in my research. As the group's profile is of such a nature that it can be regarded as a group of unemployed people under the threat of marginalization, there is good reason to emphasize enhancing as well as inhibiting factors which, according to the respondents themselves, have had an impact on their potential for social mobility. The purpose of presenting this kind of typology is thus to present an acknowledgment and overview of the diversity and complexity among the respondent group.

## **Female typologies**

### **Consonant negotiating and dependency strategies**

This type of women's induction strategy has been characterized by negotiation. A negotiation that signals a desire to emulate a more modern lifestyle which is present all around them, whilst simultaneously maintaining the respect for the family's traditional customs. This type of woman comes primarily from small village communities in Turkey, where the family's human capital can be described as low. The women have been subjected to the first generation's norms, values and traditions. Definitions of the woman's role and the model for an arranged marriage have not been topics for discussion. Traditions have won. This type of women have had their ongoing life trajectory in Europe abruptly curtailed, or they have arrived in a Turkish village within Europe, where life has not changed and people still live under the same norms and set of rules as they would have done had they been at home in the village in Turkey. Common to women of this type is that they have achieved acceptance of their personal decisions, primarily in the form of participation in the labour market, through negotiation. Consonance is present between them and their family members. The ethnic network has given them support and back-up often in the form of getting a job and the family's resources have been used to advise how the induction should progress for their daughters and daughters-in-law. This type of women desires change and sees the offer of education and gaining qualifications as a chance for social mobility and status change for their own, but not least, for their children's sake. This type builds her social identity by drawing a sharp distinction between *them* and *us*.

### **Consonant behavioural and independence strategies**

This type of woman's induction strategies have not been coloured by negotiation. These women have grown up with a certain amount of personal freedom and to a certain extent the opportunity for making decisions on their own premises. This type comes either from a village family with a tradition for attaching some importance to going to school and getting an education, or from a family with an urban lifestyle, either from a provincial town or city in Turkey. This type of woman has not needed to negotiate personal freedom, but has been more capable than the previous type to make personal decisions. This type has been brought up with relative personal freedom. Therefore this view of feeling different even when surrounded by one's compatriots is thus a shared characteristic trait. Her ethnicity has been a matter of choice. However, there are several identification models within this typology. A differentiation between *them* and *us* occurs most often, though with exceptions, where social identity is found all the same in a more nuanced structure with relational feelings established both for their own compatriots, but also with Europeans. Within this type of women, there is still consonance between the individual and family. But in contrast to the first type, this type of woman has freed herself from the unambiguous dependency of the ethnic network through the establishment of other contacts on her own premises. New relationships are made, established through working or studying among Europeans.

### **Dissonant behavioural and independence strategies**

The divorced type of woman has a markedly different induction strategy. Here the break with relatives and compatriots is necessary or evident. This kind of break or distance is carried out voluntarily or enforced. To create a new identity is crucial. The desire to change her identity is one of the strategies. To create a new network and act with no support from relations, the family and former friends are the conditions facing the divorced Turkish woman. The acculturation is intense because there is no alternative. Education and personal development are accorded considerable significance because these pave the way for social mobility and the ability to organize one's own existence with no form of support from the ethnic network, whose support always used to be there. The relationship between this type of woman and her family is characterized by dissonance.

## **The men's induction strategies**

There is not the same kind of empirical documentation available to prove the existence of barriers set by the generation of the men's parents/parents-in-law and their personal actions and attitudes to how they wanted to form their induction, as is the case for the majority of the women. The men assess their decisions and actions where there is no other influence. But the overwhelming majority of the male respondents got married within the traditional framework and the migration marriage has been the marriage model for them as well.

Some men assess that their life trajectory was already settled during their childhood. They knew that they were going to go to Europe. Other men in Europe dropped out of school or stopped their education in order to earn money. A common trait for all the men, regardless of whether they grew up here or came to Europe as boys or young men was the fact that they found a job quickly. Their jobs were channelled to them through the network of Turkish compatriots. It was thus this network that found them a job and so this network is not an insignificant strength in the men's induction, at any rate concerning induction to specifically demarcated segments of the European labour market.

But these jobs have not brought the men into contact with Europeans. They have not had European work colleagues. Thus only very few of the men have close relationships with the majority population. However, some of the men have consciously chosen to establish contact and friendships with Europeans, and these men express that they attach great importance to this contact for their own and their children's lives in Europe.

Contrary to the group of women respondents, the majority of the men's motivation and purposefulness are less clear-cut. Some are resigned and despondent, looking negatively at the future, while others lean back and let the system take care of them, but some have clear targets and a plan for change by means of education either already started or planned.

The desire for change is markedly more predominant among the women than the men.

## **Male typologies**

### **Consonant mutual dependency strategy**

This type of men originates from small village communities in Turkey. The family's human capital is low, and there is no education tradition. This type relies heavily on the ethnic network, and has drawn a clear line to differentiate between *them* and *us* in their social identity constructions. This type of man's European life trajectory in the form of going to school and sometimes higher education was curtailed in favour of getting a job found by their ethnic network. Their contact with Europeans is extremely limited. This type of man has conscious awareness of social status and even though they wish to change status and achieve social mobility by means of getting a different job, this type has no focussed plans to achieve such a shift in status. The network has closed ranks and this type of man is either resigned or defeatist as to change. There is consonance between the individual, family and other kin.

### **Consonant behavioural and independence strategies**

This type of man also comes from village families with low human capital, where getting an education has never been given any significance. Social identity is built through both a network of his own compatriots and a network of Europeans, which has been a conscious choice for this type of man. Therefore extreme dependence on the Turkish network is less important and the differentiation



between *them* and *us* is less marked. The decision for change has been made, and efforts are underway to achieve this change. Through started education the target is to gain access to a new employment market which will bring opportunities for new social networks and social mobility.

### **Independent individual-based mobility-oriented strategy**

This type of man has already gained a medium-length or higher education in Turkey. This type originates either from a provincial town or a city in Turkey, and the family either has a tradition for education or regards education as crucial to their children's possibilities for gaining socio-economic mobility. This type of man is conscious about his status and model-breaking role and has education in Europe as his strategy to gain a position with the same status in his new life. Right from the start, this type of man has a goal-oriented plan and an overview of his possibilities and requirements. Dependency on the ethnic network tails off after only a short period. This type quickly sheds his dependency on his compatriots, and builds his own social identity through relationships with both Europeans and his own compatriots.

### **Dissonant or consonant strategies – an ethnic dilemma**

This type of male is representative of the cultural switcher, who switches between several identities, depending on the context in which he finds himself. The dilemma arises where opposite norms and values clash. His choice of wife is a good example of this. Ethnicity is not only a question of choice, but it still becomes a dilemma where consonance with the family's norms is not in harmony with his own. His network of Turkish compatriots is of less significance. Social identity is built through several relational group attachment relationships. His family background is an environment with low human capital. There is no penetrating power available from his surrounding ethnic community. No goal-oriented plan for a future-oriented mobility strategy. He leans on the system.

The theory's key points are illustrated through the application of the above typologies depicting the male and female respondents. The induction model shows the phases in the induction processes, which are lifelong processes for some – and stagnation and status quo for others.

Induction is the description of a theory which gives an in-depth account of influential factors impacting on a limited, defined group of immigrants' personal and social life strategies. Induction explains in detail how the different induction processes develop over time and are described through a structure of four phases. In addition, the theory's key points are staged through establishing typologies which illustrate the diversity and complexity of the men's and women's respective induction strategies.

