

IN A GENDERED SPACE

**FORMS AND REASONS OF MIGRATION AND THE
INTEGRATION OF FEMALE MIGRANTS¹**

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GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this paper we analyse the biographic self-representation of female immigrants coming from third countries into eight European Union countries. Here we focus on the forms and reasons of migration in order to see what biographies are generated by the migrants themselves, and how we can relate them to overall discourses on migration and to migratory spaces.

1. Some characteristics of migration in the era of globalisation

In the era of globalisation migratory decisions are less and less final, and more and more we see transnational commuting among the low skilled, de-skilled (employed below his/her qualification) or even highly skilled labour migrants. Also the relevant identities are less and less based on the idea of losing an old identity and assimilating into a new culture. Identities in this sense have become more complex (several loyalties are maintained at the same time) and even public discourses have changed in allowing more complexities or different “Diaspora” identities.

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In all aspects we can see that globalisation leads to a decline in the significance of borders, both as a physical line being crossed much more frequently by individual migrants, but also as a social and cultural dividing line. In other words transnational movement and activity has become much more significant. Nonetheless, this makes the investigation of the inflow of migrants all the more important as we have to see the social and cognitive mechanisms (like identity, attitudes toward migrants) in the migration of women in order to see the social consequences of meeting the demand for female migrants in our ageing society.³

At the same time it is also important to note that the above changes has made the “traditional” (national) vision of the migrant obsolete as well. This old perspective have seen them in a fragmented way. They were either seen either as a member of the national community “lost” for another place, or as an “incomer” into another national or political community. They have never been seen as “complete” persons who have been moving. This approach has also dominated sociological research, which “cut up” the process or even the person. But as the nature of migration has changed toward transnational commuting and less final decisions this methodology cannot be maintained anymore, which is also a prime motive of the whole research project including this paper.

2. Methodological considerations

The above characteristics in the study of migration indicate a need for conducting qualitative interviews in which the perspective of migrants is freely asked with the minimum intervention. This is all the more important as major public discourses with regard to migration (assimilation, the need to accept political refugees, migrants as “parasites” etc) have broken down in the sense that there is a definite need for migrants as workers and additional population. Therefore there are contradicting messages toward migrants. On the one hand they are encouraged while on the other hand they are rejected. In this respect people move in a new cultural and social space with regard to identities and life styles.

This reformulation of identities and an increasing diversity of identities in itself have given a boost to qualitative research, which has become a well-established sociological discipline since the 1980s. The main advantage of qualitative sociology is the ability of interpreting and analysing complex cognitive forms and the *Gestalt* of the experienced life in the context they emerge. The specific advantages include the following:

³ On globalisation and migration see: Hansen 2002; Staring in: Kalb et al. 2000; Sassen 1996, 1999, 2001; Orozco 2002; Mittelman 2000; Lutz 2002; Phizacklea in: Koser and Lutz 1998; Okólski 1999; Forsander 2002; Böröcz 2002.

- Experiment or survey cannot be used.
- Specific variables cannot be clearly defined or isolated.
- There are only a few cases analysed.
- Research objects need to be represented in their entirety.
- Openness toward the subject.
- Bringing up unknown experiences, sometimes such experiences, which are “illegitimate”. Migration from third countries definitely represent such a context.
- An abstract criteria of science cannot be followed, and we have to adapt our research to the object of the investigation.
- The subject(ivity) of the researcher and of those being studied becomes part of the research. (They are equally important and it is documented). This we can call the need for reflexivity.
- In the case of migration there is a need to bridge the gap between different discourses in different countries and to allow the appearance of “third voices”.

This type of interest has also led to the development of special techniques in creating and interpreting verbal or textual data for understanding complex cognitive forms. Among these research techniques there are different forms of interviews, qualitative content analyses, coding and categorising techniques (Flick 1998; Silverman 1993). Among others these methods include grounded theory, narrative interview, focused interview, semi-standardized interview, theoretical coding, and thematic coding.

Some of the above methods like grounded theory are complex approaches for developing not pre-defined theories of certain social phenomena via applying a circular research process. Here the key point is the understanding of complex phenomena with suspending some a priori set of ideas and developing interpretative frameworks from the “data” and the “field”. This is instructive for us in the sense that we also would like to figure out the perspective of migrants from verbal data collected among them, but it would have been extremely difficult to proceed with a circular methodology in an international project like ours as we did not have enough time to develop theories on the perspective of migrants case by case in a circular way. We have maintained only that we intend to figure out cognitive structures and life experiences have been analysed via confronting the interview texts with a special methodology. We applied the same argument with regard to theoretical or any kind of open coding techniques. It would have been very difficult to facilitate such procedures in an international project like ours. We could secure “complete openness” in understanding only with regard to biographic analysis as described below in details (Flick 1998).

The focused interview technique developed as early as the 1940s is for the analysis of the impact of media via the interpretation of a uniform stimulus. This has not been relevant for us, as we did not intend to analyse the confrontation of recipients with regard to films or other media products for the sake of understanding general attitudes. This could be appropriate only in case we want to analyse the impact of media products on migration among non-migrants.

Semi-standardized interviews were developed in the 1980s for reconstructing “subjective theories” understood as a complex stock of knowledge on certain investigated topics like scientific issues. In our case it is also not relevant as once again we are not interested what “subjective theories” migrants have on some specific issues, but as described below we are basically interested how migrants position themselves with regard to the host society and their gender and work experiences. For such purposes semi-standardized “subjective theory” interviews are not appropriate.

Problem-centred interviews do appear as an obvious choice for qualitative interviews like ours. The starting point of such interviews is very close to our choice as it also starts with a narrative string after a short conversation (and sometimes a questionnaire). But then it proceeds with “exmanent” (i.e. directed) questions to get further discussion on certain topics according to an interview guide. The obvious problem with this technique is that it frames answers in such a way that we will not be able get the “true” perspective of the migrants as we will lead them into discussions guided by our concerns. For the sake of developing the narrative of our respondents in topics crucial for us we have elaborated such follow-up questions, which were “immanent enough” to maintain the perspective of the interviewee.

Expert interviews were also of no interest for us as the main focus in such an interview is once again not the interviewee, but his or her knowledge on certain special issues. Also ethnographic interviews are problematic in the sense it suggests some kind of “friendly conversations” into which the researcher introduces new and new elements being important to be asked about.

But we also have to be aware of another factor influencing our methodological decisions. Most of the major discourses (in some other terms “grand narratives”) have lost their grip on society and more and more we can be interested in texts, biographies produced individually or according to individual circumstances. To be more precise, we are more and more interested in the intersection of major discourses, individual narratives and life courses, which is one form of understanding the classical sociological debate on structures versus individual freedom (Rosenthal 1993; Flick 1998).

In the FEMAGE project we chose several methods to be combined, but with regard to the present perspective of the migrants in a life course framework we employed an adapted version of biographic narrative method and partially the related objective hermeneutic method as the most systematic way of under-

standing the structure of biographies (Chamberlayne et al. 2000; Breckner 2000; Rosenthal 1993, 1996; Kovács and Meleg 2001, 2004). This method has gained a very good reputation in qualitative sociology and has also given boost to migration research (Flick 1998; Kovács and Meleg 2004).

In the present study we interpret the biographic structures, provided by the interviewees in their complex interviews from the point of view how the process of migration went on, and how they constructed the reasons of migration via their presented biographies. The biographic data was collected by the national teams from the narrative part of the interview or from the open ended questions. These structures were reinterpreted by us case by case for all eight countries and concerning all the interviews. Closed questions were disregarded in this part of the analysis and the aim was to see what complexities and the patterns were used by the migrants themselves. This was also the way, how the research teams tried to counterbalance overall discourses on migrants.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEWED MIGRANTS AND MIGRATORY SPACES

1 The sample

Originally 240 interviews were planned. In reality more than 260 interviews were conducted, out of which 239 interviews were chosen for analysis by the different partners. The interviews according to specified sending societies were divided in the following way:

Partner country	Immigrants by country of origin
Czech Republic	Ukraine, Romania
Austria	Turkey, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Estonia	Russia, Central Asian Republics
Slovenia	Bosnia-Herzegovina, Soviet Union, CIS
Hungary	China, Ukraine
Finland	Russia, Kosovo
Germany	Russia, Turkey
Poland	Ukraine, Vietnam

All partners were able to secure enough number of interviews with regard to all designated ethnic groups (15 per each migrant group). The collection of interviews proved to be a formidable task and in itself shows some of the major problems with female immigrants. Mainly a snowball method was used beside active search through religious and ethnic organisations. The difficulty was especially huge in the case of migrants coming from China and Vietnam, who could not be accessed easily. In Poland an internal informant was found, who did the individual case studies in the end and who was able to gain the confi-

dence of female migrants. In Hungary there was a Hungarian Chinese teacher who utilised her contacts and who was mainly able to interview people at their workplaces. This already shows the distance, which is partially our research topic. All the interviewers were women in order to secure a possible intimate atmosphere.

The research project targeted the following groups of female immigrants:

- Legal residents who have been in the country for at least 3 years.
- They should be of working age.
- They should be either economically active female migrants (e.g. employees in the service sector, health care system).
- Or economically non-active female migrants (e.g. unemployed, homemakers, informally working in the domestic sector).
- They should have migrated mainly after 1990.

The research project could secure most of the major points in finding such female immigrants, who were targeted during the preparation.

In terms of age groups the participants succeeded in securing the dominance of women in their thirties and forties being the most important group in terms of labour. We could also find young immigrants just being in their twenties. This overall proper distribution was imbalanced (too many young interviewees) in the case of female immigrants coming from Romania, Kosovo or China. In the case of Vietnamese immigrants in Poland the middle-aged interviewees are slightly fewer in number than designated.

When we look at age at migration, then we can see that interviewees mainly came under the age of forty, which once again fits into the general observation that migration is intensive in these age groups. It is important to note that a rather huge number of Turkish immigrants were interviewed, who migrated as very little children.

Most of the interviewees immigrated after 1990. In this respect only Turkish immigrants differ as almost a half of them immigrated before 1990, but this actually allows us to gain insight into the perspective of women who came via the guest worker system as an institutionalised system of migration based on the work of men.

In terms of activity the national teams mainly interviewed people being a wage earner either as an employee or as an entrepreneur/self-employed (the later groups are mainly women coming from China and Vietnam). But these perspectives are counterbalanced by the life course perspectives of non-active or unemployed women in three ways:

- Even the active ones faced labour problems in a large number of cases during their life course.

- There is a high enough number of interviews with house workers, pensioners and those having only casual labour, which allow an insight into these perspectives.
- Also we have student interviewees who are before their job search and thus we can even interpret the perspectives of the future generations in terms of labour.

With regard to the actual occupational status we also have a wide variety of interviewees ranging from elementary occupations to managers including a large number of service workers. Although there are no reliable statistics of the complete female migrant group in the designated EU countries, we can state that the variety is large enough to say that we gain insight into the different possible perspectives and no important groups are completely omitted. Even more the differences between migrant groups can be seen as signs of different backgrounds (sending social spaces) and not as problems of our interviewing sample.

The same can be said of household composition, family structure and the number of children. The variety is huge and we have people living alone, women living in smaller and larger families. As this is a qualitative sociological work, the important criterion for us is that we do not miss such social situations, which might generate very different life course perspectives.

2. *Migratory spaces*

It is important to see that there are significant differences between the different host countries in terms of having a longer period of immigration as opposed to the ones, which experienced substantial immigration only after the collapse of state socialism. Austria and Germany are two countries, which implemented deliberate policies for attracting guest workers from Southern Europe and Turkey in the 1960s. *This we called immigrant countries.* The second group of countries can be divided into two subgroups. In our project there are two countries (Estonia and Slovenia), which were part of federal/imperial frameworks during the state socialist period and experienced substantial immigration even within these frameworks. *This we called post-federal countries.* The other subgroup contains those countries, which were not part of such supranational frameworks and experienced immigration only after the collapse of state socialism. *This we called newly immigrant countries.*

Immigrant countries are specific in the sense, that during the industrial boom of the 1960s they invited workers from rural areas mainly with the hope of just “signing” a labour contract, which could be terminated. In this process they ended up having huge immigrant communities with their own autonomous immigration channels and their communal reaction to the integration problems

they faced. In our project this appears in the immigration of women (either as children or as spouses) in the form of family building. This set of circumstances makes both Germany and Austria specific in our project and they form a specific social space of immigration.

Concerning the post-federal countries, regardless of the huge differences between the two countries both Slovenia and Estonia share the common experience of being immigration targets when they were incorporated into federal/imperial structures. In these periods migrants with motives of a better living standard and/or being assigned with a job related to the functioning of the concerned state (including military) moved in greater numbers into the involved smaller states of Europe. The break-up of the previous structures led not only to violence in Yugoslavia, but also to the common problem of settling the legal status of people moving earlier than international borders were set up. These historic specificities have a major impact on the migratory processes of female migrants in terms of having immigrant women whose integration into the host society happened earlier in a very different discursive and legal framework. In terms of the time period these countries share the experience with the first group of countries in having female immigrants being involved in family unification and family building as early as the 1970s and 1980s. Their perspective might be different as compared to the migrants moving during and after the 1990s. This later group is dominant in the other group of countries, which became immigrant countries only after the collapse of state socialism.

In the aftermath of the dramatic shifts and social, political and economic power arrangements some states became also targets of immigrants. But we cannot observe a definite peak in immigration. With the exception of the timing of opening up smaller newly immigrant states do not show a definite pattern with regard to immigration. In most cases we see different waves fluctuating around a certain level. It is important to note that there was a legislative change in almost all EU accessing countries in the early 2000s, which had an impact on the number of registered migrants. They are also common in attracting large number of migrants (sometimes mainly women) from Russia and Ukraine being neighbours or countries close to them. It is also important to note that some of these migrant groups are “returning” migrants due to the historical shifts of borders. From our point of view the key point is that these countries have not been immigrant countries for a longer period of time and female migrants in that sense are pioneers in a historical perspective. Especially in the sense that they have faced rather strict borders due to the EU accession of these states, and in many cases they experienced the collapse of the economy of their home country. Their perspectives might also be different as compared to female immigrants moving to the other groups of countries being historically embedded in such exchanges due to federal structures or the guest worker system developed during the 1960s.

LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVES

1. Biographic level

Female migrants interviewed in the project come from a wide range of countries, and as it could be seen they ended up in rather different groups of countries, into which they migrated in different periods of time. Nonetheless, there are certain common characteristics and perspectives they share concerning forms and reasons of migration, which is a major finding of our project. The table containing the summary of individual cases according to the receiving countries, sending social communities and the comparative analytical perspectives based on the national analyses is the following:

Table 1
The process and the reasons of migration presented in the biographies of the interviewees

Type	AUSTRIA		GERMANY		SLOVENIA		ESTONIA		FINLAND		POLAND		HUNGARY		CZECH REPUBLIC		Total
	Turkey	Bosnia	Russia, Ukraine	Turkey	Russia, Ukraine	Bosnia	Russia	Central Asia	Albania	Russia	Russia, Ukraine	Vietnam	China	Russia, Ukraine	Russia, Ukraine	Romania	
Labour	3		4	1	7	1	1		1	1	3	4	5	2	2	3	37
Forced		15	5			13											38
Family	12		2	9	7	7	10	12	7	7	3	9		11	5	3	97
Re-immigration									6								11
Tourist					2	1	1		1	1	9	4	3	1	5	1	24
Illegal													1	1			6
Business													4			2	7
Student			4				1	1			2	3	1		2	3	17
Process																	
Involuntary	10	13	4	9	2	5			2		1	1	1	1	3	2	53
Voluntary	4	2	11	6	14	9	15	15	13	15	14	14	13	12	15	10	182
Unprepared	12	14	1	7	7	5	1	13	9	1	4	2	2	2	1	2	83
Prepared	3	1	14	8	2	2	14	2	6	14	9	13	11	13	14	10	134
Short period	5	12	7		5	6	2	1	7		3	3	1	1	2	2	57
Reason																	
Gender	2	3	2	2	4	3			1	2	2	1	4	3	5	5	34
Family	12	2	7	14	10	11	10	13	14	1	5	9	5	12	8	5	138
Status	1		8	1	9	1	1	1	1	1	7	4	3	2	4	6	49
Well-being	6		1	4	2	8	4	1	15	1	4	3	7	7	6	5	74

Source: Kovács and Melegh 2008 FEMAGE.

1.1. Types of migration

Female migrants enter different host societies in different ways according to their legal status. When asked about their migration history interviewees present different statuses in case they even dare to talk about it. Many times among the presented biographic events we do not get any details about their entrance into the country. They simply do not consider it important, or there are events, which according to the interviewee are not to be revealed due to criminality or simply it does not fit into the perspective she wants to present. This is a major methodological issue, but as our task is to reveal the present perspective it is simply not our concern to go beyond the presented structures.

Most third country female migrants enter the host society on grounds of family issues (marriage, family unification or as member of a migrant family). This already shows that their perspective is a status of being mainly dependent on somebody else or being a member of a familial unit. Most probably, and we will see this in the analysis below, that this familial perspective is a major perspective of all female migrants regardless of the actual migratory social space. This we have to understand as a heavily institutionalised cultural and social pattern offered for women in many different ways and it seems that migration pushes them into this pattern.

In our sample there are also refugees who enter the host country based on individual or collective asylum (“temporary protection²) and this seems to be also specific to some countries as host societies (Germany, Finland, Austria and Slovenia). This entry is in itself related to involuntary migration, but it is important to see refugee status also as a major pattern of initiating, managing and legitimising migration and thus it is on par with the familial pattern.

Labour migration is also an institutionalised pattern for entering the host countries, and this once again is a general and legitimate status for female migrants as seen on the basis of our qualitative interviews. It is important to note that many other statuses might hide labour purposes (like fake marriages) but this hiding in itself shows something of the social and cultural positioning of third country immigrant women.

The same can be said of return migrants whose manoeuvring will be elaborated when we talk about the reasons of migration. During the past decades many of the countries involved in our project have offered privileged status for those who could claim some “real” link to the ethnic community of the receiving country. Here what we need in our analysis that it is a legitimate ground also in terms of legal entrance into the country and this is employed in some of the analysed migratory spaces.

The entrance as a student is also a legitimate ground and as we will see this life course perspective is one of the most “successful” in terms of social status and integration. The other remaining categories are much more problematic.

The lack of data on the entrance of the immigrant or the actual illegal entrance also appears in some of the interviews. But (for instance due to the inventive field work in Poland in which an immigrant herself carried out the research), we have interviews in which female migrants speak openly about illegal entrance or even the actual hardship of being smuggled here. It is important to note that illegality and being smuggled is also related to the low social status of the female migrants. Example:

The interviewee has 'always wanted to go abroad, that means to change my life...'. Her only chance to make her dreams come true was an offer made by her school boyfriend. He had left earlier to Poland and encouraged her to join him to run their trading business together in the new country.

Her parents opposed her decision to travel to Poland with the smugglers. They argued that she was 'too young', and that she was 'a girl' (it is unclear whether they were afraid that she might be abused on her way to Poland or simply trafficked). Another reason given by her parents was the lack of any relatives or acquaintances in Poland who could assist her 'in case' (as if they did not rely so much on her fiancé's intentions). Regarding the fact that Vietnamese networks are extended along lineages and kinships (including thousands of persons) – being deprived of any 'contact persons' in Poland indicates that her family belongs to a low stratum of the Vietnamese society. They might have been also afraid of a vulnerable position of their daughter left alone in a distant country in a misalliance marriage (judging from the scope of her husband's network in Poland he was much better off than her).

Trauma connected to being smuggled to Poland: freezing cold, long and tiring night marches through banks of snow, numerous days which she spend hungry and locked up with other foreigners (they were feed occasionally) was additionally strengthened by the feeling of abandonment.

Entering as a tourist is almost equal to entering illegally as in most cases the interviewed third country nationals work or stay illegally afterwards. This pattern has certainly become more relevant with the fall of state-socialism. These "false" tourists vary in their life course perspective whether they get integrated or experience success or deskilling, therefore we cannot say that this entrance predetermines how the interviewees present themselves.

It is striking to see that entering on the basis of business is very rarely reported and limited to a few migratory spaces.

Altogether we can see that the biographic self-representation of migrant women shows some extremely important characteristics. It seems that in all migratory spaces the strongest and best-institutionalised perspective on the type of migration is that of family migration, which certainly raise the issue that these migrants show themselves as being dependent as a migrant. This we can interpret as a gendered vision of migration. Thus the life course perspective of family oriented female migrant seems to overrun the specificities of different factors in the different migratory spaces. This is the type, which is most suc-

cessfully utilised and allowed crossing migratory spaces and “ethnic” background. This can be paralleled only with regard to labour migration. Thus family and labour contexts are the ones, which appear as dominant life course perspective of female migrants.

The ones specific according to migratory spaces and groups also provide an interesting list. Migrants coming from Bosnia and Kosovo often come up with being forced to migrate or present themselves as being forced in all migratory spaces analysed. This of course can be related to their historical fate, but at the same time we can also suspect that local (extremely rural) sending cultures and societies are not permissive in terms of out migration and migrants have to come up with “strong” motives to explain why they moved.

In another way we can also see that only some countries allow or encourage such biographies. Namely Germany as an immigrant country, which can also show that Germany possesses the necessary image of being worthwhile to escape to (in terms of being “free” as opposed to the “not free” sending country) and it seems to allow this type of migration. This is clearly shown that immigrants from Russia utilise this pattern in Germany while they do not employ such biographic structures in other countries.

Tourist, illegal and even very interestingly business patterns seem to be specific to groups manoeuvring in the social space of newly immigrant countries. Even re-immigration can be considered as such a specific pattern, although this could also be applied in a German context. The student biographies also show that interestingly they mainly appear in newly immigrant countries and they do not show up among immigrants going from Turkey or Bosnia to Germany and Austria. This is certainly not due to the fact that there are no such links between those countries, only that female migrants did not come up with such patterns when asked about their movement.

1.2. The process of migration

1.2.1. Voluntary migration

It is an important result of our qualitative interviews that most female migrants see their migration story in the present perspective as a *voluntary* one in which it was their choice to come over. The reported voluntary nature of migration nonetheless contains different types as seen on the basis of the individual case studies.

Type 1. A voluntary decision embedded into family

On the basis of types of migration it is not surprising that familial frameworks are easily utilised in all spaces and all female migrant groups, when vol-

untary decisions are presented. In these cases the female migrant voluntarily makes migratory decisions related to her family life in some way. First as a wife she can join the husband going ahead in terms of migration. Example:

D was born in 1973 in N in Subcarpathia. Her father is engineer; he is the head of a car service in N. Her mother is an ethnic Hungarian from Subcarpathia. The parents divorced early.

In 1985, she visited with her mother some relatives in Hungary. In 1989, her grandmother and mother moved to Hungary and got a legal status there as an ethnic Hungarian. D also had a legal status but she went back to Ukraine, finished her high school and started to study pharmacy at a Medical University in the Ukraine. During summer holidays she comes to Hungary and works as a cleaner in a hotel in T. During her studies she married an ethnic German man in 1993. Their first child (a daughter) is born in N in 1994. Her mother helps her a lot. (Meanwhile her mother got the Hungarian citizenship.)

In 1995–1996, she works as a university student at the pharmacy of the university.

In 1996 she leaves her family and moves to Hungary. She immediately inscribes herself in the preparatory school for Hungarian language – according to her the fee is 3,000 dollars. At the same time she works as a cleaner and then she does massage. She searches for a job as a chemist. She starts working in a pharmacy for a very low salary. After three months she is fired. Her husband breaks off his PhD studies in M, because he doesn't have any job in the Ukraine.

Her husband and daughter follow her two months later. They live together with D's mother in the 8th district. The husband also starts learning Hungarian; the daughter goes to the kindergarten. D starts working in another pharmacy, but she is also fired before Christmas. In the meantime she begins to naturalize her diploma at the University. She inscribes herself at a Hungarian University. Her husband does the same for a while.

She becomes a member of a civic ethnic group. She gets a new job through an agency and knows a friendly boss who helps her (the boss has a Subcarpathian husband). From April 1998 up till now she works at the same place. She continues her professional education. In 2000 she got the Hungarian citizenship.

Her husband buys a car – they make excursions in Hungary. They buy a new flat and an office for her mother. They have a weekend-house in a hill. Her husband also gets the Hungarian citizenship. Her son is born in C in 2003. She is also a member of a professional association and another hobby group. She is religious. (Greek Catholic) (H)

In other cases there are cross-border marriages (transnational familial issues), but we show those types of processes when reasons of migration are discussed.

Type 2. Voluntary economic migrant

In the international literature this type of process is discussed most frequently, but it seems that in the case of female migrants this is not the most dominant pattern and it is utilised in certain spaces. Here the voluntary decision is mainly related to the collapse of the local economy, thus this pattern is

mainly dependent on the sending communities and not other factors of the different migratory spaces. This is most striking in the case of female migrants coming from Ukraine which country seemingly experienced a very deep crisis in the mid 1990s. It is also clear that in the late state-socialist period Bosnia-Herzegovina also experienced economic problems or just an agrarian crisis, which were seen as reasons for moving into Slovenia within the federal system of Yugoslavia. It has been also striking to see through the interviews that the Chinese economy has also gone through dramatic changes in which some parts of the local economy has got into a crisis during the early 1990s. Even in biographies of migrants coming from China there are reports on unemployment and changes of the economic system.

Type 3. Ethnic business

There has been a common perception that migrants of certain ethnic groups (like Koreans) due to their ethnocultural characteristics do participate in immigrant entrepreneurship (Rath and Kloostermann 2000). The voluntary decision off getting incorporated in immigrant entrepreneurship is a marginal perspective among migrant women, and it appeared only in newly immigrant countries, and mainly among migrants coming from China and Vietnam. This can be seen in the rather low number of migrants entering host countries with a business visa or as a tourist (thus illegally to get jobs and make business) or even as labour migrant. Nonetheless, even these women can rarely be seen as cross-border entrepreneurs as our interviewees regularly report that their entrance was organised through a network in a migrant business niche and they were “hard working” employees or traders, who went through enormous difficulties. Many times these people came up with the perspective of becoming deeply religious as a result of adversities. It is worth showing this biographic perspective.

The interviewee has chosen to be smuggled to Poland rather than to stay at home where she was only ‘an economic burden’ to her family. When her dreams of obtaining a university diploma have definitely vanished, as she failed entry exams to a dreamed faculty for the second time, being admitted only to a ‘not-dreamed-at-all faculty’, she decided to join her uncle in Poland, urged by her family, afraid of expenses incurred by an economically passive family member. Failed entry exams (at least in respondent’s view) severely disappointed her parents, who cherished the hope that she would be successful in the academic field, so they invested a lot into her education and extra courses’.

Her journey to Poland took over 3 months – the respondent was smuggled with a group of other Vietnamese (claiming to be a group of artists), then “got stuck” in Ukraine. Her uncle flew to Ukraine to find and rescue her. He managed to contact the smugglers and to “push forward” her travel to Poland. After a couple of weeks spent in a room rented from a Ukrainian widow, she finally arrived at Poland by plane with a forged visa.

The uncle, who organised (and most probably also paid) her trip to Poland, took care of her also in terms of residence. She lived with him until she got married (although the grumpy uncle was badly tempered). He employed her in his business and subsequently he bought her a market stall at the “STADION”, where the respondent could start a business by her own (she was selling shoes).

Her story, however, has also an unexpected turning point. One day, her stall was controlled by border guard officers. She ran away initially, but feeling pity for the large amount of cash that was left in the stall, she returned hoping to bribe the officers and save at least some of her money. Not only didn't she manage to corrupt the border guard, but was arrested, since a pile of false invoices (a type of customs offence) was found at her. She got imprisoned for a couple of months, as in her words “they wanted to trace down a whole net – to reach the big fishes who ruled the network distributing forged papers”. The interviewee was not fully aware that using ‘false invoices’ (which she bought in sets of 100 from a door-to-door [rather stale-to-stale] salesman) was illegal – ‘clients asked for a document, so I was giving it to them’.

Imprisonment was a deeply traumatic and humiliating stage in her life. She was put into an ordinary Polish prison with Polish criminals (arrested for serious crimes, like murders) – as a Vietnamese speaking no word in Polish she was at the bottom of the prison hierarchy, and certainly mobbed and abused at the beginning. She suffered because she was a woman, she was a migrant and she was deprived of support of her relatives and her fiancé who could not contact her in prison. Additionally, she was also deprived of a basic legal information – that she can get money and necessities from her family, that she can improve her position with gifts for other cellmates etc. Last but not least, she was ‘taken from the street’, so she had only one set of underwear and after over a month she was given ‘one pair of old used panties’ by one of her cellmates.

She was released upon the intervention of a Polish lawyer hired by her fiancé. They got married within a few months and she got pregnant and gave birth to her child. However, they are married ‘according to the traditional understanding of a marriage in the Vietnamese culture, not on a paper’, which means that they form an unregistered, consensual union. The respondent entered into a bogus marriage with a Pole, who officially is also a father of her child.

The respondent regularised her status during an abolition launched in 2003. In this case she is aware that she violated the legal terms of abolition (she claimed the false date of her arrival to Poland and brought witnesses who confirmed falsehood) and ‘cheated the Polish government’. Currently she runs her stall (her husband works for a large Vietnamese entrepreneur) and ‘repays’ her symbolic debt owed to the uncle by helping her other siblings to get into Poland. (PL)

Type 4. Young adults with educational purposes

Some of the interviewees present themselves in the biographies as young adults who wanted to continue and enhance their education via migration. This is definitely another type of voluntary migration. It is very clearly a “universal” pattern of migratory process, which appear in all migratory groups even including migrants from Turkey, who did not utilise such a pattern as a type of migration.

1.2.2. Involuntary migration

The different types of involuntary migration have to be seen in the light of the voluntary types and it has to be made clear that the borderline between the two categories is not very clear in a large number of individual cases. Here we classify those individual cases where there was a definite attempt by the migrant woman to show her life course as being not actively managed, or as something forced upon them.

Type 1. Refugee

The most obvious non-voluntary process migration is that of refugees, which appears more widely than based on entry statuses and a “necessary” political background. This shows that this pattern has some extra legitimacy. There are refugees, who took this perspective as members of a harassed community in our research project mainly those coming from the vulnerable and war zone areas of the previous Yugoslavia. Here we have interviews of women who escaped even before the war, who seeing the escalation of inter-ethnic violence left their home to take shelter in more secure areas. Also we have interviews of women, who left Yugoslavia during the war and getting temporary protection on a communal basis. Also we have a few number of individual refugee cases in other migratory relationships including migrants from Russia and Ukraine appearing in Germany and respectively in Hungary, in which cases the interviewee presents herself in the biographies as being harassed because of her Jewish background, knowing state and military “secrets” and being a member of political opposition.

There are also individual refugee stories, in which there is an active search for leaving the country for political purposes:

The interviewee was born in 1940 or 1941 in Russia. She describes her family of origin as prestigious and relatively affluent. She mentions that her mother was a “Kurfürstin” (translation is difficult – dictionary says “elector” – it is an old peerage). In 1960 when the interviewee was 19 years old she married a 21 year old man. He came from a famous family in R. His grandfather was the director of a military academy and was killed after his death sentence after the October revolution because he was accused of being a public enemy. She tells us that she was inspired by the “interests” and “affectations” of her husband and so she decided to study history of art.

At the time her husband was 30 years old, and he was a recognised physicist, who worked in top-secret projects. The KGB tried for a longer period to recruit him for spying actions. After he rejected to do this, it was made clear to him that he had to quit his career as a scientist. As a consequence he started to work as lecturer at a university. In 1971 or 1972 her first child, a son, was born, and in 1974 or 1975 her second child, a girl was born. The interviewee was a housewife in this period.

Also at that time her husband was a lecturer at university and the KGB was still interested in him. After ten years of work at the university, he lost his job and worked afterwards for three years as room carer. After this he made business out of his hobby, the restoration of old paintings. From this time on he worked for ten years as restorer in a museum. At this time the interviewee and her husband organised in their house in St. Petersburg an art project, where people learned to paint. After some time this group was banned by the KGB, and the members of this group were interrogated about their contacts.

At the same time she reports on her fear that her son could be recruited to the army to go to the war in Afghanistan. So they decided to leave Russia. She reports on the problem, that it was impossible to leave together, and so (in 1989) only her husband and her son went to Germany (to a home for asylum seekers). After her husband and son left Russia, she moved with her daughter to a flat in R. Because the interviewee and her daughter had to suffer from the KGB's spying they applied for a "transit visa" to go via Austria to Germany. Four months after her husband and her son left Russia she also came to Germany with her daughter.

In 1990 they were living together in a home for asylum seekers in Germany. The family first applied for asylum to Canada. Because her husband was ill, they were not able to meet the deadline for the official interview. So they decided to apply for asylum in Germany. In (ca.) 1992 their application was accepted. Afterwards the interviewee worked as a teacher in a German school for seven to nine years.

After the family finished their German language course the interviewee's husband wanted to register as a self-employed restorer. She said that they wanted to be independent from government aid. Her husband did not have a master craftsman's diploma and his language skills were not good enough to pass the exam. Later the family moves in a house with a studio used for restoring old furniture. Ten years later their children began their own lives. Her son has his own family already. (G)

Type 2. Escape from familial harassment

In terms of the process of migration there are women who flee from familial harassment and see their migration as solution for securing their situation. This patterns A Chinese woman in Hungary sees her move as an escape from a harassing family background. A Ukrainian woman clearly escapes into a "safe" country after she is abused by an alcoholic husband and out of very bad luck ends up in the same situation in the Czech Republic. These biographies will be cited later under some other categories, but here stands another one in which the escape from an abusive familial relationship is also clear.

N was born to an elite family in N. Her father, a Pole by birth, was probably a party cadre, although she does not want to speak about this. She describes her childhood as being privileged and materially affluent. She had a sister with whom she is not much in contact any more.

She got educated as a kindergarten teacher, worked in that occupation and got married. She had a daughter in 1979, but divorced. She says that her husband simply wanted to abuse her parents' good social and economic position. In 1988 she got to know a Finnish man, a divorcee with two teenaged children, who was working in N. They fell in love and after two years, they married and she came to live in Finland, in

a small town. The beginning was financially and psychologically tough time for her, she spoke no Finnish, she became a mother of a family of three children, and her socio-economic status collapsed. She was unemployed for a year after which she has been continuously working as a kindergarten teacher in a Russian kindergarten in K. The year after her arrival in Finland was emotionally devastating because first her mother died, and 9 months later her dear father was cruelly murdered. This is still such a sensitive topic that she does not want to explain anything more about it. (F)

Type 3. Migrant children

There are children, especially adolescent girls who follow their parents. This process of migration is reported often among Turkish women in Austria and Germany, who follow their fathers already in the receiving countries. It also appears among immigrants coming from China or Ukraine into newly immigrant countries like Hungary. These children always struggle with the loss of grandparents and their close friends and relatives in their life course perspective. In one case actually we have an almost kidnap story in which the young child against her will and after several lies is taken to Germany. Example:

Aged 2 months, she was taken to her grandparents in Turkey and was raised by them in the belief that they were her real parents. This was the first time she was misled, and this marks a turning point in her biography. At the age of six her parents took her to Germany. This journey is preceded by the second elementary lie in her biography and, therefore, a second turning point. She had not been told in advance that she was to leave her grandparents but she was rather lured to the airport and then unexpectedly brought to Germany by plane. Not until her arrival in Germany she learned that she was with her real parents now. In Germany, her ties to her grandparents were cut. Her biography continues coherently by the management of difficult situations related to being misled by people close to her. She regards her mother's decision as wrong and criticises her migration story as a whole. (G)

This perspective seems to be one of the specificities according to receiving social spaces and the country of origin (due to institutional, historical and economic reasons) which specificity will be discussed later. But also this is an experience beyond specific groups of migrants or receiving areas. A Vietnamese girl just visited her father living in Poland, when the mother decided not to turn back. Or a Ukrainian girl whose parents inherited a flat in Hungary or a Romanian young girl who joined her mother in the Czech Republic after the divorce of the parents.

There seems to be special cases when migration is related to the forced movement of the parents in the imperial space of the Soviet Union. Example:

Her childhood was spent in the countryside, close to R, which she recalls as being very nice. Her home language was Ingerian, in the village she learned to speak Russian. Both of her parents were Ingerian Finns, during the war they were deported to remote areas of the Soviet Union. In 1953 they were allowed to return back home.

Her mother worked at a collective farm, father also did something there. Her parents got married in 1956. She was born there and went to school there (near R). She remembers their own house and she does not know exactly why their parents decided to move to Estonia in 1962. In 1964 she went to a Russian language school because her parents thought it would be easier for her.

Married (to a Russian), two children (born in 1980 and 1984). Her mother's cousin lived in Estonia; he was born also in M oblast but lived in Estonia. He persuaded her mother to move here saying that it was very difficult for here to live working on the fields and also at the farmhouse. He helped them to settle in V. She was 5 years old. Before that they had been deported by Soviet forces from their home.

After school she was a pioneer leader, she studied and worked simultaneously. Then she studied history at the Pedagogical institute of R. She worked as a pioneer leader at school, then leader of youth interest groups at the pioneers' palace, later as a methodologist; after that she was an inspector at the ministry of education. For the last 13 years she has worked as director of the school. She gave the interview in Estonian. She and her family have Estonian citizenship, they communicate in Estonian and Russian though they have attended Russian language schools. (E)

Type 4. Joining the spouse involuntarily

There are women who follow their husbands against their own will. This gendered experience is the case with many of the Turkish women in Austria and Germany, but regardless of sending areas, there are other cases when probably after a longer hesitation the interviewee gives up her home. Example:

The interviewee is born in the Khrushchev era in a middle ranking Russian family (two accountants). She goes to university of technical engineering probably in the local town. After university she takes the obligatory job in P a summer resort in Soviet Union with a lot of foreign contacts. She could be satisfied with the place; she stayed there for 12 years. She got a Ukrainian citizenship automatically. She had a girlfriend who later went to Denmark. P was also far away from Chernobyl.

The first turning point in her biography is that she got married to a Hungarian man, but for three years she did not join him in Hungary. Probably her location was just too good for her. The marriage happened in the worst year after the collapse, she could see this is an opportunity to get out of the economic collapse, but she waited.

Then after the crisis in 1998 she could persuade herself that it was better to leave and she might have wanted a proper family and a child also. From that point on she does not move internationally and gradually settles down in Hungary. In the first part of her stay she takes low skilled jobs. There could be a financial stress in the family and she could also wait and see what happened in Hungary and around the husband. She does not start learning Hungarian.

The next turning point is in 2000 when she decides to get integrated. She arranges her legal status, starts learning Hungarian; she starts a training course in accounting. She starts working first illegally then legally.

The whole biography is a story of gradual, step-by-step movement away from home with an expectation of moving into more and more "civilized" areas. First she moves to P where she settles down and seems to maintain this location rather long. She gave that up in her late thirties probably only because she was looking for a real family life. The next move to Hungary was a long and complicated exercise for her. First

she got married to a Hungarian man and then did not follow him. This could be a wait and see strategy. Even in Hungary in the first period she was not sure at all of her future in Hungary. This could be related to not being able to continue the original profession and she could be afraid of deskilling. This hesitation could be one of the engines of her biography or migrant biography. In the end she basically manages to maintain the same relative status as her parents. She did not have children this could also push her toward professional issues. (H)

Some of these decisions are also based on the collapse of the local institutional framework (like the collapse of academia). There are cases when already migrant men marry home, and take their wives to their country of emigration. There are also cases of arranged cross-border and cross-national marriages. In Western Ukraine a woman with 9 siblings met a Polish bachelor, who decided to marry her. The marriage was arranged by the man in the present perspective, and the family and she could not see a way out of the situation and she ended up in a Polish farm.

The interviewee was born as one of the eldest among children in her family. They lived in a small town in Western Ukraine which had experienced a significant modernisation visible e.g. in the quality of housing. She had some relatives in Poland and Canada, kept in touch with them but eventually these channels had not been used for migration. Her early professional plans were to become a doctor or a nurse, but she couldn't get to the medical school despite her several attempts. Then the interviewee switched to a career in the army. Starting from a low position (her tasks included cleaning) she was trained and promoted to a comfortable post in the security monitoring. As she presents it, her professional perspectives were bright, as she was designated to go to the military academy as one of first women at that time. In this period, her personal life was not settled, but she liked her lifestyle very much, especially the male company she had in the army. She attracted men, but none of them decided to marry her. She does not report this as frustrating; she seems to have liked the freedom she has had in her twenties.

At such a point of her life, one evening she was invited to her colleague for a dinner. There she met an old (39 years old) bachelor from the Ukrainian ethnic minority living in a village in Poland, who came to Ukraine to look for a bride with the help of his old relatives. He liked the woman since the moment he saw her, and put a lot of effort to finalise the marriage quickly. During the next five months (reported in details in the narration) they met each other's family, he invited her to Poland (she came with her sister), bought the wedding clothes and gave money for the party. The marriage was arranged by the groom and the family despite that he had not officially proposed to her and that she was not keen for it. She found no way out of the situation, she could only scream and cry, but her protests were not treated seriously by her family. The only persons, who openly opposed the marriage, were her colleagues from work, she mentioned no close friend she could ask for help. Her future was already decided for her by others, and eventually the couple got married in Ukraine, in October 1994.

The very beginning of the woman's life in Poland is marked by hard work in the farm, which left no doubt about how her future was going to look like. She experienced a sudden degradation from the position of a young urban working girl with

some future, to that of a rural housewife subjugated to the will of the mother-in-law. This situation was made worse by moving to a strange country: the woman had language problems, felt lonely, lacked social life and a friend she could pour her heart out to, as her trust in the local women of Ukrainian minority soon disappeared. One could expect that a local community of the same national origin should be a friendly environment for an immigrant. The story of the interviewee proves that this assumption is wrong. From the very beginning the interviewee felt as a stranger among the local Ukrainians. She spoke in a different way; her lifestyle was too modern for them to accept. In fact an urban/rural division proved stronger than the shared ethnicity. Gradually, the interviewee learnt how to function within the Ukrainian community only superficially integrated to their social world: e.g. going to the local Greek Catholic church. Until her first child was born in 1996, she maintained strong ties with her family in Ukraine, e.g. her sister came to stay with her in Poland for a longer period, the interviewee went to Ukraine for the baptism of her nephew and spent the winter there. She even planned to start studying in Ukraine, but her husband was against it.

Her life in Poland was rather hard, in opposition to what she reports about her youth in Ukraine. This is illustrated by dramatic moments – e.g. when she was on the brink of being deported, because she did not manage to prolong her residence permit in time, or when she went to work in the second month after giving birth to her daughter, and was fired in half a year's time due to being a foreigner. She also tells a lot about the things worsening over time, e.g. the profitability of the farm declined. She tries to maintain her supervision over the small things that are important to her, as the decoration of the house or her good looks, even though these efforts are criticised by others. The more positive side in her description of her present situation include also the friendly relationships with some Poles, first with men, but gradually also with women. She also goes to Ukraine and often receives visits of her family in Poland. (PL)

Arranged marriages with spouses living in another country are also reported among Turkish women in Germany and also in the case of women coming from Turkey to Austria (AT). This again seems to be a specific migratory link between the two immigration countries and Turkey, but there are elements, which make these cases common with the above experiences especially as a female migrant experience.

Type 5. "Imperial" mobilisation

Through their biographies the female migrants coming from the former Soviet Union do show events related to a process which we can call imperial mobilisation in which ethnic groups, soldiers, officers, state representatives or even ordinary workers move voluntarily or many times forcefully from one part of an empire to another one. It has been rather shocking to see how intensive mixing up could happen in the families of our interviewees, related to deep economic and political changes throughout the history of the Soviet Union. Example:

I was born in Estonia in 1986 to a half-Finnish mother and Russian father, both engineers. Her family background is mixed: her mother's father was a Finnish immigrant to Soviet Union who had to suffer a great deal after the war: Stalin regarded these communists from Finland as traitors and sent them to Siberia. She migrated to Finland with her nuclear family, her mother's brother's family and grandparents in 1992, at the age of 6 years. Since then, she has lived in K. She first went to the kindergarten and preschool, then to primary school and continued to a prestigious secondary school. Since last year she has been studying at the university to become a kindergarten teacher.

Last year, she moved to live in a student accommodation near her home, but has now returned to stay with her parents. Her elder sister is married to an Estonian man and has a 4-year-old son. She has a Finnish boyfriend, who knows Russian, and has some Russian relatives, too. Since her early school days she has been working part time. She works half the year in a ferry boat that plies to the zoo, and earlier she also worked in a kindergarten. Occasionally she works as a shop assistant or cashier. (F)

1.2.3. Prepared versus unprepared process of migration

A majority of female migrants interviewed in this project present a process of migration in which they are prepared for the migration project. But a surprisingly large proportion "admit" being unprepared for the migration and very interestingly there is no real variation among migrant groups and receiving countries. All the time there is a mix of being or not being prepared. In this lack of preparation in many cases we might suspect a gender perspective related to the fact that many migrants move in a familial framework and many times not voluntarily. In such cases there is a clear reason why they might present a picture of hasty migration. But many times even it could be that migration was seen as an ultimate choice to be grasped. This was clearly the case, when a Ukrainian woman left her troubled family behind and jumped to a bus accidentally going to Budapest.

Altogether it is very interesting to see that most women when asked about their migration present a process of voluntary and/or prepared migration, although the involuntary and/or unprepared migration process is also a common experience which shows the vulnerability of these life courses. It is very important to note that in all migratory relationships analysed in this project these overall characteristics could be found.

Very importantly among the involuntary migratory processes we found familial reasons, like following migrant parents as a kid or joining the spouse involuntarily. In these cases we not only find "Turkish" or "Muslim" women having arranged marriages, but also migrants coming from the previous Soviet Union or even China, which shows that this type of dependence is a "universal" and gendered experience of migrant women in all migratory spaces. This can be

regarded as basic challenge for migrants in forming their life course perspectives as migrants in all migratory spaces.

There are some specific perspectives on the process of migration in the analysed migratory spaces. First of all just like in the case of the type of migration we found that women fleeing from Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina do choose the refugee story, but very importantly this we could find in other cases as well showing a more universal validity of such a pattern. But we still have to maintain that the refugee or being forced self-representation is certainly linked to certain groups and the so called immigrant countries. The same specificity could be found in the case of migration with a background of imperial mobilisation. This was a characteristics of women coming from the previous Soviet Union which can be regarded as a possible specificity of such life course perspectives. The key point here could be that women showed some extra mobility even before telling the story of going to EU countries, thus presenting that it was not accidental. Or in a reverse way it could show that they had an expectation for repeating (voluntarily) the mixing up they or their parents experienced in the “imperial” Soviet Union.

1.3. Reasons of migration

1.3.1. Family and migration

Gender issues have been in the forefront of our research project and it has become an institutionalised research stream in studying international migration. More and more it is well-established that gender concentrates not only on the female migrants, but understands migration as a gendered process (Kovács and Melegh 2004; Lutz 2002; Donato et al. 2006). This we could see already above, but in the case life course perspectives on the reasons of migration it has to be discussed directly. Such issues appear in all comparative aspects but certain points have been treated as separate issues in the national analyses. We could identify a definite migration strategy of establishing family bonds and finding a position in it and also becoming an individually emancipated woman, which we named respectively as family and individualist gender reason of migration. In other words there are “collectivist” and “individualist” gender/female strategies as reasons of migration, which can be typified.

In the present perspective most female migrants present the reason for their migration related to family formation, unification or family conflicts/crisis. This is a dominant form in almost all migratory links with the exception of refugees coming from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, although when looking closer those biographies are also embedded into familial frameworks. In these latter cases there could be family reasons, but they have been sup-

pressed due to the chosen legal status. The family and marriage as reasons of migration nonetheless contain different backgrounds and attitudes.

Type 1. Love

First and foremost we should mention love, but it is to be noted that this is very rarely brought up during the interviews even when marriage was the reason of migration. It is all the more interesting this could be a rather liberated and in terms of gender dualist biography. In an example we see the combination of imperial mobilisation of parents and love as an engine for the migrant herself:

E was born to an elite family in Ukraine, from where they moved to various places in Russia, following his father's assignments. Her father was an engineer and one of the people who established one of the world's largest car factories in southern Russia. Her mother was a housewife until she was 12, when she started to work in a municipal archive.

She was educated as a construction engineer and got married. She had one daughter and divorced. She was employed in the municipal housing company as a chief. She got to know a Finnish man, who had some work in the city of contact, and they fell in love. Their relationship went on for many years, until Perestroika started and he had to leave his job in the city. In 1993, she decided to come to Finland and to marry the man. Her daughter was by that time 17, and she reluctantly accompanied her to Finland. It turned out not to be a good choice and the daughter returned to Russia, where she was living at that time.

After settling in Finland, she first took a course in renovation construction and had training in Austria, where she could have continued working. But she decided to return to Finland to her newly wed husband. She took a course in Finnish that lasted for a year, and after that worked at a firm. At some point she was unemployed and then decided to change her occupational field. She chose the field of social services and was trained in it (she does not mention if she had a diploma or not). Since then she has been working with refugee children in a couple of organisations, and now she is employed by a large NGO on a rather permanent basis. (F)

Type 2. "Traditional"

In some other cases the sending community seems to be rather important and seem to prescribe certain biographies especially among women migrating from Turkey and some women migrating from Bosnia to immigrant countries like Austria and Germany. They seem to follow an extremely "traditional" pattern of subordinating themselves to men, already or would-be migrants. In these cases there is a complete lack of building a separate professional career and it seems that migration is also institutionalised in this way. Example:

The interviewee's husband came to Austria as a guest worker in 1969. He worked there as a seasonal construction worker. In winter, he stayed in Turkey for three months. During one of those vacations they met and married in 1972. When her hus-

band returned to Austria he found out that workers were needed in Germany. Therefore he went to Germany and started working in a factory. In the meantime, he lived with his parents-in-law. In 1973, her husband took her to Germany. She entered Germany together with a friend, who was also on the way to join her husband in Germany. There were no problems with the residence permit because the interviewee's husband already had a job and an apartment in Germany.

She mentions many difficulties from the time after her arrival and contrasts them with the current situation. On the one hand, back then there were not that many Turks living in Germany and they were mostly single men. Therefore, there were not that many friends. She says, that she and her friend were bored all day long while their husbands were out to work. This was also due to their lack of German skills. She reports that she could not even go out to buy bread without her husband and that going on walks was senseless because there was no-one that they could meet. Furthermore, there were difficulties when their children reached school age. She could not help them because she did not understand a word and could not read the teacher's letters.

She first worked in Germany as a cleaner for a company. She found that job, because her Turkish boss told that he was looking for new workers in her neighbourhood. She worked as a cleaner for four to five years, and then for nine years in the staff canteen of the same company. Today, she is unemployed because she quit her job due to health problems. Her unemployment has led to financial problems.

Her relation to Turkey consists of her visits and the knowledge that she acquires through Turkish television. She says that Turks in Turkey are unsatisfied and this would rub off on their fellow Turks in Germany. She says that what she hears about Turkey let her emotions for her home country cool down; the state is not honest. In Germany, one would at least receive a humane treatment in health questions at the public agencies. Additionally, the hospital care is worse in Turkey because of the personnel.

She started exploring her neighbourhood not until her children were older and went to school. She says that Germans are not like Turks, they are cold and less convivial. There is no closeness. Turks are different in those regards. (G)

It is important to note that traditional patterns seem to be extremely costly for those female migrants, who still maintain these ideals. They show themselves isolated and even they have to confront discrimination. Time to time there is a trap, in which they reconstruct some "fake" traditional identities but pushed to a meta level in narrating this traditionalism through the common frameworks of religion, ethnicity and culture. It is also important to note that this is the "fate" of those women who according to their biographies come from and end up in the lower classes of European societies. The above traditional patterns of self-representations are to be distinguished from temporarily traditional women described below who get into such a passive position due to the presented huge costs and transformation of personal spaces related to migration mainly into newly immigrant countries. Some of them break out from these patterns, but we have to note that some show herself as being stuck in it.

Type 3. Emancipation through migration and marriage

In some cases migration is a reaction to the problems emerging in the local marriage market. In some sending societies (Ukraine, Russia) there seems to be a tradition of actively looking for foreign husbands and building up a whole strategy on this. This can be exemplified by the statement of a Ukrainian woman residing in Hungary: “it is a well-known fact that Ukrainian men are dying out like mammoths.” This active search for husband is most probably an individualistic gender strategy (and therefore it is very close to the individualistic gender strategy discussed below) in the sense that the interviewee has a non-traditional reaction to the local marriage market and social customs and uses marriage with a foreigner in order to fulfil her individual needs and ideals. This might also be based on a certain ideal of Western men being liberal, cosmopolitan and of course richer promoted by East/West discourse (Meleg 2006). Some of these ideals can collapse during the migration causing paradoxical struggle for our interviewees. Or let us have a look at the biography of a woman born in M, which case shows that the interviewee never gave up the idea of a self-relying woman and who saw the Finnish husband only as a possible partner in her drive for better and more open life. It is important to see that in these biographies a professional career is also reported:

A was born in M to parents who were both engineers. They divorced early in her life and she was brought up by her mother. The father had a new family, but now he is again separated. She went to school, got educated in the Railroads University as an IT engineer. She worked in M and got to know a Finnish man through correspondence. In 1992 the man visited her and later they got married. In 1993 she left her work in M and moved to Finland as his wife. They lived in a small town in Eastern Finland. She took a language course and after that found a job in a firm doing logging business between Russia and Finland, where she worked for half a year. That firm went bankrupt and she decided to study further. She was educated as a commercial secretary and after that she worked as a bookkeeper for half a year. Then she studied again, tourism business, and took two diplomas. Then she worked in a hotel, took training to become an interpreter, and after that, she started her own tourism business. Later she sold it, as it did not do that well due to economic problems in Russia.

In 2003 she divorced her husband and moved to K. In K, she has had difficulties in finding work. She has taken some courses and had temporary jobs in a youth association etc., but currently she is unemployed. (F)

Type 4. Well-being

Even when women see the well-being as a drive for migration they reconstruct their life course in a way that the well-being of their family (including husband and children) is in their mind. Thus well-being as an individual strategy seems to be many times illegitimate among female migrants and when they present themselves in this way. This is eloquently clear in the case of Chinese

women looking for better living conditions in Hungary who sacrifice a lot for educating their children even by leaving them behind for a while. This can be exemplified by the following biographic analysis of a Chinese interview:

During the migration they fail to reach Western Europe and she falls into the first wave of Chinese migration. She differs from the others in not having trade links. They became boarders and face extreme discrimination by the Hungarian authorities. At the same time this is the period of original capital accumulation and Chinese migrants make money out of filling the social and market gaps in the transforming Hungary. This is represented in the biography as being harassed by the police. This leads to another turning point. She with her husband establishes company and they buy a house. They seem to settle down and get consolidated. This allows them to take the adult child into Hungary and to set him on another migratory route after a while. They have three years together when they pool their efforts to consolidate their position. The next point is when they provide grounds for the further education of the child. The son seems to fulfil the original dreams. At the same time they do not want to stay in Hungary. (H)

The same concern for the family is also clear in the biographic analysis of a Ukrainian woman marrying a German man:

The interviewee originally comes from V in the Ukraine. As the daughter of a military officer, she moved a lot with her parents and her younger sister. She married when she was 20 years old, and although she did not plan to have children, her daughter was born soon. When her daughter was 2 ½ years old, she divorced her first husband and moved back in with her parents, her sister and her child in a farm her parents had just bought. She tried to work but her daughter did not do well in kindergarten, therefore she quit working in order to stay with her daughter. Her friend had married a German who she had met on holiday and asked her if she was interested in also meeting a German man. Her friend engineered a date for her; she fell in love and married in the Ukraine in August 1996. Originally she was about to start working in the military, which was her dream job, but she abandoned her plans when her future husband proposed to her. It took half a year to get the visa, and she depicts the preparations as a nightmare. Both the German and the Ukrainian embassy were tormenting, treating her like a beggar. Getting all the paperwork together was costly and time-consuming. She kept her plans to migrate for herself and therefore her family was surprised when she finally announced them. Nevertheless, her entire family was very supportive and had confidence in her because her parents had raised her to be independent. She arrived at Germany on February 3rd 1997; her mother had accompanied her and her daughter by train to C where she was picked up by car by her husband. They arrived in N late at night and had a welcome dinner at her friend's house. The next day she spent by herself in her husband's two-room-apartment because he was out to work. She immediately took up her role as housewife and started cleaning and reorganising the household. Her husband reacted astonished, but she explained to him that she needed something to do. In the following days, she took complete control over the household. Since she had no German knowledge at all, she was too afraid to leave the house or to have guests during the first couple of weeks. Her husband talked to her in a special German, like talking to a child, which embarrassed her in front of

other people. As time went by, she learned German by talking to her husband and other acquaintances; her daughter, who was 5 years old at the time of immigration, learned German very quickly, and was not recognised as a foreigner when she started elementary school half a year after their arrival. She tried hard to learn all about the new German customs and manners though she did not easily accept all of them. A year after her immigration, she started working part-time as a cashier in a supermarket and she liked the job very much, as she became more self-confident concerning her language skills. After a break in employment, she started working part-time in a photo laboratory. She also liked the job a lot but quit working because she felt that she neglected her duties as a mother and housewife. Today she is about to start training as an alternative practitioner as her daughter is 15 years old and does not need her that much anymore. She is disappointed that her apprenticeship from the Ukraine is not accredited in Germany. Her sister also lives in N now; she met her current husband while visiting the interviewee. The interviewee emphasizes that she did not make the match, but that they fell in love by chance just like her and her husband. Her sister now lives only 15 minutes away from her. She still visits her family in Ukraine about once a year and still has one friend there which whom she talks on the phone. Her circle of friends in Germany includes more Germans or mixed couples than Russians or Ukrainians. She is convinced that integration is easier as a mixed couple. Her husband has adopted her daughter and she wants to apply for naturalisation because she plans on staying in Germany for good. However, she is still reluctant due to her negative experiences with embassies. All in all, she feels well in Germany and mentions no negative experiences with Germans. As to the future, she is generally pessimistic due to economic conditions.

1.3.2. Individualist gender strategy

It appears in all migratory links, but it is everywhere a minor pattern in the biographies. Individualist gender strategies are closely related to biography patterns built on improving the social status and educational level. A very clear group is formulated by the au-pair youngsters coming from post-Soviet territories. They have also definite plans to continue their education and also most probably to find suitable partners, but not as housewives. This is very clear in the case of a Ukrainian woman named by the Czech national team as P, whose biography is full of elements of an individualist strategy of travelling, educational and career purposes and the lack of subordinating this to family building:

P was born in 1964 in a large city in east Ukraine. The family was well situated. Her mother was a mining engineer; the father was a director of a secondary school and a member of a communist party.

The family lived in plenitude, being able to afford several vacations at the seashore throughout the year, large choice of food and clothing, not feeling the harsh time of communism. Nevertheless, education was also highly valued and the children in the family were always encouraged to study and to read widely.

The family had two children. P went to study pharmacy at the university, finished with M.A. degree, and at the same time studied management, finished with bachelor degree. Her brother went to a technical university. He lives in the Ukraine.

Although the family was very protective of their daughter, after finishing the university, P left and moved to L, where she worked in several pharmacies. She liked travelling and due to the fact that a number of her peer friends left the Ukraine and searched for work and livelihood elsewhere. She decided to go to Morocco, first as a tourist, but once there, she decided to stay and work there in a pharmacy. She spent there 8 months. After that period, she returned to the Ukraine, where she worked again in several pharmacies and travelled widely.

The economic situation worsened in the Ukraine. Around this time P went to visit her friend in the Czech Republic, and after visiting several other European countries, P decided to stay and work in the Czech Republic in 1998. The first time she arrived officially as a tourist, with a tourist visa. She started to study Czech language and looked for the possibility to work in the health service. She found out that without a permanent stay this would be impossible, so she took up the advice of a friend and arranged for herself a Trade Certificate for selling cosmetics. The trade did not work out to her full satisfaction; she contemplated leaving Czech Republic and going back to the Ukraine.

Around this time she received a marriage proposal from a friend and got married, hoping, that the relationship may last. Through marriage she gained permanent residence but could not find work in the place she lived. The relationship with her husband did not function well, so P decided to move to Prague, where she soon found a job as a laboratory technician in a privately owned pharmacy. Currently she works there and lives alone in Prague. (CZ)

Altogether we can see that when reason of migrations are shown in terms biographic structures then female immigrants basically rely on a familial framework and basically report their biographic story in terms of building a new family in the process of migration. This can be of different types but they all revolve around the issue of traditions versus emancipation (individual versus collective) but definitely not in a mechanic way. The interrelationship between these “alternative” strategies is a complex one

We can also see, how migratory spaces play an important role especially in the case of traditionalist traps and in the case of emancipation through family and marriage. The first one exemplifies the building up of huge walls in the migratory space of Germany and Austria and the trap of women caught between demands and wishes of integration and that of the isolated situation they end up in. The second is an also interesting example of failed expectations of women coming from post-Soviet territories. In this way both are very clear examples of gendered social spaces. These migrants experience and present a special female life course perspective in migratory spaces.

REASONS, TYPES AND PROCESSES OF MIGRATION IN DIFFERENT
MIGRATORY SPACES. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The constructions of biographies are social facts, which seem to help us in understanding migration as a gendered process. Looking at the different types of biographies in this study only from the point of view of the type, process and reason of migration, it seems that the most important perspective of women when reconstructing their migration story is that, it is one way or another is related to gender and family issues. Thus crossing the boundaries of migrant groups and migratory spaces we find that women see their movement in terms of being related to families left behind or created during the migration process. This is the dominant type and the dominant process either voluntary or involuntary and this is the reason why it is so many times understood as unprepared. Also the reasons are given in this framework either in terms of collectivist (family centred) or individualist (new forms of individualist partnerships) gender strategies. Thus we can state that migration is certainly a gendered process in the perspective of immigrant women as they reconstruct their life around gender relationships.

This can be the basis to understand some of their specific problems and social traps more closely related to the definite migratory spaces and sending communities when transforming their social spaces in the process of migration. The first such a trap is what we can term as a *traditionalist trap* mainly of women coming from less developed rural areas of Europe into mainly immigrant countries, although we just might observe the emergence of this issue in newly immigrant countries also. “Traditionalist” women want to integrate to migrant men and to recreate something of the original familial society left behind. In this integration the social position of not being active in the labour market is a crucial point regardless of the fact that these women are very proud of any kind of regular work. Then this approach is understood by the receiving society as a lack of will to get integrated. This leads to a “conflict of cultures” understood as the disability of the migrants. The lack of speaking the language of the host society can also be seen as the result of this “cultural” gap.

The second such trap is that of *emancipation* what we can see in the case of women coming from the territories of the previous Soviet Union mainly to newly immigrant countries with the aim of achieving emancipation via establishing familial relationship with “Westerners” or just via moving into the so called “West”. In these cases seemingly traditional women objectified these life course events and look at them as means for enhancing their own strategies. This is completely different from traditional patterns. Behind this change we see the reaction to changes in the marriage market in the local society. These women are not looking for a marriage with a new meaning and substance, but they cling to the institution itself for fulfilling their individual goals. Very im-

portantly these women actually get into a trap in their present perspective as the original ideas are not fulfilled. A very important facilitator of this strategy is the hierarchical well-being of the different countries and the related discourses, namely “Eastern” women look for “Western” partners or such local men who are willing to migrate. Actually the East/West discourse itself is one of the reasons why they can be trapped. They simply believe that to live with Westernised men brings Western type “freedom”. The other factor behind this pattern is the actual historical experience of being used to mixed marriages under state-socialism.

The above traps and issues contextualize patterns of migration as revealed in the biographies and life course perspectives. But as we noted above when analysing the gendered process some of the problems were related to specific segments of the different migratory spaces. In some case the sending communities prescribed certain patterns while in other case the receiving communities and such a power and in some cases the specific interplay between these communities led to characteristic biographic patterns. So as we could see above the traditionalist trap seem to be related to the interplay between poorer rural European territories and that of immigrant countries and the temporarily traditionalist pattern or the emancipation trap is a characteristic of the interplay between post-Soviet territories and newly immigrant countries. It might very well be that later these differences will disappear and after some decades of immigration countries will repeat in some way what we can see in the relationship between gender and migration in the immigrant countries. But this is certainly not prescribed and we can see that the driving forces behind the traditionalist trap and that of emancipation are very different and therefore the outcomes will also be different.

The role of the migratory spaces can also be seen in the case of forced migration and a refugee process. This pattern interestingly does not appear in the context of newly immigrant countries (with the exception of Finland) while it certainly appears in immigrant countries. We have noted above that this might be a specific interplay. Rural and in terms of historical adversity rather unfortunate groups (Bosnia and Kosovo) have a culture which might not be very supportive in terms of emigration and there is a need for extra legitimate reasons and these groups look for safe places in Europe during the 1990s in countries where this pattern of receiving refugees seem to be very legitimate and supported. The role of the receiving country appear in the fact the migrants coming from Russia do not use such patterns in other spaces only in the case of Germany. This might mean that there is a need to have “high walls” in order to have refugee type of encounter.

The lack of high walls appear also in the fact that migration into the newly immigrant countries seem to support such less decisive (more transnational) types of migration like arriving by tourist visas, in an illegitimate way or for

business purposes which we (at least in our sample) do not find in the immigrant countries. This seems extremely plausible as such moves are easier to tell when the borders are not seen as too restrictive. At the moment this we can formulate as being hypothetical requiring further research and the incorporation of additional databases. But it seems on the basis of FEMAGE results that future research requires the incorporation of such qualitative research which helps us understanding the gendered migration processes in different migratory spaces in order to see in what ways the integration of immigrants is possible. It is for sure that no overall discourse and policy would ever work in this differentiated and gendered space.

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