

MIGRATION, CITIZENSHIP AND NATURALIZATION: TURKISH  
IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA AND GERMANY

A PhD. Dissertation

By

DENİZ YETKİN AKER

Department of Political Science  
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University  
Ankara  
September 2014



To immigrants looking for a better life all around the world

MIGRATION, CITIZENSHIP AND NATURALIZATION: TURKISH  
IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA AND GERMANY

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences  
of  
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

DENİZ YETKİN AKER

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In

THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY  
ANKARA

September 2014

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

-----  
Assistant Prof. Dr. Saime Özçürümez Bölükbaşı  
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

-----  
Assistant Prof. Dr. Başak İnce  
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

-----  
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ece Göztepe Çelebi  
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

-----  
Assistant Prof. Dr. Zeynep Kadirbeyoğlu  
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

-----  
Assistant Prof. Dr. Tolga Bölükbaşı  
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

-----  
Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel  
Director

## **ABSTRACT**

### **MIGRATION, CITIZENSHIP AND NATURALIZATION: TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA AND GERMANY**

Yetkin Aker, Deniz

Ph.D., Department of Political Science

Supervisor: Assistant Prof. Dr. Saime Özçürümez Bölükbaşı

September 2014

Very few studies among migration, citizenship and nationalization literatures focus on the individuals and their ideas about recent migration motivation, naturalization decisions and conceptualization of citizenship. Based on in-depth interviews with highly skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in Canada and Germany, the study seeks the recent reasons of people to move and tries to understand whether the recent migration motivation of people is affected by citizenship and migration policies of host countries. Additionally, the study intends

to build a typology for understanding the meaning of citizenship in the literature and to include individuals into the discussion by seeking how the individuals (mainly immigrants) define the concept citizenship in recent times. Lastly, the study tries to find out why some immigrants decide to receive the citizenship of country of destination while others do not. The study also tries to understand whether citizenship and migration policies of host countries as well as citizenship conceptualization of immigrants affect their decision-making process.

**Keywords:** Defining citizenship, naturalization decision-making process, recent migration motivation, high skilled and business Turkish immigrants, Turkey, Germany and Canada.

## ÖZET

### GÖÇ, VATANDAŞLIK VE VATANDAŞ OLMA KARARI: KANADA VE ALMANYA'DAKİ TÜRK GÖÇMENLER

Yetkin Aker, Deniz

Doktora, Siyaset Bilimi

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Saime Özçürümez Bölükbaşı

Eylül 2014

Göç, vatandaşlık ve vatandaş olma kararı literatürlerindeki çalışmaların çok azı kişilere ve kişilerin yakın dönem göç motivasyonları, vatandaş olma kararları ve vatandaşlık tanımlarına odaklanır. Bu çalışma, Kanada ve Almanya'daki yüksek vasıflı ve ticari Türk göçmenlerle (HSBTI) yapılan yüz yüze mülakatlara dayanarak, kişilerin yakın dönemde göç etme sebeplerini ve ev sahibi ülkelerin göç ve vatandaşlık kanunlarının bu sebepleri etkileyip etkilemediğini araştırmayı

amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca bu çalışma, vatandaşlık kavramının literatürde nasıl tanımlandığını açıklamak için bir tipoloji hazırlayıp, kişileri bu tartışmaya dahil etmeyi amaç edinmiştir. Çalışma, kişilerin (özellikle göçmenlerin) vatandaşlığı yakın dönemde nasıl açıkladıklarını araştırmaktadır. Son olarak, bu çalışma bazı göçmenlerin ev sahibi ülkelerin vatandaşı olmaya karar verirken diğerlerinin bunu istemediğini araştırır. Göçmenlerin vatandaş olma kararlarına, ev sahibi ülkelerin vatandaşlık ve göç kanunlarıyla beraber, kişilerin vatandaşlık tanımlamalarının da etki edip etmediğini araştırmayı amaçlar.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Vatandaşlığı tanımlama, vatandaş olma karar süreci, göç etme motivasyonu, yüksek vasıflı ve ticari Türk göçmenler, Türkiye, Almanya, Kanada.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my dissertation advisor Assistant Prof. Dr. Saime Özçürümez Bölükbaşı. I believe that without her support and guidance preparing this study and writing of this thesis would have been very difficult. Moreover, I am grateful to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ece Göztepe Çelebi, Assistant Prof. Dr. Başak İnce, Assistant Prof. Dr. Zeynep Kadirbeyoğlu, Assistant Prof. Dr. Berrak Burçak, and Assistant Prof. Dr. Tolga Bölükbaşı for their precious supports and comments from the very beginning of this study and for kindly accepting to be on my committee. I am also sincerely grateful to Prof. Dr. Jane Jenson and Prof. Dr. Gökçe Yurdakul for their valuable comments on the study. I would like to thank to my Professors in the Department, especially to Elizabeth Özdalga and Alev Çınar for their valuable support during the PhD program. I am also thankful Güvenay Kazancı for her help throughout the PhD program, Stephanie Orstad, Ceren Altınçekiç and Ayeh Asiaii for helping in improving English of the dissertation.

I am grateful to German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) for the funding of the field research of this study in Canada and Germany. I should also state my sincere thanks to people, especially to Aycan Yıldız, Ekrem Karakoç, Emre

Ünlüçayaklı, Bekir Gülpekmez, Ebru Vatansever, Murat Özaydın, Güneş Özhan, Çağhan Kızıl and Kudret Yıldız, who help me during the field research of this study. I am grateful to all the interviewees participated to the study in Canada and Germany. I also want to thank my friends that I have known from the PhD Program; especially Emine Bademci for her help and support and many others for their wonderful friendship. Apart from academic realm, I would like to thank all my friends and family for making my study enjoyable.

My final words of acknowledgment are, of course, for my husband Erkan Aker and for my parents Nadir Yetkin and Belgin Yetkin. I would like to express my love to them for encouraging me and for providing me full support during study and all my life, for their patience and their care.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                  |      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| ABSTRACT.....                                                    | iii  |
| ÖZET.....                                                        | v    |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....                                           | vii  |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS.....                                           | ix   |
| LIST OF FIGURES.....                                             | xvi  |
| LIST OF TABLES .....                                             | xvii |
| CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....                                    | 1    |
| 1.1. Significance of the Study.....                              | 2    |
| 1.2. Research Questions, Method and Hypotheses.....              | 5    |
| 1.3. Organization of Chapters .....                              | 9    |
| CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....                            | 12   |
| 2.1. A General Discussion on International Migration.....        | 13   |
| 2.2. Conceptualization of Citizenship.....                       | 21   |
| 2.2.1. The Meaning of Citizenship in Citizenship Literature..... | 21   |
| 2.2.1.1. Membership/Legal Status.....                            | 23   |
| 2.2.1.2. Territoriality.....                                     | 26   |
| 2.2.1.3. Rights and Duties/Responsibilities.....                 | 29   |

|                                                                                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.2.1.4.Identity.....                                                                   | 34  |
| 2.2.1.5.Participation.....                                                              | 38  |
| 2.2.2. Citizens’ Conceptualization of Citizenship.....                                  | 42  |
| 2.3. The Naturalization Decision-Making Process .....                                   | 45  |
| 2.4. Conclusions and Propositions.....                                                  | 52  |
| CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY .....                                        | 55  |
| 3.1. The Research Method: Comparative Case Study.....                                   | 55  |
| 3.2.The Cases.....                                                                      | 58  |
| 3.3. The Research Sample.....                                                           | 64  |
| 3.4. Data Collection.....                                                               | 65  |
| 3.5. Data Analysis.....                                                                 | 71  |
| 3.6. Conclusions.....                                                                   | 73  |
| CHAPTER 4: MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION IN CANADA,<br>GERMANY, AND TURKEY..... | 76  |
| 4.1. Migration and Citizenship Acquisition in Turkey.....                               | 77  |
| 4.1.1. Turkish Migration History.....                                                   | 77  |
| 4.1.2. Citizenship Acquisition in Turkey .....                                          | 79  |
| 4.2. Migration and Citizenship Acquisition in Canada.....                               | 81  |
| 4.2.1. Migration to Canada.....                                                         | 81  |
| 4.2.2. Citizenship Acquisition in Canada.....                                           | 89  |
| 4.2.3. Turkish Immigrants in Canada.....                                                | 91  |
| 4.3. Migration and Citizenship Acquisition in Germany.....                              | 94  |
| 4.3.1. Migration to Germany.....                                                        | 94  |
| 4.3.2. Citizenship Acquisition in Germany.....                                          | 98  |
| 4.3.3. Turkish Immigrants in Germany.....                                               | 103 |

|                                                                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.4. Conclusions.....                                                                    | 105 |
| CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS FROM FIELD RESEARCH CONDUCTED<br>IN CANADA AND GERMANY.....          | 111 |
| 5.1.Descriptive Results of the Field Research in Canada and Germany.....                 | 112 |
| 5.2.Descriptive Details of Interview Result Details.....                                 | 119 |
| 5.2.1. Reasons to migrate to Canada and Germany.....                                     | 119 |
| 5.2.2. Reasons to choose Canada and Germanyas Host<br>Countries.....                     | 120 |
| 5.2.3. Receiving Help from Personal Networks to Migrate to<br>Canada and Germany.....    | 123 |
| 5.2.4. Language Problems.....                                                            | 124 |
| 5.2.5. Other Problems.....                                                               | 124 |
| 5.2.6. Relations with Turks, Turkish Community, and<br>Turkish Associations.....         | 126 |
| 5.2.7. Reasons to return to Turkey.....                                                  | 126 |
| 5.2.8. Reasons to have little to no intention to return to<br>Turkey.....                | 128 |
| 5.2.9. Reasons to migrate from Canada and Germany to<br>Countries other than Turkey..... | 129 |
| 5.2.10. Research Question: Reasons to pursue Canadian or<br>German Citizenship.....      | 130 |
| 5.2.11. Research Question: Reasons not to pursue Canadian or<br>GermanCitizenship.....   | 132 |
| 5.2.12. Research Question: The Different Meanings of<br>Citizenship.....                 | 133 |

|                                                                                                                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 5.3. Conclusions.....                                                                                                                 | 131 |
| CHAPTER 6: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MIGRATION<br>MOTIVATIONS OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA AND<br>GERMANY.....                 |     |
| 6.1. Migration Motivations of Turkish Immigrants.....                                                                                 | 141 |
| 6.1.1. Motivations Related to Economic Reasons.....                                                                                   | 141 |
| 6.1.2. Motivations Related to Social and Political Reasons...                                                                         | 145 |
| 6.1.3. Motivations Related to Personal Experiences and Social<br>Network.....                                                         | 150 |
| 6.1.4. Motivations Related to Migration and Citizenship<br>Policies of Host Countries.....                                            | 161 |
| 6.1.5. The Importance of Geography, Nomads of Gain and the<br>Passport as a Commodity in the Question of Migration<br>Motivation..... | 163 |
| 6.2. Conclusions.....                                                                                                                 | 167 |
| CHAPTER 7: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: CONCEPTUALIZATION OF<br>CITIZENSHIP AND THE NATURALIZATION DECISION-<br>MAKING PROCESS.....        |     |
| 7.1. The Meaning of Citizenship.....                                                                                                  | 172 |
| 7.1.1. Citizenship as Legal Status or Membership.....                                                                                 | 173 |
| 7.1.2. Citizenship as Territoriality.....                                                                                             | 174 |
| 7.1.3. Citizenship as Rights and Duties/Responsibilities.....                                                                         | 175 |
| 7.1.4. Citizenship as Identity.....                                                                                                   | 176 |
| 7.1.5. Citizenship as Participation.....                                                                                              | 180 |
| 7.1.6. Citizenship as a Commodity.....                                                                                                | 180 |
| 7.2. Naturalization Decision-Making Process of Turkish Immigrants.....                                                                | 182 |
| 7.2.1. The Attitudes of Citizens in Host Countries.....                                                                               | 183 |

|                                                                               |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 7.2.2. Integration and the Effect of Cultural Similarities.....               | 184 |
| 7.2.3. Citizenship and Migration Policies.....                                | 185 |
| 7.2.4. Social, Economic and Political Opportunities in Host<br>Countries..... | 188 |
| 7.2.5. The Conceptualization of Citizenship.....                              | 193 |
| 7.2.6. Getting a Passport as a Commodity.....                                 | 194 |
| 7.3. Conclusions.....                                                         | 198 |
| CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS.....                                                   | 203 |
| 8.1. Contributions, Implications, and Prospects.....                          | 210 |
| SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY .....                                                     | 213 |
| APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS.....                                          | 230 |
| APPENDIX B: LIST OF THE CASE SUMMARIES.....                                   | 233 |
| APPENDIX C: LIST OF THE LEGAL DOCUMENTS.....                                  | 241 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|                                                                                                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. The Distribution of Various Occupations in Canada and Germany Field Data.....                     | 115 |
| 2. Most Repeated Reasons to Migrate to Canada.....                                                   | 116 |
| 3. Most Repeated Reasons to Migrate to Germany.....                                                  | 116 |
| 4. Citizenship in Canada and Germany Field Data.....                                                 | 119 |
| 5. Most Repeated Reasons to Choose Canada as a Host Country.....                                     | 122 |
| 6. Most Repeated Reasons to Choose Germany as a Host Country.....                                    | 123 |
| 7. Most Repeated Problems Experienced in Canada.....                                                 | 125 |
| 8. Most Repeated Problems Experienced in Germany.....                                                | 125 |
| 9. Most Repeated Reasons to Pursue Citizenship in Canada.....                                        | 131 |
| 10. Most Repeated Reasons to Pursue Citizenship in Germany.....                                      | 131 |
| 11. Most Repeated Explanations About the Meaning of Citizenship(HSBTI interviewees in Canada).....   | 134 |
| 12. Most Repeated Explanations About the Meaning of Citizenship (HSBTI interviewees in Germany)..... | 134 |

## **LIST OF TABLES**

|                                                             |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Canada - Permanent Residents by Category, 1993-2002..... | 87  |
| 2. Canada - Permanent Residents by Category, 2003-2012..... | 87  |
| 3. Summary Statistics of HSBTI Occupations in Canada.....   | 113 |
| 4. Summary Statistics of HSBTI Occupations in Germany.....  | 114 |
| 5. Citizenship Status/Gender/Accommodation Comparison.....  | 118 |

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This study focuses on and finding out individuals' recent motivation for international migration, their conceptualization of citizenship, and their decision-making process for citizenship acquisition.

One of the main points that international migration theories explain is reasons of international migration. However, very few studies focus on the migration decisions of individuals. This study aims to understand individuals' motivation to move since 2000 and whether motivation is affected by citizenship and migration policies of host countries.

Secondly, various scholars have inquired about the meaning of citizenship and identified multiple definitions, types, and scenarios for its prospective future. Many policy makers consider the concept of citizenship as central to debates on immigration and integration policies. However, citizens generally have not been

included in citizenship discussions. This study aims to understand how individuals define the concept citizenship by including them into the discussion.

The literature on naturalization as the procedure of citizenship acquisition generally focuses on the state and its policies. Since 1982, scholars have focused on naturalization policies and processes to explain differences in citizenship regulations and citizenship acquisition among nations. Some of the existing explanations of variation in immigrants' naturalization rates are the effect of citizenship laws (both in country of origin and destination) and normative motivations. However, immigrants themselves are not included into the picture. Despite all the benefits associated with citizenship acquisition, not all immigrants choose to acquire the citizenship of the receiving country. Focusing on the ideas immigrants have about their naturalization decisions can provide a different perspective on why some immigrants decide to receive the citizenship of country of destination while others do not. This study also aims to understand whether citizenship and migration policies of host countries affect decision-making processes of immigrants.

## **1. 1. Significance of the Study**

As Castles argues, international migration signifies a movement from one state to another (2000: 269). With globalization, the sovereignty and power of the nation-state started to be questioned because of international migration. International migration influences certain zones in both countries of origin and countries of destination (Castles, 2002: 1148). Especially after 2000s, with new progress in information and transportation technologies, the quantity of temporary, repetitive

migration started to increase. States aimed to encourage certain immigrants (such as skilled and business immigration) to come and prevented others (such as unskilled labor immigration) (Castles, 2002: 1146).

There are several theories that explore the reasons for this rising international movement. One of the ways in which states try to control international migration is by categorizing international immigrants, for instance, as labor immigrants. This kind of a categorization provides some clues about possible motives of migration (such as aim to return homeland or to escape from an environmental catastrophe). Besides, there are theories that describe macro (large-scale issues such as rules, procedures, etc.), micro (small-scale issues, such as individuals), and meso-level (between small and large issues, such as communities) reasons for international migration (and the continuity of it).

International migration theories aim to explain why people move internationally, nevertheless very few of them focus on the individuals and their own decisions. This study focuses on the recent motivation of people and aims to learn from them.

In the existing literature, the concept of citizenship is mostly used in analyzing identity, participation, human rights, and empowerment (Işın and Turner, 2002: 1-11). Citizenship has been defined through the identification of various foundational principles, histories, approaches, and forms in the literature (Turner, 1993:5). Some attributes have been assigned to the concept of citizenship such as cultural, European, and cosmopolitan citizenship. In the literature, main theories of citizenship are presented by liberal, republican, communitarian, and radical democratic citizenship approaches (Işın and Turner, 2002: 1-11).

For Kymlicka and Norman, the concept of citizenship has three aspects at the individual level: legal, identity, and civic virtue. The legal aspect of citizenship related to membership of a country. The identity aspect relates to having different identities and the membership status of these identities. The last aspect highlights which virtues that a citizen should have in order to be a good citizen (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000: 30-31).

Hammar (1989), on the other hand, argues that there are four ways to conceptualize citizenship. In a purely legal sense, citizenship means an individual's formal membership of a state. It is understood as a crucial political status by accepting citizenship as the basis for the state or the most significant component in the recent global political system. Citizenship has also social and cultural dimensions where it signifies "membership of a nation" (Hammar, 1989: 85). Finally, there is the psychological meaning of citizenship since it is often regarded as "an expression of individual identification" (Hammar, 1989: 85).

Although there are many such studies about the concept of citizenship, as Joppke argues, "one of the biggest lacunae in the literature" is what ordinary people associate with the concept of citizenship (Joppke 2007: 44). It is very hard to find out what individuals think about citizenship in general. In the short literature, there are studies that focus on the meaning of citizenship for international migrants. For example, İçduygu (2005) interviewed three individuals from three countries (Australia, the UK, and Sweden) and found that, according to international immigrants, citizenship has a dimension of attachment (İçduygu, 2005: 202).

Whether the citizenship is about attachment as in İçduygu's study this study aims to understand how individuals define the concept citizenship in the last decade. Unlike the examples in the literature (such as İçduygu, who did not mainly focus on

2000s), this study focuses in a comparative manner on high skilled and business-Turkish immigrants in the last ten years.

Lastly, in the naturalization decision-making literature, existing explanations of variation in immigrants' naturalization rates can be classified as the effect of citizenship laws (both in country of origin and destination); the effect of socioeconomic environment (such as Yang 1994) (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 5); the effect of cultural similarities (see for instance Yang 1994) (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 7); the effect of personal skills (such as language competence (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 8)); the effect of attitudes of countries toward immigrants (for instance Bloemraad 2002); as well as the effect of cost and benefit relations and normative motivations. To provide a new perspective to these explanations, this study focuses on the ideas of immigrants about their naturalization decisions, which is scarce in the existing literature.

## **1. 2. Research Question, Method, and Hypotheses**

The main goals of this study are related to individuals' motivation for international migration, their conceptualization of citizenship, and their decision-making process for citizenship acquisition. It seeks to understand the recent reasons individuals move (why they move since 2000?) and whether their recent migration motivation is affected by citizenship and migration policies of host countries. The study also intends to build a typology for understanding the meaning of citizenship and to include individuals into the discussion by asking how they define the concept citizenship in 2000s. Lastly, the study aims to find out why some immigrants decide

to receive the citizenship of the country of destination while others do not. It intends to understand whether citizenship and migration policies of host countries and immigrants' citizenship conceptualization affect their decision-making process.

To meet these goals, the study is designed as a comparative case study and the cases are selected as most similar cases: High skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in Canada and Germany, who moved to those countries in last ten years (2000-2010). The main data sources for this study include country statistics and current literature, legal texts, country reports of Germany and Turkey, as well as in-depth, semi-structured face-to-face interviews conducted in Germany and Canada.

The study considers several main research questions: Why have high- skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in Canada and Germany in particular, moved in the last ten years (2000-2010)? Do citizenship and migration policies of countries (such as Canada and Germany) affect migration motivation of HSBTI since 2000 (as those policies may aim to control international migration)? What does citizenship mean for HSBTI in Canada and Germany? Why do some high skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in Canada and Germany in particular, decide to acquire host countries' citizenship while others do not? Do citizenship and migration policies of countries (such as Canada and Germany) affect the decision-making process of HSBTI? If they do affect the decisions of HSBTI, then how can they affect those decisions?

The study hypothesizes that the states' migration and citizenship policies (whether it is multiculturalist or restrictive) affect both migration motivations and naturalization decisions of HSBTI since 2000. HSBTI prefer to migrate to

multiculturalist countries such as Canada and multiculturalist citizenship policies affect their decision for naturalization positively, in the sense that they prefer to acquire citizenship of host countries such as Canada. It is hypothesized that the naturalization decisions of HSBTI are affected by the meaning they give to the concept of citizenship. Defining citizenship (citizenship by birth) as their identity causes HSBTI to not apply for citizenship in the host country.

There are several reasons why this study focuses on the case of HSBTI in Canada and Germany in a comparative manner. First of all, in this century, post-war immigration and globalization transforms the meaning of citizenship, and changes in the concept of citizenship affects immigrants the most. For this reason this research focuses on the period of 2000 to 2010. Secondly, among categories of immigration, this research focuses on high skilled and business immigrants, since, in this century, developed countries prefer high skilled and business migrants. States try to improve their control on international migration. For this reason they divide it up into categories, which are temporary labor migrants, guest-workers, or contract workers, high skilled and business migrants, irregular migrants (undocumented migrants), refugees, asylum-seekers, forced migration, family reunification migrants, and return migrants (Castles 2000: 269-271). In this century, countries such as Canada prefer to attract high skilled and business migrants (OECD 2013: 34).

To question the effect of policies of country of destinations, only Turkish migrants are selected from that category, which represents people with “qualifications as managers, executives, professionals, technicians or similar, who move within the internal labor markets of transnational corporations and international organizations or who seek employment through international labor markets for scarce skills” (Castles 2000: 269-271) as well as international students.

(OECD 2013: 34). Around 3.5 million Turks live abroad. This research focuses on high skilled and business immigrants whose country of origin is Turkey.

The reason why Germany and Canada are selected is that the citizenship and migration policies of Canada are generally categorized as multiculturalist while the citizenship and migration policies of Germany are categorized as restricted (Howard 2005: 710). Additionally, the citizenship acquisition system in Canada is generally considered an immigrant-friendly system with its easy legal and administrative procedures. For instance, while the naturalization rate in Canada is 89 percent, in Germany it is 37 percent (Banulescu-Bogdan 2012). Another reason why these cases are selected is that the citizenship policies of Canada and Germany (as well as Turkey) have been changing dramatically during the twenty-first century, which is the period of focus in the study.

As data collection, some of the insights about citizenship in general are drawn from the literature. Country reports of Turkey, Canada, and Germany (such as EUDO, the Citizenship Observatory) are helpful for having a deeper understanding about selected cases. Citizenship and migration laws and policies of countries are collected from reliable official and scholarly sources. Lastly, semi-structured face-to-face in-depth interviews with HSBTI in Canada and Germany are conducted.

With the help of a snowball method, a sample is drawn from the population of HSBTI in Canada and Germany. The sample considers equal gender distribution, fair age of twenty years and above, and an ideological perspective while collecting the data. German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) granted a scholarship to Deniz Yetkin for the field research of this study in Canada and Germany. In total, one hundred fifty-seven interviews were conducted in six months (March 1-May 31

20011; and July 1- September 30, 2011); eighty-seven interviews in Canada and seventy interviews in Germany. During the interviews, the main focus was to understand the ideas of the interviewees. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. They were analyzed using the content analysis method and coded as text. The software program Nvivo was used for coding and analyzing the data. For data analysis, classical content analysis was used.

### **1. 3. Organization of Chapters**

The general aim of this study is to understand the meaning of citizenship for individuals, their recent migration motivations, and their naturalization decision-making process. It is organized as follows. First, it provides a review of the citizenship, immigration, and naturalization literature and presents the main aims of the research. Then, it gives details about the case selection process and the method of the research. It presents main research questions as well as the hypotheses of the study. Then, it analyzes general migration trends of Turkish immigrants, discusses policies on immigration and citizenship in Canada and Germany, and provides a short history of immigration to these countries. It presents descriptive results of the cases and focuses on comparative analysis of fieldwork results. Finally, it presents conclusive remarks.

Chapter 2 focuses on the types and theories of international migration. Then, it discusses the meaning of citizenship in the literature and provides a typology for the concept. The chapter also elaborates the decision-making process of

naturalization in the literature. Finally, it stresses general research aims and propositions of the study.

In Chapter 3, a review of the research design for this study is provided. The chapter first clarifies the research methodology and the case selection process. Then, it focuses on the details of the research sample, data collection, and analysis. Finally, it presents the research questions and hypotheses.

Chapter 4 focuses on the variation of immigration and naturalization methods, policies, and strategies of Canada and Germany. By focusing on this variation, this chapter draws insights regarding citizenship, immigration, and country statistics from the literature, and from various sources. The citizenship laws and policies of Canada and Germany are drawn from reliable official and scholarly sources. After a short discussion on the history of Turkish migration and Turkish migration rates, as well as citizenship acquisition possibilities according to Turkish law and regulations, the chapter focuses on the structural differences between the two cases (HSBTI in Canada and HSBTI in Germany). It discusses the naturalization and migration policies of Canada and Germany as well as the immigration history in these countries. Other issues include the change in migration flow and citizenship acquisition rates, and recent debates on the immigration and naturalization policies of Canada and Germany. In the end, the chapter critically analyzes important points drawn from the discussion in a comparative manner.

In Chapter 5, the descriptive results, and details of the empirical data analysis are reviewed. First, descriptive results are stated to show the general picture of the sample. Answers drawn from in-depth interview data are described point-by-point. In this chapter, nodes and branches that are used in the data analysis are discussed as well. The results are supported with tables and figures prepared by the author. While

focusing on details of the interviews, the numbers are provided by the author in order to stress the most repeated answers given by HSBTI interviewees in Canada and Germany.

Chapters 6 and 7 present an analysis of the empirical findings. In these chapters, suggested concepts, hypotheses and arguments are critically discussed. In the concluding chapter, Chapter 8, general conclusions and implications of this study are discussed. Chapter 8 also gives suggestions for future studies.

## **CHAPTER II:**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter aims for a detailed theoretical discussion of international migration and its causes, the concept of citizenship, and the decision making process involving citizenship attainment. By pointing out the gaps in the international migration and citizenship literature, the chapter focuses on the types of international migration and extant theories on international migration. Secondly, it critically analyzes the meaning of citizenship defined in the literature by providing a typology for the concept. Then, the chapter elaborates on the decision-making process of naturalization outlined by existing studies. Finally, it presents the general research aims of and propositions for the remainder of this study.

## **2.1. A General Discussion on International Migration**

International migration indicates a movement from one state to another (Castles, 2000: 269). Before globalization, “the sovereignty and power of the nation-state was not questioned” (Castles, 2002: 1146); with globalization, immigration is prone to rise and immigrants start to have much more different social and cultural characteristics. Secondly, migration influences certain zones in both countries of origin and countries of destination. For instance, as migration continues, large numbers of men and women leave their towns or neighborhoods “which may lead to local labor shortages as well as major changes in family and community life” (Castles, 2002: 1148). Thirdly, especially since early 2000s, new progress in information and transportation technologies has been contributing to the increasing quantity of temporary, repetitive migration. States try to encourage certain types of immigrants (such as skilled and business immigrants) to come and impede the residency of other types of immigrants (such as unskilled labor immigration) (Castles, 2002: 1146).

In addition to certain migration policies, another approach states utilize to control international migration is categorizing international immigrants as, for instance, labor immigrants. Labor immigrants (low-skilled) may be defined as permanent workers who migrate to countries for employment. Castles (2000) have further categorization as temporary labor migrants, unskilled labor immigrants, highly skilled and business migrants, irregular migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, forced immigrants, family members, and return migrants. Temporary labor migrants (who are also defined as guest-workers or overseas contract workers) are accepted as individuals “who migrate for a limited period (from a few months to several years)

in order to take up employment and send money home (remittances)” (Castles, 2000: 270).

Irregular immigrants (undocumented) are defined as individuals who migrate to a country generally for work, but do not have the required documents and permits. There are many labor migrants who are undocumented. Refugees (according to the 1951 United Nations Convention) are people living outside of their country of origin and “unable or unwilling to return because of a ‘well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion’” (Castles, 2000: 270). Asylum-seekers, however, are individuals who migrate for protection and who may not fulfill the refugee criterion of 1951 Convention. Forced migration, generally, includes refugees, asylum-seekers, and individuals who should migrate because of “environmental catastrophes or development projects (such as new factories, roads or dams)” (Castles, 2000: 271).

Family members or family reunification immigrants are the individuals who join already migrated people and return migrants are individuals who go back to their country of origin (Castles, 2000: 271). Lastly, high skilled and business migrants are individuals who have qualifications such as managers, directors, professionals, technicians, students, or similar and migrate “within the internal labor markets of transnational corporations and international organizations” (Castles, 2000: 270) or try to find jobs through international labor markets (Castles, 2000: 270). The integration of markets for goods, services, and capital globally requires an increase in international migration. For this reason, if states want to promote freer trade and investment, they must be prepared to manage higher levels of migration. Many states (such as Canada and Germany) want to become guarantors of high-skilled migration since they are not high in numbers and are less likely to have

political resistance toward highly skilled immigrants (Hollifield, 2004: 902).

Although such a categorization gives some clues about possible motives of migration (such as aim to return homeland or to escape from an environmental catastrophe), there are several theories focusing on exploring the reasons of international movement. In general, these theories make macro (focus on large-scale issues such as rules, procedures, etc.), micro (small-scale, such as individuals), and meso level (medium between small and large, such as communities) analyses.

In early migration literature, states are accepted as structures that have the capability to control international mobility. Neoclassical economists support the idea by coming out macro and micro-level analyses of international migration. Scholars, who make a macro-level analysis, explain the relationship between labor migration and economic development. For them, international migration is determined by labor markets, that is, it is an outcome of “geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 434). Some countries have a larger capability of labor than its capital and in these countries salaries are low. Countries with a limited labor capability relative to its capital have high market wages. This kind of a wage difference results in labor movement from a low-wage country to a high-wage one (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 433). According to this theory, the elimination of wage differences also eliminates international migration in general and labor migration in particular (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 434).

Scholars, who explain international migration with micro-level variables, focus on agency or individual choice. According to this theory, individuals are rational actors and make their immigration decisions as a result of a cost-benefit

calculation. Individuals decide to move in order to increase their earnings. If individuals expect a positive household return, generally economic, as a result of migrating to a country then they decide to move. Thus, international migration is assumed “as a form of investment in human capital” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 434). Thus, individuals decide to migrate to countries where they are able to be productive in accordance with their abilities; however, they first should accept to make certain investments such as material costs of traveling or efforts including learning a new language and “the psychological costs of cutting old ties and forging new ones” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 434). The Rational Choice Approach accepts individuals as actors who are capable of selecting from sets of options, “while constraints and opportunity structures impose restrictions on their choice” (Haug, 2008: 586). Their cost-benefit method motivates their decision-making process (a subjective estimated utility model) (Haug, 2008: 586).

In the traditional push-pull model (which has similarities with neoclassical economics theory and rational choice approach), neo-classical economics is influential. In this model, it is argued that immigrants react to economic conditions in the country of origin and destination, they have relevant information about circumstances in the country of destination, and they decide to migrate as a result of a rational economic calculation (Malmberg, 1997: 29). As neoclassical economics and rational choice approaches, this model has been strongly criticized with ignoring “the effects on migration of distance, other migration flows, intervening opportunities, and the size of population potentials” (Malmberg, 1997: 30).

In addition to such criticisms, the new economics of migration challenges several assumptions and inferences of the neoclassical theory. According to this

theory, immigrants do not make their decisions as isolated individual actors, but in relation to larger units of associated people, such as families and households. In those units, people act together both “to maximize expected income”, “to minimize risks and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failure, apart from those in the labor market” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 439). Thus, families and households decide to move. Different from individuals, households or families try to control risks to their financial welfare by distributing household resources, such as family workforce. They do this by assigning some family member to economic activities in the local economy and by sending others to work labor markets in foreign countries “where wages and employment conditions are negatively correlated or weakly correlated with those in the local area” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 439). Families may take risks at home and receive support from immigrant family members’ remittances.

Dual or Segmented labor market theory (macro-level analysis) focuses on labor market and maintains that international migration is a result of “the intrinsic labor demands of modern industrial societies” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 440). The main labor market may be defined as a secure market with high wages to native workers and secondary labor market prefers to give low payments to immigrant labor. As an example, according to this theory international labor migration is mostly driven and increased by demands of countries and is started by enrollment of some employers in developed societies (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 443). Moreover, the structural needs of the economy results in the need for immigrant labor and those needs are shown through employment practices instead of making wage offers

(Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 443).

The world systems theory, on the other hand, structured on the work of Wallerstein (1974), states that international migration is not caused by the divergence in the labor market in certain national economies. Actually, it is caused by the structure of the world market, which has established and extended since the sixteenth century (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 444). International migration is a natural result of capitalist development. As capitalism has spread from Western Europe, North America, Oceania, and Japan to other countries, more and more people have been included into the world market economy. International capital flow causes international labor flow (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 445).

Institutional theory focuses on how international migration continues. According to this theory, institutions and organizations support immigrants, which cause further migration. After international migration started, private institutions and voluntary organizations have been established in order to fulfill “the demand created by an imbalance between the large number of people who seek entry into capital-rich countries and the limited number of immigrant visas these countries typically offer” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 450). Such obstacles and an imbalance that main countries choose to use in order to hinder further migration cause further migration with “a lucrative economic niche for entrepreneurs and institutions dedicated to promoting international movement for profit, yielding a black market in migration” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 450). The conditions that black markets create victimize and exploit immigrants and their labor. As a result, further institutions and organizations have been created in developed countries to impose the rights and

enhance managing legal and irregular immigrants (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 450).

Social Networks and Migration Theory (a meso-level analysis), focuses on households, families, and communities. According to this theory, kinship networks and social networks link social structure to individuals who make migration decisions (Faist 1997; Haug 2000). Immigrants have a complex relationship with their family and friends. For individuals, social networks (relations with communities, etc.) are the foundation for the distribution of information and for support or help, for instance, for any kind of obstacles in host countries (finding homes, furniture, or temporary jobs). It is easier to migrate if individuals have relations within social networks since this kind of a relation reduces the costs and risks of moving. Moreover it can cause further migration since “as social networks are extended and strengthened by each additional migrant, potential migrants are able to benefit from the social networks and ethnic communities already established in the country of destination” (Haug, 2008: 588).

According to Faist, the concept of social ties (social relations) and social capital can connect the macro and micro levels of analyses. He explains social ties as “a continuing series of interpersonal *transactions* to which participants attach shared interests, obligations, understandings, memories and forecasts” (Faist, 1997: 199). There are strong ties (direct communication or face-to face) and weak ties (indirect relations). Strong ties are long-lasting and include duties as well as substantial emotions. Such ties may be seen “in small, well- defined groups such as families, kinship and communal organizations” (Faist, 1997: 199). Weak ties on the other hand, are a limited set of communications. An example of weak social ties can be communications between friends of friends. Social capital is defined as resources,

which are intrinsic in patterned social ties. Thanks to such resources, individuals are able to collaborate in networks and collectives and follow their aims. Some examples of these sources are “information on jobs in a potential destination country, knowledge on means of transport, or loans to finance a journey to the country of destination,” (Faist, 1997: 199) as well as the link created between individuals and networks. Thus, social capital is generated and gathered in social relations; nevertheless, individuals can use it as a resource (Faist, 1997: 200).

Lastly, cumulative causation theory states that there are several reasons that cause migration. Scholars maintain six socioeconomic issues that might affect international migration. These are “the distribution of income, the distribution of land, the organization of agriculture, culture, the regional distribution of human capital, and the social meaning of work” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 451). Other factors may exist, however they have not been systematically analyzed and discussed. This theory describes international migration as a cumulative social process and many propositions are generally similar to network theory. For instance, according to the cumulative causation theory, in the country of origin and country of destination, international migration causes social, economic, and cultural transformations. Such a transformation helps people to gain a powerful force to resist control or regulation, because “the feedback mechanisms of cumulative causation largely lie outside the reach of government” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 453).

International migration theories try to explain why people move internationally. Studies show that after 2000s, there has been an increase in the mobility of immigrants. However, little research has been conducted on the decisions of individuals. This study aims to reveal contemporary motivations of

people for changing countries. Many scholars, such as Castles, argue that states categorize international immigrants, prepare various policies, and make amendments to these policies to control international migration. The study hypothesizes that the states' migration and citizenship policies (whether it is multiculturalist or restrictive) affect migration motivations of HSBTI since 2000. This study intends to understand contemporary migration motivations of immigrants and to show whether these motivations are affected by citizenship and migration policies of the host countries.

## **2.2. Conceptualization of Citizenship**

### **2.2.1. The Meaning of Citizenship in Citizenship Literature**

In the literature, there have been various discussions about the characteristic of citizenship. For Kymlicka and Norman, the concept of citizenship has three aspects at the individual level: legal, identity, and civic virtue. The legal aspect of citizenship defines a member of a country. The identity aspect discusses different identities and the membership status of these identities. The last aspect highlights virtues that a citizen should have in order to be a good citizen (Kymlicka and Norman 2000: 30-31). Hammar, on the other hand, maintains that there are four ways to conceptualize citizenship: legal, political, social and cultural, and psychological. In a purely legal sense, citizenship means an individual's formal membership of a state. According to him, it is a crucial political status since citizenship is accepted as the basis for the state or "the most important unit in today's international political system" (Hammar, 1989: 85). Citizenship also has

social and cultural dimensions where it signifies “membership of a nation.” (Hammar, 1989: 85) Finally, citizenship has a psychological dimension since it is often regarded as “an expression of individual identification” (Hammar, 1989: 85).

Additionally some authors, such as Turner (1993), discuss rights as a feature of citizenship and others, such as Nuhoglu Soysal (1994), do not include nation into descriptions of the concept citizenship. According to Bauböck, there are three main dimensions of citizenship: rights, membership, and practices. He analyzes and categorizes theories from the perspective of thin-to-thick spectrum by focusing on the volume of emphasis to the elements of rights, membership, and practices as thinner or thicker (Bauböck, 1999a: 6). As an example, at one end (the thinnest end) of the spectrum citizenship means “‘nationality’ as it is used in international law” (Bauböck, 1999a: 7). Thus, nationality does not mean being a member of a nation or a political and cultural community, but means a legal status or relationships between individuals and states. Bauböck categorizes this combination of thinnest application of rights, membership, and practices as legal positivism. A legal positivist version of citizenship means an empty relation between individuals and states, without carrying any precise normative implications. When focusing on other dimensions, such as rights and practices, he states that in the legal positivist theory of citizenship the concept includes rights and practices as well without theoretically presupposing any of them. There are only sovereign states that efficiently “exercise political authority not only in a territory, but also over a population who are the addressees of their laws” (Bauböck, 1999a: 7).

According to Benhabib, in modern times citizenship is accepted as a “membership in a bounded political community, which was either a nation-state, a multinational-state or a federation of states” (Benhabib, 2002: 454). She defines

citizens as individuals who are members of a state, who have right to live in a state's territory, who are under a state's control, and who are, ideally, members of a "democratic sovereign in the name of whom laws are issued and administration is exercised" (Benhabib, 2002: 454). In line of this definition, she breaks citizenship down into components as "collective identity, privileges of political membership and social rights and benefits" (Benhabib, 2002: 454).

This study organizes existing citizenship theories by making a typology for understanding the meaning of citizenship. In order to build a typology (similar to the categories that Bloemraad developed (2000)), it decomposes citizenship theories and outlines out the main characteristics of the concept of citizenship, as it is understood the existing literature.<sup>1</sup> As a result, the study argues that the characteristics of citizenship can be categorized as legal status or membership, territoriality, rights, and duties/responsibilities, identity and participation.

The following sections critically analyze the meaning of citizenship that emerges from the literature by providing a typology for the concept.

#### **2.2.1.1. Membership/Legal Status**

According to traditional citizenship theories, people are citizens of at least one nation-state and this legal affiliation is accepted as a way to assist "the relationship between individuals and the state" (Bloemraad, 2000: 13). An important contributor of classical liberal theory of citizenship, T.H. Marshall, accepts that

---

<sup>1</sup> For instance by decomposing de-territorialized citizenship, it is seen that this new form emphasizes the element of territoriality. It is similar in the case of national citizenship, where the emphasis is in the element of membership (type of membership).

citizenship is a relationship between a member and the community (Lister and Pia, 2008: 12). For the liberal theory of citizenship there is another component of citizenship, which is rights. This theory aims to build membership through the establishment of rights (Lister and Pia, 2008: 15). Nevertheless, in both of the classical citizenship theories individuals need to have a legal connection with states. (Lister and Pia, 2008: 15).

Similarly, another scholar of citizenship, Brubaker, explains that one of the main components of citizenship is membership. He sees modern age citizenship as inclusive since it “excludes only foreigners, that is, persons who belong to other states” (Brubaker, 1994: 21) very much like a membership system. Thus, for him, “the modern state is not simply a territorial organization but a membership organization, an association of citizens” (Brubaker, 1994: 21). Modern citizenship includes membership of states. It is also exclusive since states make differences between their members and others, that is, foreigners and their citizens. For instance, states declare that they are the state of and for certain populations and maintain “legitimacy by claiming to express the will and further the interests of that citizenry” (Brubaker, 1994: 21). This population, or legal members of a state generally regarded as a nation, is “as something more cohesive than a mere aggregate of persons who happen legally to belong to the state” (Brubaker, 1994: 21).

Several theoreticians in this literature stress the relationship between membership and/legal status. For Kymlicka and Norman, citizenship has a legal aspect, which includes being a member of a country (2000: 30-31). Similarly for Hammar, citizenship may be conceptualized as being an official member of a state. He claims that membership is needed for determining rights and duties. It is controlled by the state through its rules, which are needed to decide who can acquire

membership or who should lose it (Hammar, 1999: 85).

According to some authors, citizenship does not mean national membership anymore, but there is different kind of membership status. Soysal argues that the concept of citizenship is not a membership of a nation state. For instance, she states “the guest-workers have achieved safe membership status without becoming citizens. They are heralds of a new form of ‘post-national membership’, anchored not in national belonging but a world-spanning discourse of universal human rights” (Joppke, 1999a: 630). In order to clarify her argument, she discusses several developments such as “post-war internationalization of labor markets” (Nuhoğlu-Soysal, 1996: 18). After the internationalization of labor markets, numerous immigrants came to Europe and this situation affected “the existing national and ethnic composition of European countries” (Nuhoğlu-Soysal, 1996: 18). Moreover, this development is followed by an enormous amount of immigrants living in Europe without earning a formal citizenship status while having several rights and privileges that generally a country’s citizenship allows to individuals (Nuhoğlu-Soysal, 1996: 20). As a result, she argues, the nation state is not the basis of legitimacy for rights (but the manifestation of rights are still structurally assigned to states) and the classical understanding of citizenship is unable to explain “the dynamics of membership and belonging in contemporary Europe” (Nuhoğlu-Soysal, 1996: 21).

Benhabib, for instance, argues that civic communities should not necessarily exist in the borders of nation states and citizenship is not necessarily defined as a membership of nation states. Nevertheless for Benhabib, democratic obligation to locality, that is smaller or larger than nation states, is important; she argues “democratic governance implies drawing boundaries and creating rules of

membership at some locus or another” (Benhabib, 2002: 448). Although the concept of citizenship will be free from the nation-state, this may not mean that territoriality (locality or boundaries), legal relation, or membership does not exist. The “burden of articulating principles of political membership” (Benhabib, 2002: 448) still applies.

Joppke, on the other hand, takes a middle position between nation-state supporters and nation-state opponents. According to him, the nation-state is not reshaped as a result of migration flow and it is not suffering from an important change. States are persistent to preserve control over borders, but there is an increase in human rights that limits traditional sovereignty. Moreover, there is an increase in membership categories as Soysal argues and “multicultural pressures on the mono cultural texture of nations” (Joppke, 1999b: 4) while distinct national models persist to contain ethnic diversity (Joppke, 1999b: 4).

#### **2.2.1.2. Territoriality**

In citizen literature, another main characteristic of the concept citizenship is territoriality, that is, an attribute to a specified land and/or region. The element of territoriality is sometimes related to nation-states or membership to a nation-state, a short discussion about nation and nation-state can be helpful in understanding this element of territoriality in detail.

Nations and nation-states are explained in several ways by several theoreticians. According to Tilly, nation states are “relatively centralized, differentiated organizations the officials of which more or less successfully claim control over the

chief concentrated means of violence within a population inhabiting a large, contiguous territory” (1985: 170). Thus, nation states have territories, which need to be secured and have control over a community (that might be accepted as citizens). Additionally, according to Mann, states can be defined with four main elements, which are differentiated, centrality, territoriality, and authoritative binding. States have territory where they have monopoly “of authoritative binding rule-making, backed-up by a monopoly of the means of physical violence...” (Mann, 1990: 67).

About the concept of nation, for instance, Anderson argues that it is an “imagined political community” which is both limited and sovereign (Anderson, 1991: 6). The nation is imagined since its members (including the smallest nation) can never see most of the other members, but each of the members imagines other members in his or her mind (Anderson, 1991: 6). It is imagined as limited since even the largest state has determinate borders, beyond that other nations live in. The nation pretends to be sovereign since the idea of a nation was born in the age of enlightenment, which was terminating the legitimacy of the hierarchical hereditary empires. It is pretend to be a community, since “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that they may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson, 1991: 7). According to Giddens, a nation is “a collectivity existing within a clearly demarcated territory” (1985: 116). This territory, for him, “is subject to a unitary administration, reflexively monitored both by the internal state apparatus and those of other states” (1985: 116).

In line with nation and nation-state discussions, the citizenship debate involves the notion of territoriality (e.g., as membership in a defined territory), such as the land of a nation-state. For instance, Brubaker focuses on France and Germany. His definition of citizenship includes the elements of legal status (membership of

modern states), territoriality (in relation to nation-states), as well as rights and duties. He argues that citizenship does not only include legal status, but it is a significant social and cultural fact. The concept plays an essential part “in the administrative structure and political culture of the modern nation-state and state system” (Brubaker, 1994: 23). He tries to explain citizenship through softball game where social interaction may be allowed to everyone or prohibited to some outsiders of a territory. He explains that the “softball game, for example, may be open, while a game played by teams belonging to an organized league may be restricted to team members, and in this sense closed” (Brubaker, 1994: 23). Although such a closure may be seen in everyday life, nation-states design and guarantee several forms of social closure that are symbolized in institutions and practices such as “universal suffrage, universal military service, and naturalization” (Brubaker, 1994: 23). Only citizens have the right to join and live in a state’s territory. Suffrage and military service are generally limited to citizens; naturalization is limited to individuals who are qualified to get a certain state’s citizenship (Brubaker, 1994: 23).

For Turner, historically, citizenship has developed with the improvement of self-ruling European city-states then changed while the nation-state sprouted. Later citizenship began by chance and finally has developed in contemporary times “to provide greater social entitlements to minorities, women, children and other dependent social groups” (Turner, 1993: 12). Benhabib argues that the concept of citizenship might be free from the nation-state, but there will be territoriality (locality or boundaries) and “the burden of articulating principles of political membership” (Benhabib, 2002: 448).

### **2.2.1.3 Rights and Duties/Responsibilities**

Other characteristics of citizenship existing in the literature include rights and duties or responsibilities. According to the classic liberal theory of citizenship, rights are the most important component in citizenship. In one of the main works of classical liberal theory of citizenship, T. H. Marshall argues that 18<sup>th</sup> century rights have developed gradually from civil rights (such as equality before the law) to political rights (such as voting rights) and social rights (Bloemraad, 2000: 17).

Marshall focuses on Britain and explains his theory of citizenship by using the element of rights in three forms, which are “civil, political and social” (1950:10). For him a civil form of rights is one that is necessary for individual freedom, such as the “liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith” (Marshall, 1950:10). Historically, people have first gained civil rights. Political rights such as the “right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body” (Marshall, 1950:11) constitute the political element of citizenship. Along with civil rights, in 19<sup>th</sup> century people started to gain political rights. Finally, according to Marshall, since the 20<sup>th</sup> century individuals have had civil, political, and social rights. He argues that social (and maybe economic) rights such as having economic welfare and security as well as the right to live as “a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society” (Marshall, 1950:11) forms the social element of citizenship.

As a result of global developments, the meaning of rights has undergone some changes in the citizenship literature. For Soysal, there is an increase in human rights discourse and rights are not national but universal or international. She

maintains that although they are often “violated as a political practice, human rights increasingly constitute a world-level index of legitimate action and provide a hegemonic language for formulating claims to rights above and beyond national belonging” (Nuhoğlu-Soysal, 1996: 19). Thus, human rights have been violated as political action, but they provide a new discourse in which rights are not necessarily related to nation states. In the classical western nation-state, citizenship is assumed as a single status and citizens have the same rights and privileges. However, in the post-national model, there is a multiplicity of membership and several rights independent from nation-states (Nuhoğlu-Soysal, 1996: 22).

For Soysal, the new kind of citizenship, that the post-national, includes entitlements similar to national rights. Those entitlements are legitimate on the basis of personhood. Post-national citizenship provides every individual “the right and duty of participation in the authority structures and public life of a polity, regardless of their historical or cultural ties to that community” (Nuhoğlu Soysal, 1994: 3). For instance, although guest workers do not generally have official citizenship status, they have been integrated several social and institutional order in receiving countries. They are able to participate in the educational system, welfare schemes, trade unions, and join in politics while even occasionally can vote in local elections (Nuhoğlu Soysal, 1994: 2).

In contrast, Joppke states that human rights norms and obligations are still related to nation-states. The global world is not an abstract entity and “the protection of human rights is a constitutive principle of nation-states qua liberal states” (Joppke, 1999: 4). Postwar migrations have determined a segment between human-rights protection and popular sovereignty, which is one of the main principles of nation-states. Therefore, nation-states do not try to meet external human rights

requirements, but they experience an “internal conflict between their human rights and popular sovereignty dimensions” (Joppke, 1999: 4).

Janoski and Gran categorize citizenship theories by focusing on the characteristics of rights and explain these citizenship approaches in relation to this element. According to them the liberal theory includes two subcategories, traditional liberal theory and modern liberal theory (or pluralism), which is supported by thinkers such as J. Rawls and T. H. Marshall. According to their categorization, in liberal theories of citizenship, “citizens are self-interested” and “universalistic individual rights have precedence over obligations and the state” (2002: 18). They categorize theories of communitarianism and civic republicanism under consensual order. Some of the thinkers include Rousseau, Oldfield, and Galtson. These theories mainly associate citizenship with virtue and theoreticians argue that citizens can become good or virtuous citizens. The general will<sup>2</sup> exists in society and “in its constitutive groups are more important than self-interest.” Duties are related to the general will and they are more significant than the rights of citizens (Janoski and Gran, 2002: 18).

Participatory Republicanism (neo-republicanism and expansive democracy) and moderate postmodern pluralism (radical pluralism and multiculturalism) are the other two categories that Janoski and Galtson (2002) discuss. Thinkers such as Habermas and Van Gunsteren support the theory of participatory republicanism. According to this theory, citizenship has a complex nature but this should not make the element of participation difficult. Generally, individuals are not represented properly and should be encouraged to participate in groups. Individual rights are important and groups should respect their rights. Nevertheless, this theory includes

---

<sup>2</sup> J.J. Rousseau uses the concept “general will” in his work *The Social Contract*.

obligations as well by claiming that a balance needs to exist between universal rights and obligations (Janoski and Gran, 2002: 18).

Thinkers such as C. Mouffe, E. Işın and W. Kymlicka are categorized under the theory of moderate postmodern pluralism (radical pluralism and multiculturalism). In this category, identities (the identity element) are accepted as complex, which shows that there cannot be a consensus as it is maintained in the theory of consensual order. Rights are an important component of the concept of citizenship, according to this theory. However, there are cultural groups with cultural and procedural rights and “universal rights do not exist or exist to a limited degree” (Janoski and Gran, 2002: 18).

The classical theories of citizenship such as liberal or republican theories of citizenship share a common understanding that citizenship is a universal kind of classification. That is, no matter how citizenship is defined, whether by which dimensions it includes and how the dimensions are emphasized, it is accepted as similar for every citizen. Especially, rights, responsibilities, and duties are same for everyone (Lister and Pia, 2008: 32). However, Bloemraad argues that global human rights have been supported in liberal-democratic countries, where large numbers of immigrants live. Countries allow individuals to have several basic civil rights and social rights, but generally they allow only citizens to have political rights. Enjoying a scope of social rights varies in different countries (Bloemraad, 2000: 17). For instance, immigrants who have lived twenty to thirty years in European countries and even sometimes their children, who were born in Europe are not considered citizens of those countries. Nevertheless, they have legal jobs, receive an education, and enjoy other social and civil rights (Bloemraad, 2000: 19). For such reasons many authors have doubts regarding the linear evolution of rights (such as

Marshall's linear explanation) (Bloemraad, 2000: 17). For instance, Soysal (1994, 1996) maintains that citizenship is changing as a result of international migration, new political forms such as the EU, and widespread support of global human rights. In its post-national model, rights became "deterritorialized and located in the person rather than in an individual's nationality-based relationship to a state" (Bloemraad, 2000: 19). Therefore, states are incapable of denying the rights of a non-citizen (Bloemraad, 2000: 19).

Additionally, in his multiculturalist theory of citizenship, Kymlicka studies the nature of group rights and tries to understand how important culture is for a population. He differentiates two types of cultural minorities as nations and ethnicities. For him, a nation is a historical population, institutionally all-inclusive, live in a given territory, and have a common language or culture. An ethnic community is a population with a common culture, but do not necessarily live in a common territory. Regarding multicultural societies, he argues that those communities can be multinational by combining two or more nations or polyethnic "when people from different nations have emigrated to form a new society" (Lister and Pia, 2008: 45). Kymlicka explains that although members of national minorities need to have the right to a complete cultural membership appreciated by the majority community, members of ethnic minorities "chose to voluntarily uproot themselves and relinquish their original culture" (Lister and Pia, 2008: 45).

Kymlicka's definition of citizenship includes the dimension of rights. His emphasis on rights is different from classical theories of citizenship since he does not discuss universal rights; instead he differentiates three kinds of group rights, which are self-government, polyethnic, and special representation rights (Lister and Pia, 2008: 45). He explains self-government rights as "the delegation of powers to

national minorities, often through some form of federalism” (Kymlicka, 2003b: 6); polyethnic rights as “financial support and legal protection for certain practices associated with particular ethnic or religious groups”; and special representation rights as “guaranteed seats for ethnic or national groups within the central institutions of the larger state” (Kymlicka, 2003b: 7). Kymlicka explains federalism in Quebec as self-government rights (2003b: 29), “the right of Jews and Muslims to exemptions from Sunday closing legislation” (2003b: 97) as an example to polyethnic rights and “a form of political ‘affirmative action’” as an example to special representation rights (2003b: 32). For instance, he argues that with permitting self-government rights, a liberal state can equalize past discrimination, control, balance power, and keep the distinctness of individuals. Kymlicka states that a liberal state should not force national minorities to accept and follow its values and liberal institutions can function if they internalize liberal beliefs voluntarily, as practiced in Belgium and Canada (Lister and Pia, 2008: 46).

#### **2.2.1.5 Identity**

Before discussing the characteristic of identity in citizenship literature, a general discussion regarding the concept of identity will broaden perspectives. The Oxford Dictionary definition of the word "identity" is the “fact of being who or what a person or thing is.”<sup>3</sup> According to some thinkers, such as Eric Hobsbawm, identities are constructed. Unlike the dictionary meaning, Hobsbawm argues that

---

<sup>3</sup> Oxford Dictionaries. Available online at: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/identity>, [Last Accessed, 5 March 2014].

there is not a single identity that determines an individual. He maintains that identities are not natural, but that they are constructed and changeable (1996: 41). Although there are similarities in certain communities or collectivities, this does not mean that collective identities are inescapable or natural. They can be changed and replaced with another. A person can be a woman among men, a heterosexual among homosexuals, a Turk among Germans, İstanbullu (from İstanbul) in another city in Turkey, and so on and so forth. He argues:

Of course, there are collectivities, which are based on objective characteristics, which their members have in common, including biological, gender or such politically sensitive physical characteristics as skin-color and so forth. However most collective identities are like shirts rather than skin, namely they are, in theory at least, optional, not inescapable... of course, as every opinion pollster knows, no one has one and only one identity. Human beings cannot be described, even for bureaucratic purposes, except by a combination of many characteristics. But identity politics assumes that one among the many identities we all have is the one that determines, or at least dominates our politics: being a woman, if you are a feminist, being a Protestant if you are an Antrim Unionist, being a Catalan, if you are a Catalan nationalist, being homosexual if you are in the gay movement. And, of course, that you have to get rid of the others, because they are incompatible with the 'real' you. (1996:41)

Whether it is constructed or not, many theories and scholars consider identity as an important component of the concept of citizenship. In the communitarian theory of citizenship, citizenship includes the element of identity as an attachment to a community and coming together, making conversations for political decisions and trying to agree on the best solution (Bloemraad, 2000: 21). For Kymlicka and Norman (1994) one of the three aspects of citizenship is identity. They maintain citizenship is more than a status, or rights and responsibilities. Individuals have different identities and citizenship is "an expression of one's membership in a political community" (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 369). For instance, numerous communities such as blacks, women, and gays and lesbians feel that they are ignored from the common culture, even though they have similar rights and

responsibilities that citizenship requires. The reason is that they cannot express themselves as members in the political community, that is, in the states of which they are citizens. These individuals perceive themselves as outsiders “not only because of their socioeconomic status but also because of their sociocultural identity -their ‘difference’” (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 370)<sup>4</sup>.

Hammar discusses the social and cultural dimensions of citizenship. Since culture (such as common culture or culture of minorities) is related to an individual’s identity, the study argues that social and cultural dimensions can be discussed under the dimension of identity. By social and cultural dimension, Hammar means affiliation with a nation or belonging to a nation-state. According to him, there are a few states, which he considers as perfect nation-states. They combined with a single national group. Others try to become nation-states through creating a nation. As a result, citizenship is considered a nationality or as “membership of the dominant cultural group in a particular state” (Hammar, 1989: 85).

According to Hammar citizenship has a political dimension as well, which is also related to the identity dimension. He argues that citizenship is the foundation for the state. There are around 170 states in the world with certain people and territories. People are restricted by the concept of citizenship and borders restrict

---

<sup>4</sup> Many theorists, whom Kymlicka and Norman call cultural pluralists, maintain that citizenship should consider such dissimilarities. Cultural pluralists think, “the common rights of citizenship, originally defined by and for white men, cannot accommodate the special needs of minority groups” (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 370). These communities can be included into the common culture with accepting, as Iris Marion Young says, differentiated citizenship. According to this view, “members of certain groups would be incorporated into the political community not only as individuals but also through the group, and their rights would depend, in part on their group membership” (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 370). For example, several immigrant groups request particular rights for their religious practices. Kymlicka and Norman state that such wishes for differentiated citizenship challenges the dominant conception of citizenship (1994: 370). In line with the discussions carrying on with this study regarding the elements of citizenship, it can be argued that change in the dominant conception of rights causes an indirect change in the concept of citizenship.

their territories. Every state wants to control and protect their territory and people, expand its interests, and improve its security. As a result, there is a potential for conflict to occur among states. Hammar argues that, under these circumstances formal membership cannot be the only component of citizenship. Thus, being a citizen of a state is not being a member of it in a neutral way. Citizenship includes loyalty and supporting values and ideas of the government (Hammar, 1989: 85). As a result, being a citizen requires taking sides when there is a conflict with other states (Hammar, 1989: 85).

One last dimension Hammar discusses is the psychological aspect of citizenship, which is seen as “an expression of individual identification” (1989: 85) and can be discussed under the identity dimension. He explains it as sense of belonging to a country’s culture and language (if culture and language can be separated). For example, he states that first-generation immigrants mostly focus on their country of origin and feel sense of belonging to those countries, their languages, and dominant culture of these countries. The first-generation immigrants suppose that official citizenship should reveal “their personal identification with a country” (Hammar, 1999: 86). Therefore, first-generation immigrants are unwilling to become citizens of receiving countries (Hammar, 1999: 86).

Soysal maintains that the classical understanding of citizenship includes the element of identity. Nevertheless, she argues that in the post-war era citizenship changed and the transformation caused a separation of the two main components of citizenship, which are identity and rights. Rights have been related to belonging in a national population, but they become abstract and are legitimate at an international level. Identities on the other hand, are still considered exclusive and territorially restricted. Thus, according to her, in the post-war era, organization and ideologies of

global world have changed and complicated national citizenship and “introduced new dynamics for membership in national polities” (Nuhoğlu-Soysal, 1996: 18).

#### **2.2.1.5 Participation**

The last characteristic of citizenship in the literature is participation, such as participation to national politics or acting for the good of the community. For instance, Turner believes that citizenship is “a set of practices as the embodiment of a wide range of modernizing processes in law, culture, society and politics” (1993: 2). He defines citizenship mainly as fixed practices such as those of juridical, political, or a cultural nature (Turner, 1993: 2). Turner explains that citizens are individuals as capable members of society (related to the dimension of legal status) and citizenship is a set of practices that can form the distribution of resources among individuals and groups (Turner, 1993: 2).

Since the Ancient Greek, citizenship has been considered a practice by many thinkers. According to Aristotle humans are political animals (in *Politics*, 336 B.C.) and citizenship is “about empowerment to become active in the governing of a society” (O’Byrne, 2003: 8). According to O’Byrne, when citizenship and democracy are considered, participation is seen as an element of citizenship. For instance, in representative democracy, citizens elect individuals among them in order to decide on their behalf; in direct democracy, citizens may participate in the decision-making process. (O’Byrne, 2003: 8)<sup>5</sup>. Mouffe’s definition of citizenship

---

<sup>5</sup> Similar to classical elite theorists (such as Pareto and Mosca), Wright Mills maintains that even in democracies, societies have been ruled by elites. According to him, in mass democracies there exists “a struggle between powerful and large-scale interest groups and the will of individual citizens” (Yetkin, 2008: 37). These interest groups are in the middle of hierarchy (the power elite-interest

also includes participation, where she maintains that a radical democratic citizen needs to be active by perceiving themselves as participants in a collective responsibility (Mouffe, 1995: 4).

Moreover, van Gunsteren builds a theory by including basics of the communitarian, the republican, and the individualistic (liberal) thought. First of all, as communitarian theory of citizenship, his theory suggests that citizens have membership of a public community. Nevertheless, the republic provides and defends “the freedom of individuals to form communities to join or to reject them” (Gunsteren, 1994: 45). Under republican citizenship, his theory includes virtues as participation, which does not imply military virtue, but public discussions, acting reasonable, and supporting democracy (Gunsteren, 1994: 45). Finally, as individualistic thought or the liberal theory of citizenship, citizenship is an organization in the public community; that is, citizens are not ordinary persons and they are needed in a community since they are “required for admission to and the exercise of citizenship” (Gunsteren, 1994: 46).

Işın and Wood discuss consumerism as a new kind of participation. They maintain that as a result of global development, current liberalism drifted apart from liberal philosophy and capitalism has become much more aggressive in entire world, especially in Western states. This situation caused to the rise of a new government program, neoliberalism, which decreased the welfare state in countries such as Australia, Britain, Canada, and generated a new consumer ethic. This ethic developed into a form of guidance for many governments. Işın and Wood think that beside the “drive towards consumer sovereignty in advanced capitalism” (1999:

---

groups-the majority) and they are the only link of citizens to the decision-making process. Nevertheless, elites follow their interests and rule citizens in terms of those interests. Thus, “democratic ideal such as representing majority or majority rule is impossible and incompatible with elite rule” (Yetkin, 2008: 37). Still, citizenship may include the dimension of participation since citizens have a set of practices through the interest groups.

158) there can be a movement toward consumer citizenship in which individuals consume “as an active political, social and ecological practice” (İşin and Wood, 1999: 158).

According to Kymlicka and Norman, the last aspect of citizenship is civic virtues<sup>6</sup>, which highlights qualities that a citizen should have in order to be considered a good citizen (2000: 30-31). Civic virtue<sup>7</sup> may be considered as a set of virtuous practices and may be discussed under the dimension of participation. Kymlicka maintains that citizenship theorists need to identify the varieties of civic virtues essential for a prosperous democracy (Kymlicka, 2002: 288). Kymlicka believes that modern theories of citizenship should fulfill the needs of contemporary multicultural societies (Kymlicka, 2002: 289). For instance, citizens should question authority since in a representative democracy they choose representatives. The citizens are responsible “to monitor those officials, and judge their conduct” (Kymlicka, 2002: 289). There is a need for participating in public discourse since “the decisions of government in a democracy should be made publicly, through free and open discussion” (Kymlicka, 2002: 289). However, participating in public

---

<sup>6</sup> Bauböck discuss virtues under dimension of participation and, unlike this study, identity under the membership dimension. He states that in the middle of the spectrum there is civic republicanism with membership as political identity, rights as obligations, and civic virtues as practices (Bauböck, 1999a: 6). Although rights and civic virtues might be included to the dimensions of rights and practices, identity is not necessarily related to the membership dimension. The legal dimension can show whether there is a legal bond between individuals and, for instance, states (a nation state membership); while the identity dimension questions whether there is an affiliation (such as belonging, sharing values, cultural affiliation) of individuals may have with, for instance, the states.

<sup>7</sup> Several authors may disagree with such a discussion of civic virtue. For instance, according to Max Weber, modern science should “seek to free itself from value judgments” (Blum, 1944: 46). While social sciences are able to determine ways to reach certain aims, “nothing in social science could tell which ends should be chosen” (Blum, 1944: 46). Discussing ends is about individual judgment (Blum, 1944: 46). According to Weber, although there are unconditional values, such as the belief in the value of science itself or free humans (Blum, 1944: 51), social science is not isolated from life because a scientist struggles to be objective but because “the insignificance of the problems with which the social scientists choose to deal” (Blum, 1944: 52). Thus, social scientists cannot be objective or free from values since they make judgments about what they want to study or which questions they want to ask. However, they can and should be free from value judgment in choosing ways for certain aims (Blum, 1944: 52) as in the case of democracy and civic virtue (flourished democracy as the given end and civic virtue as a way toward democracy).

discourse is virtuous not only because “the willingness to participate in politics, or to make one’s views known” but also “the willingness to engage in a conversation: to listen as well as to speak, to seek to understand what others say, and to respond respectfully to the views of others, so as to continue the conversation” (Kymlicka, 2002: 289).

To conclude, this section analyzed the main conceptualizations of citizenship by making a typology through discussions about dimensions, characteristics of citizenship, and the main theories of citizenship (main approaches). In this typology, the study categorizes the characteristics of citizenship as legal status/membership, territoriality, rights, and duties/responsibilities, identity, and participation.

For some scholars, some of these characteristics are related with one another. Membership is seen in various forms such as national and local; territoriality is related to national, local, or international territory; rights can be granted- for instance- nationally or internationally; and lastly participation can be procedural (voting can be counted as a procedure (or for others, such as Aristotle, it can be a basic act) or moral (such as civic virtue). If citizenship is explained by more than one element and it is seen as a national membership, then other elements are related to this membership such as duties toward the nation and the nation-state, rights granted by the nation-state, and identity as a national identity.

While preparing this typology and analyzing the concept citizenship, it is hard to grasp the current descriptions of citizenship of migrants themselves. Citizens have not been included in citizenship discussions. The following section focuses on the limited literature that considers citizens while discussing the concept of citizenship.

### 2.2.2 Citizens' Conceptualization of Citizenship

There are extensive conceptualizations and century-old discussions among political philosophers, scholars, or political elites about the meaning of citizenship (Dalton and Klingemann 2009:407), the works, which address the individual level attributes of the issue, are rather rare. There are two key players in the realm of citizenship, which are states or other political organizations, polities as Benhabib (2002) or Soysal (1996) argue, and citizens. However, since the mid-1990s the role of citizens has not been a focus and there is an overemphasis on structures (Kymlicka and Norman 1994: 353). Thus, the significance of citizens to the concept citizenship and the mutual link between the two players is frequently ignored (İçduygu, 2005: 196).

Miller-Idriss's work is an example of limited literature on an individuals' conceptualization of citizenship, which shows that citizenship is about territoriality, legal status and identity. Thus, by comparing Miller-Idriss' results with the typology built in this study, the study argues that her results and analysis show that, citizenship includes characteristics of territoriality (as birth place in a nation-state), characteristics of legal status (as nation-state membership), and identity (as cultural assimilation in the case of nation-state membership or national citizenship). For instance, she found that "younger Germans define Germanness primarily in cultural, economic, civic and geographic terms rather than by ethnic or racial criteria" (Miller-Idriss, 2006: 562). Interviewees generally define Germanness as *jus soli* and most state that an individual "who is born in Germany and assimilates to the 'German' way of life is a German" (Miller-Idriss, 2006: 562). Miller-Idriss argues that national citizenship is not weakening as Soysal (1994) claims, but it is "a

meaningful concept and a powerful form of cultural identification” (Miller-Idriss, 2006: 562). She claims that her findings support the literature that proposes “a global shift away from *jus sanguinis* forms of citizenship, in favor of *jus soli* principles”<sup>8</sup> (Miller-Idriss, 2006: 563).

As another example, Caymaz studies how people perceive their own citizenship roles (2008: 6) and he finds that participants generally see citizenship as a duty (Caymaz, 2008: 137). In his study, he does not give many details about his methodology but he mainly focuses on Turkish people living in Turkey. Caymaz conducts in-depth interviews with 60 Turkish citizens (Turks, Armenians, etc.) from various cities and backgrounds (single, married, various ages, and occupations, etc.) (2008: 61-64). He studies their perception of the concept of citizenship and states that individuals in daily life could not feel themselves as citizens; this hidden identity may trigger out after a confrontation and a negative experience (such as after trying to receive state’s service at hospitals). His interviews results also support this statement (Caymaz, 2008: 111). Through these interviews he found that participants generally see citizenship as duties (Caymaz, 2008: 137).

In his study, İçduygu focuses on Turkish immigrants and attempts to determine the mechanisms of the link between nation-states and its citizens and international migration. He mainly wants to empirically show the citizenship attitudes and practices of Turkish immigrants, particularly while their mobility affects these attitudes and experiences (İçduygu, 2005: 212). In this study, he discusses the meaning of citizenship for international migrants as well (İçduygu, 2005: 197). He makes an assumption that citizenship has a dimension of attachment

---

<sup>8</sup> Citizenship rules are explained as *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*. *Jus soli* means citizenship in accordance with territorial population and *jus sanguinis* in accordance with community of ancestry (Brubaker, 1994: 122). Thus, rules are created by focusing on the dimension of territoriality or the dimension of identity (ethnic community, ancestry, etc.).

according to international immigrants. Thus, citizenship offers citizens a setting of certainties and securities; it is “a world of predictable relationships” (İçduygu, 2005: 202). He considers this setting as the attachment of citizens to their states. He also maintains that citizens’ attachment to their states is a significant bond since such a bond provides individuals to develop an understanding of citizenship. Social and political perceptions of individuals are affected by the quality of attachment experience, nevertheless “the experience is itself conditioned by the pressures of state actions and ideologies” (İçduygu, 2005: 202). İçduygu interviewed three individuals from three countries (Australia, the UK, and Sweden) and their answers support his idea of attachment.

Balta and Altan Olcay (2014), aim to discuss “the meanings and experiences of transnational citizenship by focusing on the emerging practice among Turkish elites acquiring US citizenship.” They conducted 40 in-depth interviews with Turkish families “in which the mother has given birth in the United States for the purpose of acquiring US citizenship for the children,” conducted interviews “with representatives of tourism companies that organize packages for the expectant families.” (p. 140) Finally, they try to complete a “textual analysis of blogs and websites on which families share their experiences with this process.” (P. 140) As a result of the study, they argue “transnational citizenship is physically transformed into a good, becoming part of the workings of the layers of economic transactions” and they conceptualize transnational citizenship “as market embedded transnationalism in the words of our informants, laying out their perceptions of transnational citizenship.” (p. 140).

Whether the notion of attachment is related to identity or whether citizenship is about duty, this study mainly aims to understand how individuals themselves

define the concept citizenship. Unlike existing literature, this study focuses on the last ten years and on high skilled and business migrants of Turkish origin in a comparative manner. Before discussing fieldwork in Canada and Germany, the next section will review the decision-making processes involving citizenship acquisition.

### **2.3. The Naturalization Decision-Making Process**

Naturalization is the procedure of citizenship acquisition in which individuals apply for citizenship to a state. Although some believe that non-citizens have several rights just as citizens do (such as Soysal, 1996), according to Wallace-Goodman, for immigrants “naturalization is still the key to full rights of citizenship” (Wallace-Goodman, 2010b: 3). By arguing that citizenship laws affect naturalization rates, since 1982, scholars have focused on naturalization policies and processes to understand dissimilarities in citizenship regulations and citizenship acquisition among nations.

The literature on citizenship regulations and naturalization generally focus on the state and its policies (Bloemraad, 2000: 15). There is a difference in the literature between scholars studying West European countries and “traditional immigrant-receiving countries such as the US, Canada, or Australia” (Bloemraad, 2000: 13). For instance, scholars who focus on Europe generally study citizenship acquisition in relation to citizenship rules and regulations (Bloemraad, 2000: 13) and consider the state “as a grantor of citizenship status” (Bloemraad, 2000: 14).

Some of the naturalization studies analyze the relationship between naturalization and integration, as explained by Ersanilli and Koopmans (2010). For

instance, Ersanilli and Koopmans study the socio-cultural integration levels of immigrants in the Netherlands, France, and Germany. They aim to focus on the integration levels of immigrants who do and do not receive citizenship of these countries. They measure socio-cultural integration “by host-country identification, proficiency and use of the host- country language, and interethnic social contacts” (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010: 773). They conduct a survey with the sample they have drawn “on the basis of surname sampling from online phonebooks, based on a list of 30 stems of common Turkish surnames” (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010: 780-81). By assuming that “easily accessible citizenship promotes socio-cultural integration,” (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010: 773) they aim to test whether the level of socio-cultural integration of naturalized immigrants is higher than non-naturalized immigrants and “whether immigrants in countries with few preconditions for naturalization show higher levels of socio-cultural integration” (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010: 773). Their research shows that naturalization is positively related to the socio-cultural integration in France and Germany “that have traditionally required a certain degree of cultural assimilation from their new citizens” (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010: 773).

While some individuals receive citizenship of a certain country, others (who are subject to similar citizenship rule and regulations) do not want to be naturalized. In order to completely understand naturalization, the individuals as naturalization candidates must be understood. For instance, Calder, Cole, and Seglow argue that political theories assume individuals “as citizens of the political community in question, and all questions of justice are to be addressed and resolved amongst equal citizens” (Calder, Cole and Seglow, 2010: 2). The question of naturalization is either understudied or “interpreted as the question of how citizens develop their capacities

for citizenship<sup>9</sup>, rather than the question of how a person acquires citizenship in the first place” (Calder, Cole and Seglow, 2010: 2).

For example, Yang (1994) focuses on immigrants’ personalities and the social contexts in their country of origin and the host countries to discuss the probability of their citizenship acquisition. He uses the PUMS (Public Use Micro data Sample) data from the 1980 U.S. census and his results indicate that “economic, political, social, cultural and geographical conditions in the country of origin, and immigrants ethnic communities and urban concentration in the country of destination” (Yang, 1994: 449) generally affect immigrants’ decision about naturalization. Furthermore, he maintains that immigrants’ adaptation and their demographic characteristics are also important to predict the likelihood of citizenship acquisition (Yang, 1994: 449). Thus, Yang explains naturalization rates through socioeconomic and cultural perspectives (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 5 and 7).

Other than each individual’s socioeconomic and cultural successes and demographic characteristics (Euwals, Dagevos, Gijsberts and Roodenburg, 2007: 4), the literature stresses the role of citizenship policies in one’s country of origin. For instance, Jones-Correra focuses on the US and his quantitative study, covering data from 1965 to 1997, signifies that immigrants from countries that recognize dual citizenship have “average higher naturalization rates in the United States than countries that do not” (Jones-Correra, 2001: 997).

Instead of stressing the importance of “citizenship laws, group traits or the

---

<sup>9</sup> Vink and Dronkers categorize an individuals’ capacity for citizenship as resource perspective or “...individual characteristics, such as language competence, education, and employment, can influence citizenship acquisition both by shaping the motivations for naturalization and by affecting their eligibility for citizenship” (2012: 8).

characteristics of individual migrants” (Bloemraad, 2002: 193), Bloemraad focuses on normative positions of countries regarding immigrant integration (interventionist or autonomous). She argues that normative positions of states cause combined or divided institutional structures between governments, ethnic bodies, and individuals. In the case of Portuguese immigrants, who live in Massachusetts and Ontario, Canada’s integration system is interventionist and the US is an autonomous one. In Toronto there is a higher citizenship level of Portuguese immigrants than in Boston since government bureaucrats and the federal policy in Toronto support individuals to be naturalized “through symbolic support and instrumental aid to ethnic organizations and community leaders” (Bloemraad, 2002: 193). In contrast, communities in Boston need to organize and support their members without direct state provision and this situation results in a low level of citizenship acquisition (Bloemraad, 2002: 193).

De Voretz and Pivnenko, on the other hand, focus on economic costs and benefits of citizenship acquisition in Canada to understand the variation in naturalization (2005: 435). They use PUMF (Public Use Micro data Files) from the 1991, 1996, and 2001 Censuses of Canada and they focus only on “immigrants of working age (25-65 years old) who reported having either permanent resident status in Canada or Canadian citizenship” (De Voretz and Pivnenko, 2005: 443). Their study indicates that due to the large economic benefits of citizenship, immigrants prefer to pursue a Canadian citizenship (De Voretz and Pivnenko, 2005: 435). They also suggest that there is a positive relationship between a higher professional status and the rate of naturalization (De Voretz and Pivnenko, 2005: 447).

İçduygu’s study aims to analyze “the strategic implications of changing citizenship for immigrants within the larger context of the migration and settlement

process” (2005: 209)<sup>10</sup> According to the Melbourne survey conducted in 1987, 63 percent of participants who were eligible to receive the Australian citizenship acquired the Australian citizenship. The data from the Stockholm survey conducted in 1991 indicates that 39 percent of Turkish immigrants receive the Swedish citizenship, while 45 percent of interviewees in London (survey conducted in 1999) become British citizens (İçduygu, 2005: 210). His study indicates that a quarter of participants in London, a fifth of participants from Stockholm, and more than two fifths of participants from Melbourne pursue receiving states’ citizenship because of “some normative and moral motivations, together with pragmatic considerations” (İçduygu, 2005: 211). For instance, 10 percent of Turkish immigrants living in Melbourne in 1987 received the Australian citizenship for its advantages of traveling and ability to receive “permanent positions in the public and government services” (İçduygu, 2005: 211). Many of Turkish immigrants argue that job opportunities will be better both for them and for their children.

Logan, Oh, and Darrah, on the other hand, focus on individual-level variables (such as gender, age, and marital status) to study “compositional differences among racial/ethnic groups” (2012: 553) in order to see whether they have any effect on the rates of citizenship acquisition. They verify results of previous studies and find that, for instance, “age, years in U.S., English speaking ability, and education” (Logan, Oh, and Darrah, 2012: 553) have an effect on the probability of pursuing a U.S. citizenship. Their study also shows some unpredicted variances among groups. For instance, it is more likely for non-Hispanic white immigrants (more than 50 percent) to become citizens than Hispanics (hardly above 25 percent). By controlling individual background characteristics, it is more likely

---

<sup>10</sup> İçduygu conducted a study with 276 Turkish immigrants in Melbourne, 297 Turkish immigrants in Stockholm, and 275 Turkish immigrants in London (2005: 214).

for Asian and black immigrants to be naturalized than whites. They further argue “the addition of further controls (especially the naturalization rates of other co-ethnics in the same urban area) leaves whites as the least likely to naturalize” (Logan, Oh, and Darrah, 2012: 553). As a result, according to Logan, Oh, and Darrah, citizenship acquisition not only shows how individuals integrate into American society, but also it is a way of displaying collective behavior (2012: 553).

As another example, Vink and Dronkers aim to focus on Europe in order to explore “a phenomenon that has been understudied in the European context, where immigrant naturalization has a different dynamic than in classic settler states such as Australia, Canada, and the United States” (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 2). They try to create a comparative method in order to analyze the rates of citizenship acquisition (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 2). By using “a pooled data set on first- and second-generation immigrants resident in 15 European countries” they try to understand the effects of country of origin, country of destination, and individual-level characteristics (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 2).

Although their study indicates that citizenship policies influence the rates of citizenship acquisition of immigrants, it shows that most of the variation is caused by other factors. Firstly, encouraging citizenship policies positively affects the rates of citizenship acquisition, “especially among first-generation immigrants with more than 5 but fewer than 20 years of residence” (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 1). Secondly, the naturalization rates of immigrants “from poor, politically unstable, and non-EU countries” (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 1) are higher than immigrants coming from other countries. Naturalization rates are also affected by “language, years of residence (first generation), and age (second generation)” (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 1). Thus, naturalization rates are not only affected by citizenship

laws and regulations, but also by economic and cultural structures of host and origin countries and of individuals themselves (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 20).

As a further analysis, Vink, Prokic-Breuer, and Dronkers argue that citizenship acquisition rates are also affected by opportunities thanks to the citizenship laws in the countries of origin and receiving countries (2013: 1). Their study indicates that more accessible citizenship policies matter little for immigrants from highly developed countries, particularly those with fewer years of residence, but matter significantly for immigrants from less developed countries (Vink, Prokic-Breuer, and Dronkers, 2013: 1). Thus, the development level of the country of origin is significant in citizenship acquisition rates. For instance, the likelihood of pursuing host countries' citizenship is higher "for immigrants originating from low-income countries than for those coming from developed and more prosperous societies" (Vink, Prokic-Breuer, and Dronkers, 2013: 14). In relation to individual preferences and citizenship policies of a receiving country, Vink, Prokic-Breuer, and Dronkers show that acquiring a residence status in a receiving country that provides an increase in safety and living chances is very important for immigrants (2013: 14).

The study categorizes existing explanations regarding the reasons of variation in immigrants' naturalization rates as the effect of citizenship laws (both in country of origin and destination); the effect of socioeconomic environment (such as Yang 1994) (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 5); the effect of cultural similarities (see for instance Yang 1994) (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 7); the effect of personal skills (such as language competence (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 8)); attitudes of countries toward immigrants (for instance Bloemraad 2002); as well as cost and benefit relations and normative motivations.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> This categorization has similarities with the one of Vink and Dronkers (2012).

Beside such a categorization about naturalization, this study aims to focus on immigrant perceptions of their naturalization decisions. The study hypothesizes that the states' migration and citizenship policies (whether it is multiculturalist or restrictive) affect naturalization decisions of HSBTI. It is also hypothesized that the naturalization decisions of HSBTI are affected by the meaning they give to the concept of citizenship. Therefore, the study tries to provide a different perspective about for the following questions:

- 1) why some immigrants decide to receive the citizenship of country of destination while others do not?
- 2) do citizenship and migration policies of host countries affect the decision-making process of immigrants?

Since the global context of citizenship and citizenship laws and regulations have been changing noticeably, it is important to focus on the contemporary period (2000-2010). In addition, qualitative research on the naturalization decision-meaning process of immigrants can provide a deeper understanding of naturalization rates.

## **2.4. Conclusions and Propositions**

International migration theories mostly focus on the reasons why people move internationally. This study argues that very few of them focus on the decisions of individuals to migrate from their country of origin. Additionally, existing studies show that after the 2000s, there has been an increase in the mobility of immigrants. Therefore, this study aims to understand what is the motivation behind increasing international mobility. Many scholars, such as Castles, argue that states try to

control international migration by categorizing international immigrants or by developing various policies. This study questions whether the latest migration motivations of immigrants are affected by the citizenship and migration policies of host countries.

This study builds a typology of citizenship by critically analyzing the existing body of knowledge. In this typology, the characteristics of citizenship are categorized as legal status/membership, territoriality, rights, and duties/responsibilities, identity, and participation. Existing studies do not include citizens in citizenship discussions. This study researches how individuals define the concept citizenship. The few studies analyzing the citizenship perception of individuals define it as an attachment, duty, territoriality, legal status and identity. Diverging from these, this paper focuses on how individuals define the concept citizenship contemporarily by focusing on last ten years and in a comparative manner.

Lastly, some immigrants decide to acquire host country citizenship while others do not want to be naturalized. The naturalization literature focuses on the effect of citizenship laws (both in country of origin and destination); socioeconomic environment; cultural similarities; personal skills; attitudes of countries toward immigrants; as well as cost and benefit relations and normative motivations. This study tries to clarify at least one part of the naturalization puzzle: How do immigrants explain their own reasons to get host countries' citizenship in during the last 10 years? In addition, naturalization literature stresses the role of citizenship policies on naturalization rates and the immigration literature stresses states' aims to control international migration by rules and regulations. In contrast, this study looks at whether citizenship and migration policies of host countries affect the decision-

making process of immigrants.

The general purpose of this research is to explore the meaning of citizenship, to understand recent migration motivations and the decision-making process of naturalization. To achieve this purpose, this dissertation is designed as a comparative case study with a small number of cases. The study proposes that citizenship policies affect both migration motivations and naturalization decisions of immigrants. In addition, the naturalization decisions of immigrants are affected by the meaning they give to the concept citizenship. The next section provides a review of the research design. Then, the research methodology as well as the case selection process is clarified. The chapter discusses relevant details about the research sample and how the data is collected and analyzed. Finally, it presents the research questions and hypotheses.

## **CHAPTER III:**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

This chapter first establishes the research methodology and the research questions. Then, it clarifies the selected cases and gives a detailed understanding of the research sample. It discusses how the data was collected and analyzed. Finally, it presents the research questions and hypotheses.

#### **3.1. The Research Method: Comparative Case Study**

The research of this dissertation is designed as a comparative case study. As Lijphart argues, the comparative method is one of the basic methods that begin with “general empirical propositions” (1971: 682). As Bloor and Wood explain, the general aim of a case is “an exploration of a ‘bounded system’” (2006: 27). According to Gerring, a work can be called a case study only if fewer cases are

studied in detail (2007: 20). Lijphart distinguishes six ideal types of case studies, such as hypothesis-generating, and argues that “any particular study of a single case may fit more than one of the following categories” (1971: 691

Case studies can provide insights into meaning (Gerring, 2007: 44) and they generate hypotheses. If case studies claim to be subjective, then it should be added that such a subjectivity can allow reaching “insights that might not be apparent to the cross-case researcher who works with a thinner set of empirical data across a large number of cases and with a more determinate (fixed) definition of cases, variables, and outcomes” (Gerring, 2007: 41). One of additional virtues of case studies is allowing hypothesis generation through in-depth analysis of cases where depth may refer to “the detail, richness, completeness, wholeness, or the degree of variance in an outcome that is accounted for by an explanation” (Gerring, 2007: 49). All causal arguments assume a causal mechanism that clarifies the supposed correlation between x and y, and with the help of causal mechanisms, case study research can provide insights into reasoning capabilities (Gerring, 2007: 44).

Particularly, comparative case study accepted as a method in which examination of correlating a limited number of independent variables with a dependent variable by analyzing the cases (Hall, 2003: 397). Such a research design focuses on only a small numbers of cases; therefore it allows a researcher to explore casual processes fully and to assess appropriate theories (Hall, 2003: 397).

The general purpose of this research is to explore the meaning of citizenship, to understand recent migration motivations and the decision-making process of naturalization. It is designed as a comparative case methodology with a small number of cases. The research questions are:

- Why do high skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in particular move to Canada and Germany?
- Do citizenship and migration policies of host countries (such as Canada and Germany) affect the motivation of HSBTI?
- What does citizenship mean for HSBTI in Canada and Germany?
- Why do some high skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in particular decide to acquire host countries' citizenship while others do not?
- Do citizenship and migration policies of Canada and Germany affect the decision-making process of HSBTI? If so, how do they affect these decisions?
- Does the meaning HSBTI give to the concept of citizenship affect their naturalization decisions?

HSBTI (High Skilled and Business Turkish Immigrants) in Canada and Germany are the two cases at hand. The cases are chosen as “most similar cases” (Mill, 1872; Lijphart, 1971). The cases are individuals whose country of origin is Turkey. These cases are similar in the sense that all of them move from big cities in Turkey in last ten years (2000-2010) as high skilled and business immigrants. They moved to big cities such as Berlin in Germany and Montreal in Canada. The important difference between these two cases is that HSBTI are exposed to different migration and citizenship policies (Canada as multiculturalist vs. Germany as restrictive migration and citizenship policies) in their host countries.

The study hypothesizes that migration and citizenship policies (multiculturalist or restrictive) affect both migration motivations and naturalization

decisions of HSBTI. It argues that the naturalization decisions of HSBTI are affected by the meaning they give to the concept citizenship

### **3.2. The Cases**

The study focuses on the period between 2000- 2010 because of the changes in the concept of citizenship seen in these years and because of the increase in international migration in this period. The concept of citizenship has changed since the eighteenth century (Kivisto and Faist 2007: 131), but most importantly after the year 2000. It has been evolving as a result of increasing international migration and globalization, which is a significant cause of change in the human condition (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 3; and Turner, 1990: 214). Globalization creates a new system which questions states' authority and the definitions of who can be a citizen, and what kind of rights he or she has.

In addition, international migration has increased with globalization and especially since the 2000s. With new progress in information and transportation technologies the quantity of temporary, repetitive migration has continued to increase (Castles, 2002: 1146). Thus, the period of 2000-2010 is crucial for the purpose of this study, in order to explore the meaning of citizenship according to the citizens, to understand recent migration motivations and the decision-making process of naturalization according to these individuals.

This study's unit of analysis is the immigrants. International migration modifies citizenship in a way that ignores some people rather than embracing everyone. Although immigrants receive citizenship in host states, they generally do not receive

equal rights (Joppke, 1999a: 630). This study aims to understand how immigrants, as more vulnerable individuals, conceptualize citizenship, why they move, why they decide to get host countries' citizenship and whether migration policies affect their migration and naturalization decisions.

In line with the purpose of the study, research is designed as a comparative case method with a small number of cases. HSBTI (High Skilled and Business Turkish Immigrants) in Canada and Germany are two similar cases.<sup>1</sup> First of all, this study focuses on high skilled and business immigrants (HSBI), since developed countries such as Germany prefer to attract this kind of immigrants lately. States generally aim to improve their control on international migration; therefore, they divide up this phenomenon into categories. These categories include temporary labor migrants, guest-workers, or contract workers, high skilled and business migrants, irregular migrants (undocumented migrants), refugees, asylum-seekers, forced migration, family reunification migrants, and return migrants (Castles, 2000: 269-271). The high skilled and business migrant category represents people with "qualifications as managers, executives, professionals, technicians or similar, who move within the internal labor markets of transnational corporations and international organizations or who seek employment through international labor markets for scarce skills" (Castles, 2000: 269-271). For this research, Master's and PhD students with academic qualifications are added to the category in which countries include international students.

The most important reason to attract HSBI is, as Hollifield (2004) argues, states realizing that integrating markets for goods, services and capital globally requires massive amount of international migration and they should manage it if

---

<sup>1</sup> For more details about the cases, please check Chapter Four.

they are in favor of encouraging free trade and investment (902). As countries try to attract high skilled immigrants and as there is an increasing competition for skilled migrants, EU countries compete with countries such as the United States and Canada (that are categorized as traditional destination countries) for, for instance, Turkish skilled migrants (Akçapar and Yurdakul, 2009: 139).

In this study, HSBI whose country of origin is Turkey are the focus. Turkey has mostly sent immigrants after the 1950s. Since the 1990s, Turkey has both sent and received immigrants and it has been accepted as a key player on the Eurasian immigration flow both as a country of origin, as a destination, and a transit country. Since the early 2000s there existed over 3 million Turkish citizens in Europe, more than 110,000 in Arab countries, and around 40,000 in the countries of former Soviet Union (İçduygu, 2004: 88-9). Moreover, around 400,000 Turkish citizens are living in other countries and “with approximately three-fourths residing in the traditional immigration countries of Australia, Canada, and the United States” (İçduygu, 2004: 88-9). Since the 2000s, almost 4000 of Turkish university graduates and skilled workers have move to countries such as Australia, Canada, the US, and Europe every year. It is estimated that nearly 100,000 of Turkish nationals migrate to various countries per year (İçduygu, Gülru Göker, Tokuzlu, Paçacı Elitok 2013). This study aims to explore their conceptualization of citizenship and to understand their recent migration motivation and decision-making process for citizenship acquisition.

To control for the country of origin while studying the effects host country policies, only Turkish migrants are selected. HSBTI (High Skilled and Business Turkish Immigrants) in Canada and Germany are chosen as two similar cases where HSBTI are exposed to different migration and citizenship policies. Canada allows

high skilled people to migrate to the country through the "economic class". This is defined as economic immigration and it has continuously increased since 1999.<sup>2</sup> Most importantly, almost 60 percent of all the people who migrated to Canada fall into this economic category (Challinor 2011). Similarly, in the last century, migration- especially economic migration- to Germany has increased, mostly from other European Union countries. For instance, in 2011 the migration flow increased by 23 percent from the previous year<sup>3</sup> and in 2008, almost half of the immigrants were economic immigrants in Germany. (OECD 2013: 254) Canada is known for its multicultural citizenship policies<sup>4</sup> and differs from Germany, which has a restrictive citizenship policy, although the country has attempted to change it into a more moderate one recently (Howard, 2005: 710). Especially between 2000-2010, both Canada and Germany have introduced new immigration and citizenship policies in accordance with recent needs. Some of the aims behind these changes are reforming their citizenship policies and trying to increase the number of high skilled immigrants. However, there are remarkable differences between these countries' migration patterns.

This study uses the Citizenship Policy Index, developed by Marc Morjé Howard (2005), to analyze the differences of Canadian and German migration and citizenship policies and to categorize them. As Howard (2006) argues, considering

---

<sup>2</sup> Statistics Canada. 2012. *Ethnic Diversity and Immigration*. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11402x/2012000/chap/imm/imm-eng.htm?fpv=30000> , [Last Access, 23 January 2014]

<sup>3</sup> Federal Statistical Office of Germany. 2013. *Year Book 2012: Extract of Statistical Yearbook*, (English version of the chapter as "Population, families, living arrangements"), Available online at: [https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook\\_Chapter2\\_5011001129004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook_Chapter2_5011001129004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile), [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Multiculturalist policies and bilingualism were introduced as a solution against growing Québec nationalism and as a solution toward conflict between the French and English majority and other European immigrants who came to the country in the twentieth century. (Elrick, Jeniffer. 2007. "Country Profile: Canada," *Focus Migration* (8). Available online at: <http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Canada.1275.0.html?&L=1>, [Last Access, 14 December 2013])

citizenship only as a legal status might cause deviation from several existing debates in which the term citizenship is used as a substitute for civic engagement and similar concepts (Howard, 2006: 444). However, considering citizenship as a legal concept may provide a more focused comparison; a legal concept does not focus on the beliefs or practices of citizens but on the rights and legal requirements that formal citizenship involves (Howard, 2005: 717). Howard explains:

The Citizenship Policy Index (CPI) is based on a simple additive formula, with 2 points for each of the three criteria, allocated in the following way: Citizenship by birth is coded as either 0 (not allowed) or 2 (allowed). Residency requirement for naturalization is coded as follows: countries that require at least ten years are coded 0 (difficult); those that require six to nine years of residence are coded 1 (medium); and those that require five years or less are coded 2 (easy). Acceptance of dual citizenship for immigrants is coded as either 0 (naturalized citizens must relinquish their prior citizenship) or 2 (naturalized immigrants can retain their previous citizenship) (2005: 717).

In this index, citizenship policies of countries that have zero 0 to one 1 point are categorized as restrictive; two to four points are categorized as medium; and five to six points are categorized as liberal (Howard, 2005: 710). By using this formula, this study found that the result for a contemporary period of Canada is liberal, with six points, where citizenship by birth is allowed (+2), residency requirements for naturalization is three years (+2), and dual citizenship for immigrants is accepted (+2).

In the study of Howard (2005: 710-12), the contemporary period result of Germany is medium with three points and zero in 1980. According to Howard there is a liberal direction of change in Germany CPI score results. In 2000 a new German law was introduced and this new law affected its CPI score. With this law, Germany's minimum residency requirement is diminished from fifteen to eight years and permission for citizenship by birth is allowed. The second change is the most noteworthy one since it changes the long history of the blood-based definition

(*jus sanguinis*) of national membership in Germany. According to this amendment, children belong to any nationality, who are born in Germany and whose parents (at least one of them) have residence permit at least for eight years, are allowed to get German citizenship automatically. These children are also allowed to hold dual citizenship until adulthood, later they should decide which citizenship they want to hold until the age of 23. Briefly, although the new German citizenship law agrees to the concept of *jus soli*, which is a remarkable change from the concept of *jus sanguinis*, this right may be cancelled for those who do not want to renounce their other citizenship (Howard, 2005: 710-12).

The research considers German citizenship policy as restricted. First of all, such linear explanations cannot cover the complexity of citizenship policy changes (Goodman, 2010; 757). Moreover, this recent change in 2000 may facilitate German citizenship acquisition and allow automatic naturalization by birth for the second and third generations (Faist, Gerdes and Rieple, 2004: 929). However, German nationality legislation is still very restrictive with its principle of preventing dual nationality (Faist, Gerdes and Rieple, 2004: 926-27). If the CIVIX (civic integration requirements) index prepared by Goodman (2010) is used (0 to 6, ‘thick’ citizenship requires many content to citizenship vs. ‘thin’ citizenship requires minimal content such as country knowledge or language) with CPI (citizenship policy index), German citizenship policies can be considered as restrictive with its mandatory language and integration courses (Goodman, 2010; 759) and Canadian citizenship policies liberal/multiculturalist (or ‘enabling’ according to Goodman’s terminology).

The main data sources of this study are qualitative in character, such as legal texts, country reports of Germany, Canada and Turkey, and in-depth semi-structured

face-to-face interviews conducted in Germany and Canada. Sample selection for the interviews is explained in the next section.

### 3.3. The Research Sample

The observations of this study consist of high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) living in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto, Canada and in Berlin, (as well as some other cities such as Dresden) Germany, who migrated to those countries in the last ten years. Most of the immigrants moved to Canada as economic immigrants and preferred to settle in the three largest cities of the country, namely Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver. (Ray 2005). The Quebec region made several amendments to its immigration policies while the Ontario region generally follows federal rules and regulations of Canada. Therefore, it is important to compare these regions to understand the effects of policy difference on migration motivation and decision-making processes of HSBTI.<sup>5</sup>

The study focuses on HSBTI living in two cities from Ontario - Ottawa and Toronto, and one city from Quebec, - Montréal. In Germany, most of the immigrants also settled in big cities, especially Berlin, which is the largest city in Germany.<sup>6</sup> In 2011, 478,212 immigrants were settled in Berlin and most of them were Turkish

---

<sup>5</sup> Statistics Canada. 2012. *Ethnic Diversity and Immigration*. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11402x/2012000/chap/imm/imm-eng.htm?fpv=30000> , [Last Access, 23 January 2014]

<sup>6</sup> Federal Statistical Office of Germany. 2013. *Year Book 2012: Extract of Statistical Yearbook*, (English version of the chapter as “Population, families, living arrangements”), Available online at: [https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook\\_Chapter2\\_5011001129004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook_Chapter2_5011001129004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile), [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 10.

(22.3 percent) and Polish (8.6 percent) citizens.<sup>7</sup>

In line with the research design, the research employs a non-probabilistic sampling method, or a snowball method, and a sample is drawn from the population. Gender is used as a quota and distributed evenly throughout the data. In Canada, “candidates need to be a minimum 18 years to fill the citizenship application and they should become permanent residents in Canada for a minimum of three years (1,095 days).”<sup>8</sup> In Germany, “where a minor child is under 16 years of age at the time of naturalization the conditions of sub-section 1, sentence 1, no. 6 shall be fulfilled if the child demonstrates age-appropriate language skills.”<sup>9</sup> While one must be at least sixteen years of age to apply for German citizenship, for comparability and to control for education levels, the starting point of the age categories is fixed as twenty years of age. Lastly, although the characteristics such as age and ideology (through various religious communities and associations) are not chosen as quotas, they are still evenly distributed throughout the data.

### 3.4. Data Collection

In case studies, several data collection techniques, such as interviews and observations are used (Bloor and Wood, 2006: 28). For this research, the in-depth interview technique is used which is based on face-to-face interviews with a small

---

<sup>7</sup> Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg eds. 2012. *Statistics, Berlin Brandenburg: Die Kleine Berlin Statistics, 2012*. Berlin: H and P-Druck, Available online at: [http://www.fulbright.de/fileadmin/files/toGermany/grants/gss/2013/2\\_Berlin\\_Statistic\\_2012\\_-\\_Amt\\_fuer\\_Statistik\\_Berlin\\_Brandenburg.pdf](http://www.fulbright.de/fileadmin/files/toGermany/grants/gss/2013/2_Berlin_Statistic_2012_-_Amt_fuer_Statistik_Berlin_Brandenburg.pdf), [Last Access: 1 May 2014].

<sup>8</sup> (Government of Canada.. *Determine Your Eligibility*. Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp>, [Last Access, 2 January 2014].)

<sup>9</sup> (German Nationality Act (*Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* (StAG)), Available online at: [http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Gesetzestexte/Staatsangehoerigkeitsgesetz\\_eng\\_lisch.html](http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Gesetzestexte/Staatsangehoerigkeitsgesetz_eng_lisch.html), [Last Access, 13 January 2014]).

number of participants so as to explore their opinions, ideas, and experiences (Carey, 2009: 111). This method can capture the perspectives of participants in detail. Another advantage of in-depth interviewing is that it allows interpersonal contact, which is important follow-up questioning of interesting comments.

The main data sources of this study are qualitative, including legal texts, country reports of Germany, Canada and Turkey, and in-depth semi-structured face-to-face interviews conducted in Germany and Canada by Deniz Yetkin during six months (between March 1- May 31, 2011; and between July 1- September 30, 2011) with the support of scholarships granted to the researcher.<sup>10</sup> Some insights regarding citizenship, immigration, and country statistics are drawn from the literature. Country reports of Turkey and Germany, such as from EUDO (European Union Observatory on Democracy) Citizenship Observatory, are used since they facilitate a deeper understanding of the selected cases. Countries' citizenship laws and policies are drawn from reliable official and scholarly sources.

Prior face-to-face interviews in Canada and Germany, a pilot study with ten return immigrants was conducted in Turkey in order to review and improve the interview questions so that they were more open, comprehensible, and concise. Unfortunately, it was not possible to conduct this pilot study in Germany or Canada due to time and monetary constraints; instead, they were conducted in Turkey when the HSBTI returned to Turkey from the USA, Germany, and Canada.

The collected data is qualitative, but specific characteristics of interviewees are chosen and analyzed on SPSS (predictive analysis software) in order to gather demographic details and descriptive results from both of the cases of Germany and

---

<sup>10</sup> German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) scholarships were granted to Deniz Yetkin for the field research of this study in Canada and Germany.

Canada. Such an analysis may results in a general idea about the HSBTI interviewees; it may inspire further studies, especially quantitative ones.

The characteristics that are chosen from qualitative data are “occupation, age, citizenship status, gender, city of origin (Turkish city of origin before migration to Canada), city live in (in Canada), marital status, native language, and migration type.” They are categorized as follows:

- Occupation – Student/Assistant/Researcher, IT Specialist, Trade (such as Small and Medium Enterprises), Non-Qualified Jobs, Bank Employer, Other, Searching For a Job (Unemployed), Economically Inactive
- Age - 20-34, 35-50, 51-65+
- Citizenship Status - Turkish Citizens, Canadian Citizens, Dual Citizenship of Canada and Turkey, Multiple Citizenship
- Gender - Male, Female
- City of Origin (Turkish city of origin before migration to Canada) - İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Other
- Residing City - Montreal (Quebec Region), Toronto (Ontario), Ottawa (Ontario)
- Marital Status - Single, Engaged, Married, Divorced, Widowed (both male and female)
- Native Language - Turkish, Kurdish, Other
- Migration Type - Business, High skilled

The study focused on similar characteristics as interviewees from Canada to find descriptive results from the fieldwork performed in Germany. Those characteristics include:

- Occupation: Student/Assistant/Researcher, IT Specialist, Trade (such as Small and Medium Enterprises), Non-Qualified Jobs, Bank Employer, Other, Searching For a Job (Unemployed), Economically Inactive.
- Age: 20-34, 35-50, 51-65.
- Gender: Male, Female
- City of Origin (Turkish city of origin before migration to Germany): İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Other.
- Residing City: Berlin, Dresden, Braunschweig, and Other (such as Hamburg, Köln, Stuttgart).
- Marital Status: Single, Engaged, Married, Divorced, Widowed (both male and female).
- Native Language: Turkish, Kurdish, Other.
- Migration Type: Business or High Skilled.
- Citizenship Status: Turkish Citizens, German Citizens, Dual Citizenship of Germany and Turkey, Multiple Citizenship (Although Germany does not allow Turkish Citizens to have dual or multiple citizenship, some of the interviewees represent themselves as dual citizens without informing the researcher whether they have a blue/pink card).

### ***HSBTI in Canada***

During three months, between March 1, 2011 and May 31, 2011, eighty-seven interviews were conducted in Canada with HSBTI. All interviews were tape-

recorded and transcribed. Each interviewee signed consent forms<sup>11</sup> before the interview. Some of the questions included:

1) Family History

- a) Are you married?
- b) Do you have children?
- c) What is your occupation?

2) Direct questions about citizenship:

- a) What does citizenship mean to you?
- b) (To Turkish Citizens) Do you consider applying for citizenship in the country you live in? Why or Why not?
- c) (To Citizens of Receiving Countries and Dual Citizens) Why did you consider applying for citizenship in the country you live in?

In Canada, sixty interviews with HSBTI (high skilled and business Turkish immigrants) were predicted and eighty-seven face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted. Seventy-eight interviews were proper to use for the purpose of the study (included in the study sample). The research was conducted in Montreal, Quebec. However, two more cities, Toronto and Ottawa, were added to the Canadian field. Most of the Turks in Canada live in these cities.<sup>12</sup>

In Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa, Turkish associations, such as *Turquebec* (The Turkish Quebec Cultural and Friendship Association) and *Communauté*

---

<sup>11</sup> The form includes full title of the project; purpose of the study; name, position, and contact address of the researcher; name of the participant and his or her e-mail address; check list (I agree to the interview being audio recorded and I agree to the use of anonymous quotes in publications); name of the participant with his/her signature and date; and name of the researcher with her signature and date.

<sup>12</sup> In 2011, there were 29,640 immigrants in Canada, 7,860 in Toronto, and 4,735 in Montreal whose mother tongue was Turkish (nevertheless, this result might not show the exact number of people of Turkish origin). Statistics Canada. Released October 24, 2012, (Statistics Canada. 2011. *2011 Census*. Available online at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/censusrecensement/index-eng.cf8m> [Last Access 23 January 2014]).

*Islamique Turque du Québec* (Montreal Turkish Center)<sup>13</sup> were visited. Interviews with their community heads and leaders were made in order to gain general information about Turkish immigrants. Continuous collaboration was formed with some of the associations. By working with them and their heads, many contacts were found. The Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, Honorary Consulate of Turkey in Montreal, and some Canadian Representatives were visited for the same reason. Many other interviewees were found with the help of various mailing lists and blogs of Turks in Canada. The number of interviewees mostly increased as a result of the snowball method and personal contacts.

The researcher participated in two celebrations on March 18 (Anniversary for Çanakkale Victory) and May 19 (Commemoration of Atatürk and Youth and Sports Day). Different Turkish groups in Montreal prepared events for these celebrations. While attending the celebrations, some information was gathered regarding the citizenship related experiences and ideas of some representatives from different groups in the Turkish Community.

### ***HSBTI in Germany***

During three months, between July 1, 2011 and September 30, 2011, seventy interviews were conducted in Germany with HSBTI. In the case of Germany, sixty interviews were predicted and seventy face-to-face, semi-structured, and in-depth interviews were conducted.<sup>14</sup> Sixty interviews are suitable for the purpose of

---

<sup>13</sup> Montreal Turkish Community web page <http://tr.turkcommunity.net/index.php/hakkimizda> [Last Access, 1 May 2014].

<sup>14</sup> Since some of the interviewees lived in different cities (Stuttgart, Hamburg, Köln, Oldenburg etc.), a couple of interviews were conducted through the Internet.

research and may be included in the study sample. Most of the study was conducted in Berlin; some additional places were visited as well such as Braunschweig, Dresden, and a small village called Königslutter. These places were added to see whether there are differences among the Turks residing in Germany. Comparing the ideas and experiences of Turkish immigrants living in different places, which vary in their living conditions, population, and job opportunities characteristics, was valuable to the study.

It proved more difficult to find interviewees who fit the research criteria in Germany than in Canada since much of the Turkish population resided in Germany for many years. Like in Canada, Turkish associations (such as *Allmende*) and community leaders were visited and consulted then interviewed. Some Turkish associations passionately helped the research and referred many interviewees. To keep the study ideologically balanced, many contacts they provide were not interviewed. Mostly, interviewees were found with the help of various mailing lists, blogs of Turks in Germany, and with the personal contacts. The number of interviewees in Germany mostly increased as a result of snowball method as well.

### **3.5. Data Analysis**

Interviews are analyzed with the content analysis method. Codes and categories are used for data analysis. While codes are assigned during data analysis, the text is the source of categories (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005; 1277 and 1286). In order to analyze data with this technique, interviews were transcribed and coded as text. The software program Nvivo (QSR Nvivo 10) is used for coding and analysis of the data.

As Sloan suggests, “after creating a node, all of the data was read and necessary phrases and sentences were selected under a specific node ” (2011: 20), and “all branches of tree nodes were created when new findings in the data were discovered” (2011: 20). After studying the qualitative data from Canada and Germany, many important points related to tree nodes were found. These points, raised by Turkish migrants, were used as branches of tree nodes.

Some of the examples from the codebook are:

Tree Nodes:

- a) Meaning of Citizenship (What does citizenship mean to X?)
  - b) Reasons to pursue citizenship (Why does X decide to pursue citizenship of Germany/ Canada?)
  - c) Reasons not to pursue citizenship (Why does X decide not to pursue citizenship Germany/ Canada?)
  - d) Reasons to leave/migrate to Canada/Germany
  - e) Reasons to choose Canada/Germany
  - f) Reasons to wish to return to Turkey
  - g) Reasons for having no intention or low intention to return to Turkey
  - h) Reasons to migrate from Canada (not to TR)
  - i) Problems (What kind of problems, other than language, does X have in Germany/Canada?)
  - j) Expectations
  - k) Relations with Turks, Turkish Community and Turkish Associations
- 2) Free Nodes:
- a) Getting Help from (Personal) Network to migrate to Germany/Canada
  - b) Language Problems

### 3.6. Conclusions

This study aims to bridge the following gaps in existing scholarship: how citizens themselves define the concept citizenship, what their reasons for international migration are and their decision-making process for citizenship acquisition. It considers these main research questions:

1) Why did high skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in particular move in last ten years (2000-2010) to Canada and Germany?

2) Do citizenship and migration policies of countries (such as Canada and Germany) affect recent motivations of HSBTI?

3) What does citizenship mean for HSBTI in Canada and Germany? Why do some high skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in Canada and Germany in particular decide to acquire host countries' citizenship while others do not?

4) Do citizenship and migration policies of countries (such as Canada and Germany) affect decision-making process of HSBTI? If they do, how?

5) Does the meaning HSBTI give to the concept of citizenship affect their naturalization decisions?

The study hypothesizes that citizenship policies (whether it is multiculturalist or restrictive) affect both migration motivations and naturalization decisions of HSBTI. The naturalization decisions of HSBTI are also affected by the meaning they give to the concept of citizenship.

The study is designed as a comparative case study. Other than country statistics, the main data sources of this study are qualitative, including current

literature, legal texts, country reports of Germany and Turkey, and in-depth semi-structured face-to-face interviews conducted in Germany and Canada.

In this study, the cases are Canada and Germany, and the observations are HSBTI who moved to those countries in last ten years. The study argues that post-war immigration and globalization transformed the meaning of citizenship and changed the concept of citizenship, which affected immigrants the most. The research focuses on the period of 2000 to 2010 to capture recent changes in policy and migration patterns. Since international migration modifies citizenship and immigrants become citizens of host states, but they do not receive equal rights (Joppke, 1999a: 630), the study explains how immigrants, as more vulnerable individuals, conceptualize citizenship, why they move, why they decide to get host countries' citizenship and whether migration policies affect their migration and naturalization decisions.

Among categories of immigration, the research focuses on high skilled and business immigrants since, in this century, developed countries prefer high skilled and business migrants. More than 3.5 million Turks live abroad and this research focuses on high skilled and business immigrants whose country of origin is Turkey. The research tries to shed light into the reasoning of HSBTI regarding their migration to host countries and their naturalization decision-making processes in these countries, as well as their citizenship conceptualization. To control for the country of origin only Turkish migrants are selected. HSBTI in Germany were chosen since Germany holds restrictive citizenship policies and Canadian cases hold liberal/multiculturalist citizenship policies.

With the help of a non-probabilistic sampling method, or a snowball method, a sample is drawn from the population of HSBTI in Canada and Germany. The

sample takes into consideration the equal distribution of gender, controls for age by selecting individuals of twenty and above, and ideological perspectives while collecting the data. In total, one hundred fifty-seven interviews are conducted; eighty-seven interviews in Canada and seventy interviews in Germany. The collected data was analyzed with the help of the content analysis method. The next chapter explains the details of the cases and following chapters will focus on the collected data.

## **CHAPTER IV:**

### **MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION IN CANADA, GERMANY, AND TURKEY**

This chapter draws insights from the citizenship and immigration policies of Canada and Germany. Country statistics from the literature, the EUDO (European Union Observatory on Democracy) Citizenship Observatory, and from various other sources are used to prepare these insights. Citizenship laws and policies of Canada and Germany are drawn from reliable official and scholarly sources.

The chapter starts with a short discussion on the history of Turkish migration and Turkish migration rates, as well as citizenship acquisition possibilities according to Turkish law and regulations. To focus on policy differences between the two cases (high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in Canada and HSBTI in Germany), the chapter examines the migration history of Canada and Germany with their naturalization and migration policies. In sections of Canada and Germany, the chapter focuses on high skilled immigrants, discusses change in migration flow,

and citizenship acquisition rates. Other issues are recent debates on immigration and naturalization policies of Canada and Germany. In the end, the chapter critically analyzes important points drawn from the discussion in a comparative manner.

#### **4.1. Migration and Citizenship Acquisition in Turkey**

##### **4.1.1. Turkish Migration History**

Turkey has been accepted as a country of emigration. In the 1960s, many Turkish people migrated to Europe especially to Germany. Others sought asylum in Europe or migrated there for family reunification. After the Turkish government signed agreements with European countries such as Germany (in 1961) and the Netherlands (1964), which aimed to support the economies of German or other European countries with temporary unskilled workers and solve unemployment in Turkey, an extensive amount of Turkish workers migrated to Europe. Those workers also brought their families and started new lives there. (Kirişçi 2003) After the economic crisis in Western Europe in 1973 and the economic boom in the Middle East, Turkish people started to migrate to countries such as Libya and Iraq for work. The number of Turkish immigrants in Iraq and other Arab countries declined after the 1991 Gulf War. Since the 1990s, Turkish people preferred to migrate to the Russian Federation and other Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). (Kirişçi 2003) Especially after 2000s, Turkish university graduates and skilled workers have migrated to countries such as Australia, Canada, the US, and Europe. Turks continue

to migrate for family reunification. (İçduygu, Gülru Göker, Tokuzlu, Paçacı Elitok 2013: 4)

Turkey has also acted as a receiving country since 1923. Between 1923-1997, mainly from Balkan countries, almost 1.6 million people migrated to Turkey. It was followed by thousands of people from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during the Cold War to seek asylum. Most of them were accepted as refugees and went to countries such as Canada and the United States. In the late 1980s, Turkey experienced an influx of asylum seekers mainly from Iran and Iraq. About half a million, mostly Kurdish, refugees started to come to Turkey from Iraq in 1988 and 1991, and were followed by Albanians, Bosnian Muslims, Pomaks (Bulgarian-speaking Muslims), and Turks in 1989, 1992-1995, and 1999 respectively. Recently, irregular migrants from countries such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan use Turkey as a transit country to the European Union and Turkey has been a destination for many other irregular migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries. (Kirişçi 2003)

Data about migration flows in Turkey are limited and the exact numbers of migration flows is not known. (OECD 2013: 302) When focusing on emigration from Turkey, it is estimated that almost 3.3 million Turkish nationals have migrated to various countries. Most of them (around 2.7 million) live in Europe and more than a quarter of a million of them live in Canada and the United States. From 1991 to 2005, almost 800,000 Turkish nationals received citizenship from their host countries. (İçduygu 2004; and İçduygu and Sert 2009) In 2010 the number of Turkish immigrants became 3.7 million throughout the world. (İçduygu, Gülru Göker, Tokuzlu, Paçacı Elitok 2013: 1)

Since the 2000s, around 4000 of Turkish university graduates and skilled workers, such as computer scientists, have migrated to countries including Australia, Canada, the US, and Europe every year. Migration for family reunification has continued within the Turkish community in receiving countries and Turkish nationals in Turkey. It is estimated that almost 100,000 of Turkish nationals migrate to various countries per year, but this number declined after the mid-1990s and in the early 2000s continued to decline to less than 50,000 Turkish nationals. (İçduygu, Gülru Göker, Tokuzlu, Paçacı Elitok 2013)

One of the discussions about emigration from Turkey is how to reverse brain drain. Various institutions in Turkey have supported international mobility since 1920, and many organizations (such as Higher Education Council and TUBITAK-The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) have offered grants for Turkish scientists. In 2007, it was realized that almost half of the Turkish researchers do not come back to Turkey. The Supreme Council of Science and Technology (BTYK) argued that measures should be developed for the return of those researchers. (Supporting Sustainable Scientific Mobility: Country Reports 2007: 29)

#### **4.1.2. Citizenship Acquisition in Turkey**

According to Turkish citizenship regulations, Turkish citizenship can be granted in three main ways. First, by legal authority, the children of Turkish nationals (who were born in Turkey or not) receive automatic Turkish citizenship. Second, if children cannot receive their parents' citizenship, then children born in

Turkey may receive the Turkish citizenship automatically (*jus soli*). (İçduygu and Sert 2009: 4, and Aybay 2008) Finally, Turkish authorities make decisions about people who can obtain a Turkish citizenship.<sup>1</sup>

In Turkey, the main legislation on citizenship is *Citizenship Law* (Law No. 403, which dated February 11, 1964). (İçduygu and Sert 2009: 4) Recently, some amendments in the Citizenship Law have had an effect on protecting the rights of immigrants in Turkey. For instance, with the amendment in 2003, both female and male foreigners can acquire a Turkish citizenship three years after marrying Turkish nationals. Before that amendment, female foreigners received Turkish citizenship immediately after they married Turkish nationals but it was not that easy for male foreigners. The amendment allows citizenship acquisition through marriage to be standardized for male and female foreigners. (İçduygu and Sert 2009: 4)

Turkey has also made an effort to preserve relations with Turkish immigrants abroad, who decide to obtain citizenship of their host countries and to renounce their Turkish citizenship. (İçduygu and Sert 2009: 4) Turkish citizenship regime has changed in order to fulfill the needs of Turkish immigrants who would like to keep connections with Turkey. (Kadimbeyoğlu 2012: 4) With the first amendments in 1981, a dual citizenship was legalized. (İçduygu and Sert 2009: 4) For Turkish immigrants, whose host countries do not allow dual citizenship such as Germany, the Turkish state amended the Turkish Citizenship Law (Law No 5901) in May 2009 and decided to give them Blue Cards (previously called Pink Cards). (İçduygu 2005: 206) Since anyone who renounces their Turkish citizenship would lose many of his or her rights in Turkey, Turkey aims to protect the many rights of Turkish

---

<sup>1</sup> Law No. 5901, Turkish Nationality Act, (Author's trans.) Available online at: [http://www.nvi.gov.tr/Hizmetler/Vatandaslik,Vatandaslik\\_Kazanilmasi.html](http://www.nvi.gov.tr/Hizmetler/Vatandaslik,Vatandaslik_Kazanilmasi.html), [Last Access, 30 December 2013],

immigrants with these cards, such as social security.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, cardholders do not have responsibilities such as military service. (İçduygu 2005: 206)

## **4.2. Migration and Citizenship Acquisition in Canada**

### **4.2.1. Migration to Canada**

Variations have been seen in the migration flow to Canada over the years. The number of immigrants to Canada dropped between 1915 and 1918 (during the World War I) and between 1931 and 1945 (during the Great Depression and World War II). Then, migration flow increased again in 1957 (to 282,200). (Chagnon 2013: 1) During the early 1940s, the immigration rate was less than one person per 1,000 populations and in the last 50 years it was not as high as in 1967 (after the points system introduced), when the rate was 10.9 persons per 1,000 populations. (Chagnon 2013: 2)

Until the 1960s, Canada controlled foreign skilled worker inflow, but the Canadian economic growth started to change. In 1967, the points system was introduced as an immigration management policy. With this system, immigration officers were allowed to give points to candidates in accordance with classifications “such as education, language abilities and employment opportunities.” (Elrick 2007: 2) With the points system in 1967, Canada preferred immigrants in accordance with its necessities and interests. (Elrick 2007: 1)

---

<sup>2</sup> Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı (Republic Of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs). *Mavi Kart Uygulaması* (Author’s trans.). Available online at: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/mavi-kart-eski-pembe-kart-uygulamasi-tr.mfa>, [Last Access, 30 December 2013].

The Canadian immigration system continued to change in the 1970s as well. In 1971, Canada was the first country that introduced a multiculturalist policy officially to complete “the policy of bilingualism that made English and French Canada’s official languages in 1969. (Elrick 2007: 6) With this new policy, Canadians are encouraged to pride themselves and are supported preserving their identities in order to take pride in their ancestry.<sup>3</sup> The policy aims to attribute equality among Canadian citizens and not to discriminate them “on the basis of race, ethnic origin, language, or religious affiliation.” (Özçürümez 2009: 197)

The Immigration Act of 1976 completely changed Canada’s immigration policy and the country became a destination for immigrants from all over the world. The main difference is that immigrants were not categorized in accordance with their national or ‘racial’ origin; instead they started to be categorized as independent applicants and evaluated according to their granted points, for instance, points earned through their employment skills or education. (Ray 2005) Later, the federal government passed the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 to apply the policy throughout the country. (Elrick 2007: 6)

Canada’s new immigration policy was legalized in 2001. With the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), foreigners are allowed to obtain permanent residency in accordance with one of the landing classes which are “the economic class (i.e., skilled workers, business immigrants, and their immediate family members), the family class (i.e., spouses, partners, children, parents, and grandparents of Canadian citizens or permanent residents who agree to sponsor them), and the protected persons/refugee class (i.e., government-sponsored refugees,

---

<sup>3</sup> Multiculturalist policies and bilingualism were introduced as a solution against growing Québec nationalism and as a solution toward conflict between the French and English majority and other European immigrants who came to the country in the twentieth century. (Elrick 2007: 6)

privately sponsored refugees and other protected persons).” (Elrick 2007: 2) Additionally, to attract especially international students, further support exists for temporary workers and students. With the decision of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), people can become permanent residents on humanitarian concerns.

As a result of Canada’s more aggressive immigration policy, during the 1990s around 200,000 people were accepted into the country in each year. They were mostly skilled economic migrants who were selected by using the points system. In the 2000s, especially between the 2001 and 2006 censuses, migration flow caused more than two-thirds of the increase in the Canadian population. Since 2008, 6,471,900 foreign-born people (20 percent of overall inhabitants) have permanent residency in Canada. (Challinor 2011) Canada received 252,172 immigrants in 2009, 2 percent higher than it did in 2008 and 6.5 percent higher than in 2007.<sup>4</sup> Canada welcomed its highest number of immigrants (280,700) since 1950 in 2010. (Changon and Milan 2011: 1-2) Even if a small percentage of people migrated to Canada per year, such a migration flow has a cumulative effect on Canada’s population. In 2011, it was realized that almost one in five Canadians are foreign-born. (Changon 2013: 3)

High skilled people are allowed to migrate to Canada through the economic class and economic immigration has continuously increased since 1999.<sup>5</sup> Most importantly, almost 60 percent of all the people who migrated to Canada fall into this economic category. (Challinor 2011) In 2011, around 290,000 temporary foreign workers and international students migrated to Canada and “98,400 foreign

---

<sup>4</sup> Statistics Canada. 2012. *Ethnic Diversity and Immigration*. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11402x/2012000/chap/imm/imm-eng.htm?fpv=30000> , [Last Access, 23 January 2014]

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

students entered Canada in 2011, 3.3 percent more than the previous year.” (OECD 2013: 240)

For deciding economic immigrants, the points system is used with small selection criteria differences. For instance, skilled workers are evaluated on several grounds such as the level of education and knowledge of French and English. A certain number of points can be granted in each criterion. People may receive a maximum 100 points and they need a minimum of 67 points to be accepted into Canada. After candidates have gained the permanent residency status, they are permitted similar rights as Canadian citizens, such as “unlimited access to the labor market and social services.” (Elrick 2007: 2-3)

To meet the economic needs of Canada, the new act (the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)) has changed several times in recent years. In 2008, the Canadian immigration policy was modernized to enhance the economic category by adding the Canadian Experience Class. Immigrants who apply to this new class need to know either English or French and have a skilled work experience in Canada. Another change is made for the Federal Skilled Worker Program by giving importance to the candidates who have experience in specific occupations that are needed in Canada’s labor market. (Chagnon 2013: 3) In 2012, the Protecting Canada’s Immigration System Act was legalized to develop “the speed, flexibility and responsiveness of the existing asylum system.” (OECD 2013: 240) In 2013, the CIC aims to make further amendments in the immigration system and in following years to meet the economic and labor market needs of the country. (Changon 2013: 3)

In general, the immigration policy of Canada includes several programs such as The Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP), which are mostly related to the

economic needs of Canada and immigrants from the economic class. The FSWP changed in May 2013 by giving more importance, for instance, on knowledge of official languages and Canadian work experience. (OECD 2013: 240) Nevertheless, the general function of this program is selecting immigrants who have the ability to have economic success in Canada. One of the requirements is a minimum of one year of continuous work experience in one of the twenty-four selected occupations such as civil engineering and chemical engineering.<sup>6</sup>

Other programs are the Temporary Worker Program, Arranged Employer Opinion, and the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). The Temporary Worker Program was created in 2002 to solve skilled labor scarcities mainly in the Alberta oil patch. (Challinor 2011) The Arranged Employer Opinion Program is designed to meet employers with foreign workers. While employers make job offers, workers need an AEO from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. The difference between AEOs and FSWP is that an AEO tries to solve “the problem of brain waste” (Challinor 2011) by meeting workers with proper jobs and the FSWP aims to provide integration of immigrants into Canadian society suitably and increases the desirability of Canada for adaptable immigrants to the Canadian labor market. (Challinor 2011)

The role of provinces and territories in immigration management and choosing immigrants from economic class has increased lately in Canada. Several agreements have been signed; most importantly, with these agreements provinces and territories gain authority to choose immigrants among candidates in relation to economic necessities. These agreements together create the Provincial Nominee

---

<sup>6</sup> Government of Canada. Background: Information for Applicants to the New Federal Skilled Worker Program. Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/departement/media/backgrounders/2013/2013-04-18.asp>, [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

Program (PNP) in which every province and territory chooses immigrants consistent with its conditions and methods. (Elrick 2007: 3) This program actually completes the FSWP. “While the FSWP admits long-term highly skilled professionals, the PNP generally admits shorter-term migrants for specific occupations.” (Challinor 2011)

The main objective of the PNP is distributing the human capital/immigrant workers properly to lower immigration flow toward Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal. (Challinor 2011) While in 2002, provincial candidates were only 1.5 percent of all economic class candidates; in 2008 it became 15 percent. In August 2013, the Quebec region<sup>7</sup> made several amendments in its immigration rules and regulations. According to these amendments, the minister will accept at most 20,000 permanent worker applications “under the Regular Skilled Worker Program.”<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, if candidates have acceptable work offers this limit would not be

---

<sup>7</sup> Québec has its own regulations for immigration and citizenship. A large number of the inhabitants of Québec (around 25% of Québec’s population) live in Montréal. Focusing on economic migration, we see that “the labor market in Montréal represents an important employment pool in several growing sectors such as the machinery industry,...professional, scientific and technical services...” It has been an important destination for immigrants for many years. Almost 120 cultural communities live in Montréal and their main continents of origin are: “Europe (37%), Asia (29.5%), America (21%) and Africa (12.4%).” Official Site of the Government of Quebec. The Montréal Region at a Glance. Available online at:

<http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/settle/montreal.html>, [Last Access: 21 July 2014].

It is important for Québec to protect its art and culture. The Quebec government believes that “several factors were instrumental in Québec’s cultural and artistic distinctiveness. A land of immigrants richly endowed by its aboriginal history, and then by its French and British influences, it benefits still, more than any other culture on the continent, from the strong ties it has maintained with the two great civilizations that helped shape it: Europe and America. At the same time, as the only majority French-speaking society in North America, Québec has a fierce and deeply felt attachment to its own culture, the symbol of its identity.” On protecting its culture, Québec is very sensitive and tries to resist assimilation by maintaining a democratic and peaceful linguistic struggle. Thus, the French language is one of the most important characteristics of Québec’s cultural heritage and this has implications on its citizenship and immigration policies, including the promotion of the French language. Quebec Portal. Culture. Available online at:

<http://www.gouv.qc.ca/portail/quebec/pgs/commun/portrait/culture/?lang=en> , [Last Access, 21 July 2014].

<sup>8</sup> Immigration, Diversité, et Inclusion. *Immigration Rules and Procedures*. Available online at: <http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/informations/rules-procedures.html>, [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

applied to them. The level of knowledge of French increased to advanced intermediate.<sup>9</sup>

Immigrants came mostly to Canada as economic immigrants (see Table 1 and 2) and most of them settled in the three largest cities of the country, namely Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver. In contrast to the immigrants who settled in agricultural areas and migrated in the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th centuries, most of the migrants preferred to live in Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver. (Ray 2005) In 2006, 63 percent of the immigrants live in those cities. (Challinor 2011) For instance in 2013, 62.8 percent of the applications were for economic class and 22.7 percent were for family class. (OECD 2013: 240)

| Table 1: Canada - Permanent Residents by Category, 1993-2002 |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Category                                                     | 1993   | 1994   | 1995   | 1996   | 1997   | 1998   | 1999   | 2000   | 2001   | 2002   |
| Family Class                                                 | 47,267 | 40,021 | 32,256 | 28,121 | 24,077 | 19,894 | 21,456 | 23,291 | 26,043 | 24,292 |
| Economic Immigrants                                          | 51,007 | 50,613 | 53,720 | 64,497 | 66,828 | 51,410 | 57,832 | 72,669 | 82,542 | 73,666 |
| Refugees                                                     | 17,556 | 11,285 | 15,436 | 15,449 | 13,487 | 12,332 | 13,202 | 16,124 | 14,921 | 13,229 |
| Other Immigrants                                             | 3,850  | 3,657  | 477    | 2,318  | 1,900  | 1,353  | 539    | 260    | 107    | 1,560  |
| Category not stated                                          | 0      | 0      | 0      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 1      | 0      |

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, CIC, 2012<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2012. *Facts and Figures 2012: Immigration Overview—Permanent and Temporary Residents*. Ottawa: CIC, 2012, p.4-5, [Last Access 21 January 2014] <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/menu-fact.asp>

| Table 2: Canada - Permanent Residents by Category, 2003-2012 |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Category                                                     | 2003   | 2004   | 2005   | 2006   | 2007   | 2008   | 2009   | 2010   | 2011   | 2012   |
| Family Class                                                 | 24,868 | 23,732 | 25,048 | 28,519 | 26,461 | 26,710 | 26,980 | 24,942 | 23,764 | 27,541 |
| Economic Immigrants                                          | 63,952 | 70,081 | 80,899 | 71,892 | 67,851 | 75,753 | 78,210 | 94,952 | 80,010 | 82,765 |
| Refugees                                                     | 13,791 | 16,971 | 18,558 | 16,686 | 14,283 | 11,003 | 11,595 | 12,608 | 13,968 | 11,540 |
| Other Immigrants                                             | 3,885  | 3,382  | 3,256  | 5,030  | 5,377  | 5,145  | 5,183  | 4,498  | 4,037  | 4,606  |
| Category not stated                                          | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 1      | 0      | 1      | 3      | 1      | 5      |

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, CIC, 2012 <sup>11</sup>

The origins of immigrants differ in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal. Since 2004, the migration flow from the UK and Europe decreased to 17.8 percent and from Asia it increased to 48.6 percent. Additionally, 19.7 percent of the migration flow came from Africa and the Middle East. Immigrants from South and Central America and the Caribbean constitute 9.2 percent of all migration flow and immigrants from the US constituted 2.7 percent of it. (Ray 2005) The majority of francophone immigrants live in Montréal and people from Asia mostly live in Toronto and Vancouver. It is estimated that in 2017, 95 percent of visible minorities will be in the metropolitan area and 75 percent of them will settle in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal. (Ray 2005) Those migrating between 2001 and 2006 came from North Africa, Haiti, and other French-speaking countries and settled in Montréal. Immigrants from India, China, and the Caribbean live mostly in Toronto; people from China, India, and Hong Kong migrated to Vancouver. (Challinor 2011)

<sup>11</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2012. *Facts and Figures 2012: Immigration Overview—Permanent and Temporary Residents*. Ottawa: CIC, 2012, p.4-5, [Last Access 21 January 2014] <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/menu-fact.asp>

Although Canada's immigration policy, mainly its points system, has several advantages such as well-defined selection principles, there has been a discussion that mismanagement in the immigration system causes unfavorable situations to immigrants. As an example, it is argued that selection principles do not meet Canada's economic needs and it triggers applicants' several problems regarding integration to the Canadian labor market. It is hard for applicants to find jobs that fit their knowledge and experiences. (Elrick 2007: 6) Thus, although Canadians support the immigration policy of Canada, there is an ongoing debate about immigrants' economic integration capability; that is, the capability to integrate the Canadian labor market. (Challinor 2011)

#### **4.2.2. Citizenship Acquisition in Canada**

According to the Canadian Citizenship Act, a person is a citizen if, for instance, “(a) the person was born in Canada after February 14, 1977; the person has been granted or acquired citizenship pursuant to section 5 or 11 and, in the case of a person who is fourteen years of age or over on the day that he is granted citizenship, he has taken the oath of citizenship.”<sup>12</sup>

Canadian citizenship regulations state several requirements for naturalization. For instance, if anyone decides to become a Canadian citizen the candidates should first determine their eligibility, such as being a Canadian resident for 3 years. Then, they should apply for citizenship, prepare for the citizenship test, and take the test if they are between the ages of 18 and 54. Lastly, candidates should

---

<sup>12</sup> Canada Citizenship Act (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-29), Available online at: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-29/page-2.html#h-3> [Last Access, 21 January 2014].

attend a citizenship ceremony (if they are at the age of 14 or older).<sup>13</sup> Regarding eligibility, for instance, candidates need to be a minimum 18 years to fill the citizenship application and they should become permanent residents in Canada for a minimum of three years (1,095 days). Candidates should also know Canadian “history, values, institutions and symbols.”<sup>14</sup> After processing the application, they take the citizenship tests. In order to prepare for the test, candidates should study Canadian issues such as the responsibilities of Canadian citizens and Canadian Democracy.<sup>15</sup>

Several reforms have been made recently in the Citizenship Act of Canada. According to the Act, “a person is a citizen if the person was born outside Canada to a Canadian parent,” and who made a late registration of birth outside Canada until August 2004.<sup>16</sup> With the reform in April 2009, parents will not be able to pass on their citizenship to children born or adopted outside of Canada if they have also been born outside of Canada. Since 2011, federal, provincial, and territorial programs require “a minimum language threshold and mandatory language testing for low-skilled provincial nominees.”<sup>17</sup> After the recent regulation came into effect in 2012, adult candidates should prove their language ability as well. (OECD 2013: 240)

Most of the immigrants in Canada prefer naturalization right after the three years period of permanent residency, as it is required. Between 2001 and 2006 there was an increase in naturalization where 85.1 percent of immigrants, who were

---

<sup>13</sup> Government of Canada. *Determine Your Eligibility*. Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp>, [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Candidates can be prepared for the test by preparing “free study guide, Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship” which is sent by Canadian authorities after application (it can be downloaded from the web site as well)

[Last Access 2 January 2014] <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/cit-test.asp>

<sup>16</sup> Canada Citizenship Act (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-29), Available online at: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-29/page-2.html#h-3> [Last Access, 21 January 2014].

<sup>17</sup> Government of Canada. *Determine Your Eligibility*. Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp>, [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

eligible for Canadian citizenship application, acquired the Canadian citizenship in 2006. (Challinor 2011) According to most recent available data, more than 26 percent people get Canadian citizenship in 2011 in comparison to 2010. (OECD 2013: 240)

Canada's immigration policy has several characteristics such as well-defined selection principles. However, issues still emerge, such as mismanagement of the immigration system, sometimes causing unfavorable situations to immigrants. For instance, in 2014, the federal government proposed a new Citizenship Act to protect the value of Canadian citizenship. , However, it is unclear whether the new act will have an adverse effect by "making Canadian citizenship harder to get and easier to lose, and creating second-class citizens along the way."<sup>18</sup> It is also argued that the new proposed law can be a "threat that if a naturalized Canadian citizen takes up a job somewhere else (as many Canadians do), or leaves Canada to study abroad (as many Canadians do), the government may move to strip the person of citizenship because they misrepresented their intention to reside in Canada when they were granted citizenship."<sup>19</sup>

#### **4.2.3. Turkish Immigrants in Canada**

After World War II, a variety of Turkish immigrants went to Canada from different regions of Turkey. Between 1960 and 1970, mostly Turkish skilled

---

<sup>18</sup> "Citizenship Act will create two classes of Canadians," <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/citizenship-act-will-create-two-classes-of-canadians/article18778296/> [Last Access, 21 July 2014].

<sup>19</sup> "Citizenship reforms a serious threat to rights of all Canadians," [http://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2014/02/10/citizenship\\_reforms\\_a\\_serious\\_threat\\_to\\_rights\\_of\\_all\\_canadians.html](http://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2014/02/10/citizenship_reforms_a_serious_threat_to_rights_of_all_canadians.html), [Last Access, 21 July 2014].

immigrants came to Canada from the cities in Turkey and during these periods several Turkish students migrated to Canada for education (mostly for engineering and medicine). (Özçürümez 2009: 202) After the 1980s, individuals from rural parts of Turkey (for example, in 1986, a massive migration from Denizli came to Montreal) and asylum seekers from Turkey (mostly because of the political disorder in Turkey caused by military coup and problems in Cyprus) migrated to Canada. (Özçürümez 2009: 202-3)

During these periods, most of them preferred major cities in Canada as many other immigrants and after 1980 immigration flow from Turkey continued from many regions of Turkey. Turkish immigrants settled in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. Since the 1980s, mostly Turkish skilled workers and some business people migrated to Canada with their families. Migration for family reunification, economic migration for job opportunities, and better education for their children were other ways and/or motives for Turkish people to migrate to Canada. (Özçürümez 2009: 204)

Although communities have diverse characteristics in, for instance, secular-religious tendencies, (Özçürümez 2009: 204) to preserve ties with Turkey Turkish immigrants preferred to form several associations in Canada. Some of these associations try to establish folk music and folklore groups as well as to celebrate national days. For example, the Canadian Turkish Friendship Association (Türk Kanada Dostluk Cemiyeti) was established in 1964 and worked until the late 1980s. (Özçürümez 2009: 202) In Montreal, the Association Culturelle Turque du Quebec (Quebec Turk Kültür Derneği) was formed in the late 1970s and is still active in Montreal by preparing community meetings and several other activities such as

participating “in Canada Day parades and Quebec Day parades.” (Özçürümez 2009: 205)

Compared to other communities in Canada (as well as compared to Turkish communities in Europe), the number of Turkish immigrants is very low in Canada in general and in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver in particular. (Özçürümez 2009: 204) Thus, Turkish immigrants are not a visible minority group in Canada as South Asian immigrants (with 24.9 percent of all visible minorities in 2006) and Chinese immigrants (with 24 percent of all visible minorities in 2006).<sup>20</sup> According to Statistics Canada, the total population of Turkish immigrants was 21,580 in 2006. Turkish immigration flow was 8,165 before 1991, 3,755 between 1991 and 1995, 3,315 between 1996 and 2000, and 6,350 between 2001 and 2006.<sup>21</sup> According to more recent results, in 2011, there were 29,640 immigrants in Canada, 7,860 in Toronto, and 4,735 in Montreal whose mother tongue was Turkish (nevertheless, this result might not show the exact number of people of Turkish origin).<sup>22</sup> Lastly, Statistics Canada shows that according to a 2011 survey, there are 15,210 Turkish citizens in Canada (this number also might not show the exact number of people of Turkish origin since, for instance, it does not include refugees from Turkey). Almost half of Turkish Citizens have multiple citizenships with 6,255 Turkish immigrants.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Ontario, Ministry of Finance. *Ethnic Origin and Visible Minorities*. Available online at: <http://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/economy/demographics/census/cenhi06-11.html>, [Last Accessed, 25 January 2014].

<sup>21</sup> Statistics Canada. 2009. *Census of Population: Immigrant population by place of birth and period of immigration*. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo24a-eng.html> [Last Access, 23 January 2014].

<sup>22</sup> Statistics Canada. 2011. *2011 Census*. Available online at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cf8m> [Last Access 23 January 2014]

<sup>23</sup> Statistics Canada. ----. 2012. *2011 National Household Survey: Data Tables*. Available online at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/dt-td/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=107551&PRID=0&PTYPE=105277&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2013&THEME=95&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF>, [Last Access, 23 January 2014].

### **4.3. Migration and Citizenship Acquisition in Germany**

#### **4.3.1. Migration to Germany**

The Second World War caused significant demographic transformations in Germany. It forced around 8 million people to move from Western occupied regions and almost 3.6 million people to move from the Soviet occupied regions. (Kaya 2009: 40) In the following years, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG-West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR-East Germany) were established and they experienced a great migration flow from East to West. (Kaya 2009: 40) Since the 1950s, especially after the post-war era, the need for labor was increased in the FRG and Berlin Wall blocked labor migration in 1961. As a result, the FRG searched for foreign people as guest workers; from 1955 to 1968 several agreements “with eight Mediterranean countries: first Italy (1955), then Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961 and 1964), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968)” (Kaya 2009: 40) were signed. Later, during the 1990s, ethnic Germans migrated further to Germany from the former Soviet Union. After the Law on Resolving Long-term Effects of World War II came to effect in 1993, the migration flow of ethnic Germans to the FRG was restricted to 225,000 people per year and in 2000 the quota lowered to 103,000 people per year. (Kaya 2009: 40) Nevertheless, since 2000, German political leaders have argued that Germany is not a receiving country or not a country of immigration. (Joppke 1999b: 62; Kaya 2005: 219)

Since 2000, Germany made reforms in the immigration policy for better migration management. (Hailbronner 2012: 8) The new citizenship law in 2000 and

the Immigration Act in 2005 affected the immigration policy of Germany. (Hailbronner 2012: 8) For instance, with the National Act 2000, foreigners are allowed to receive the German citizenship “after eight years of lawful residence (instead of the earlier 15 years)” (Süssmuth 2009: 2) and 20,000 temporary visas quota were devoted to IT specialists by creating an exception (since Germany closed its doors to foreign labor since 1973). The Immigration Act in 2005 affects asylum rights of foreigners, integration course regulations, foreign labor, and residence regulations. For instance, in 2005, “federally regulated and funded integration courses for adult immigrants were created.” (Süssmuth 2009: 2) By introducing integration contracts, changes in the Transportation Law of 2007 affected immigration policy as well. These contracts make integration courses mandatory for immigrants who get social security. Furthermore, it becomes easier for business immigrants to receive a visa. Since 2009, it was accepted that “third-country national academics may be employed in Germany if no qualified German or EU citizen applies for the job.” (Süssmuth 2009: 3)

In the last century, migration to Germany continues to increase mostly from European Union countries mainly due to economic migration. The migration flow, in 2011, increased 23 percent from the previous year. Recently, about 60 percent of permanent immigrants come from European Union countries.<sup>24</sup> In 2008, almost half of the immigrants were economic immigrants. Economic migration increased since 2009, mostly coming from new EU member countries and since August 2012 it expanded as a result of introducing the EU Blue Card. The EU Blue Card allows, for

---

<sup>24</sup> Federal Statistical Office of Germany. 2013. *Year Book 2012: Extract of Statistical Yearbook*, (English version of the chapter as “Population, families, living arrangements”), Available online at: [https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook\\_Chapter2\\_5011001129004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook_Chapter2_5011001129004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile), [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 20.

instance, “a renewable permit to tertiary-educated workers earning at least 46,400 Euros gross per year (or above 36,200 Euros for certain shortage occupations).” Another program related to migration flow aims to support the economic migration of young people between the ages of 18 and 35 who want to receive career training or who are skilled workers in EU countries but continue to work in Germany as skilled workers. (OECD 2013: 254)

The economic category includes international student migration and international education is a profitable business for several industrialized countries. Governments see students as skilled immigrants to employ. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries try to change their policies for, for instance, allowing students to migrate and to receive worker status easily. (Hawthorne 2008: 1) In order to attract international students, Germany made amendments in their immigration policies by charging “negligible fees to international students at any enrollment level.” (Hawthorne 2008: 14)

Most of the immigrants prefer to settle in big cities, especially Berlin, which is the largest city in Germany (according to the 2010 data).<sup>25</sup> In 2011, the population of Berlin was 3,501,872 and its population has continuously increased since 2005. In 2011, 478,212 immigrants settled in Berlin and most of them Turkish (22.3 percent) and Polish (8.6 percent) citizens.<sup>26</sup>

According to German immigration rules and regulations, foreigners who have an accepted and valid passport or a substitute are able to migrate and live in

---

<sup>25</sup> Federal Statistical Office of Germany. 2013. *Year Book 2012: Extract of Statistical Yearbook*, (English version of the chapter as “Population, families, living arrangements”), Available online at: [https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook\\_Chapter2\\_501100112\\_9004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook_Chapter2_501100112_9004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile), [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg eds. 2012. *Statistics, Berlin Brandenburg: Die Kleine Berlin Statistics, 2012*. Berlin: H and P-Druck, Available online at: [http://www.fulbright.de/fileadmin/files/togermany/grants/gss/2013/2\\_Berlin\\_Statistic\\_2012\\_-\\_Amt\\_fuer\\_Statistik\\_Berlin\\_Brandenburg.pdf](http://www.fulbright.de/fileadmin/files/togermany/grants/gss/2013/2_Berlin_Statistic_2012_-_Amt_fuer_Statistik_Berlin_Brandenburg.pdf), [Last Access: 1 May 2014].

Germany. They should also receive a visa, (temporary) residence permit, or a (permanent) settlement permit. Recently, Germany allows some countries to get long-term residence permit; this kind of visa is controlled in accordance with European Union law. For instance, resident permit candidates must fulfill several requirements such as having sufficient incomes for sustaining themselves (being able to pay living expenses) or having health insurance.<sup>27</sup> Citizens of the EU do not need to receive a work permit unless they are citizens of Romania and Bulgaria.<sup>28</sup> High skilled candidates from non-EU countries, on the other hand, might receive residence permit for working in Germany only if it is essential by legal instrument or there is an intergovernmental agreement between Germany and their home countries. After five years, high skilled immigrants with a residence permit (temporary residence permit) may earn the right to have permanent residence (permanent settlement permit) if they fulfill some requirements such as continuing to work in Germany.<sup>29</sup>

According to official statements, receiving a residence permit is facilitated for academics and self-employed immigrants. If senior academics and top-level managers have a job offer in Germany and if the position satisfies several criteria described in German law, then they may receive working permission “without having to determine whether German candidates are available.”<sup>30</sup> Similarly, after graduation, foreign students might continue to stay in Germany by working in the

---

<sup>27</sup> Federal Ministry of the Interior. 2011. *Migration and Integration: Residence Law and Policy on Migration and Integration in Germany*. Available online at: [http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration\\_und\\_Integration\\_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296](http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration_und_Integration_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296) [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 121.

<sup>28</sup> [Last access 25 December 2013] [http://www.arbeitsagentur.de/nn\\_426134/EN/zentraler-Content/Arbeiten/Arbeit-in-Deutschland-EN.html](http://www.arbeitsagentur.de/nn_426134/EN/zentraler-Content/Arbeiten/Arbeit-in-Deutschland-EN.html)

<sup>29</sup> Federal Ministry of the Interior. 2011. *Migration and Integration: Residence Law and Policy on Migration and Integration in Germany*. Available online at: [http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration\\_und\\_Integration\\_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296](http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration_und_Integration_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296) [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 121.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 122.

country, which suits their education. Those who graduate from German universities may be hired without verifying whether there are German or EU citizens who equally qualify for the job.<sup>31</sup> Lastly, foreign entrepreneurs may obtain a residence permit from Germany easily if they provide minimum €250,000 and recruit a minimum five persons.<sup>32</sup>

As an example of the recent debates about Germany's immigration policy, Germany is criticized by being apathetic toward several conflicts such as providing equality for third-country nationals and creating contemporary labor migration regulations to meet the recent needs in immigration management. (Süssmuth 2009: 1) Regarding the issue of equality, it is argued that in order to provide similar rights to third-country nationals the German government should focus on the increase of conflict in society by making reforms in its "dual citizenship, education, and local voting-rights policies." (Süssmuth 2009: 3)

#### **4.3.2. Citizenship Acquisition in Germany**

According to the German constitution, the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) identifies two types of rights that are general and reserved. General rights are related to everyone in Germany, but reserved rights apply to only German citizens. Some of the general rights include freedom of expression and conscience, and reserved rights involve freedom of movement and occupation. The Basic Law does not directly determine citizenship policies; but, for instance, Article 116 involves the meaning of refugees. (Kaya 2009: 45)

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p.124.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 123.

The Nationality Act of 22 July 1913 regulates German Citizenship. According to its recent version (in 2012), German citizenship can be acquired in several ways such as by birth, by a declaration (such as naturalization), by adoption, and by naturalization.<sup>33</sup> The Section 12 (1) of the Nationality Act (Section 12 (1)) states that immigrants should renounce their previous citizenship if they want to receive a German citizenship (some exceptions are provided to citizens of other European Union countries and Switzerland or to person who “is unable to give up his or her previous citizenship, or can do so only under very difficult conditions...”).<sup>34</sup>

Several changes have been made in the citizenship act of 1913. Changes in immigration regulations also caused modification in the National Act. For instance, with amendments in 1990 (*Ausländergesetz*), people gain the right to become citizens of Germany through naturalization. (Hailbronner 2012: 22) More importantly before January of 2000, German citizenship acquisition through naturalization was not a rule but an exception and this situation was one of the principal features of the Nationality Act. Accepting the *jus soli* principle was one of the most important innovations of the 2000 reform in the Nationality Law. (Hailbronner 2012: 15) Before the new law in 2000, applicants should show an “‘identification with German culture’ (*Bekanntnis zum deutschen Kulturkreis*), a condition which could not be fulfilled if the applicant was actively involved in an ethnic association.” (Kaya 2009: 47) With the new law, applicants do not need to have ethnic connection, but they must fulfill several criteria such language criteria

---

<sup>33</sup> German Nationality Act (*Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* (StAG)), Available online at: [http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Gesetzestexte/Staatsangehoerigkeitsgesetz\\_eng\\_lisch.html](http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Gesetzestexte/Staatsangehoerigkeitsgesetz_eng_lisch.html), [Last Access, 13 January 2014].

<sup>34</sup> Federal Ministry of the Interior. 2011. *Migration and Integration: Residence Law and Policy on Migration and Integration in Germany*. Available online at: [http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration\\_und\\_Integration\\_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296](http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration_und_Integration_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296) [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 134.

(either by going to a German school for a minimum of four years or a German language school to get a certificate). (Kaya 2009: 45) Thus, the 2000 reform was a step toward less restrictive rules and regulations of naturalization. (Horváth and Rubio-Marín 2010: 83) As a result of the regulations in 2000, the principle of *jus sanguinis* (ethnic bond-right of blood) partially changed and German citizenship acquisition through being born in Germany (*jus soli*-right of the soil) became possible. (Kaya 2009: 47) The 2000 reform transformed the perception of receiving the German citizenship, thus naturalization is accepted as something good for the public interest other than an inevitable fact. It also changed the perception of immigration in Germany and the Guest workers hired in 1970s have not been considered as guests anymore (they might not go back to their homeland). (Hailbronner 2012: 17) Further changes were made with the Immigration Act of 2004. The act affected the citizenship policy of Germany by making satisfactory German knowledge one of the requirements to receive a German citizenship. (Hailbronner 2012: 16)

Since 2008 many naturalization requirements were introduced. For instance after 2008, success in testing (which aims to see whether candidates are familiar with, for instance, the German legal system and German society) became one of the requirements for naturalization.<sup>35</sup> Other recent changes are an examination at the end of an orientation course since 2009 and an increase in the hours of training during the orientation course (from 45 to 60 hours) since 2012.<sup>36</sup> According to the most recent version (December 2013) of the National Act, foreigners gain the right to acquire the German citizenship after they reside eight years (rather than fifteen

---

<sup>35</sup> Federal Ministry of the Interior. 2011. *Migration and Integration: Residence Law and Policy on Migration and Integration in Germany*. Available online at: [http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration\\_und\\_Integration\\_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296](http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration_und_Integration_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296) [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 135.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 79.

years) in Germany and after they complete many other conditions. Some of these conditions include having sufficient incomes for sustaining themselves, having sufficient knowledge of German language, and “a clean record and commitment to the tenets of the Basic Law (Constitution).”<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, in 2012, after around 15.3 years of residence, immigrants are receiving the German citizenship. This shows that even if eight years of residency is needed for naturalization according to the Act, the other requirements cause people several difficulties on the way of citizenship acquisition. (Hailbronner 2012: 21)

The number of people that obtained a German citizenship varied between 1990 and 2012. As a result of changes in the German Aliens Act in 1990, which caused people to gain the right to naturalization, the citizenship acquisition rate has increased continuously from the mid-1990s to 1998. (Hailbronner 2012: 22) After changes in the National Act in 2000, the number of immigrants’ citizenship acquisition has increased almost 30 percent from 1999. (Kaya 2009: 49) A decrease in naturalization was seen both in 2003 and in 2010. (Hailbronner 2012: 21)

For several reasons, the number of citizenship acquisition in Germany has continuously decreased. An important reason in the decline in the number of naturalization is dual nationality. In 2000, there was 20 percent decrease in the number of Turkish immigrants obtaining citizenship and continued to fall in 2001. (Kaya 2009: 48) The decrease is a result of Turkish immigrants’ demand for a more democratic citizenship law and permit for dual citizenship. (Kaya 2009: 49) In Germany, Turkish citizens have been naturalized through a criticized process. Turkish citizens had a silent agreement with Turkish government. They first must

---

<sup>37</sup> Federal Foreign Office of Germany. *Law on Nationality*. [http://www.auswaertigesamt.de/EN/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Staatsangehoerigkeitsrecht\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertigesamt.de/EN/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Staatsangehoerigkeitsrecht_node.html), [Last Access, 25 December 2013].

renounced from Turkish citizenship and obtain the German citizenship. Right after they became German citizens, they reacquire the Turkish citizenship. This extraordinary legal condition became possible after “the provision according to the nationality law valid until the end of 1999 whereby the German nationality was not lost as a result of the voluntary acquisition of a foreign nationality if the German national’s permanent residence remained in Germany.” (Hailbronner 2012: 22) This gap in German law was changed by making the nationality law reform of 1999/2000 (even if the candidates live in Germany, after any voluntary naturalization people will lose German nationality). As a result many people have lost their German citizenship. Since many Turkish citizens and even Turkish authorities did not notice such a legal reform, around 40,000 Turkish citizens lost German citizenship in 2001. (Hailbronner 2012: 23)

Main discussions on German citizenship relate to the issue of dual nationality. (Hailbronner 2012: 8) Especially after 2007, the rise in recognition of dual nationality in the Nationality Law and simplifying the German citizenship acquisition through naturalization caused heated debates. The problem was simplifying naturalization of foreigners hired as guest workers and their second and third generation relatives. More importantly, the debates are regarding the requirements for German citizenship acquisition. How much German language knowledge could be enough for a foreigner to become a German citizen? How much should a candidate know about the fundamental points of the German constitution and political system? (Hailbronner 2012: 18) Lastly, a very recent discussion started after the amendment to the dual nationality regulations of Germany. The lower house of parliament of Germany accepted a new citizenship law on July 3rd, 2014, which aims to ease some of restrictive rules, “to allow young Germans of foreign

origin to hold two passports - a move that benefits the large Turkish community.”<sup>38</sup> Before the amendment, children of immigrants who came from non-EU countries had to make a choice “between German citizenship or that of their parents’ country of origin.”<sup>39</sup> With the amendment, youth are allowed to have two passports “if, at the age of 21, they can prove they have lived in Germany for at least eight years or have gone to school in the country for six years and gained school-leaving qualifications.”<sup>40</sup> However, the new law has been criticized by Turkish community leaders since it does not include older people “many of whom have spent decades in Germany.”<sup>41</sup>

#### **4.3.3. Turkish Immigrants in Germany**

After World War II, Turkish unskilled workers moved to Germany and mostly did not return to Turkey. With the labor agreement in 1961, Turkey started to send male workers to Germany to support the German economy with temporary unskilled workers and solve unemployment in Turkey. (Kirişçi 2003) The number of Turkish immigrants increased in the FRG from 6,700 to 605,000, in 1973. (Kaya 2009: 42) Between 1961 and 1973, the number of Turkish workers increased to almost one million in the country (where 2.6 million foreign workers settled since 1973). In the beginning of the 1970s, an economic decline caused Germany to discontinue the receiving of foreign labor and to assume Turkish workers were

---

<sup>38</sup> “Germany moves to allow dual citizenship,” <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/justice-home-affairs/germany-moves-allow-dual-citizenship-303292>, [Last Access, 21 July 2014].

<sup>39</sup> “Germany moves to allow dual citizenship,” <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/justice-home-affairs/germany-moves-allow-dual-citizenship-303292>, [Last Access, 21 July 2014].

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

going back to Turkey. However, Turkish immigrants generally preferred to stay in Germany. Although the German government followed several tactics (such as cash bonuses for Turkish immigrants to return), those tactics were not successful in the changing minds of Turkish immigrants. Besides, Turkish authorities did not resist this decision of Turkish immigrants mostly because of recession in Turkey. (Verdugo and Mueller 2009: 5)

The number of the Turkish population continued to increase with family reunification (spouses and children mostly) and marrying from Turkey, (Verdugo and Mueller 2009: 5) high skilled immigrants, and Turkish students. At the end of 2002, it was estimated that there were almost 7.34 million migrants in Germany and around 2 million of them of Turkish origin. (Yurdakul 2006: 439) More recently, Germany has a population of 82.4 million and the population includes one of the greatest Muslim minorities (up to 3.4 million) in West Europe. Around 3 million people (almost 3.5 percent of population in Germany) are from Turkey “and/or their descendants, who are more than a third of the country’s 7.3 million foreigners.” (Kaya 2009: 39) According to the 2010 yearbook, 11.5 percent of the population has an immigration background.<sup>42</sup> The general foreign population in Germany was 1,607,161 in 2010.<sup>43</sup> In the same year, 26,951 Turkish immigrants moved to Germany<sup>44</sup> and 26,220 Turkish citizens received a German citizenship.<sup>45</sup>

Immigrants, in general, and Turkish immigrants, in particular, have settled in and created new lives in major metropolitan areas such as Frankfurt, Berlin, and

---

<sup>42</sup> Federal Statistical Office of Germany. 2013. *Year Book 2012: Extract of Statistical Yearbook*, (English version of the chapter as “Population, families, living arrangements”), Available online at:

[https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook\\_Chapter2\\_501100112\\_9004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook_Chapter2_501100112_9004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile), [Last Access, 2 January 2014], p. 21.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. p. 22

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. p. 28

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 24

Munich. (Verdugo and Mueller 2009: 5) The Turkish population in Germany can be categorized with some characteristics such as “ethnic lines (Turks, Kurds, Armenians, Assyrians), class, urban or rural origin, religion (Sunni, Alevi, Shiite), degree of modernity and religiosity (secularists and Muslims), and political status (German citizens and non- citizens).” (Kaya 2009: 39) They have built several places in metropolitan areas such as “Turkish cultural institutions, mosques, teahouses, restaurants, and businesses.” (Ehrkamp 2005: 345) Moreover, they have established several immigrant associations in line with their political and/or religiosity differences such as *Türkischer Bund Berlin Brandenburg* (Berlin-Brandenburg Turkish Federation, or the TBB, a secularist association), and the *Türkische Gemeinde zu Berlin* (Berlin Turkish Community, or the *Cemaat*, a religious association). (Yurdakul 2006: 436)

#### **4.4. Conclusions**

As the chapter shows, global economic changes and new economic needs force Canada and Germany to reconsider their immigration policies. To improve management in migration and citizenship acquisition, both Canada and Germany introduced new immigration policies in early 2000s and several amendments followed these policy reforms. Canada, for instance, puts into effect a new immigration policy (the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)) in 2001. With this new policy, candidates can receive permanent residency in accordance to landing classes that consists of economic class (i.e., skilled workers), family class (i.e., partners and children), and protected persons/refugee class. Since the 2000

reforms and amendments were made in the citizenship and immigration law of Germany, it affected the general immigration policy of the country. The National Act legislated in 2000 allows immigrants to obtain the German citizenship eight years after they legally reside in Germany. Similarly, reforms made in 2005, 2007, and 2009 seem to facilitate the ways that immigrants should follow and to attract some kind of immigrants, meaning, labor migration.

Although global economic developments and new economic needs force Canada and Germany to reconsider their citizenship and immigration policies, German immigration policy remains restrictive, especially toward third-country nationals, while Canada's immigration policy is more inclusive. Canada's immigration policy is more inclusive by providing almost the same opportunities for candidates from every country, although it may cause unfavorable situations to immigrants (such as being unable to find a proper job in Canada) after their acceptance. The German immigration policy is restricted especially toward third-country nationals with its exclusivist and conditional regulations (such as allowing third-country national academics to be employed in Germany only if there are no qualified German or EU citizen that apply to the position).

In Canada, changes in the Citizenship Act in 2009, 2011, and 2012 may be seen as a step toward a 'harder' citizenship acquisition policy. For instance, with the reform of April 2009, parents are not allowed to pass on their citizenship to children born or adopted outside of Canada if they themselves are born in another country.<sup>46</sup> However, Canada still has an inclusive naturalization policy and there has been an increase in naturalization since the 2001 census. (Challinor 2011) On the other hand, with the new citizenship act introduced in 2000, German citizenship

---

<sup>46</sup> [Last Access 2 January 2014] <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp>

acquisition through naturalization became a rule instead of an exception. Since the *jus soli* principle was accepted, candidates do not need to have an ethnic bond with Germany for naturalization. (Kaya 2009: 45) However, the German citizenship act still seems to be restrictive. Although there was an increase in the year 2000 in the number of naturalized immigrants, a decrease in naturalization was seen in 2003 and 2010. (Hailbronner 2012: 21) Due to several reasons, the number of naturalized persons in Germany has continuously declined, which may mean that even if immigrants can acquire German citizenship after eight years of residency, the other requirements make it harder.

Canada's citizenship acquisition process is straightforward while Germany's citizenship acquisition process is complex in nature. Canada has "a modest residency requirement (three years), a language test, and a (simple) test of knowledge of Canadian history and institutions." (Kymlicka 2003a: 197) Contrary to many European countries, its naturalization requirements are fairly straightforward and less challenging. (Özçürümez 2009: 200-1) For instance, in Canada, candidates who want to pursue the Canadian citizenship should first determine their eligibility. The Canadian eligibility criteria are easier than Germany's. Candidates who live in Canada for 3 years are eligible for a citizenship application, but need 8 years for Germany.

Moreover, Canada has Multiculturalism Act (such as supporting language courses on immigrants' native language) and allows dual citizenship. However, dual citizenship is forbidden in Germany although this regulation is not applied to, for instance, citizens of European Union countries. Naturalization in Germany is very hard for third-country nationals and there is an inequality in the issue of dual

citizenship. Generally, third-country nationals should renounce their nationalities to acquire a German citizenship.

In the 2000s, there is an increase in the immigration flow to Canada and Germany with a strong difference in their immigration policies; their restricted versus inclusive immigration policy traditions caused differences. Even if the number of immigrants in Canada from several countries per year is small, it has a cumulative effect on Canada's overall population. As result of the migration flow to Canada, in 2011 almost one of five Canadians is foreign-born. Similarly, in the 2000s there is an increase in the immigration flow to Germany, but this flow is mainly from the EU countries to Germany. Especially in 2011, almost 60 percent of immigrants come from the EU. This situation might be considered reasonable when the German immigration policy (positively discriminated the EU citizens) is considered. Additionally, in the last century, as many other OECD countries, both Canada and Germany prefer economic immigrants and try to attract high skilled immigrants as well as international students. However, according to the most recent available data between 2004 and 2009 and in 2010, the number of international students in Germany (average 2004-2009 as 179000 and in 2010 as 181200) are almost double than those in Canada (average in 2004-2009 as 82600 and in 2010 as 95600) (OECD 2013: 34). Additionally, in 2008, almost half of the immigrants in Germany are economic immigrants. Economic migration to Germany increased since 2009, however, with mostly immigrants coming from new EU member countries. Since August 2012, it has further increased as a result of introducing the EU Blue Card. Germany tries to also support the economic migration of young people between the ages of 18 and 35 from EU countries and charges lower fees to international students in order to attract them as well.

Although international students from all over the world may prefer Germany, the country embraces high skilled immigrants mostly from the EU; Canada, on the other hand, allows high skilled immigrants who can fulfill its requirements to come to the country from all over the world. Almost 60 percent of immigrants came to Canada by using the economic category. For this reason, Canada tries to manage the economic migration flow efficiently by creating several programs such as the Temporary Worker Program and the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP).

A variety of Turkish immigrants in Canada and Germany, especially after World War II, went to both Canada and Germany from different regions of Turkey. Between 1960 and 1970, mostly Turkish skilled immigrants migrated to Canada from cities of Turkey, but Turkish unskilled workers moved to Germany. Additionally, during these periods Turkish students migrated to Canada for education. After the 1980s, individuals from rural parts of Turkey and asylum seekers from Turkey migrated to Canada. Especially in the 2000s, the number of Turkish immigrants in Canada increased due to mostly economic migration. Similarly, the number of Turkish population in Germany increased with family reunification, marrying from Turkey (not so common in Canada), high skilled immigrants, and Turkish students.

Both in Germany and Canada, Turkish immigrants mostly preferred to live in cities. Turkish immigrants in Canada settled in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver and Turkish immigrants in Germany settled in major metropolitan areas such as Frankfurt, Berlin, and Munich. Turkish immigrants both in Germany and Canada have diverse characteristics and try to preserve ties with Turkey by forming several associations in these host countries.

The number of Turkish immigrants is very low in Canada in general and it seems that Turkish immigrants are not a visible minority group in Canada, while around 3 million people (almost 3.5 percent of the population in Germany) are from Turkey. In Canada, the total population of Turkish immigrants was 21,580 in 2006. More recently, the mother tongue of 29,640 immigrants in Canada is Turkish and Canadian statistics shows that there are 15,210 Turkish citizens living in the country. Almost half of them have multiple citizenships (6,255 Turkish immigrants). In Germany, on the other hand, only 26,220 Turkish citizens received the German citizenship in 2010.

Finally, the recent Turkish immigration flow toward Germany and Canada has very different characteristics. Despite the inclusive immigration policy and multiculturalist citizenship tradition, the number of Turkish immigrants in Canada is very low. In 2010 26,951 Turkish immigrants moved to Germany, but in 2006 around 6,350 Turkish immigrants moved to Canada. In the next chapters, the qualitative data will be analyzed to generate insights about the reasons why HSBTI decide to move Canada or Germany.

**CHAPTER V:**

**FINDINGS FROM**

**FIELD RESEARCH CONDUCTED IN CANADA AND**

**GERMANY**

This chapter presents the data collected through interviews with HSBTI. It describes the answers drawn from in-depth interviews, by focusing on the tree and free nodes that are stated in Chapter 3. It first discusses the descriptive statistics of the research conducted in Canada and Germany. Secondly, it delves into the details of the interviews. Then it summarizes the results of the case studies in tables and figures. Based on interview results, summary statistics are provided in order to reveal the most repeated answers given by HSBTI interviewees in Canada and Germany.

### **5.1. Descriptive Results of the Field Research in Canada and Germany**

First of all, some of the characteristics of the data –which is mainly qualitative, are analyzed using SPSS (predictive analysis software) in order to generate demographic details and descriptive results. These characteristics are “occupation, age, citizenship status, gender, city of origin (Turkish city of origin before migration to Canada), city live in (in Canada), marital status, native language, and migration type.”

Then, meeting the goal, the number of female and male HSBTI interviewees in Canada and Germany (38 female and 40 male interviewees in Canada and 28 female and 32 male in Germany) are almost equal. Different from Germany, of the HSBTI, 29.5 percent are between the ages of 20 and 34, 65.4 percent are between the ages of 35 and 50, and 5.1 percent are between 51 and 65+ years in Canada. Most of the interviewees belong to the second age category, which is between 35 and 50 years of age. This result indicates that most participants do not migrate to Canada at very early ages. In Germany, on the other hand, interviewees between the ages of 20 and 34 make up 85 percent of the interviewees and 15 percent are between the ages of 35 and 50. There are no participants within the age range between 51 and 65+. This situation might indicate that interviewees in Germany prefer to migrate at early ages, unlike interviewees in Canada and it is related to occupation results.

When the focus is on interviewees’ occupational differences, it is found that 66.4 percent of HSBTI have qualified jobs (although most of them state that they worked lower positions than while living in Turkey) in Canada. Students comprise of 10.3 percent of the interviewees; 9 percent of the HSBTI do not work (not

searching for a job); and 6.4 percent of the interviewees are unemployed. Of the HSBTI, 7.7 percent work in non-qualified jobs. Most of these migrants are migrated as highly qualified (93.6 percent) and 6.4 percent of them as business migrants.

**Table-3 Summary Statistics of HSBTI Occupations in Canada**

|         |                                  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---------|----------------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid   | Student/ Assistant               | 8         | 1,6     | 10,3          | 10,3               |
|         | IT Specialist                    | 7         | 1,4     | 9,0           | 19,2               |
|         | Trade                            | 5         | 1,0     | 6,4           | 25,6               |
|         | Non-Qualified Jobs               | 6         | 1,2     | 7,7           | 33,3               |
|         | Bank Employer                    | 11        | 2,2     | 14,1          | 47,4               |
|         | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | 28        | 5,7     | 35,9          | 83,3               |
|         | Searching For a Job (Unemployed) | 6         | 1,2     | 7,7           | 91,0               |
|         | Economically Inactive            | 7         | 1,4     | 9,0           | 100,0              |
|         | Total                            | 78        | 15,8    | 100,0         |                    |
| Missing | System                           | 416       | 84,2    |               |                    |
| Total   |                                  | 494       | 100,0   |               |                    |

Source: The Table is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

Of the HSBTI interviewed, 98.3 percent are high-qualified migrants and 1.7 percent of them are business migrants in Germany. However, students earning a PhD or Master and/or research assistants (some of them work outside of their universities) make up 45 percent of the interviewees. “Trade” stated as their jobs in Germany in 8 percent of the interviewees. Of the remaining interviewees, 3.3 percent work at non-qualified jobs; 36,7 percent have other qualified jobs than, for instance, bank employer or IT specialist such as working as an architect; and 6,7 percent were searching for a job.

**Table-4 Summary Statistics of HSBTI Occupations in Germany**

|       |                                  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------|----------------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | Student/ Assistant               | 28        | 46,7    | 46,7          | 46,7               |
|       | Trade                            | 5         | 8,3     | 8,3           | 55,0               |
|       | Non-Qualified Jobs               | 2         | 3,3     | 3,3           | 58,3               |
|       | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | 20        | 33,3    | 33,3          | 91,7               |
|       | Searching for a Job (Unemployed) | 4         | 6,7     | 6,7           | 98,3               |
|       | Economically Inactive            | 1         | 1,7     | 1,7           | 100,0              |
|       | Total                            | 60        | 100,0   | 100,0         |                    |

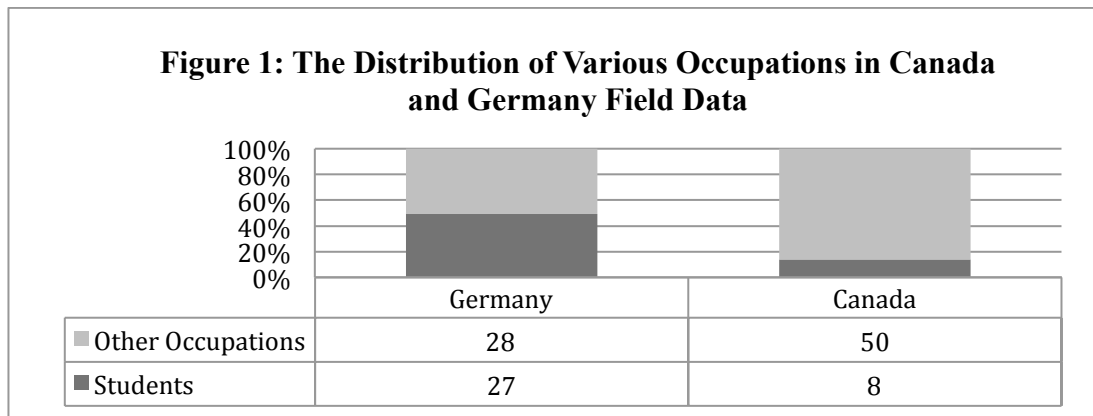
Source: The Table is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

The study supports other empirical results such the ones reached by the OECD. As the OECD data shows (between 2004 and 2009 and in 2010), the number of international students in Germany is almost double the ones in Canada<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, figure 1 shows that in contrast to Canada, almost half of the interviewees were students (MA, PhD or Post-Doc) in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> OECD .2013. *International Migration Outlook 2013*, OECD Publishing, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> As a note, this situation is not a problem for comparability since the Canada case and Germany case are chosen as most-similar cases. While similarities are considered, differences are also mentioned. Migration in ten years, country origin Turkey, and high skilled and business migrants are constant factors. While having these constant factors, taking a closer look to Canada and Germany, participants' profile result in various jobs in Canada and a small number of students; whereas for Germany, there is still a variance on jobs but a high number of students. Finally, having students in cases is not a problem for the research question. The reason is that, as mentioned in the first chapter, the aim of the study is not finding out the percentage of ability of getting citizenship but trying to understand are potential reasons for deciding to apply for citizenship. Therefore, students are eligible for future citizenship applications (although there are different requirements for citizenship in Canada and Germany) and it is convenient to include them in this study.

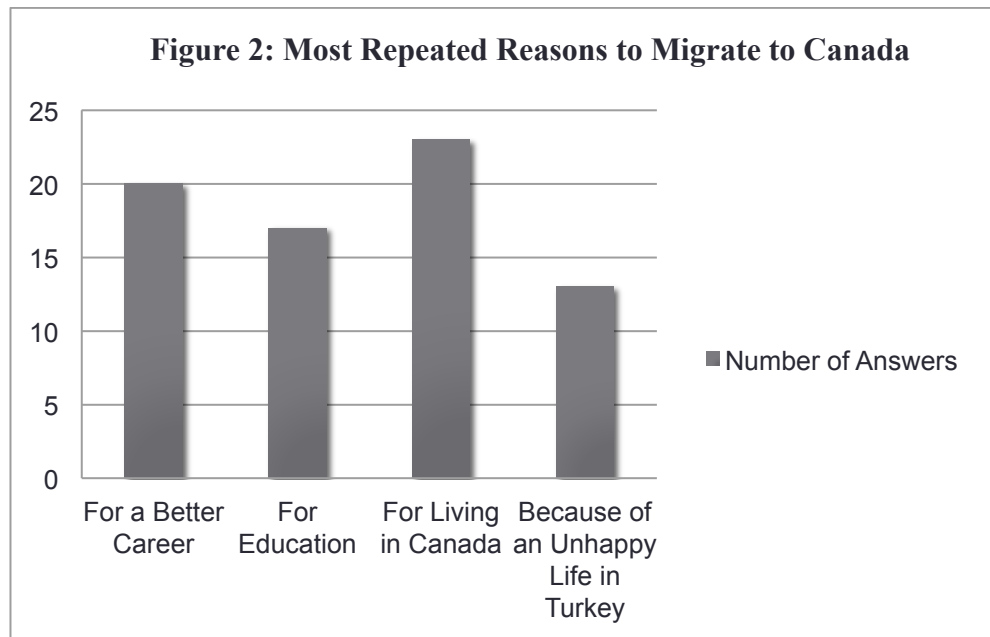


Source: The Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

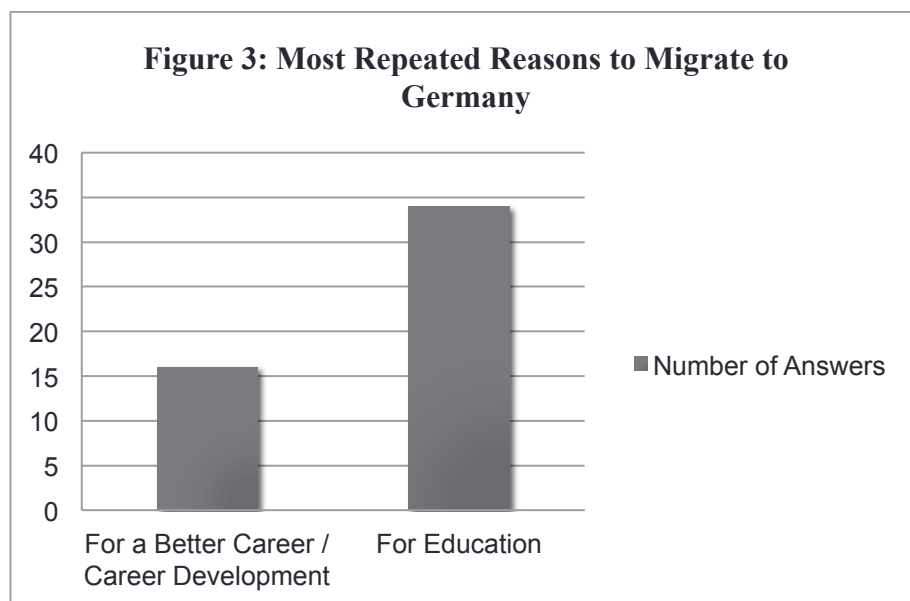
The study suggests that one of the most important reasons for HSBTI interviewees to migrate to Canada and Germany is acquiring more education. However, it is harder for migrants to move to Canada for education than to Germany. Figures 2 and 3 show the following most repeated reasons for migrating to Canada:

- 1) for a better career (20 interviewees),
- 2) their education (17 interviewees),
- 3) living there (23 interviewees),
- 4) unhappy life in Turkey (13 interviewees).

The top two most common reasons to migrate to Canada and Germany are the same. HSBTI interviewees state that they migrate to Canada and Germany for a better career (economic reasons) (20 from Canada and 16 from Germany), and for education (social reasons) (17 from Canada and 34 from Germany).



Source: Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.



Source: Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

However, answers of HSBTI interviewees from Germany suggest that it is harder for migrants to move to Canada for education and for high skilled immigrants other than students to migrate to Germany. Students give various reasons to go for preferring Germany over Canada, such as scholarship opportunities and

geographical proximity. HSBTI find Germany more affordable than other European countries and the USA. For these reasons, they prefer Germany as their host country. More specifically, lower rents and low university expenses such as the lack of tuition fees make the country more desirable for them.

The descriptive analysis shows that in Canada most of the interviewees are married (64.1 percent) and mostly regard Turkish as their native language; only one interviewee's native language is Kurdish and the other's native language is Laz. In Germany, on the other hand, the number of married interviewees is lower than in Canada. The number of single and married interviewees is almost equal in Germany, at 48.3 percent single and 51.7 percent married. In addition, just like HSBTI in Canada, 95 percent of the participants specify Turkish as their native language. Kurdish is the native language of 5 percent of the participants.

Regarding location, in Canada, 37.2 percent of the interviewees live in Montreal, Quebec and 62.9 percent live in Ontario (46.2 percent are from Toronto and 16.7 percent from Ottawa). HSBTI interviewees in Canada mostly migrated from major cities: 68.9 percent from İstanbul, 12.2 percent from Ankara, 8.1 percent from İzmir, and 10.8 percent from other cities. In the host country, 70 percent of the interviewees live in Berlin, 11,7 percent live in Dresden, 3.3 percent are from Braunschweig, and 15 percent live in several cities such as Köln and Stuttgart. Similar to the HSBTI in Canada, these migrants mostly migrated from major cities in Turkey. Those from İstanbul include 21.7 percent, 25 percent from Ankara, 16.7 percent from İzmir, and 36.7 percent of interviewees from other cities.

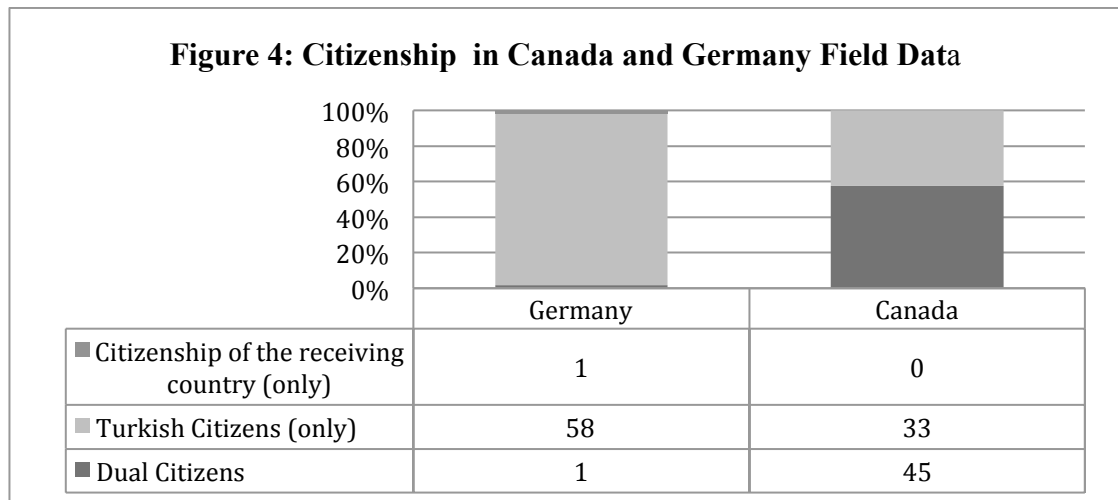
When the descriptive characters of citizenship status, gender, and accomodation are compared for HSBTI in Canada (see Table 2), most of the Turkish female and male interviewees in the Montreal data are Turkish citizens. However, it

is the opposite case in Toronto; the numbers of Turkish migrants who are only Turkish citizens or dual citizens are almost equal. This may be because the number of student interviewees are high in Montreal. According to the Germany case data, 96.7 percent of the participants were Turkish citizens. Only 1.7 percent is German citizens and 1.7 percent claimed that they had dual citizenship, largely because Germany does not allow dual citizenship for most of its Turkish immigrants.

| <b>Table-5 Citizenship Status/Gender/Accommodation Comparison</b> |                    |                               |        |        |       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| Accommodation in Canada                                           |                    |                               | Gender |        |       |
|                                                                   |                    |                               | Male   | Female | Total |
| Montreal (Quebec)                                                 | Citizenship Status | Turkish Citizen only          | 12     | 9      | 21    |
|                                                                   |                    | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | 4      | 4      | 8     |
|                                                                   |                    | Total                         | 16     | 13     | 29    |
| Toronto (Ontario)                                                 | Citizenship Status | Turkish Citizen only          | 4      | 2      | 6     |
|                                                                   |                    | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | 16     | 14     | 30    |
|                                                                   |                    | Total                         | 20     | 16     | 36    |
| Ottawa (Ontario)                                                  | Citizenship Status | Turkish Citizen only          | 2      | 4      | 6     |
|                                                                   |                    | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | 2      | 5      | 7     |
|                                                                   |                    | Total                         | 4      | 9      | 13    |

Source: The Table is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

As shown in Figure 4, 47 out of 138 interviewees hold dual citizenship or a non-Turkish citizenship . There are many other interviewees who are waiting for the results of their citizenship applications and many others decided to pursue the citizenship application when they qualify for it.



Source: Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

## 5.2. Descriptive Details of Interview Results

### 5.2.1. Reasons to migrate to Canada and Germany

The research shows that interviewees decide to migrate to Canada and Germany for various reasons. Most of these can be categorized as economic, social and political opportunities. Interviewees migrate to Canada for better careers and more education, their children's education, a democratic government, to learn English, and to experience a foreign country in order to become a world citizen. They prefer Canada for its equal treatment toward its citizens of different social backgrounds and its anti-discriminatory norms.

Interviewees decide to migrate to Germany for their careers, education, to meet job market requirements in Turkey, and to live in a foreign country. They also migrate to Germany due to the political problems and economic crisis in Turkey. Other reasons for migration include feeling unhappy and like an outsider in Turkey. Generally, they decide to migrate for career purposes such as working in Germany and overall career development whether professional or academic (16 interviewees) and purely for education (34 interviewees).

As explained above, most common reasons for choosing Canada as a host country are a better career (20 interviewees), more education (17 interviewees), desire to live there (23 interviewees), and an unhappy life in Turkey (13 interviewees). The top two most common reasons to migrate to Canada and Germany are the same: a better career (economic reasons) (20 responses from Canada and 16 from Germany), and more education (social reasons) (17 from Canada and 34 from Germany).

### **5.2.2. Reasons for choosing Canada and Germany as Host Countries**

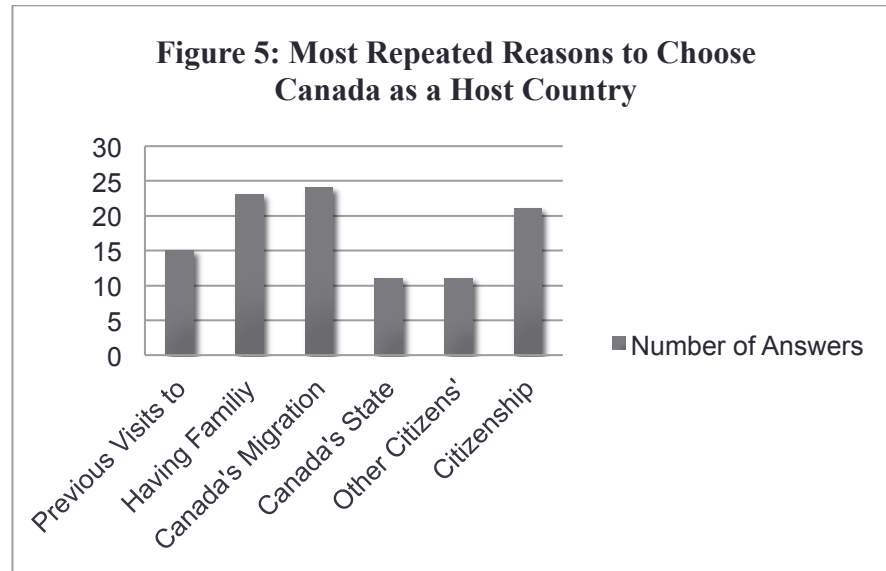
According to data collected through interviews, respondents choose Canada or Germany for some similar reasons such as social opportunities or better educational opportunities. Similar to Germany, interviewees prefer Canada since they have friends or family member living there. Their friends or family motivate them to move Canada by explaining to HSBTI that it is cheap, closer to Turkey, and close to the USA. When visitors of Canada speak of their experiences during summer vacations, they only have good memories. Interviewees prefer Germany to

other countries since they find it cheaper (lower rents, free education, etc.) than many countries such as England. They decide to migrate to Germany since the country is closer to Turkey, has a high Turkish population, and they have visited Germany before. Since interviewees have some friends and family members living in Germany and have heard good things about the country, they prefer Germany as their host country.

Some of the reasons why participants choose Canada or Germany as host countries differ.. Most of these differences are related to Canada's political opportunities, as well as its migration and citizenship policies. Canada encourages potential immigrants to choose the country through advertisements. Different from Germany, these advertisements and seminars offered by Canada motivated interviewees in choosing her as their host country. Interviewees choose to immigrate to Canada since they believe that Canada fits them culturally; it is an organized-systemized and a developed, Western country. They choose Canada for its safety and security. They claim that people have equal opportunities in Canada and they explain this idea by arguing that there is justice for everyone and no gender discrimination or racism, unlike European countries. Other reasons HSBTI are drawn to Canada include Canada's multicultural state tradition, its welcoming immigration policy, and their aims to get Canadian citizenship. On the other hand, interviewees living in Germany believe that university applications for German institutions are easier than other countries such as the USA and Canada. Other reasons to migrate to Germany but not to Canada include knowledge about its large Turkish community, and German language skills.

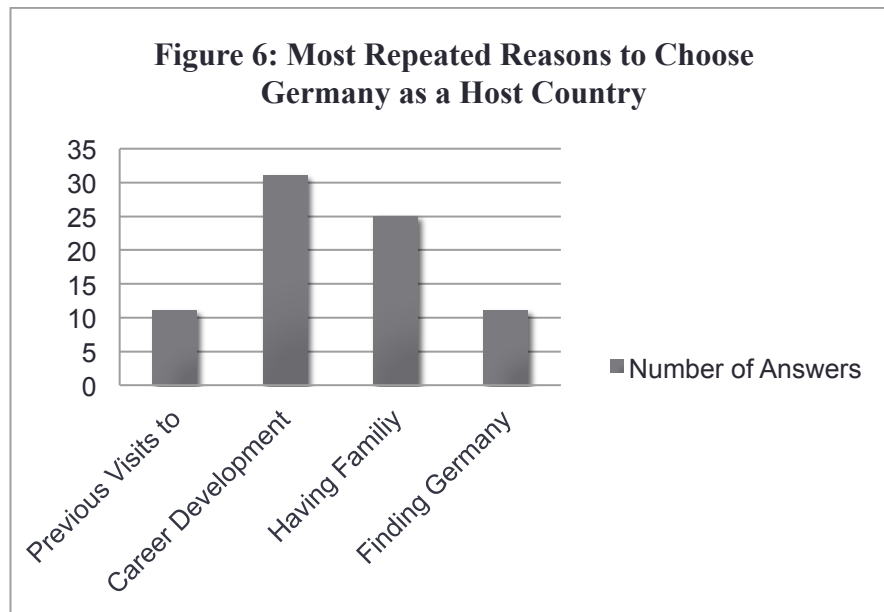
In general, as Figure 5 shows, the most repeated reasons to choose Canada as a host country are previous visits to Canada (15 interviewees), having family

members or friend in Canada (23 interviewees), Canada's migration policy (24 interviewees), Canada's state tradition and other citizens' multicultural tendencies (11 interviewees), and citizenship acquisition (21 interviewees).



Source: Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

Figure 6 displays that most common reasons in preferring Germany to other countries are career development opportunities (31 interviewees), having family members or friend in Germany (25 interviewees), finding Germany cheaper than other countries (11 interviewees), visiting Germany before (11 interviewees), hearing good things about Germany (11 interviewees), and being able to speak German (13 interviewees).



Source: Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

All in all, the above figures show that two of the most repeated reasons to choose Canada or Germany as a host country are previous visits to these countries (15 from Canada and 11 from Germany) and having family members or friends in Canada or Germany (23 from Canada and 25 from Germany).

### **5.2.3. Receiving Help from Personal Networks to Migrate to Canada and Germany**

Twenty-eight interviewees from Canada but only five interviewees from Germany state that they have some sort of support from their network while migrating to Canada or Germany. For instance, while they migrate, their friend, relatives, or acquaintances help them in many ways such as housing accommodations.

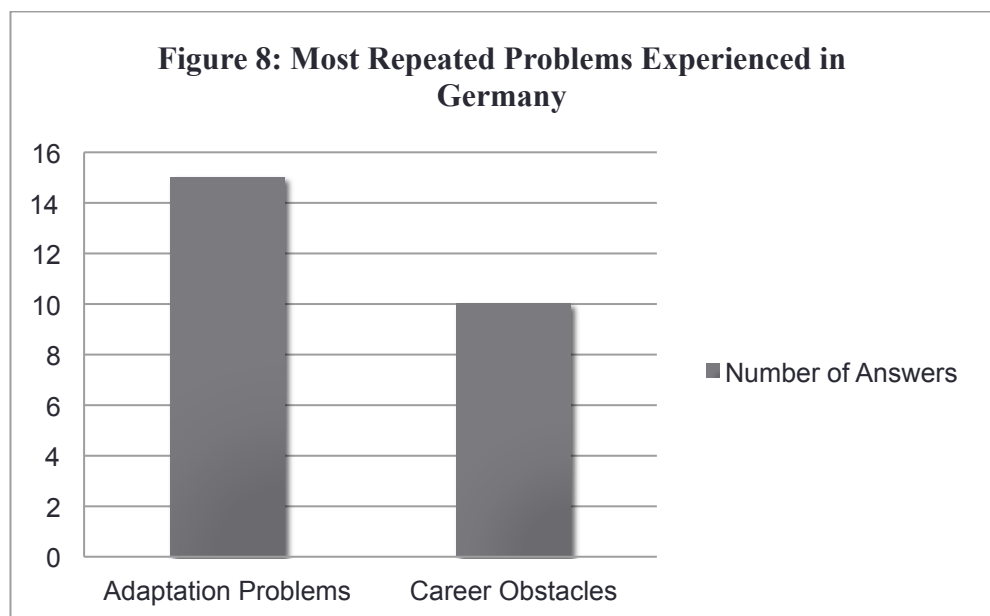
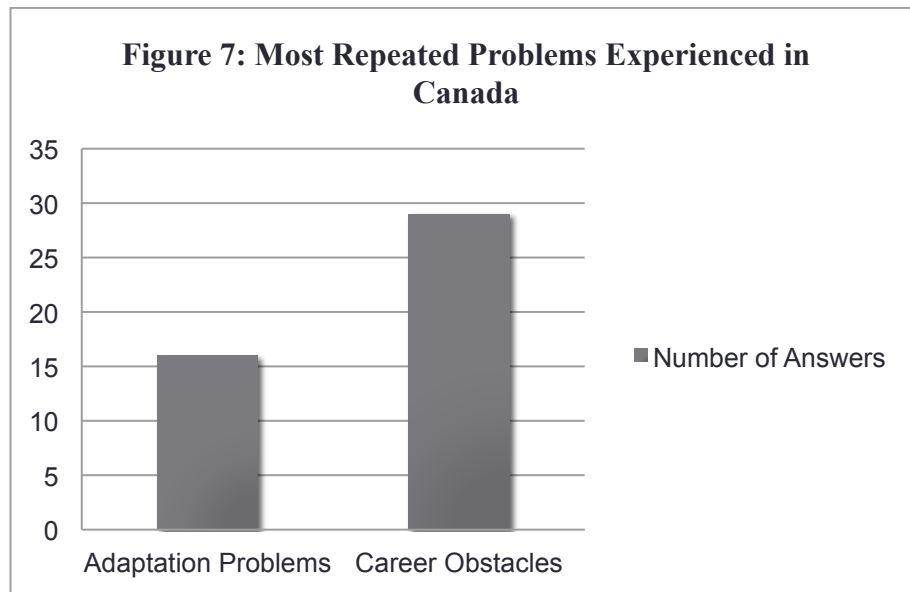
#### **5.2.4. Language Problems**

In both cases, interviewees (34 out of 78 from Canada and 26 out of 60 from Germany) have language barriers. Almost half of the interviewees (34 out of 78 interviewees) have language barriers, with both English and French, in all of three cities (Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal) in Canada. Similarly, almost half of the interviewees (26 out of 60 interviewees) have language problems in Germany such as learning German and not being able to speak in English with Germans.

Different from HSBTI in Canada, six of participants say that it is easier to live in Berlin since many Turkish immigrants reside there.

#### **5.2.5. Other Problems**

As Figures 7 and 8 show, the most common problems experienced in host countries are same in Canada and Germany: HSBTI interviewees face adaptation problems (16 from Canada and 15 from Germany) and career obstacles (29 from Canada and 10 from Germany) in those countries.



Source: Figures are constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

HSBTI interviewees in Canada have other problems as well. Canadians' attitude toward Turkish immigrants and the healthcare system are problematic. They have monetary problems. The standards of living for HSBTI interviewees are lower in Canada than in Turkey. Loneliness and less opportunity to speak in Turkish are difficulties that Turkish immigrants face.

HSBTI interviewees in Germany list several problems as well. Discrimination and prejudice against aliens exist, also, similar to the participants from Canada, they feel lonely, and the climate is problematic. Lastly, similar to the participants from Canada, they have monetary problems.

#### **5.2.6. Relations with Turks, Turkish Community, and Turkish Associations**

Most of the HSBTI interviewees in Canada and Germany (62 out of 78 from Canada and 43 out of 60 from Germany) prefer to have a relationship with the Turkish community, for instance, by holding responsibilities during Turkish events and attending activities. Of those who socialize with the Turkish Communities and/or Turkish Associations in Canada, forty-three interviewees said they would consider their relations “high” and nineteen consider them “low”. Twelve do not have any relations and four chose not to answer this question. Among HSBTI interviewees in Germany, nineteen of them have a high (strong) relationship status and twenty-four of them have low or less (weak) relation with them. Some interviewees (eight of them) do not state their preference and nine of them do not prefer to have any relations with the Turkish Communities or Associations.

#### **5.2.7. Reasons to return to Turkey**

Although their most common reasons for returning to Turkey differ, both in Canada and Germany, almost half of the HSBTI interviewees (35 from Canada and

29 from Germany) want to return to Turkey. HSBTI interviewees state that they prefer Canada since it is closer to the USA or they want to receive a Canadian citizenship for the sake of mobility, only two interviewees have plans to live in another country other than Canada or Turkey in the immediate future. Similarly, in the case of Germany, only six of the interviewees preferred to migrate from Germany to other countries other than Turkey.

For HSBTI in Canada, there are several reasons why almost half of the interviewees (35 out of 78 interviewees) consider returning to Turkey in the future. The reasons for return migration are career obstacles, several social deficiencies, a decreased standard of living, and the cold weather they experience in Canada. They want to return since they do not “belong” in Canada; they could not adapt to their personal definition of Canadian culture, and miss living in Turkey. Moreover, they want to return to Turkey to retire, to live in the south of Turkey due to the warmer climate, for the sake of Turkey and working in favor of their home country, and to reunite with their families living in Turkey. The most common reasons for a return migration to Turkey are missing one’s life in Turkey (12 interviewees) and to retire in Turkey (11 interviewees).

In the case of HSBTI in Germany, the reasons for return include discrimination against Turks, career obstacles, lack of a sense of belonging, and social deficiencies in Germany. Additionally, interviewees want to return to Turkey for retirement, their children, the sake of Turkey, an economically better life, their family members, and missing Turkey. Since it is hard for some interviewees to learn German and they do not like climate of Germany, they prefer to return to Turkey. Three of the interviewees who immigrated to Germany with the help of the

Scholarship from the Republic of Turkey, Ministry of National Education<sup>3</sup> argue that they should return to Turkey due to the compulsory service attached to the scholarship (although they can also pay the scholarship back). The most common reason for returning to Turkey is the lack of a sense of belonging (13 interviewees).

#### **5.2.8. Reasons to have little to no intention to return to Turkey**

In the case of HSBTI in Canada, twenty-two interviewees either do not consider or have little intention to return to Turkey because they believe that they cannot find a job in Turkey and since Canada is a welfare state where society is organized and systemized. They also prefer to stay in Canada because of the social relations and their career and self-development. Other reasons for staying in Canada are economic or related to their children's education Turkish citizenship. Twelve of the interviewees do not specify any reason for their choice to stay.

In the case of HSBTI in Germany, almost half (27) of the interviewees have little or no intention to return to Turkey for similar reasons as HSBTI interviewees living in Canada. Just like HSBTI interviewees in Canada, some of their reasons are

---

<sup>3</sup> The Turkish government offers scholarships for Master and PhD students (who are either Turkish Citizens or have a dual nationality - that is both a Turkish Citizenship and another country's citizenship) through the Ministry of National Education. The Republic of Turkey, Ministry of National Education has a list of countries where it can approve students to get higher education. Scholarship holders try to obtain education visas for the countries they will go to study. Those scholarship holders take monthly payments from Turkey. After graduation, they must either come back to Turkey to work at universities they have been assigned to for twice as long as they studied in Germany or pay back the amount of the money they received. (For instance, after finishing doctoral degree programs in the USA, in 8-10 years, the capital sum might be around 100,000 (the sum for 8-10 years is MUCH more typically – comment wasn't working in the footnote. For 8-10 years of study in the U.S., it would cost over \$500,000 probably total. We calculated my husband's and his only includes owing around 3 years to Turkey and it is around \$150,000 - \$200, 000, depending on if they will waive the interest later or not.) U.S. Dollars.  
[http://www.abbasguclu.com.tr/egitim/mebin\\_yurtdisi\\_bursiyerlerinin\\_faiz\\_borclari\\_ne\\_olacak.html](http://www.abbasguclu.com.tr/egitim/mebin_yurtdisi_bursiyerlerinin_faiz_borclari_ne_olacak.html)). They can pay it back either in installments (which includes one hefty installment in the beginning that acts as a waver so that they may remain outside of Turkey) or all at once.

related to their careers and children. Due to economic reasons, family preferences, and unemployment in Turkey, interviewees prefer to stay in Germany. Finally, some interviewees like living in Germany since Germany is a welfare state and some have settled down over the years, preferring to stay permanently. The most common reason to stay in Germany is due to one's career plans (14 interviewees).

#### **5.2.9. Reasons to migrate from Canada and Germany to countries other than Turkey**

Although interviewees prefer Canada since it is closer to the USA or they want to receive a Canadian citizenship for the sake of mobility, only two interviewees have plans to live in another country other than Canada or Turkey in the immediate future. Similarly, only six of the interviewees preferred to migrate from Germany to other countries other than Turkey. One of the interviewees wants to be a citizen of the world by living in several countries and five of them migrate from Germany for the sake of mobility or living, finding jobs, and travelling.

#### **5.2.10. Research Question: Reasons to pursue Canadian or German citizenship**

The majority of interviewees in Canada, specifically 97.44 percent, decide to pursue a Canadian citizenship. More than half of them (58.7 percent) have already been naturalized. Unlike HSBTI interviewees in Canada, thirty-six out of sixty interviewees do not want to acquire a German citizenship, and twenty-one consider

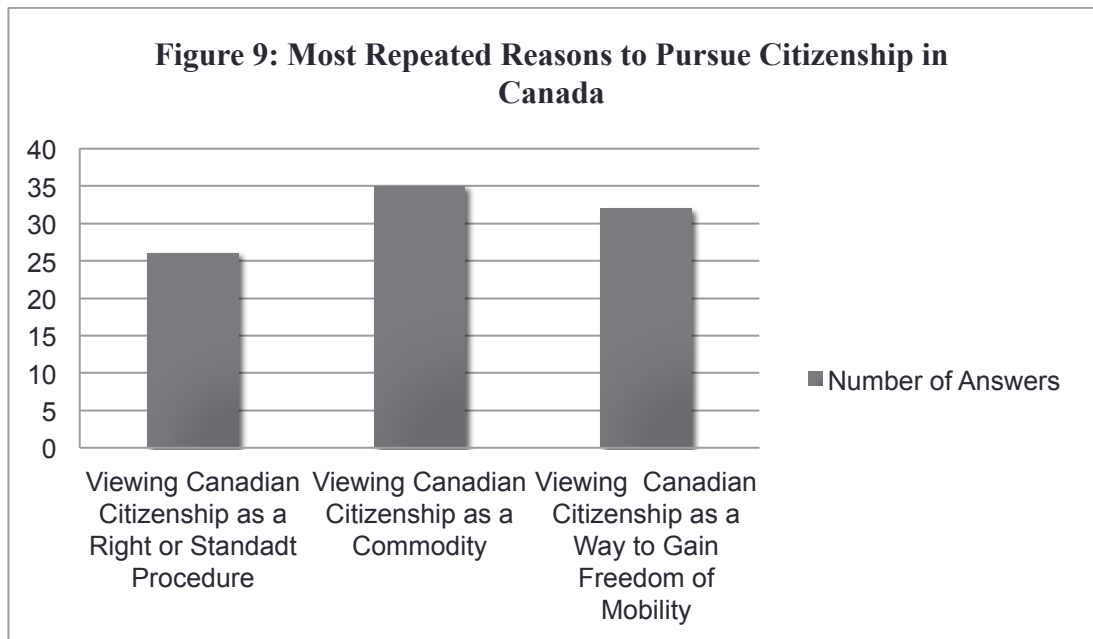
pursuing one.

Like HSBTI interviewees in Germany, motives in acquiring a Canadian citizenship include being a part of a society where one is guaranteed security. For HSBTI interviewees in Germany and Canada, host country citizenship is necessary for the advancement of their careers. They pursue a Canadian or German citizenship in order to vote and gain political participation and to escape compulsory military service in Turkey and the procedures permanent residents must follow in Germany or Canada.

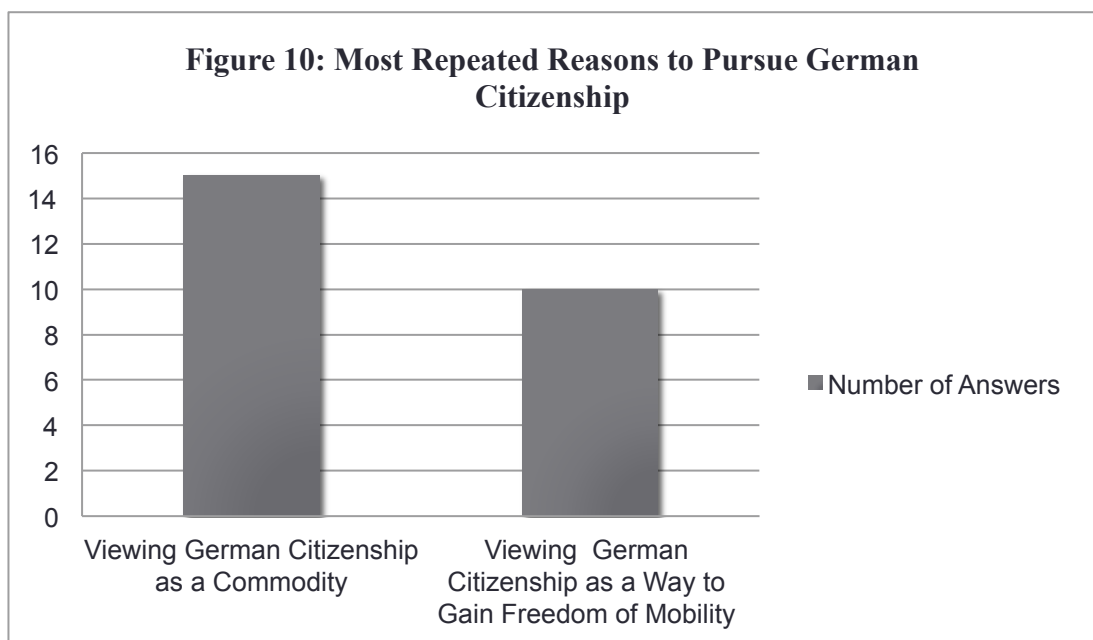
In addition, of HSBTI interviewees differ in their naturalization decision-making processes. HSBTI in Canada are motivated by being a part of a society where one is listened to and respected, benefitting from Canada's prestige, gaining retirement rights, and having better educational options for their children. They believe that Canadian citizenship is necessary for the advancement of their lives in general. They pursue a Canadian citizenship in order to escape the expensive educational system for non-citizens.

Unlike Canadian HSBTI interviewees, German interviewees consider naturalization in Germany to avoid discrimination and to become citizens of the world. Other explanations for obtaining a German citizenship include being accustomed to and integrated to the German culture.

Most importantly, in pursuing a Canadian citizenship or a German citizenship, the top two reasons are the same: As the Figures 9 and 10 show, HSBTI interviewees mostly decide to pursue the Canadian citizenship or German citizenship since they want to have freedom of movement or since they can use those citizenships for many purposes as a commodity.



Source: The Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.



Source: The Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.

The most repeated reasons of HSBTI in Canada include “viewing the Canadian citizenship as an immigrant right or as a part of the standard Canadian Migration Policy procedure” (26 interviewees), “viewing the Canadian citizenship as a commodity and accepting it as a passport with benefits” (35 interviewees), and “viewing the Canadian citizenship as a way to gain freedom of mobility for travel/a

way to get rid of Visa problems caused by the Turkish passport” (32 interviewees). Participants mostly decide to pursue the Canadian citizenship since they have the right to do it, they want to have freedom of movement, or since they can use it for many purposes as a commodity. Similarly, interviewees in Germany decide to be naturalized since they see the German citizenship as a commodity that may bring several opportunities (15 interviewees) and since they want to move to other countries for a job or to travel freely (10 interviewees).

#### **5.2.11. Research Question: Reasons not to pursue Canadian or German citizenship**

Only two out of seventy-eight interviewees from Canada say that they do not want to receive a Canadian citizenship while twenty-one interviewees from Germany state that they did not apply for the German citizenship. The reason why two interviewees in Canada decided against naturalization was their strong sense of belonging to Turkey. Similarly, interviewees in Germany stated that they did not apply for the German citizenship due to their sense of belonging to Turkey.

For HSBTI interviewees in Germany, there are several other reasons why they decide against naturalization. First, some of them believe that acquiring a German citizenship adds no advantage. They do not want to renounce the Turkish citizenship; therefore they do not pursue a German citizenship.<sup>4</sup> The interviewees believe that renouncing their Turkish citizenship would mean losing their identities and rights in Turkey, such as retirement and the right to property. They want dual

---

<sup>4</sup> Germany does not allow Turkish citizens to acquire dual citizenship.

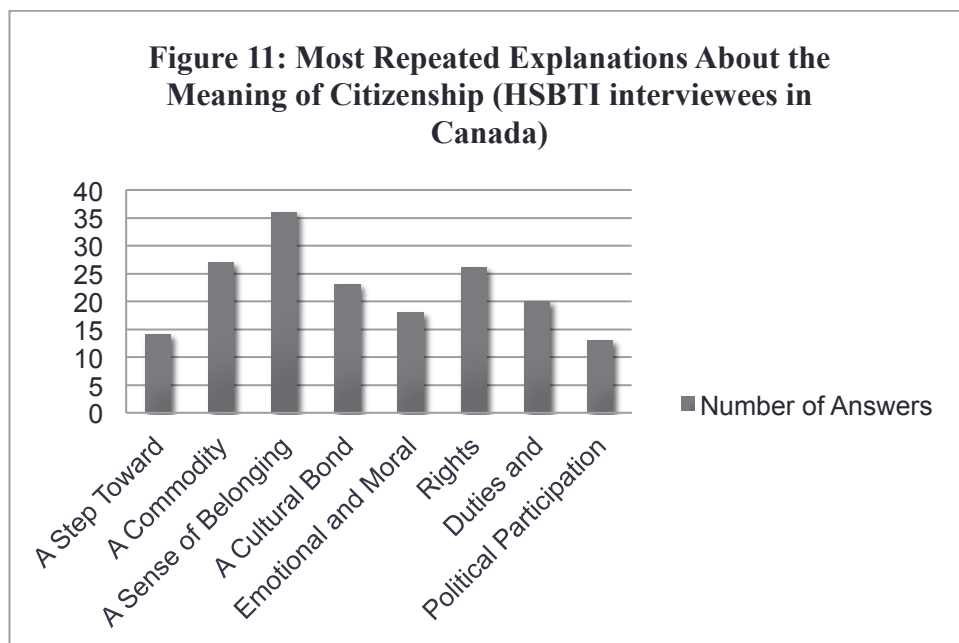
citizenship of both Germany and Turkey, but the rules do not allow it. Additionally, interviewees prefer not to pursue the German citizenship since its procedures (application procedures, eligibility requirements, etc.) are not easy. They argue that discrimination toward them will continue regardless of citizenship; and they believe there is a possibility for returning to Turkey. HSBTI interviewees in Germany have no desire to feel like they belong to another country and prefer Turkey's current prestige.

In the German case, the most common reasons why interviewees rejected naturalization are viewing the German citizenship as a commodity with no use or value (12 interviewees), the desire to keep one's Turkish citizenship (17 interviewees), and the possibility of returning to Turkey (15 interviewees).

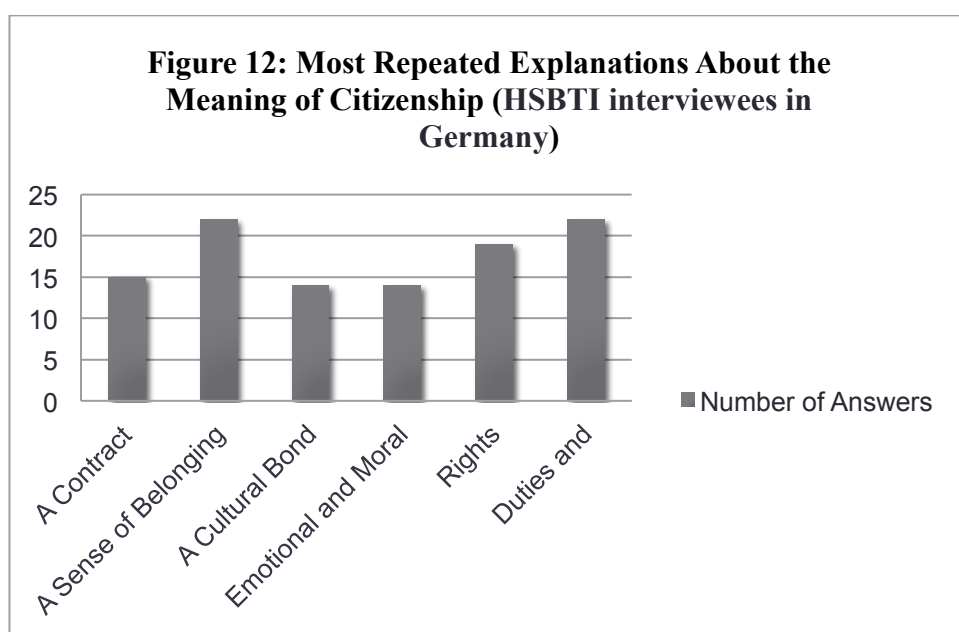
#### **5.2.12. Research Question: The Different Meanings of Citizenship**

There are similarities in the most repeated explanations about the meaning of citizenship across the two cases. HSBTI interviewees from Canada believe that citizenship by birth is due to a sense of belonging (36 interviewees), similarly, according to the interviewees from Germany; citizenship means a sense of belonging (22 interviewees). For HSBTI interviewees from Canada, citizenship by birth equals cultural bond such as language (23 interviewees) and emotional and moral bond (18 interviewees). Likewise, HSBTI interviewees from Germany claim that citizenship includes cultural bond such as language (14 interviewees) and emotional and moral bonds (14 interviewees). For HSBTI interviewees from Canada and Germany, citizenship equals rights (26 interviewees from Canada and 19

interviewees from Germany) and duties and responsibilities (20 interviewees from Canada and 22 interviewees from Germany).



Source: The Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and Germany.



Source: The Figure is constructed by author based on data collected in Canada and

Germany.

Interviewees from Canada explain Turkish citizenship with the concept of *jus soli* (right of the soil) and *jus sanguinis* (right of blood). Similarly, the interviewed HSBTI in Germany describe citizenship as *jus soli* (right of the soil). Respondents see Canadian citizenship as a commodity (27 interviewees), which they can receive from Canada in order to satisfy their needs or wishes. Similarly, the interviewed HSBTI in Germany see citizenship as a commodity but this is not one of the most repeated explanations of the meaning of citizenship. Interviewees from Canada and Germany claim that citizenship is a legal bond. It is about political participation (one of the most important explanations with 13 interviewees from Canada) and equality. They state that citizenship is a very important component of one's identity and values.

When focusing on differences between answers of HSBTI interviewees from Canada and Germany, it is observed that while forty-nine of seventy-six interviewees from Canada divide the concept into two as "Canadian Citizenship or citizenship through naturalization (Canadian citizenship) vs. Turkish Citizenship or citizenship by birth (Turkish citizenship)," none of the interviewees from Germany categorize citizenship into citizenship by birth or citizenship through naturalization. Additionally, HSBTI interviewees in Canada argue that citizenship through naturalization is the last step toward integration (14 interviewees). For them, Turkish citizenship is directly given but Canadian citizenship is an earned right. They also argue that citizenship by birth is about being proud of one's own country. They state that citizenship is about traditions, and a common history, as well as about global or international rights. Lastly, according to the interviewees from Canada, citizenship means being a citizen of the world and not a country per se.

For HSBTI interviewees in Germany, on the other hand, citizenship is a contract (15 interviewees), an artificial entity, and even a chance. According to them, citizenship should be inclusive and encourage citizenship of the world. Otherwise citizenship may block freedom through borders and visa requirements. For them, citizenship means home and nation. Lastly, they conceptualize citizenship as loyalty.

### **5.3. Conclusions**

This chapter aimed to present the data by describing the interviewees' answers. It focused on the descriptive results of the research conducted in Canada and Germany and on the relevant details of the interviews.

The two samples have similar characteristics. The number of female and male HSBTI interviewees in Canada and Germany are almost equal. Both types of migrants mostly migrated from large Turkish cities such as İstanbul and Ankara. Most of HSBTI interviewees from Canada belong to the second age category (which is between the ages of 35 and 50) and most of them from Germany range between the ages of 20 and 34, which indicates that interviewees in Germany preferred to migrate at early ages, unlike interviewees in Canada. In Canada, most of the interviewees are married. In Germany, on the other hand, the number of married interviewees is lower. Most of the HSBTI interviewees in Canada and Germany state Turkish as their native language.

The data shows that 66.4 percent of HSBTI from Canada and 36,7 percent of HSBTI from Germany have qualified jobs, and the number of international students

in Germany is almost double the ones in Canada. The study suggests that it is harder for migrants to move to Canada for education than to Germany. Students give various reasons to go to Germany including scholarship opportunities.

Among all of the interviewees, forty-seven out of hundred and thirty-eight interviewees have dual citizenship or a non-Turkish citizenship. Many other interviewees are waiting for the results of their citizenship applications and many others want to apply when they qualify for it.

The research indicates that interviewees decide to migrate to Canada and Germany for various reasons. Most of them can be categorized as economic, social and political opportunities, such as a better education. There are different reasons why participants choose Canada or Germany as host countries. Most of the differences are related to Canada's political opportunities, as well as its migration and citizenship policies. While migrating to these countries, twenty-eight interviewees from Canada and five interviewees from Germany had some sort of support from their network. Most of the HSBTI interviewees in Canada and Germany prefer to have a relationship with the Turkish community in the host country.

In both cases, almost half of the interviewees have language barriers. Nevertheless, unlike HSBTI in Canada, six participants in Germany say that it is easier to live in Berlin since many Turkish immigrants reside there. The most common problems experienced in host countries are the same in Canada and Germany: HSBTI interviewees mostly face adaptation problems and career obstacles.

Although their most common reasons for returning to Turkey differ, almost half of all HSBTI interviewees want to return to Turkey. In the case of HSBTI in

Canada, some of the reasons for this desire are career obstacles and several social deficiencies. In the case of HSBTI in Germany, the reasons to return include discrimination against Turks. Some of the HSBTI interviewees in Canada and Germany have intentions to return to Turkey for the same reasons such as their careers and children.

Interviewees prefer Canada because it is closer to the USA or they want to receive a Canadian citizenship for the sake of mobility. However, only two interviewees have plans to live in a country other than Canada or Turkey in the immediate future. Similarly, only five of HSBTI interviewees want to migrate from Germany to other countries for the purposes of mobility, living, finding jobs, and travelling.

Similar to the motives to acquire a German citizenship, motives in deciding to acquire a Canadian citizenship include being a part of a society where one is guaranteed security. For HSBTI interviewees in Germany and Canada, host citizenships are necessary for the advancement of their careers. There are some differences in the answers of HSBTI interviewees about naturalization decision-making processes. Different from the answers of HSBTI interviewees in Canada, HSBTI interviewees in Germany decide to get German citizenship to avoid discrimination in Germany and to become citizens of the world. Most importantly, the top two reasons for acquiring host citizenship in these two countries are the same: they want to have freedom of movement or they want to use those citizenships as a commodity.

Some interviewees in Germany and Canada state that they are against naturalization because they have a sense of belonging to Turkey. Another reason against German naturalization given by respondents is the lack of advantages of

German citizenship.

There are also similarities in the most repeated explanations for the meaning of citizenship across samples. For instance, both HSBTI interviewees from Canada and Germany believe that citizenship is about a sense of belonging. There are also differences among HSBTI interviewees from Canada and Germany about the conceptualization of citizenship. For instance, interviewees in Canada argue that citizenship through naturalization is the last step toward integration, whereas for interviewees in Germany citizenship is a contract.

In the next chapter, answers of HSBTI interviewees from Canada and Germany will be critically analyzed in a comparative manner by focusing on the theoretical framework and the empirical results.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MIGRATION MOTIVATIONS OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA AND GERMANY**

By analyzing on individuals' motivation for international migration, this study aims to understand why high skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in particular migrate. It focuses migration patterns in last ten years (2000-2010) and migration of Turkish immigrants to Canada and Germany. Second, it asks whether citizenship and migration policies of these countries affect recent motivation of HSBTI. It is hypothesized (**HYPO 1**) that the migration and citizenship policies of these states (whether multiculturalist or restrictive) affect recent migration motivations of HSBTI and the research results support the first hypothesis. It is seen that in last ten years (2000-2010), HSBTI decided to move from Turkey because of economic, social and political reasons, or thanks to their social network and personal experience in host countries, in addition

to the migration and citizenship policies of the host countries.

Most importantly, as a result of the critical analysis of the research data, the study puts forward three important concepts to explain the recent migration motivations of HSBTI and why they choose a particular country of destination: practical geography, nomads of gain, and citizenship (and the passport) as a commodity. Practical geography refers to proximity to Turkey (or other desired host country), nomads of gain, to constant movement for personal benefit, and citizenship, to the use passport mostly for mobility.

This chapter focuses on the critical analysis of the data, examining the motivations of HSBTI in Canada and Germany. It also discusses the first hypothesis and the suggested concepts in detail.

## **6.1. Migration Motivations of Turkish Immigrants**

### **6.1.1 Motivations Related to Economic Reasons**

In the international migration literature, macro-level analysis explains international migration as a function of wage differences, labor moving from a low-wage country to a high-wage one (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993: 433). However, the data analysis of this study shows that the migration motivations of HSBTI are affected by economic opportunities in host countries, which are not always related directly to wage difference. Some of these economic opportunities differ from country to country, and are perceived differently based on whether HSBTI have a plan to go back to their country of origin. For

instance, without emphasizing wage difference, while HSBTI interviewees in Canada state that they moved from Turkey for find a job in Canada, HSBTI interviewees in Germany are motivated by their desire to meet the job market requirements of Turkey.

HSBTI move to Canada for internships or jobs related to their field but they do not directly aim to increase their wages as the macro-level analysis of international migration suggests. For instance, a female from Montreal (A35) was invited Canada as a dancer and she then decided to live in Canada. A female from Toronto (A47) states, “I came here as an immigrant to live and work. I like the American lifestyle, but I wanted to try to Canada as well.” An interviewee from Canada (A50) states that he migrated to Canada to find a job as a high skilled worker.

HSBTI interviewees in Germany on the other hand, state that it is important to have foreign country and work experience in Germany to increase their chances to find desirable jobs in Turkey. For instance, an interviewee from Berlin (B9) states, “Since I could not find a job in Turkey, I should do a Master and PhD. After earning a PhD degree, to find a good job in a university in Turkey, people should have work experience in a foreign country. Our university has this kind of unwritten rule. So, you should actually get your PhD from a foreign university.”

As an important finding, the interview results suggest that the recent migration motivations of HSBTI are also affected by economic opportunities in host countries such as career development opportunities (professional or academic). Improving professionally in host countries can sometimes mean having higher wages in these countries than in Turkey. Nevertheless, this result still supports the argument that HSBTI do not only aim to increase their wages as macro-level

analysis of international migration suggests but they have additional motivations as career development. For instance, a male interviewee from Canada (A51) claims that there are several reasons for him and his family to migrate to Canada. One of his reasons is career development in his profession in a foreign country. Similarly, HSBTI in Germany argue that there may be possibilities for career development or for academic career development such as joint work and conferences. As exemplified from HSBTI in Germany, an interviewee (B2) states since she believes that she can improve professionally and receive promotions as well as better salaries by migrating to Germany. A male student (B41) says that since Germany is a good country to improve veterinary skills, he chose to move Germany. Similarly, a female interviewee from Dresden (B44) emphasizes that one of the most important reasons why she chose Germany was that, scientifically; Germany is the best country in Europe. A businessman (B33) stresses that since he does not have the opportunity to become an engineer in Turkey (his department in Turkey does not have an engineering degree option), so he decided to migrate to European countries in order to improve his profession.

As the new economics of migration suggests, HSBTI do not make their decisions as isolated individual actors, but in relation to larger groups people, such as families and households. For instance, a male from Montreal (A15) states, “we [with family] did not plan to come here [Canada], but when my ex-wife got a job offer, we came to Montreal.”

In the international migration literature, several scholars explain international migration with micro-level variables by focusing on agency and argue that individuals' cost-benefit analysis determine their decision-making process (Haug, 2008: 586). Thus, the Rational Choice Approach posits individuals as actors who are

capable of selecting from a set of options, “while constraints and opportunity structures impose restrictions on their choice” (Haug, 2008: 586).

The Rational Choice Approach can explain how economic problems in the home country affect HSBTI and force them to move to more developed countries. HSBTI interviewees in Germany and Canada state that the economic crisis that occurred in Turkey during the early 2000s forced them to move abroad. This qualifies as a cost-benefit analysis that motivated their decision-making process.

For instance, a male from Berlin (B37) says that due to the economic conditions in Turkey, especially after the 1999 and 2001 financial crises, he does not have a future in there and decided to leave Turkey. Another respondent from Germany (B39) explains this by referring to many workers fired from several banks:

At that time, in 2001 and 2002, you know, there was a financial crisis in Turkey. Therefore, many friends and co-workers, even the successful ones, were fired from banks. Those people were experienced ones. I could not remember but they were around 40,000 people who worked in banking and finance sectors. Of course, this made us unhappy and we did not know what to do. We heard that people who migrate to foreign countries could find jobs in these sectors, so we decided to migrate.

Similarly, a participant from Canada (A53) states, “Nobody throws us out of Turkey and nobody invites us to Canada. Because of the moral erosion in Turkey beside the financial crisis in 2000, we decided to migrate.” A female interviewee from Montreal (A5) says that because of financial crisis in Turkey, efficiency in the medical sector declined. A male interviewee (A3) states that because of financial hardship in Turkey he could not make a living in Turkey, as a result he decided to migrate to Canada.

### **6.1.2. Motivations Related to Social and Political Reasons**

Unlike explanations focusing on micro-level variables, such as the push – pull model, or explanations focusing on macro level variables such as the dual labor market theory, or the world system theory, this study suggests that HSBTI decide to migrate for non-economic reasons as well. The data shows that in both cases, HSBTI moved from Turkey for several social and political reasons.

In addition to economic reasons, HSBTI move abroad for social opportunities in host countries such as education. In participants' stories, it is revealed that HSBTI move to Canada for higher education; their main interests are to receive either a Doctorate, Masters, or Bachelor degree or for special training such as in photography. An interviewee from Montreal (A1) says that she definitely wants to earn a doctorate degree in Canada. Another participant (A11) says that he migrated to Canada to earn an MBA. A respondent (B18, male from Berlin) states, "I thought that I can work and maybe continue my education in another country and decided to migrate."

The issue of education comprises many related issues such as education for the entire family, earning a degree from a foreign university and alternative educational opportunities. The interview analysis shows that there are differences between Canada and Germany in terms of educational motivations. For instance interviewees, who move to Canada for education, generally consider education for their whole family, while interviewees, who prefer to move to Germany for education, want to have free university education in Germany for themselves. In addition, although one of the most important reasons for HSBTI interviewees to migrate to Canada and Germany is education, HSBTI find German education more

affordable than other European countries and the USA. For this reason, they prefer Germany as their host country. Especially, low rents and university expenses such as a free education and only covering the cost of books make the country more desirable for them.

HSBTI in Canada consider the education of the entire family when deciding to migrate. For instance, two male interviewees from Toronto (A39 and A52) believe that their children will have better educational opportunities. A male interviewee from Montreal (A14) reports that he and his wife migrate to Canada as students, but they actually want to find out whether they can live in Canada. A15 (male from Montreal) states “My main motive to prefer Canada as a host country is starting a family. It is a great place to raise a child. There are great social opportunities...For instance I have been working here. Therefore, I satisfy the needs of children and elderly by paying taxes. I know that when I am old, someone will pay for me.”

On the other hand, HSBTI can choose to migrate to Germany as a result of an easier application process for college education, affordable or no tuition, and scholarship options. A female from Berlin (B31) states that studying abroad was her dream and she decided to migrate in order to earn a Master’s degree from a foreign university. A male from Berlin (B16) says that since universities in Germany are free or cheaper than many other countries he decided to come to Germany without much planning or research. One of the reasons why a female from Berlin (B9) choose Germany was the easy university application procedure. A female student (B5) states, “I applied to universities in England, Germany, and Holland for PhD programs. However, I mostly wanted to come to Germany since England is a very expensive country and there are scholarship options in Germany.”

It should be emphasized that not all of the immigrants are able to complete their education in Germany; some HSBTI are unable to begin higher education because they cannot afford a living in Germany or they are distracted by the Turkish community. Some prefer to live in Turkish neighborhoods where they mostly speak Turkish or even marry other Turks, which can result in falling further behind educationally. An interviewee (B34) account illustrates the point of realizing the goal of education:

In Turkey, I graduated from a very prestigious university. My friends and I had many opportunities there. Some of my friends migrated from Turkey to England, USA, and here (Germany) for education. However, we deviated from our goal. Our friends who stay in Turkey became district governors and judges. All of them have, really, the best positions in the government. However, we came here, drifted apart from them... Our aim was to come here for Master and PhD studies, to learn a foreign language, and to return to Turkey and work there for our country. We did not come here to repair electronics, become Taxi drivers, or for any other jobs. When we came here, we saw that Germany is not a good place to pursue Master or PhD degree. Especially, since there are many Turkish people, it is hard for students to complete their education or learn German.

Since HSBTI expect to gain social rights, and earn a higher standard of life (without earning more money but through the welfare state system) in Canada or Germany when, they decide to migrate. HSBTI in Canada claim that Canada is a welfare state, an organized, systemized, and a developed Western country. A male from Montreal (A15) states, "My main motive to prefer Canada as a host country is starting a family. It is a great place to raise a child. There are great social opportunities ... For instance I have been working here. Therefore, I satisfy the needs of children and elderly by paying taxes. I know that when I am old, someone will pay for me." Similarly, A female from Berlin (B17) states that it is easy to live in Germany since it is a welfare state and, as a result, there are many advantages such as health insurance and unemployment compensation. An interviewee (B26)

illustrates this point by claiming that Germany has a very well-functioning health care system and it is important for immigrants who are mostly away from their families and worry of loneliness during times of illness.

As opposed to HSBTI in Germany, HSBTI in Canada say that Canada is an attractive choice since it fits them culturally and they see the country as safe place. For instance, one of the reasons why a male from Toronto (A55) prefers Canada is the cultural fit. As the data shows, HSBTI say that Canada is an attractive choice since they see Canada as safe and secure. An interviewee (A77) chooses Canada since the country is safe and secure. She wants her children to live in a safe place.

Political opportunities, such as living in a better political environment in host countries or believing that they will not be discriminated against because of their ideas and ideologies are also reasons why HSBTI immigrate to Germany and Canada. For example, an interviewee (A25) says that besides her other reasons, she would like to live in a country where gender equality exists. A male from Berlin (B34) states that since he graduated from a school where students were trained (*İmam-Hatip Okulları*) to become government-employed Imams<sup>1</sup>, he believes that after graduating he could become a district governor but would be a subject of a file at a police office (due to internal suspicions) and could not find job easily. He decided to migrate to a foreign country to pursue a Master's degree. A male from Toronto (A24) states, "We decided to migrate to Canada to live in a more peaceful atmosphere where social discrimination, cultural supremacy, and domination are low. In Turkey, we were upset with the presence of non-democratic governments. We decided to come to Canada to get away from them." At one point, they considered going to Australia, but since there are racist tendencies (by state and by

---

<sup>1</sup> A general meaning of imam in Islam is a male spiritual leader, a male prayer leader in mosques for helping worship and giving spiritual advices.

other citizens) they decided to migrate to Canada. As another example, a male from Toronto (A41) claims that they decided to migrate because the political atmosphere in Turkey is getting worse.

The data indicates that HSBTI in Canada want to move away from the compulsory military service. HSBTI in Germany do not put forward this issue as a reason for migration. Nevertheless, one of the reasons why they want to become German citizens is to avoid the compulsory military service. As an example to Canada case, a male from Ottawa (A28) states since he does not want to participate in the compulsory military service he decided to immigrate.

HSBTI claim that Canada and Germany are welfare states and they prefer to live in these countries. A male from Montreal (A15) states, “My main motive to prefer Canada as a host country is starting a family. It is a great place to raise a child. There are great social opportunities ... For instance I have been working here. Therefore, I satisfy the needs of children and elderly by paying taxes. I know that when I am old, someone will pay for me.” An interviewee (B26) illustrates this point by claiming that Germany has a very well-functioning health care system and it is important for immigrants who are mostly away from their families and worry of loneliness during times of illness.

Finally, unhappiness in Turkey is another reason why HSBTI in both cases decided to migrate. This study argues that political and social problems in the country of origin motivate the decision-making process of HSBTI in Canada and Germany: They experience unhappiness in Turkey because of the lack of shared values (that cause HSBTI to feel like outsiders in their home countries), stressful living conditions, and the politically charged atmosphere in Turkey. For instance, a male interviewee from Germany (B13) expresses that since he was unhappy in

Turkey, especially in Istanbul due to city-related problems, he decided to move to another country and try to live there. An interviewee from Canada (A42) says that he is unhappy in Turkey since, for him, life is stressful and he feels that he does not share the same values with other Turkish citizens. A male from Toronto (A41) says that he is unhappy due to the political atmosphere in Turkey. For instance, an economically inactive male interviewee from Berlin (B13) expresses that since he was unhappy in Turkey, especially in Istanbul due to city-related problems, he decided to move to another country and try to live there. He stresses these problems:

I found a job in Istanbul. I started to go to work. However, I did not like Istanbul; it was really hard to live there. You have traffic jams where it takes at least two hours to return home. You are uncomfortable at home; you cannot open your windows. Every building is very close to another. I did not realize this unhappiness before while visiting other countries. My wife said we should try living in Germany and if we are unhappy then we will return to Turkey.

### **6.1.3. Motivations Related to Personal Experiences and Social Networks**

The study supports the propositions of the Social Networks and Migration Theory (a meso-level analysis). This theory stresses that kinship networks and social networks make it easier to migrate if individuals have connections to these networks (Faist 1997; Haug 2000). This kind of relations reduce the costs and risks of moving and support further migration because “as social networks are extended and strengthened by each additional migrant, potential migrants are able to benefit from the social networks and ethnic communities already established in the country of destination” (Haug, 2008: 588). Similarly, HSBTI state that because they have family members or friends as well as a Turkish community and associations in Canada and Germany, they decide to move to these countries.

When family members, friends, or neighbors describe life in Germany or Canada in very favorable ways or they have seen positive comments about Germany or Canada on the Internet, in the media or in seminars, HSBTI interviewees decide to go to these countries. Having personal or family network makes these countries desirable places for migration. When they know someone in Germany or Canada, they choose the country as a point of destination. A female from Toronto (A76), explains the effects of exposure to positive comments in media or seminars in detail:

“I was married back then. We (her husband and she) went to seminars and watched several presentations about Canada. We admired the country and left Turkey without looking back. In these seminars, during presentations, Canada has always been described positively. I could not tell that the presentations aim to deceive people. However, in those presentations, beautiful houses and gardens were shown. Various numbers, such as GDP per capita, were discussed. However, deciding to migrate and choosing Canada by learning life of Canadians, but not the life of Turkish immigrants in Canada, is very problematic.”

Regarding social networks, a male from Montreal (A12) states, “A friend of mine suggested I go Canada. This advice was very influential on my choosing Canada.” Another participant, a male from Montreal (A4), says that he did not have a network in Canada but he decided to migrate to Canada upon the praise of Canada by one of his relatives. Similarly, an interviewee (A16) states that he has a friend in Canada and that he does not know whether he would immigrate to Canada if not for his friend. Another participant, a female from Toronto (A77), expresses that before they (she and her husband) decided to go Canada they had close friends who already migrated to Canada; upon their friends’ recommendations they visited Canada and chose to stay.

An unemployed male respondent from Germany (B30) states that his friend migrated to Germany before him and said very good things regarding Germany, such as it is a beautiful country with many opportunities, and thereby motivated him

to immigrate to Germany as well. Another respondent (B10) states that since he has some relatives in Germany he decided to migrate to the country.

A female student (B8) account illustrates this issue:

I first came to Germany in 2006. I have a cousin here. I was in Rome and wanted to visit Berlin. When I came here, I was very impressed. Before that, I never considered coming to Germany for my PhD. I did not know German and studied in English. I always wanted to come to Europe for higher education (doctorate) and missed the application deadlines for the USA. During this kind of uncertainty, two friends of mine from Dresden talked to me about Germany and told me that I should give a chance to Germany.

The study supports the idea that having relations in social networks reduces the costs and risks of moving and supports further migration. Networks are important because some HSBTI get help from them for migrating to Germany and Canada. These networks support the move by giving information on the host country, finding accommodation for them, allowing HSBTI to stay at their places, or by introducing them to other Turkish immigrants. An interviewee (B27 female from Berlin) states that she had relatives in Germany and they helped her during migration and settlement (accommodation). As A64 (male from Toronto) explains, while they migrate and while they try to get used to their new life, even “knowing someone in Canada” is psychologically helpful to HSBTI. Similarly, an interviewee from Germany (B53) says that he had relatives in Germany who helped them a lot in moving to Germany by finding a place to live, let him live in their home for a while, and by giving some furniture. However, since he has become self-sufficient, he does not expect any more help from them.

The data analysis also shows that generally HSBTI prefer to have close relationship with the Turkish Community and Turkish Associations (nationalist, religious and/or secular ones, and mosques). HSBTI attend activities of Turkish Associations such as religious talks, celebrations and remembrance days, concerts,

and movie nights. For instance, an interviewee from Canada (A9) explains that *Davet Camii (The Mosque of The Message of Islam Foundation)* helped them (she and her husband) find new friends and renting an apartment. An interviewee from Germany (B12) states that he had a close relationship with *Alperen Ocakları (Türkischer Kulturverein e.V.)*<sup>2</sup> in Berlin for almost ten years. He emphasized that he was a member of this community, which has several offices in many cities and countries, including Turkey. He says that thanks to such communities and associations many people are not homesick. A doctoral student from Berlin (B15) attends activities of a socialist association called *Allmende*<sup>3</sup> and a male respondent from Braunschweig (B29) attends religious talks by the *Nur Community* (followers of *Said Nursi*)<sup>4</sup> in order to meet people and socialize.

Unlike Canada, there exists a substantial Turkish population in Germany, and the data show that such a substantial population makes HSBTI feel confident in moving there. An interviewee (B57) agrees that since many Turkish people live in Germany she decided move there as well. Another student (B15) stresses that although he did not have any acquaintances in Berlin, there are many Turkish people in Germany and they support him when necessary. An interviewee (B58) states that living in Berlin was not difficult; he would speak in Turkish when visiting a hospital, pharmacy, grocery, or an advocate. This was because he lived in a high Turkish population neighborhood and prefers Turkish doctors or advocates when necessary. Paradoxically, by living in Turkish neighborhoods in Berlin HSBTI become isolated from Germans and tend not to learn German. Lastly, a respondent

---

<sup>2</sup> The name of the association might be translated as “house of fighters” and “Turkish Culture Association registered association.” It can be described as a nationalist association (<http://www.berlin-alperen.de>).

<sup>3</sup> Haus Alternativer Migrationpolitik und Kultur (House of Alternative Migration Politics and Culture). It is described as a socialist association by HSBTI( <http://www.allmendeberlin.de>).

<sup>4</sup> It can be described as a religious community (<http://www.saidnursi.de>).

(B12) illustrates the idealism that exists regarding the Turkish community in Germany:

The most important reason why I have chosen Germany is I belong to a community (“neo-Nurcu” movement of Fethullah Gülen<sup>5</sup> and Gülen’s followers/The Community [Cemaat]) and I have some ideals. In order to realize those ideals, I needed to come to Germany. This ideal is service (hizmet) to people. Both to increase my standard of living - for instance, I mean, to live in better homes, to have a car - and to work for our society, I needed to make a decision. I believed that I can actualize both of them in Germany and decided to come to Germany.<sup>6</sup>

Lastly, the study also suggests that previous experiences affect the migration decisions of HSBTI. HSBTI interviewees visit Canada and Germany for a short period of time and decide whether to live in those countries. For instance, an interviewee (A30) vacationed to Canada in 2002 with her husband and found that they both liked the opportunities and potential found in the country, which encouraged them to immigrate to Canada. Similarly, a female from Montreal (A5) says that she came to Canada with her husband they liked the country. She adds that they visited Canada for a short period of time and decided to live in Canada without thinking about it very much. Similarly, another female interviewee (A35) decides to live in Canada after she visited the country as a dancer. A female student (B8) states “I first came to Germany in 2006. I have a cousin here. I was in Rome and wanted to visit Berlin. When I came here, I was very impressed. Before that, I never considered coming to Germany for my PhD....”

As a note, HSBTI have problems in Canada or Germany. First, HSBTI have language problems in both Canada and Germany. A female interviewee from Ottawa

---

<sup>5</sup> For detailed information about religious movements see, for instance, Hakan Yavuz, “Towards an Islamic Liberalism?: The Nurcu Movement and Fethullah Gülen,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 4, pp. 584-605.

<sup>6</sup> He works in TÜDESB (Education Institute Berlin-Brandenburg-registered association, <http://www.tuedesb.de>) as a manager and explains his aim and the aim of TÜDESB as educating children through several educational centers and secondary schools.

(A22) says that when she migrated to Canada she realized that she does not know English very well. She tried to improve on her own, but when she only spoke English at work on her first day she went home with a headache. In Montreal, HSBTI say that speaking English is not enough and some Canadians discriminate against English speakers and prefer French. An interviewee (A13) states that several times, she has been forced to speak French. She adds that although HSBTI try to learn French, it is hard for them to communicate with Canadians in Montreal, especially in the east and north where many Francophone people live. Another interviewee (A1) believes that speaking English is not enough in Montreal. Once she migrated to Canada, she began French courses and she still had difficulties for several months when communicating and in finding a job. A male from Montreal (A17) states, “Until I came here, I did not realize the importance of speaking French.” Lastly, the data shows that they have problems expressing themselves in a foreign language, whether French or English.

HSBTI in Germany generally state that knowing English is not enough; some Germans force them to speak German, which, they believe, prevents HSBTI from learning the language. According to HSBTI, when they want to learn the language and are forced to only speak in German by other Germans, with absolutely no empathy toward the difficulty of language learning, it is detrimental to their learning. Similarly, a female from Berlin (B9) says, “I did not want to migrate to Germany. Not knowing German is a big problem. English was the language of education in my university. Besides, whenever I wanted to learn a second language, it was always Spanish. I had a prejudice against Germany and German language, as Germans have against us.” Regarding the language enforcement, a doctoral student (B8) states:

It was my right to come here (Germany). I have worked hard for a scholarship to study here. I graduated from a very prestigious university in Turkey. However, I have experienced discrimination as well. I understood why we cannot integrate in Germany or German society, and why we cannot learn the language. I came here believing that I can learn German, as I have learned many other things. However, many of my German friends forced me to learn German and to speak German. So, I was alienated from the society and the language.

Another interviewee (B20) stresses the importance of working in low Turkish population environments for learning German and explains why Germans are prejudiced against Turkish people:

I do not have many contacts with Turks during my working hours. I have always worked in German companies. It was hard for me; somebody wants something from you, but you cannot understand what he or she wants. You cannot understand why they are angry with you so quickly. However, later, I learned German and understood that there is a large Turkish population whose German is not very well. There are people who have lived here for thirty years but still could not speak German.

Regarding the language problem, an interviewee (B24) explains how it is hard to study in a country without knowing the language. HSBTI experience hardship with expressing themselves and expressing their thoughts in professional or academic life; she says, “I was in trouble for a very long time. Due to my profession, I needed to make presentations, give talks, and make analyses in the classroom. However, for a very long time I could not speak. I was always quiet.” Similarly a post-doc. male researcher from Dresden (B48) says that it was very hard for them (for him and his wife) to communicate and to work for almost one and a half years. A female from Dresden (B50) emphasized how she was worried that she would not feel that as though he belongs to Germany’s society and would have trouble in continuing to improve career development.

The study argues that high skilled immigrants from Turkey experience both cultural and economic integration problems. The data indicates that HSBTI

interviewees in both Canada and Germany have adaptation problems with regard to the Canadian and German culture, society, and daily life. A female interviewee (A21) states, “Something that Canadians in Ottawa tell directly might be considered as impolite by Turkish immigrants in Ottawa. Such cultural differences cause us even consider returning to Turkey.” Another interviewee (A51) says that he has experienced culture shock for almost one year and has experienced many disappointments. Another female interviewee from Toronto (A68) states, “You should not forget your past, but you should try to be adapted to the country to make your life easier.”

Similarly, an interviewee from Germany (B8) states that she has difficulty adapting to the German culture. She believes that the German culture is individualistic and she cannot imagine how she would live in Germany if there were only a few Turkish people living in Germany. The Turkish community helped her with official duties such as filling the university registration, finding a place to live, getting a residence permit, and other duties, which demand the German language. An unemployed interviewee (B14) says, “I am very miserable in here (Germany). I should not have come to Germany; I was a very social person in Turkey” and states that in order to live peacefully in Germany one should adapt to one’s home, job, environment, and neighborhood. He states, “They (Germans) call it ‘integration’. In order to become integrated, we attended a series of lessons.” HSBTI also complain about social relations, generally caused by cultural differences in Germany, and they feeling a general sense of loneliness in Germany. For instance, a female from Berlin (B31) argues, “We do not encounter with warm and friendly people as ones in Turkish society or in any Mediterranean societies. I mean, I created a relationship with Germans in three years. However, I could create the same level of relationship

with Italians in one week.” Regarding loneliness, for instance, a male respondent, who runs a small business in Berlin, states, “When I was a student, I tried to get in touch with the Turkish Student Association. I did not get many advantages from it, but I met many people and did not feel like a stranger and I was not alone.”

HSBTI have economic integration problems both in Canada and Germany. Although one of the reasons why they migrate to Germany and Canada is economic, they experience several career obstacles. They cannot easily find qualified jobs and, even if they could, they generally find jobs at Turkish companies. In relation to that, they have monetary problems. For instance, a female from Toronto (A60) stresses, “For the first years we had difficulties in living in Canada because of being unacquainted with the country. We had both monetary and cultural adaptation problems, but later we learned to cope with those problems.”

HSBTI in Canada cite that lacking “Canadian Experience” was pointed out as the main reason why they were turned down from jobs, which suited their skill sets and degrees. Some HSBTI in Canada try to work voluntarily so that they earn “Canadian Experience,” or try several unqualified jobs such as working at fast food restaurants, as a salesperson, or flier distributor (of said fast food restaurants). Others made career changes in order to find employment. For instance, some economists became limousine drivers or some lawyers became immigration consultants. An interviewee (A1) says that being a qualified immigrant does not guarantee a job in Canada. She emphasizes that to find a job immigrants should graduate from Canadian schools and universities. A male from Ottawa (A24) says that when they (he and his family) first came, they had difficulties in finding jobs. He stresses that they still have career problems.

They frequently change their jobs and cannot find any job related to their

proficiencies. A female from Montreal (A10) states, “My husband has disappointed in the jobs. He did not know that there had been a recession in Canada and Canadians get priority during recruitment.” An interviewee (A9) criticizes the inaccuracy of the information about the country by stressing,

“Because of very inaccurate information about Canada, many Turkish people came and want to come to Canada. They have many dreams about the country. The ideas of Turkish people about Canada are very different from the reality. Standards of living are very low, it is very hard to earn money, and taxes are too high. However, since it is a welfare country, we have benefitted from various social opportunities, but not as a luxury.”

Another interviewee criticizes the country (A40) and argues that Canada is a hypocrite; it invites qualified immigrants but when they arrive it is very hard for them to find their first jobs in Canada.

The data even shows that, HSBTI generally start over and even work dangerous jobs. A student (A38) explains that there are several medicinal laboratories of large pharmaceutical companies that use the blood of unemployed immigrants (since HSBTI participate in their testing due to desperation in hard economic times). He was also a part of an anti-depression pill experiment, which he learned was illegal and decided to withdraw. Similarly, a male respondent from Germany (B20) states that for the first few years he worked at several jobs, such as dumping garbage from a construction site, and then he found a job at a German company.

Another male respondent (B30) says that since he could not find jobs at German companies and only found short-term jobs at Turkish companies, so he decided to return to Turkey. A female from Berlin (B2) states that she found a job on her profession, which is accountancy. However, she stresses that she has found this job in a Turkish company after living in Germany for eight years. As a male respondent (B16) says that Turkish people have been always discriminated against

in finding apartments to rent or about finding a job and for him this is very hard to deal with it. Similarly, an interviewee (B41) argues:

They discriminate against Turkish people. They are prejudiced against us. They actually do not like foreigners. I will always be ‘a foreigner’ as long as I stay here, even if I will be able to become a professor at the university. Therefore, I do not want to stay in the country where I am not welcomed. They use *Ausländer*<sup>7</sup> for us. This word is used for all of the foreigners or immigrants. I study abnormal animals and make genetic analyses. So, I generally go to villages in order to get my experimental animals. Villagers are always excited when they hear that a vet visits them. You experience very serious greetings, but when they understand that you are a foreigner because of your accent they do not value you anymore. They treat you as if you are not a doctor. This upsets you a lot.

HSBTI have problems with the attitudes of citizens of host countries or the host countries themselves. HSBTI in Canada and Germany mostly criticize discrimination, racism, and prejudice against foreigners in general and against Turkish people in particular. A male from Montreal (A12) says that Canadians underrate Turkish immigrants. A doctoral student from Berlin (B7) explains that a high Turkish population in Berlin is both an advantage and a disadvantage for new Turkish immigrants in Germany. According to her, they experience many problems in daily life such as finding an apartment since Germans are resistant toward Turkish people due to former bad experiences with them or because of prejudice. A respondent (B8) states, “They (Germans) want us to belong only to lower classes. Being a Turk means being illiterate and belonging in lower classes. For instance, Germans who talk about me stress that I am an educated Turk. They need to stress this because, according to them, almost all Turkish people are uneducated.”

Finally, although HSBTI choose Canada for its social opportunities, they are not happy with its healthcare system. According to an interviewee (A65), Turkish

---

<sup>7</sup> It means foreigner in German. However, if the word is directly translated into English it can be explained as a person who does not belong to Germany, but belongs in some other country or ‘out of the land.’

citizens believe that foreign countries offer a window of opportunity. He states that there are also good opportunities in Turkey. He had difficulties in Canada and says, “In Turkey, for example, the health care system is much better. Like I said, there is not a perfect place in the world. Canada is as good as Turkey.” HSBTI prefer Canada for its higher standard of living, however the HSBTI standards turn out to be lower in Canada than in Turkey. A male from Toronto (A64) says,

In the very first month, I liked Canada. However, later, I started to think that Istanbul is better than here. Besides, it is very hard for immigrants to find a job in Canada. I do not want to do volunteer work and applied for unemployment benefits. I do not have a proper job and my English is not very well. Here, my life standard is very much lower than in Istanbul.

#### **6.1.4. Motivations Related to Migration and Citizenship Policies of Host**

##### **Countries**

While states try to control international migration by adopting various citizenship and migration policies as well as by encouraging certain types of immigrants (such as skilled and business immigrants) to migrate and prevent others from it (such as unskilled labor) (Castles, 2002: 1146). This study aims to understand whether the decision to migrate is affected by the migration and citizenship policies of host countries. The comparative analysis of the empirical data supports the first hypothesis (**HYPO 1**), which stresses that the migration and citizenship policy of host countries have a significant impact on migration decisions. The study finds that HSBTI in Canada decided to migrate to that specific country after considering the migration and citizenship policies in several other countries such as European countries and Australia.

As discussed in Chapter IV, the German immigration policy is restricted especially toward third-country nationals with its exclusivist and conditional regulations, while Canada's immigration policy is more inclusive by providing almost the same opportunities for candidates from every country. HSBTI believe that Canada has a more welcoming immigration policy with a very straightforward immigration procedure (efficient and clear), when compared to other countries.

As a result of such comparisons, interviewees developed certain perceptions. They came to believe that the Australian immigration policy is unfriendly and America's Green Card policy depends mostly on luck. For these reasons, they choose Canada as their country of destination. A female from Ottawa (A22) states, "I heard that coming to Canada is easier than other countries. So, I decided to come." Another interviewee (A29) researched immigration policies of several countries and chooses Canada. She states, "I made a research (about immigration policies). For instance Australian immigration policy seems unfriendly. I never consider America since its Green Card policy depends mostly on nothing more than luck. I never want to live in Germany. No option left but Canada..." A male from Montreal (A4) says that Canada's immigrant-friendly immigration policy is the main reason why he chose Canada as a host country. He added that Canada offers several opportunities to immigrants. A male from Toronto (A55) stated that Canada has a very standard immigration procedure, which is efficient and clear.

In relation to this policy motive, and as opposed to HSBTI of Germany, HSBTI of Canada are also motivated by the desire to pursue a Canadian citizenship (which is allowed by the migration and citizenship policy of Canada). A participant, (A51), explains why the Canadian migration policy is immigrant-friendly by explaining that after immigrating people can stay in the country as long as they want

to, and Canada allows immigrants to acquire Canadian citizenship within three years. A male from Montreal (A4) says that since Canada is a multiculturalist state and that he can live in Canada peacefully. Therefore, he decided to migrate to Canada. Regarding “citizenship acquisition,” he states that his main motive on choosing Canada as a host country is getting citizenship easily.

#### **6.1.5. The Importance of Geography, Nomads of Gain and the Passport as a Commodity in the Question of Migration Motivation:**

This study proposes three important concepts in explaining migration motivations: practical geography, nomads of gain, and citizenship (and the passport) as a commodity. First of all, this study argues that the international mobility of HSBTI needs to be defined as a constant movement rather than immigration and settlement to a country. It is observed that Turkish high skilled and business immigrants should be identified as “**nomads of gain**” and the migration practice of the high skilled is neither circular nor final, but represents of a temporary logic of residence. The main motivations of this temporality are social and economic prospects as well as gains from naturalization. HSBTI prefer constant ‘mobility’ all around the world and this choice is related to previously discussed factors such as education, work, and new places to live. HSTBI move to Canada and Germany since they are interested in living in a foreign country and see themselves as “international” people or not necessarily belonging to one nation or demographic, which is related to the idea that life in Western countries is better than life in their home country.

A female from Montreal (A1) states that she will migrate somewhere else after she graduates from her university. Another female interviewee from Toronto (A76) states, “I have always wondered what it was like to live in a foreign [Western] country. You know, we [Turkish people] always have the idea that life in Western countries is better than life in Turkey.”

A male participant from Berlin (B18) stresses:

I do not understand why people want to return to Turkey; we are citizens of the world. I live here (Germany) now, but later I may migrate to London to live there. Next year, I may live in Istanbul. Of course, I very much enjoy living in Istanbul. However, I am against the argument that people should have a nation or homeland. I go to Istanbul, but I also enjoy living in other cities and in other countries.

Similarly, a respondent from Dresden (B47) says that she can live anywhere since she does not feel attached to any place. A respondent from Berlin (B17) states that if she could not find a job in Germany, she will migrate to another country to find work

Regarding the motivation of living in a foreign country, a male from Canada (A2) states that he always wants to live abroad and he thinks that he is not a local but an “international” person. An interviewee from Germany (B26) states that she came to Germany because she always wanted to live in a foreign country. She adds, “First, I was a visiting a professor in Boston, then I was offered a position in Germany, and I decided to move here.” A female interviewee from Toronto (A48) says that she did not plan to migrate to Canada. She explains, “I always believed that I will live in a foreign country at some point in my life. This [migrating to Canada] is an experience in a foreign country. Later, I decided to stay in Canada.”

Another interviewee from Germany (B28) stated that he desired to live abroad. Moreover, he thinks that people are alienated from each other in Turkey and he feels like an outsider there, so he planned to move to a European country. The

interviewee explains being an outsider in Turkey by stating, “You cannot be comfortable when you are in bus or having coffee for some reason. Although you did not do a thing, people are not comfortable when they see you. I experience this kind of dissonance. I tried to solve this problem and decided that I can solve it by migrating to another country.”

The ‘nomads of gain’ argument is supported by another motive of HSBTI in Canada and Germany. The concept of “**practical geography**” argues that for HSBTI, both Canada and Germany have geographical significances and HSBTI in Canada and Germany have an understanding of “**practical geography.**” For instance, although Australia and Canada are desirable countries for migration, since Canada is closer to Turkey and to the USA HSBTI in Canada choose to move Canada. Additionally, since Germany is closer to Turkey choose to migrate to Germany (for instance, they choose to live six months in Germany and six months in Turkey or in other European countries).

An interviewee (A46) compares Australia with Canada and he prefers Canada since it is closer to Turkey. Another interviewee from Canada (A58) states, “We heard that Canada accepts immigrants. Australia accepts immigrants too, but it was far away from Turkey. Therefore we choose Canada.” Being closer to the USA makes an attractive choice to HSBTI as well. A female from Toronto (A76) states that “there are two countries which accept immigrants: Canada and Australia. Australia is not close to America.” Similarly, an interviewee from Germany (B24) focuses on this issue by stating that while she tried to decide where to study for a Master’s degree she realized that she did not want to live far from Turkey. Other reasons persuaded her, such as Germany ranking high in the field of social sciences, but distance was why she decided to migrate to Germany.

Lastly, the ‘nomads of gain’ argument is supported by another motive of HSBTI in Canada and Germany: the concept of **citizenship (and passport) as a “commodity”** (this concept will be discussed in Chapter VII in detail). This concept argues that HSBTI decide to pursue the citizenship of a host country for the sake of the freedom of movement. HSBTI believe that the German and Canadian passport may bring several advantages for them such as a visa exemption.

For instance, a female from Montreal (A1) says that she decides to get Canadian passports since she does not want to pursue a Visa anymore. A18 and A19 (females from Montreal) say that the Canadian passport opens doors to future Visa advantages. A male interviewee from Ottawa (A24) argues, “Becoming [a] Canadian Citizen is useful only to go anywhere easily.” An interviewee from Canada (A47) claims, “I applied for a passport. If I could believe that I can travel around the world with a Turkish Passport, I would not consider filling out a Canadian citizenship application.” A female from Montreal (A7) says that she wants to become a Canadian citizen especially because it makes travel easier. Also, the immigrants prefer to pursue a Canadian citizenship since they want to be mobile to live, study, or work in other countries. For instance, a female from Montreal (A10) states that she wants to move to Europe to work there and for this reason they need a Canadian passport.

Similarly, mobility relates to their desire to be world citizens and seek education, work, and new places to live as described by a male participant from Berlin (B18):

I do not understand why people want to return to Turkey; we are citizens of the world. I live here (Germany) now, but later I may migrate to London to live there. Next year, I may live in Istanbul. Of course, I very much enjoy living in Istanbul. However, I am against the argument that people should have a nation or homeland. I go to Istanbul, but I also enjoy living in other cities and in other countries.

A female from Dresden (B47) says that she can live anywhere since she does not feel attached to any place. Another interviewee from Berlin (B17) says:

First of all, I want to acquire it (German citizenship) for freedom of travel. The doors are open when you have citizenship of a European country. You can always be a part of collaborations in the European Union as an academician. I mean, with the Turkish citizenship, we face several visa problems when we want to go to a European country for travel, a conference, or academic joint work.)

## **6.2. Conclusions:**

One of the main aims of this study was to discuss individuals' motivations for international migration. It tried to understand contemporary reasons (2000-2010) of HSBTI for migrating to Canada and Germany and to see whether citizenship and migration policies of these countries affected the motivations of HSBTI. The results of the critical analysis of the comparative case study conducted in Canada and Germany show that in last ten years (2000-2010), HSBTI decided to move out of Turkey because of economic, social and political reasons, with the help of social networks and personal experiences in host countries, as well as due to welcoming migration and citizenship policies (**HYPO 1**) of the host countries.

Firstly, the study argues that in last ten years (2000-2010), HSBTI decided to move out of Turkey for economic reasons. These reasons are not directly related to high wages in host countries. Some of these economic opportunities differ from Germany to Canada. While HSBTI interviewees move to Canada to find a job in Canada, HSBTI interviewees in Germany move in order to meet the job market requirements of Turkey. Other economic opportunities in host countries include career development possibilities (professional or academic), and the evasion from the economic crisis that occurred in Turkey during the early 2000s.

The study suggests social and political reasons affect HSBTI's migration decisions. One of the social reasons is education and it comprises many related issues such as education for the entire family, earning a degree from a foreign university and alternative educational opportunities. HSBTI in Canada and Germany have different explanations for educational motivations (such as education for family in the case of Canada and free university education, easy university applications and scholarship opportunities in the case of Germany). Other social reasons include a wish to gain more social rights, and earning a higher standard of living in Canada or Germany. HSBTI in Canada say that the country is an attractive choice because it fits them culturally and they see the country as safe place.

Regarding political opportunities, the study argues that HSBTI prefer to move to host countries to live in a better political environment, in welfare states or for freedom of thought and speech. Additionally, in order to avoid the compulsory military service they decide to leave their country of origin. Finally, the study suggests that unhappiness in Turkey caused by political and social is another reason why HSBTI migrate to both Germany and Canada.

The study argues that social network and personal experience in host countries also affect the migration decisions of HSBTI. Having family members or friends in Canada and Germany; and the existing Turkish community and other connections in these countries, previous visits to these countries, and positive comments about host countries in the internet encourage immigrants to make the decision to leave Turkey. This study supports the argument that having connections in social networks reduces the costs and risks of moving. Social networks are important for HSBTI since they can receive help from them, have access to information, and find accommodation. As opposed to Canada, there exists a

substantial Turkish population in Germany, which makes HSBTI feel confident in moving Germany.

Nevertheless, HSBTI experience problems in Canada and Germany.. They face a variety of issues in the host country: language problems, cultural and economic integration problems, and problems with the attitude of citizens of host countries or the host countries themselves (such as discrimination, racism, and prejudice).

Lastly, the data results support the first hypothesis, which argues that migration and citizenship policies (**HYPO 1**) of the host countries affect the migration motivations of HSBT. After comparing the migration and citizenship policies of several countries, HSBTI choose the country they want to migrate to. More specifically, if HSBTI believe that the host country has an immigrant-friendly and inclusive migration and citizenship policy then they choose to move to this country. According to HSBTI in Canada, the country has a very standard immigration procedure (efficient and clear) and allows immigrants to pursue a Canadian citizenship within three years. They give the welcoming migration and citizenship policies as a reason for their migration to Canada.

The study introduces three important concepts to the study of international migration: practical geography, nomads of gain, and citizenship (and the passport) as a commodity. It argues that these concepts can provide an explanation for the current international movements of HSBTI. The data analysis shows that HSBTI prefer to move to countries, which are closer to Turkey (the effect of **practical geography** in deciding to country of destination), to move constantly (**nomads of gain**), and to use a passport for constant movement (using **citizenship (and the passport) as a commodity**).

Building on these results, next chapter will make a comparative analysis of the data results and discuss how HSBTI define the concept citizenship and why they choose naturalization or refrain from it. It also discusses the hypotheses stressing that recently the states' citizenship policies (whether it is multiculturalist or restrictive) affect naturalization decisions of HSBTI (**HYPO 2**) and the naturalization decisions of HSBTI are affected by the meaning they give to the concept citizenship (**HYPO 3**).

## **CHAPTER VII**

### **A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CITIZENSHIP AND THE NATURALIZATION DECISION- MAKING PROCESS**

Besides individuals' motivation for international migration as discussed in Chapter Six, this study focuses on their conceptualization of citizenship and their decision-making process for citizenship acquisition. It aims to build a typology for the existing meaning of citizenship in the literature and aims to seek how individuals define the concept of citizenship today. Additionally, this study aims to find the reasons why some immigrants decide to receive the citizenship of the country of destination while others do not. It also aims to understand whether there is any effect of citizenship and migration policies of host countries on the decision-making process of immigrants. It is hypothesized that the states' recent citizenship and migration policies (whether multiculturalist or restrictive) affect naturalization

decisions of HSBTI (**HYPO 2**) and that their naturalization decisions are affected by the meaning they give to the concept of citizenship (**HYPO 3**).

### **7.1. The Meaning of Citizenship**

It is observed that the main difference in the conceptualization of citizenship between HSBTI in Canada and Germany is that HSBTI in Canada generally conceptualize citizenship by dividing the concept into citizenship by birth and citizenship through naturalization. Each is conceptualized differently. There is Canadian citizenship where one obtains citizenship through naturalization and Turkish citizenship where one obtains citizenship by birth. Citizenship by birth (A) and citizenship by naturalization (B) include various characteristics. (For instance, according to a male from Toronto (A65), there are two kinds of citizenship; one of them is citizenship acquisition by getting a foreign country passport and the other is citizenship in real terms.) Only the minority of HSBTI has a single concept of citizenship, which is described with similar characteristics of citizenship by birth and citizenship by naturalization.

By focusing on conceptualization itself, this study argues that the typology built to categorize the main elements of citizenship in the existing literature (i.e., legal status/membership, territoriality, rights and duties/responsibilities, identity and participation) can be used but is not enough to explain how HSBTI in Germany and Canada define citizenship. This study suggests (as stated in Chapter 6) an important concept, which is the passport or citizenship as a commodity.

### **7.1.1. Citizenship as Legal Status or Membership**

According to traditional citizenship theories, people have a legal affiliation with least one nation-state which is accepted as a way to assist “the relationship between individuals and the state” (Bloemraad, 2000: 13). Additionally, for Kymlicka and Norman, one of the three aspects of the concept of citizenship is a legal aspect, which is about being a member of a country (2000: 30-31). As in traditional citizenship literature, for HSBTI, citizenship is seen as the last step toward integration, a legal status or becoming a member. For instance, a female interviewee from Canada (A29) states, “I think citizenship is a legal status, but nothing more. Nobody should add any value to it.” Similarly, a doctoral student from Germany (B15) expresses that, for him, citizenship only means having a legal bond between a people and a state.

Although for some authors in the literature, the concept of citizenship is not about national membership and gaining rights through it, the data reveals that HSBTI in Canada and Germany describe citizenship as a legal status through which people gain several rights.. As an example from the literature, Soysal argues that there are different kinds of membership status, and she states “the guest-workers have achieved safe membership status without becoming citizens. They are heralds of a new form of ‘post-national membership’, anchored not in national belonging but a world-spanning discourse of universal human rights” (Joppke, 1999a: 630). Soysal argues that the nation state is not the basis of legitimacy for rights, and the classical understanding of citizenship cannot be used to explain “the dynamics of membership and belonging in contemporary Europe” (Nuhoglu-Soysal, 1996: 21). However, as Hammar claims, citizenship is about being an official member of a

state, and membership is needed for determining rights and duties (Hammar, 1999: 85). This data argues that HSBTI in Canada and Germany describe citizenship as a legal status and thanks to this membership status individuals are able to gain several rights and need to exercise several duties and responsibilities.

For instance, a male interviewee from Canada (A51) says, “I think it (the citizenship) is a bilateral treaty. It defines my duties as an individual against a country I live in and responsibilities of the state against me.” Similarly, a participant from Germany (B1) argues that citizenship means accepting certain rules and these rules should also protect his rights. Another participant from Germany (B58) stresses that citizenship means being born in same country and feeling good in this place and doing their duties and responsibilities.

### **7.1.2. Citizenship as Territoriality**

Similar to Miller-Idriss’s study (2006), according to HSBTI, the concept of citizenship has a dimension of territoriality as birthplace or a nation or home. Miller-Idriss focuses on younger Germans and argues that they define Germanness primarily in cultural, economic, civic and geographic terms. (Miller-Idriss, 2006: 562) Both this study and Miller-Idriss’s study show that national citizenship is not weakening as Soysal (1994) claims, but it is “a meaningful concept and a powerful form of cultural identification” (Miller-Idriss, 2006: 562).

For instance, HSBTI in Canada and Germany conceptualize citizenship as *jus soli* or the right of the soil. Regarding the feature of *jus soli*, an interviewee from Germany (B46) claims that people are citizens of the countries where they were

born. A male from Berlin (B58) says, “Citizens are people who were born in same country.” A respondent from Germany (B9) identifies citizenship with the nation and home; she says, “I always have a home.” Similarly, a respondent from Canada (A1) states that she is a citizen only of the country that she was born in. Another respondent says (A56) “Citizenship means for me that gaining rights in Canada... For us (he and his wife) the real citizenship is Turkish citizenship since we were not born in here (Canada).”

Even the opposing views, where some HSBTI describe citizenship as an artificial entity and a matter of chance, support the argument of territoriality. A respondent from Germany (B48) relates to the issue of change with *jus soli* by saying that the difference between being a German citizen and a Turkish citizen is simply being born in Germany or Turkey. For him, it is just about chance.

### **7.1.3. Citizenship as Rights and Duties/Responsibilities**

In the citizenship literature, for Marshall for instance, a classical citizenship theorist, citizenship is about rights. He argues that these rights have evolved historically and since the 20<sup>th</sup> century individuals have had civil, political, and social rights. (Marshall, 1950:11) Without explaining the rights in detail, HSBTI in Canada and Germany also describe the concept by having rights.

Additionally, the study results refute the arguments of Soysal about rights and duties, but the results have similarities with Caymaz’s study (in-depth interviews with 60 Turkish people (Turks, Armenians, etc.) from various cities and backgrounds). (2008: 61-64) According to the participants in the Caymaz study, the

concept citizenship means having duties (Caymaz, 2008: 137). Similarly, HSBTI in Canada and Germany define citizenship as having duties. For Soysal, the new kind of citizenship provides every individual “the right and duty of participation in the authority structures and public life of a polity, regardless of their historical or cultural ties to that community” (Nuhoglu Soysal, 1994: 3). However, in this study, the data results show that HSBTI feel responsibilities, belonging and ties toward the community/nation.

Regarding rights, a male interviewee from Canada (A51) says, “I think it is a bilateral treaty. It defines my duties as an individual against a country I live in and responsibilities of the state against me.” Another participant (A7) states that citizenship means to gain rights and since countries have agreements with several countries in the international arena, citizenship includes international rights. Similarly, a male from Berlin (B1) argue that states should protect all of the rights of all of its citizens. According to him citizenship means gaining rights by being/becoming a country’s citizen and he says those rights include social equality, democratic rights, and equal conditions and opportunities. A female from Berlin (B22) conceptualizes citizenship as having equal rights in a country.

Regarding duties and responsibilities, a male interviewee from Canada (A51) says, “I think it is a bilateral treaty. It defines my duties as an individual against a country I live in and responsibilities of the state against me.” An interviewee from Germany (B8) states, “I think that citizenship means belonging to a country, wishing to protect the country, having other duties toward it, and knowing that it protects you as well.” For another interviewee from Germany (B10), “Citizenship is protection of a country by people and of a person by a country. In short, it is mutual rights and duties of people and countries.”

#### **7.1.4. Citizenship as Identity**

For many theories and thinkers in the citizenship literature, identity is an important component of the concept of citizenship. For instance, in the communitarian theory of citizenship, citizenship includes the element of identity as an attachment to a community (Bloemraad, 2000: 21). For Kymlicka and Norman (1994) identity is one of the three aspects of citizenship. They argue that citizenship is more than a status or rights and responsibilities. Individuals have different identities, and citizenship is “an expression of one’s membership in a political community” (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 369). This data analysis supports these ideas by showing that, for HSBTI in Germany in Canada, citizenship is related to identity. Similar to Hammar’s (1989) social and cultural dimensions (such as belonging and common culture), political dimensions (loyalty and supporting common values), and psychological aspects (belonging to culture and language) of citizenship, the meaning of citizenship includes the element of identity which embraces belonging, trust, symbols, and cultural bonds such as language, emotional and moral bonds, values, traditions, and a common history.

A male from Montreal (A12) expresses that the “meaning of citizenship is different in terms of Turkey and in terms of Canada. In terms of Turkey, I have a culture, an identity and history. Canadian citizenship means only a passport to me.” Similarly, A female from Toronto (A57) stresses that she and her husband consider their Turkish citizenship the “real” citizenship since they were not born and raised in Canada. They believe that this feeling might be different for their three-year-old child. Another participant from Montreal (A4) states that citizenship by birth is related to where someone is born and the culture one belongs to. A female

participant from Toronto (A66) states that she will always consider herself a Turkish citizen and a Turk since culture and traditions are important in defining one's citizenship. However, she argues that her children will be Canadian citizens since they will be raised in Canada and grow with the Canadian culture and traditions.

According to HSBTI, feeling pride toward one's country and sense of belonging were significantly related to the concept citizenship. Hammar maintains four ways to conceptualize citizenship. One of them is social and cultural in which the dimensions signify "membership of a nation" (Hammar, 1989: 85). These dimensions have similarities with a sense of belonging to a nation. Similarly, HSBTI in Canada and Germany have sense of belonging to Turkey and feel pride toward Turkey.

A participant (A75, male from Montreal) states, "I am proud to be a Turkish citizen. Wherever I live, I will be proud to be a Turkish citizen." While explaining a sense of belonging, a male from Montreal (A15) states that it is a great advantage that Canada allows Turkish citizens to acquire the Canadian citizenship. However, he says that he cannot be a Canadian; he feels he is a Turkish citizen and he does not know what he would do if there Canada and Turkey ever go to war with each other. Similarly, a female student from Montreal (A18) states, "I belong to Turkey and its Turkish citizenship. I still follow Turkey and Turkish news. I am grateful to have Canadian Citizenship and can come always to Canada. However, I belong to my Turkish citizenship." Similarly, an interviewee from Germany (B7) states that people are citizens of countries where they feel that they belong. Similarly, another interviewee (B8) describes citizenship as the feeling of belonging to a place/country and geography.

In addition to the sense of belonging, this data shows that citizenship is described by HSTBI as loyalty, as cultural bonds about one's language, as having emotional and moral bonds, and as having similar values. These results support the ideas of Hammar who maintains that there are four ways to conceptualize citizenship, two of which are psychological and political (Hammar, 1989: 85). This study argues that psychological aspects (related to belonging to culture and language) and political dimensions (related to loyalty and supporting common values) of the concept of citizenship is actually related to the aspect of identity, which is mostly used by HSBTI in Canada and Germany to define citizenship.

For instance, a female participant from Ottawa (A21) says that citizenship by birth means having involuntary emotional and cultural bonds and it is the main component of one's own identity. A male from Montreal (A8) says that the Turkish citizenship symbolizes his identity and his values. Similarly, a respondent from Germany (B54) conceptualizes citizenship as loyalty. A male from Berlin (B34) says, "Citizenship means having a bond and love toward a country. We live here, work here, use the cars of this country, but we watch Turkish TV programs and news about Turkey. We feel sorry for Turkish people who had a traffic accident in Turkey. This is the most beautiful description of citizenship." A female from Dresden (B50) says, "I think that being a citizen is wishing for development and safety of one's country, internalizing its culture, language, values, and trying to protect its unity."

Lastly, even opposing views support the argument of conceptualizing citizenship as identity. For instance, for a respondent (B51), citizenship is an artificial identification and she says, "I would be happier if I did not have to depend on any country."

### **7.1.5. Citizenship as Participation**

The study argues that the concept citizenship includes the element of participation. Both in Germany and Canada, HSBTI mention political participation when they defined citizenship. However, unlike Kymlicka (2002), who argues that citizens should question authority since in a representative democracy they choose representatives, HSBTI do not give much detail about participation and generally mention voting. As an example, a participant from Canada (A20) states, “Citizenship means voting to me,” and a participant from Germany (A26) states, “Citizenship means political loyalty for me... I have changed my flight just because I wanted to arrive in time to Turkey to be able to vote in parliamentary elections.”

### **7.1.6. Citizenship as a Commodity**

As stated before, this study suggests three important concepts, one of which is citizenship (and passport) as a commodity. In this study, it is observed that HSBTI in Canada and Germany see the concept citizenship as a commodity (mostly citizenship through naturalization), which they receive to satisfy their needs or wishes. Işın and Wood discuss a similar idea, which is that consumerism is a new kind of participation and they think that there can be a movement toward consumer citizenship. In such a system, individuals consume and consuming becomes, for instance, an active political action (Işın and Wood, 1999: 158). However, this study proposes that the concept of citizenship has a new dimension of commodity in the global world; thus, individuals can consume citizenship as a profitable tool, which

includes several rights and provides opportunities (such as the guarantee of and means for freedom of movement). Balta and Altan Olcay (2014), on the other hand, argue “transnational citizenship is physically transformed into a good, becoming part of the workings of the layers of economic transactions” and they conceptualize transnational citizenship “as market embedded transnationalism in the words of our informants, laying out their perceptions of transnational citizenship.” (p. 140). Nevertheless, this study tries to understand what the concept citizenship mean for people by directly asking them the meaning of “citizenship” in general and without trying to understand their perception.

A participant from Canada (A17) states that citizenship through naturalization does not mean anything, but it is a useful tool. According to another participant from Canada (A26), the Canadian citizenship can provide several opportunities and ease one’s life in Canada. A male from Montreal (A4) says that after he receives his Canadian citizenship, he will not feel Canadian. He thinks that it is a profitable tool. It will only bring several rights and provide opportunities as an “artificial bond.” A female from Ottawa (A33) stresses that she wants the Canadian citizenship for its opportunities and the ease it can bring. She says, “I ‘know’ there is a difference between citizenship by birth and citizenship through naturalization.”

Similarly, A female respondent (B2) says that citizenship is benefiting from opportunities in a country. A respondent (B28) believes that everyone should have same rights and does not have to belong or depend on any country. They should have freedom of movement; they should be able to live and work wherever they want to. An interviewee from Berlin (B23) stresses that they can buy any citizenship with his money:

State is a company and citizenship is a commercial system. For me, state is a place where I pay my taxes as a citizen. I work, pay for my work, use the

highway or metro of the company, and use electricity. This is what citizenship means for me. I have chosen this state, today. The portfolio of Germany fits for me, therefore I have chosen Germany. I use opportunities of Germany and pay for it. I can buy any country with my money.

A respondent from Germany (B9) illustrates this idea by stating, “Wherever you go, I mean, if you go to the USA and if you are in trouble, you do not take shelter at the German Consulate, but at the Turkish Consulate. I do not take shelter at the German Consulate although I have a residence permit in Germany. Thus, citizenship means trust and guarantee for me. I place my trust in Turkey.” As another example of the guarantee citizenship provides, a respondent from Germany (B50) states:

People from the country X cannot enter some countries just because they are citizens of X. This is unbelievable and unjust. I know that if anyone rejects his or her citizenship, then he or she becomes stateless. Thus, we do not have any alternatives. People cannot think about otherwise. Five thousand years from now, our ancestors should travel easily.

## **7.2. Naturalization Decision-Making Process of Turkish Immigrants**

In the naturalization literature the decision-making process of immigrants around acquiring citizenship is explained by seven issues. These issues include the effect of citizenship laws (both in country of origin and destination); the effect of socioeconomic environment (such as Yang 1994) (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 5); the effect of cultural similarities (see for instance Yang 1994) (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 7); the effect of personal skills (such as language competence (Vink and Dronkers, 2012: 8)); attitudes of countries toward immigrants (for instance Bloemraad 2002); as well as cost and benefit relations and normative motivations.<sup>1</sup>

According to the data analysis, HSBTI explain their reasons to obtain or not

---

<sup>1</sup> This categorization has similarities with the one of Vink and Dronkers (2012).

to obtain the citizenship of host countries by the effect of cultural similarities and integration; the citizenship and migration policies; and social, economic and political in host countries. This data analysis support the hypotheses that the states' recent citizenship policies (whether it is multiculturalist or restrictive) (HYPO 2) and the meaning HSBTI give to the concept citizenship (HYPO 3) affect their naturalization decisions. Lastly, as a result of this data analysis, it seems HSBTI conceptualize citizenship (mostly through naturalization) as a commodity, and the difference in citizenship acquisition is related to the "market value" of the passport they will get.

#### **7.2.1. The Attitudes of Citizens in Host Countries**

HSBTI in Canada and Germany experience discrimination in their host countries. however only HSBTI in Germany argue that they do not want to naturalize because of experiencing this problem. HSBTI experience discrimination in Germany in many ways and they believe that this would continue even if they were to acquire the German citizenship. For example, a respondent (B41) states that Germans continuously discriminate against foreigners and that Germans will never welcome foreigners. As a male from Berlin (B28) stresses that since HSBTI do not want to belong or depend on any country, they do not want to have any country's citizenship; they want to be citizens of the world.

The data concerning HTBSI's/participants experience with discrimination suggest that highly skilled and business migrants in Canada decide on citizenship acquisition regardless of the attitudes of the receiving countries' citizens. As a result

of the data analysis, it is seen that HSBTI in Canada encounter problems with Canadians' attitude toward Turkish immigrants. A male from Montreal (A12) says that Canadians underrate Turkish immigrants. Even if they felt they were discriminated against, they still would continue to acquire citizenship. They did not mention the issue of discrimination as a reason of deciding not to acquire Canadian citizenship.

### **7.2.2.Integration and the Effect of Cultural Similarities**

Yang (1994) maintains that immigrants' adaptation is important in predicting the likelihood of citizenship acquisition (449).HSBTI's who feel that they have completely integrated within the country and who want to become citizens of the world desire the naturalization process. HSBTI in Germany and Canada argue that they have adapted to Germany or Canada and have accepted the rules and learned the customs of these countries. HSBTI in Canada and Germany state that they do not lose their identities and culture, but follow and accept the rules.

A participant from Canada (A14), states that pursuing his Canadian citizenship represents his integration into the Canadian lifestyle. A female from Berlin (B35) stresses:

I like to live here (Germany). I think that I have integrated enough. So, I think that Germany should allow us (Turkish citizens) to pursue dual citizenship (Turkish and German citizenships). We are neither German nor Turk actually; we need both of the countries. I realize that we cannot give up any of them (Germany and Turkey). I want to pursue the German citizenship; I may wait until Germany allows dual citizenship.

### **7.2.3.Citizenship and Migration Policies**

This data analysis supports the second hypothesis (**HYPO 2**) and it is observed that the variation in the decision-making process of HSBTI concerning citizenship acquisition can be explained by the variety of citizenship policies of states. As Vink and Dronkers's study (2012) indicates, citizenship policies influence the rates of citizenship acquisition of immigrants (1). This study shows that the restricted citizenship and migration policies in Germany negatively affect naturalization decisions of HSBTI (in the sense that they consider not acquiring German citizenship), while multiculturalist citizenship and migration policies in Canada positively affect naturalization decisions of HSBTI.

HSBTI in Canada argue that since both Turkey and Canada allow dual citizenship, and since Canada allows immigrants to naturalize after three years, it is reasonable to be naturalized. They generally decide to "benefit from this right" after they have completed the time required for application eligibility. This study argues that HSBTI in Germany generally do not prefer to be naturalized otherwise they renounce the Turkish citizenship, which would mean losing their identities and rights in Turkey. Thus, HSBTI in Germany want to have dual citizenship, but German policies do not allow it and opportunities that Turkish citizenship provides (e.g., economic gain and retirement) affect their decision-making processes. Moreover, HSBTI decide not to pursue German citizenship since its procedures (application procedures, eligibility requirements, etc.) are not as easy as are the ones in Canada.

Regarding the citizenship and migration policies of Canada, an interviewee (A1) says, "It is my right to make citizenship application." Similarly, a female from

Montreal (A9) says that since Turkey allows dual citizenship, becoming dual citizens (Turkish and Canadian) is very normal. A male participant from Toronto (A45) says, “After living here, everything develops automatically. First you become an immigrant, then a Canadian citizen.” Another male participant from Toronto (A65) specifies that since Canada allows immigrants to naturalize after three years<sup>2</sup>, it is not reasonable to live as an immigrant in Canada for more than five years. According to him, they should receive the Canadian citizenship since they are able to. Another interviewee (A51) says that the citizenship application is a result of the natural process of immigration. According to another male participant from Toronto (A54), deciding to get the Canadian citizenship was not a special decision for her and her family. He says that after 3 years they have right to apply and so they should. A female from Toronto (A69) explains “since we have completed the time required for application eligibility, we decided to benefit from this right.” Another female interviewee from Toronto (A74) says, “This was a legal right recognized to us (immigrants) and I wanted to benefit from it.”

An analysis shows that HSBTI emphasize the importance of dual citizenship opportunity. Since Turkish immigrants do not have to renounce their Turkish citizenship they decide to be naturalized. A male bank employee from Toronto (A50) states, “The Turkish citizenship is very important for me; I cannot renounce it. The only advantage of a Canadian citizenship is the Canadian passport.” Similarly, a female bank employer from Toronto (A76) argues that since Canada

---

<sup>2</sup> “To become Canadian citizens, adults must have resided in Canada for at least three years (1,095 days) in the past four years before applying. Children under the age of 18 do not need to meet this requirement. You may be able to count time you spent in Canada before you became a permanent resident if that time falls within the four-year period.” Government of Canada. *Determine Your Eligibility*. Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp>, [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

and Turkey allow having dual citizenship, she decided to pursue the Canadian citizenship with a clear conscience. Otherwise, she states that she would not apply. A male from Toronto (A56) clarifies, “Since we do not have to renounce our citizenship, as do other countries, and since getting the Canadian citizenship is as a part of the immigration process, we have received citizenship and can benefit from the advantages of getting a Canadian passport.” In consideration of Canadian citizenship acquisition, HSBTI experience psychological setbacks, doubts, or disappointment while deciding whether to pursue the process of citizenship.

Nevertheless, HSBTI in Canada believe that they pay a price for their citizenship acquisition. A businessman from Montreal (A12) says that it is his right to pursue a Canadian citizenship, so neutralization does not matter to him. The reason is that, he believes, he gives more to Canada as a Turkish businessman than he takes from it. Similarly, a female from Toronto (A40) sees Canadian citizenship as a right in return for her moral support and material contribution by her family as immigrants to Canada. An unemployed interviewee from Toronto (A53) tries to explain the situation in detail:

Any immigrant living in this country for 1000 days can fill out an application to become a Canadian citizen. When you arrive as a migrant, you sacrifice certain things. I live here with lower standards than I have in Turkey. We asked ourselves what could we gain in return for those sacrifices? Since we do not have children, we could not benefit from educational advantages. Becoming citizens and getting a Canadian passport would be the only advantage for us, even though we will return to our homeland. Getting a Canadian citizenship was not a clear-cut decision, but a part of a process. Of course, for us it was an advantage not having the obligation to renounce our citizenship since both Canada and Turkey allow dual citizenship.

Germany does not allow dual citizenship for Turkish immigrants while Canada does. This policy difference is also reflected in HSBTI’s naturalization decisions. Unlike HSBTI in Canada, the HSBTI in Germany do not want to

renounce the Turkish citizenship for various reasons, so they decide against naturalization. They argue that, they would lose their identity and several rights in Turkey, such as the right to retirement and property. For instance, a male respondent (B30) wants to keep all the rights he has by remaining a Turkish citizen. Some rights include the obligation working as a lawyer in Turkey. Other rights include the right to have property and inheritance. An architect female interviewee (B25) says, “All of my inheritance from my family and properties are in Turkey. I would not consider pursuing the German citizenship.”

Moreover, complicated application and eligibility procedures of naturalization affect the decisions of the immigrants and they decide against pursuing the German citizenship. A female interviewee (B9) states, “You should work with a contract for at least five years and then you can obtain a German residence permit. Then, you follow a long procedure or you marry a German. I do plan to do all of that in order to get the German citizenship.” As in the case of a male from Berlin (B42) answer, HSBTI have vague ideas regarding acquiring the German citizenship and do not give clear explanations of the complexity and hardship of procedures. He says, “Until getting a residence permit, you should work for some time in a company and the company should say that ‘We need this employee,’ etc. I am not close to accomplishing any of these requirements, so I do not consider getting it (German citizenship).”

#### **7.2.4. Social, Economic and Political Opportunities in Host Countries**

Yang’s study (1994) indicates “economic, political, social, cultural and

geographical conditions in the country of origin (449) generally affect immigrants' decision about naturalization". Similarly, this study shows the variation in the citizenship acquisition decision-making processes of HSBTI is affected by the various social, economic, and political opportunities in different countries.

Regarding economic opportunities, career plans affect the citizenship acquisition decision-making processes of HSBTI. For instance, an economically inactive respondent (B13) illustrates this point by stating that he wants to be a schoolteacher in Germany. He says, "For personal reasons, I am not sure whether I can stay in Germany. However, if I will decide to live in Germany and be able to graduate from the university in Germany, I want to pursue the German citizenship to become a teacher at a German school." Similarly, a male from Ottawa (A31) states that since he had considered working for Canada's Federal Government in the future, he decided to apply for citizenship. Another participant from Toronto (A56) preferred pursuing citizenship since it is helpful while searching for a government job.

Another economic opportunity of Canadian citizenship is lowering the expenses of education in Canada. A female interviewee from Ottawa (A33) says, "I applied for the Canadian citizenship in order to benefit from it. First of all, I wanted to be a citizen to avoid paying higher tuition fees."

Lastly, this study shows that almost all HSBTI have difficulty finding jobs in Canada or Germany upon arrival, and they still would continue to acquire citizenship. They generally did not mention the issue of economic problems as a reason of refusing naturalization. De Voretz and Pivnenko suggest that there is a positive relationship between a higher professional status and the rate of naturalization (447). This study shows that economic opportunities in these

countries positively affect the German and Canadian citizenship acquisition decision-making process of HSBTI. Beside of that, as Chapter 6 mentions, common problems that HSBTI face are career- related. HSBTI seem to be desired by the Canadian government (OECD 2013: 240), but they tend to find undesirable jobs. Nevertheless, HSBTI did not mention economic problems as a reason for deciding not to acquire Canadian or German citizenship.

Regarding social opportunities, HSBTI see German and Canadian citizenship as a guarantee. By assuming that Germany will stay a stable country, HSBTI in Germany argue that if anything bad would happen in Turkey they can live in Germany. For instance, although an interviewee (B8) does not want to pursue a German citizenship, she stresses that she might consider pursuing it if someday she would not be free in Turkey anymore:

One day in my country, if my rights will not be supported, if I will not be able to support my ideas- *Inshallah* (God willing) it will never happen-, then I will consider to get German citizenship for expressing my ideas, my academics works. It would be better for me to live in Germany and be a German citizen.

Similarly, a student from Canada (A17) explains that being a Canadian citizen is a guarantee of security from political turmoil for him. Another interviewee from Canada (A18) views the Canadian citizenship as a guarantee for security. Some interviewees, (such as A20 and A36), explain that unlike Canada, the Turkish political, economic, and social conditions are not stable. They believe that if anything bad happens in Turkey, they can live in Canada. Therefore, they find that they are guaranteed security in living by having more than one living option available.

For HSBTI in Canada, becoming a Canadian citizen is important for other social opportunities, such as retirement rights and children's future. HSBTI in

Germany do not mention this issue. According to an unemployed female participant from Canada (A5), it is very important to gain retirement rights after receiving a Canadian citizenship. A married female student from Montreal (A18) believes that by receiving a Canadian citizenship she has secured the future of her children. The children can live in Canada, work there, and would not have hard time in Canada since they have grown there. She explains that the initial immigrant families have difficulties in adapting to Canada and finding jobs, but that their children will not have any difficulties and have a better life in Canada by assuming that Canada always remains a stable country, which is democratic and multicultural.

Regarding political opportunities, HSBTI want to be naturalized for voting and being politically active in host countries or for avoiding the compulsory military service in Turkey. HSBTI want to vote in Canada and avoid the compulsory military service in Turkey. A male from Montreal (A4) desires to become exempt from the compulsory (only to male Turkish citizens) Turkish military service. Another male interviewee from Ottawa (A27) states that citizenship will allow him to be represented and to be elected. A female from Ottawa (A32) decided to pursue the Canadian citizenship for several reasons, one of which was gaining the right to vote. Another interviewee (A61) explains his motive by saying, "I believe that voting is very important for being a citizen. This is a right." He says that he wants to vote in order to make a contribution to governance.

Regarding political opportunities, HSBTI want to be politically active in Germany and express their ideas, especially, about the situation of Turkish society. The reason is that HSTBI believe that in order to protect their rights and express the ideas and problems of the Turkish community in Germany, it is important to become politically active. For this reason, they want to pursue citizenship, which will allow

them to have representation and elected. A respondent from Germany (B21) says that since he studies political science and he wants to become politically active in Germany he considers pursuing the German citizenship.. A male from Berlin (B38) states, “As you know, a German citizenship has some advantages. You can have the right to speak; I mean the right to vote, right to stay in Germany, and visa exemption. Therefore, I want to get a German citizenship.”

These results support Bloemraad who argues that although countries allow individuals to have several basic civil and social rights, they mostly do not allow them to have political rights. (Bloemraad, 2000: 17) Contrary to Soysal (1994, 1996) who maintains that in the new form of citizenship, rights became “deterritorialized and located in the person rather than in an individual’s nationality-based relationship to a state” (Bloemraad, 2000: 19), this study argues that in order to have political rights HSBTI in Canada and Germany prefer to naturalize.

Regarding the compulsory military service, several examples show that male HSBTI do not want to return to Turkey for compulsory military service so they prefer to pursue the German citizenship. Otherwise, they may return Turkey, but they will be detained from leaving the country and drafted into military service. A male from Berlin (B3) states:

What can I say? One of the most important reasons why I want to pursue a German citizenship is the compulsory military service in Turkey. According to German law, I should renounce my Turkish citizenship, but compulsory military service is a big problem for me. Many of us (male Turkish citizens) feel that way. If we do not pursue a German citizenship, we can postpone our compulsory military service until the age of 38 or we can pay for it, I do not know, around 5,000-6,000 Euros and go to the military only for one month.<sup>3</sup> It

---

<sup>3</sup> Male Turkish citizens who do not continue their education should go to military service at the age of 20. Some reasons (health problems, for example) exempts one from military service and in some cases they can postpone military service (for instance graduate students can postpone military service until the age of 30). <http://www.asal.msb.gov.tr>  
Generally, in accordance with the education of male citizens, they go to military service for a year or for six months. For instance, Turkish citizens living in foreign countries and work in ships can pay 6,000 Euros and go to the military only for 21 days.

is very expensive. Most of us want to pursue the German citizenship because of this compulsory military service.

#### **7.2.5. The Conceptualization of Citizenship**

This data analysis supports the third hypothesis that the meaning HSBTI give to the concept of citizenship (**HYPO 3**) affects their naturalization decisions. This study argues that HSBTI define citizenship as identity and as commodity. How they conceptualize citizenship affects whether they want to be naturalized or not. If the concept citizenship means identity for them, then it is difficult for them to renounce their citizenship or to be naturalized.

HSBTI in Canada and in Germany believe that citizenship by birth, in this case Turkish citizenship, defines their identity. HSBTI in Canada generally add that they would not decide to be naturalized in Canada if either Canada or Turkey would not allow dual citizenship. Similarly, HSBTI in Germany who prefer not to pursue a German citizenship, prefer to hold onto their Turkish citizenships (citizenship by birth) generally because it defines their identity.

This data shows that the reason why some HSBTI in Canada decide against naturalization can be explained by the psychological implications of citizenship acquisition for immigrants themselves. This reason is related to the issue of identity. Generally HSBTI prefer to acquire a Canadian citizenship, but a minority does not want to pursue Canadian citizenship. They see naturalization as a disloyalty toward their identity, which is being a Turkish citizen. A Female interviewee (A48) from Toronto says that she did not actually pursue a Canadian citizenship, but “the

process lead” her to apply for citizenship. She feels bad about it although both Canada and Turkey allow dual citizenship. A male interviewee (A75) from Montreal does not want to apply for the Canadian citizenship although he believes that it may be very useful for him. However, he states that he wants to be called and addressed as a “Turkish citizen.” He explains himself as not being nationalistic, but patriotic; in his words own words, he is a “lover of soil.”

HSBTI in Germany do not want to renounce their Turkish citizenship and for this reason they decide against naturalization. They argue that, they would lose their identity and several rights in Turkey, such as the right to retirement and property. For instance, an interviewee (B8) fears losing her identity and states, “From abroad, one misses his or her country a lot. In the Turkish airport, I cannot line up in the non-Turkish Citizens Passport Control Desks. This would upset me a lot.” Similarly, another interviewee (B12) states that it is an honor to own the Turkish passport.

Other reasons why HSTBI decide not to become naturalized are the sense of belonging to Turkey. A female from Berlin (B6) illustrates the sense of belonging to Turkey by stating, “First, I do not belong here (Germany). I am not German as they describe German citizenship and ethnic citizenship. I belong to Turkey and I will still feel that way if somebody tries to take away my identity from me.”

#### **7.2.6. Getting a Passport as a Commodity**

This study shows that HSBTI conceptualize citizenship as a commodity and the difference in citizenship acquisition is related to the “market value” of the passport they will get. Thus, one of the main motives to become a citizen of Canada

is the belief that the passport is advantageous and can be used for several aims. On the other hand, the interviews suggest HSBTI in Germany do not believe that acquiring a German citizenship is advantageous enough. Therefore they do not want to pursue German citizenship. Seeing citizenship as commodity has similarities with the desire to benefit from social political and economic opportunities, such as the right to vote. Nevertheless, some HSBTI see the passport as advantageous and for the most part do not explain what they expect from it or what they mean by ‘advantage.’

If HSBTI argue that the Canadian passport is useful for life in those countries or for other issues such as freedom of movement, they decide to be naturalized. Becoming citizens and receiving a Canadian passport is an advantage for them (such as for the sake of travel, work, or attending conferences), even though they will someday return to their homeland. Most importantly, HSBTI viewing the Canadian citizenship as a way to gain freedom of mobility for travel or work is a solution for visa problems caused by the Turkish passport. They see the Canadian passport as a commodity, which can be used specifically, as a ticket for travel.

A female student from Montreal (A1) expresses, “I considered becoming a dual citizen. I think it will be very advantageous. I cannot say: I am Canadian. Adopting a place after the age of 20 is not easy do. I think that dual citizenship will benefit only in traveling; it cannot bring any disadvantage.” Similarly, a male interviewee from Montreal (A11) says “citizenship does not mean anything to me. I mean, it is very useful for life in Canada. For this reason, getting a Canadian passport will be advantageous for me.” According to a married interviewee from Montreal (A18- has a child), the Canadian passport will provide the conveniences of

receiving Visa's and a better education for children. A married male interviewee from Ottawa (A24) argues "becoming [a] Canadian Citizen is useful only to go anywhere easily." An interviewee (A32) wants to pursue a Canadian citizenship in order to have Visa exemption and the freedom of travel.

Thus, receiving Visa exemption is an important reason for the immigrants. A male participant (A3) from Montreal, who feels closer to Canada and its system, says "Naturalization, at first, seems like a practical solution for a Visa. However, I can better understand its importance now and realize that I have many responsibilities as a result of it. Since I feel respected in this society, and feel myself as a part of the community, I am very happy." For instance, an interviewee (A47) claims, "I applied for a passport. If I could believe that I can travel around the world with a Turkish Passport, I would not consider filling out a Canadian citizenship application." Another interviewee (A7) says that she wants to become a Canadian citizen especially because it makes travel easier.

HSBTI want to benefit from Canada's prestige among the world. A student interviewee (A17) says, "Canada is a respected country in the world; therefore, I feel great about being a citizen of this country." A male from Ottawa (A31) decides to pursue a Canadian citizenship since Canada has dignity throughout the world. An interviewee (A57) states that she decided to pursue the Canadian passport since it is considered prestigious and respected everywhere.

Similarly, HSBTI in Canada argue that Turkey has a negative image throughout the world. A male from Montreal (A14) says that the Turkish passport was brought several disadvantages to them. Nobody intervenes with their travels after they received the Canadian passport. Another male interviewee from Montreal (A2) emphasizes "being a citizen of Canada is currently a very vital advantage since

Turkey's image is apparent." A57 (male from Toronto) explains this situation when he says, "After September 11, our travels with Turkish passports began to be a problem. Maybe this is due to lack of [positive] publicity [for Turkey]." For this reason these individuals decided to pursue the Canadian citizenship.

Only some HSBTI see German citizenship advantageous, for example, that it can be used as a ticket for travel. A male from Germany (B38), for instance, states, "As you know, a German citizenship has some advantages. You can have the right to speak; I mean the right to vote, right to stay in Germany, and visa exemption. Therefore, I want to get a German citizenship." The immigrants desire to travel all around the world and they have plans to live in other countries and move from Germany for work. A doctoral student from Berlin (B17) says:

First of all, I want to acquire it (German citizenship) for freedom of travel. The doors are open when you have citizenship of a European country. You can always be a part of collaborations in the European Union as an academician. I mean, with the Turkish citizenship, we face several visa problems when we want to go to a European country for travel, a conference, or academic joint work.

HSBTI believe that pursuing European citizenship will allow them to become global citizens which for them is related to freedom of movement. Since they do not need a visa to travel, permits for work or to live in a European country, and since they can call themselves European they argue that this freedom removes all borders; they will belong to Europe and the world. For instance, a female from Berlin (B17) states:

In the end, citizenship is related to identities. I do not like to call myself "Turkish". I prefer to say, "I am from Turkey." Therefore, yes, being European is a higher identity, not in modernist meaning, but in the meaning of being a global person. I prefer to use it as a veil, which hides where I am and allows me to become global.

The interviews suggest HSBTI in Germany generally believe that acquiring a German citizenship is not advantageous; therefore they do not want to pursue the

German citizenship. For instance, an interviewee (B58) explains that Turkish immigrants can use their residence permits to travel around Europe and they do not need a German citizenship for visa exemption. Similarly, a respondent (B11) says, “German citizens are not more privileged or advantageous than Turkish citizens. Turkish citizens experience problems only in getting a residence permit. If anyone acquires a German citizenship, then they lose their retirement rights in Turkey.” Another respondent (B20) explains that he did not pursue the German citizenship since it does not bring any advantage:

This is not because of patriotic feelings. Pursuing a German citizenship will not bring any advantage to me. I mean, right now we (Turkish immigrants) can go many countries without visas thanks to our residence permits. For travelling to the USA and England, we (Turkish immigrants) need to get visas. Even for these countries, I mean, you can apply online for their visas and since you have a residence permit for Germany you won't have any problem. Thus, it is not a privilege and I do not have any intention to change my citizenship.

### 7.3 Conclusions

This chapter focuses on the definition of citizenship according to HSBTI and their decision-making process for citizenship acquisition. By focusing on the results of this comparative case study and the typology in Chapter Two, it explains how HSBTI in Canada and Germany define the concept citizenship. It discusses the reasons why some HSBTI decide to receive the citizenship of the country of destination while others refuse to naturalize. It also focuses on the two hypotheses which stress that the states' recent citizenship policies affect naturalization decisions of HSBTI (**HYPO 2**) and the naturalization decisions of HSBTI are affected by the meaning they give to the concept of citizenship (**HYPO 3**).

HSBTI in Canada generally separate citizenship into two, and then conceptualize each differently. Mostly, citizenship by birth is conceptualized as identity while citizenship through naturalization is defined as commodity. HSBTI in Germany have a single concept of citizenship.

Regarding the typology, the study proposes that citizenship is still about national membership and legal status through which individuals are able to gain several rights. Since HSBTI define the concept as *jus soli*, home, birthplace and nation, the study also proposes that national citizenship is not weakening and is still meaningful for HSBTI. HSBTI in Canada and Germany describe citizenship as having rights as well as duties. The study proposes that for HSBTI citizenship provides every individual rights and duties through the community that they belong to and have ties to.

About the dimension of identity, the study argues that HSBTI mostly conceptualize citizenship as identity, which embraces belonging, trust, symbols, and cultural bonds such as language, emotional and moral bonds, values, traditions, and a common history. Since HSBTI mention voting, the study argues that citizenship is defined with the element of participation as well. Nevertheless, they do not give much detail about participation (such as whether it is about questioning authority).

More importantly, the study argues that the typology built in Chapter Two to categorize the main elements of citizenship in the existing literature (as legal status/membership, territoriality, rights and duties/responsibilities, identity and participation) is helpful but not enough to explain the conceptualization of citizenship of HSBTI in Germany and Canada. It suggests a concept and argues that it should be used for a complete explanation. HSBTI see citizenship as a commodity (mostly citizenship through naturalization), which they receive to satisfy their needs

or wishes. Thus, this dimension stresses that individuals see citizenship as a profitable tool which can be consumed and which provides several rights and opportunities (such as a guarantee and means for freedom of movement).

With regard to the naturalization, this study argues that the attitude of receiving countries' citizens; cultural similarities and integration; the citizenship and migration policies of receiving countries; and social, economic and political chances in host countries affect the decisions of HSBTI. Regarding the attitude of receiving countries' citizens, only HSBTI in Germany state that they do not want to be naturalized because of this problem. HSBTI in Canada do not mention the issue of discrimination as a reason for deciding not to acquire Canadian citizenship. Regarding the effect of cultural similarities and integration, the study proposes that HSBTI who feel that they have completely integrated within the country desire the naturalization process.

More importantly, the data analysis supports the second hypothesis, which is about the effect of citizenship and migration policies on naturalization decision. This study shows that the restricted citizenship and migration policies in Germany affect naturalization decisions of HSBTI negatively. HSBTI in Germany consider not acquiring German citizenship mostly because of Germany's restricted citizenship and migration policies. Multiculturalist citizenship and migration policies in Canada affect naturalization decisions of HSBTI positively.

This study argues that HSBTI decide to obtain host countries' citizenship by considering social, economic and political opportunities in these countries. With regard to economic opportunities, career plans affect the decision-making process of HSBTI in both Canada and Germany. Nevertheless, lowering the expenses of education affects HSBTI only in Canada. Although almost all HSBTI have difficulty

finding jobs in Canada or Germany upon arrival, they do not mention the issue of economic problems as a reason for deciding not to naturalize.

Regarding social opportunities, HSBTI see German and a Canadian citizenship as a guarantee, and for this reason they want to naturalize. Only HSBTI in Canada state that naturalization is important for other social opportunities such as retirement rights and their children's future. Regarding political opportunities, HSBTI want to be naturalized for voting and for being politically active in Canada and Germany or avoiding the compulsory military service in Turkey.

This data supports the third hypothesis, which argues that the meaning HSBTI give to the concept of citizenship (**HYPO 3**) affect their naturalization decisions. HSBTI defines citizenship as identity (culture, common history etc.), a sense of belonging, and as commodity. Generally, citizenship by birth is conceptualized as identity and citizenship through naturalization as commodity. When citizenship means identity or sense of belonging for HSBTI, then it is hard for them to renounce their citizenship or to be naturalized. HSBTI in Germany do not want to renounce the Turkish citizenship, since they conceptualize citizenship as identity and they argue that they would lose their identity.

Lastly, this study suggests that HSBTI conceptualize citizenship as a commodity and the difference in citizenship acquisition is related to the "market value" of the passport they will get. If HSBTI believe that the passport/citizenship of host country is advantageous, which can be used for several aims, then they generally decide to be naturalized.

The concept of citizenship is defined as a commodity which provides benefits in host countries, such as the right to vote and visa exemption. However, the dimension of commodity embraces more than social, political or economic

opportunities, and freedom of travel. Some HSBTI see the passport as advantageous without explaining what they expect from it or what they mean by ‘advantage.’

## **CHAPTER VIII:**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

This study aims to find out how the individuals define citizenship, why they move recently from their country of origin and how they decide to naturalize or not to acquire host country's citizenship. It focuses on individuals and conducts a small N comparative case study in Canada and Germany with high skilled and business Turkish immigrants.

International migration theories try to explain reasons for international migration, but only very few studies focus on the decisions of individuals. Similarly, citizens have not been generally included in citizenship discussions. It is hard to understand how they define citizenship, what they feel about it or what they mean by the concept. Lastly, in naturalization literature, the procedure of citizenship acquisition is generally discussed by focusing on states and policies. The immigrants themselves are not included into the picture.

With a small N comparative case study, this study contributes an original data to the naturalization, international migration and citizenship literatures to show the individuals' point of view about the question of conceptualization of citizenship, immigration motivation as well as naturalization decision- making process since 2000s. The study is designed as a comparative case study and cases are selected as most similar cases. The cases are similar in the sense that they are formed by people whose country of origin is Turkey, and who moved from big cities in Turkey in last ten years (2000-2010) as high skilled and business immigrants. Since they move to big cities such as Berlin in Germany and Montreal in Canada; they are exposed to different migration and citizenship policies (Canada as multiculturalist vs. Germany as restrictive migration and citizenship policies).

The study focus on this century, since post-war immigration and globalization transforms the meaning of citizenship and citizenship and migration policies have been changed dramatically. It focuses mainly on immigrants since recent changes in the concept of citizenship affect immigrants the most. High skilled and business immigrants are the main focus the reason is that in this century, developed countries prefer immigrants from this category. Since controlling country of origin would be helpful to question the effect of policies of country of destinations, only Turkish migrants are selected from high skilled and business immigrants' category. Around 3.5 million Turks live abroad and this research focuses on high skilled and business immigrants whose country of origin is Turkey.

The main reason why Germany and Canada are selected is about their citizenship and migration policies. The citizenship and migration policies of Canada are categorized as multiculturalist and the citizenship acquisition system in Canada is considered as an immigrant-friendly, but the citizenship and migration policies of

Germany are categorized as restricted with a delimited citizenship acquisition system. Lastly, the citizenship policies of Canada and Germany (as well as Turkey) have been changing dramatically during the twenty-first century, which is the period of focus in the study.

The study considers several research questions:

- Why high skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in Canada and Germany in particular move in last ten years (2000-2010)?
- Do citizenship and migration policies of countries (such as Canada and Germany) affect recent motivation of HSBTI (as those policies may aim to control international migration)?
- What does citizenship mean for HSBTI in Canada and Germany?
- Why some high skilled people, in general, and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants (HSBTI) in Canada and Germany in particular decide to acquire host countries' citizenship while others do not?
- Do citizenship and migration policies of countries (such as Canada and Germany) affect decision-making process of HSBTI?
- If they affect the decisions of HSBTI, then how they can affect those decisions?
- Do the meaning of citizenship for HSBTI affect their naturalization decision-making process?

In total, one hundred fifty-seven interviews are conducted in six months (March 1-May 31 20011; and July 1- September 30, 2011); eighty-seven interviews in Canada and seventy interviews in Germany. German Academic Exchange Service

(DAAD) and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) support Deniz Yetkin with scholarship for the field research of this study in Canada and Germany.

This study gets very important results in relation to the research questions and the study aim. The research results show in last ten years (2000-2010), HSBTI decide to move from Turkey because of economic, social and political reasons, thanks to social network and personal experience in host countries, as well as because of migration and citizenship policies (**HYPO 1**) of the host countries. Most important economic opportunities for HSBTI to explain their migration motivation are finding a job in host country, meeting job market requirements in their country of origin, career development possibilities (professional or academic) in host countries, and the economic crisis that occurred in their country of origin during the early 2000s.

According to HSBTI, social and political reasons explain their recent migration motivations. Social reasons are listed as education, which includes many related issues such as education for the entire family, earning a degree from a foreign university and alternative educational opportunities; wish for gaining social rights; and earning a higher standard of life in host countries. Political opportunities, are living in a better political environment; living in welfare states; believing that they will not be discriminated because of their ideas and ideologies; and getting rid of the compulsory military service from Turkey. Finally, since they are unhappy in their home country for several political and social problems, they decide to move, for instance, Canada and Germany.

This study results show that social network and personal experience in host countries affect migration decisions of HSBTI. Having family members or friends in

host countries; and existing Turkish community and associations there, previous visits to the host countries, and positive comments about them in the internet affect the recent migration motivations of HSBTI.

The first hypothesis of this study is supported by the research results. Migration and citizenship policies (**HYPO 1**) of the host countries affect recent migration motivation of HSBT. HSBTI compare and consider migration and citizenship policies in several countries, so that they decide to migrate to a specific host country. More immigrant-friendly and inclusive migration and citizenship policy are preferred by HSBTI.

The study suggests three important concepts: Practical geography, nomads of gain, and citizenship (and the passport) as a commodity. With these concepts, a better explanation for recent international movement of HSBTI can be provided. HSBTI in last ten years prefer to move to countries which are closer to Turkey or to other desired place to go (the effect of **practical geography** in deciding to country of destination), prefer to move constantly (**nomads of gain**), and use passport mostly for a constant movement (using **citizenship (and the passport) as a commodity**).

With regard to the definition of citizenship, the study provides a typology by making a detailed and critical analysis of citizenship literature and focuses on the explanations of HSBTI about citizenship. Mostly, citizenship by birth is conceptualized as identity while citizenship through naturalization is defined as commodity. For HSBTI, citizenship is still about national membership and legal status through which they are able to gain several rights. They also define the concept as *jus soli*, home, birthplace and nation, which shows that national citizenship is not weakening and it is still meaningful for HSBTI. HSBTI describe

citizenship as having rights and duties as well. For HSBTI citizenship provides every individual rights and duties through the community that individuals belong to and have ties to. This study argues that generally HSBTI conceptualize citizenship as identity, which embraces belonging, trust, symbols, and cultural bonds such as language, emotional and moral bonds, values, traditions, and a common history. HSBTI do not give much detail about participation and generally mention voting, but still the study shows that they define citizenship with the element of participation as well.

The typology for the meaning of citizenship (as legal status/membership, territoriality, rights and duties/responsibilities, identity and participation) is not enough to explain how HSBTI conceptualize citizenship. This study suggests the concept of commodity to use for a complete explanation. HSBTI define citizenship as a commodity. It is a commodity or a profitable tool through which they can satisfy their needs or wishes.

This study show that HSBTI decide for naturalization by considering the attitude of receiving countries' citizens, the effect of cultural similarities and integration; the citizenship and migration policies; and social, economic and political in host countries. Regarding the attitude of receiving countries' citizen, HSBTI in Canada and Germany experience discrimination in their host countries. Only HSBTI in Germany state that they do not want to naturalize because of this problem they experience. Other reasons might be more important for HSBTI in Canada such as migration and citizenship policy of the country, which is seen as immigrant-friendly by HSBTI. Nevertheless, further investigation can be conducted for HSBTI in Canada case.

About the effect of cultural similarities and integration, the research results

show that when HSBTI feel that they have completely integrated within the country, they decide to acquire host country's citizenship.

According to these results, social, economic and political opportunities in host countries affect the decision-making process of HSBTI concerning citizenship acquisition. These economic opportunities are found as career plans of HSBTI, lowering the expenses of education (affects HSBTI only in Canada). Social opportunities that HSBTI consider before naturalization decisions are seeing host countries' citizenship as guarantee. Only HSBTI in Canada states that naturalization is important for other social opportunities such as retirement rights and children's future. About political opportunities, HSBTI consider voting, being politically active in host countries or avoiding the compulsory military service in Turkey.

Most importantly, the results support both the second and third hypotheses. While many HSBTI in Canada decide to get Canadian citizenship, HSBTI in Germany mostly do not prefer to naturalize. The reason is that the restricted citizenship and migration policies in Germany, which affect naturalization decisions of HSBTI in negative way. Since Canada has multiculturalist citizenship and migration policies in Canada, mostly HSBTI decide to naturalize. It is also important for HSBTI that Turkey allows dual citizenship; otherwise most of them do not want to renounce Turkish citizenship. Additionally, when citizenship means identity or sense of belonging for HSBTI, then it is hard for them to renounce their citizenship or to be naturalized. HSBTI in Germany do not want to renounce the Turkish citizenship, mostly because they conceptualize citizenship as identity and they argue that, they would lose their identity.

This study shows that for HSBTI, citizenship, mostly citizenship through naturalization, mean commodity. HSBTI make their decisions about naturalization

by taking the usefulness of the passport into consideration. If HSBTI believe that the passport/ citizenship of host country is advantageous and they can use it for several aims such as visa exemption, then they generally decide to acquire the citizenship of the host country. In the case of HSBTI in Germany, the immigrants generally believe that a German citizenship is not advantageous for them so that they do not prefer to renounce Turkish citizenship. It should also be stressed that the dimension of commodity is not only about reaching social political or economic opportunities or gaining freedom of travel. It is seen as advantageous by HSBTI in a general sense.

### **8.1. Contributions, Implications, and Prospects**

As a contribution to the migration, citizenship and naturalization literatures, the study focuses on conceptualizations of citizenship, migration motivation and naturalization decision-making processes from the individuals' point of view and provides an original data to these literatures. Exploring and explaining individuals' especially high skilled and business Turkish immigrants' ideas about the concept of citizenship, their immigration motivation as well as their naturalization decision-making process in 2000s provide a comprehensive account of the contemporary studies.

The other contributions of this study to the literature are threefold: It suggests three concepts (practical geography, nomads of gain, and citizenship (and the passport) as a commodity) to migration, naturalization and citizenship literatures. The study argues that HSBTI in last ten years prefer to move to countries, which are

closer to Turkey or to other desired place to go. This is the effect of geography in deciding to country of destination and can be explained with the concept of practical geography. The study stresses that recent international mobility of HSBTI is a constant movement and high skilled and business Turkish immigrants are ‘nomads of gain.’ This concept is used to explain their migration practice, which is neither circular nor final, but represents a temporary logic of residence with the motives of social and economic prospects as well as gains from naturalization. The existing dimensions of citizenship cannot explain the meaning of the concept for HSBTI who want to receive a passport (even buy) to satisfy their needs or wishes. The study suggests the dimension of commodity: HSBTI can consume citizenship, which introduces several rights and provides opportunities. One of the main motives of naturalization of HSBTI is the belief that the passport of a host country is a commodity. They believe that they can use passport mostly for a constant movement (using citizenship (and the passport) as a commodity).

Additionally, this study may inspire scholars for further studies. For instance, in light of the individuals’ views on citizenship, what the proper citizenship form for citizens themselves can be questioned. Moreover, Turkey has several considerations about brain drain. If individuals prefer constant movement and decide to pursue a receiving country’s citizenship as a commodity, then how brain drain can be reversed might be questioned. Focusing on Turkish return migrants can also be helpful in order to understand their conceptualization and recent reasons of return migration of high skilled immigrants.

According to the analysis, the study argues that the demography of HSBTI in Canada and Germany is determined by these countries’ migration and citizenship policies (easy citizenship acquisition in Canada less students, while cheap university

education in Germany and having more students). A study for describing the demography of HSBTI in Canada and Germany may be useful for discussing recent migration motivations of Turkish immigrants.

Although it might be expected that high skilled and business immigrants integrate into receiving countries, the study indicates that it is hard for HSBTI to economically integrate into the receiving countries. This causes several handicaps in their lives and maybe in their social integration motivations. For immigrants and for better migration management, further studies into demography and economic integration of high skilled and business immigrants should be conducted. Such researches can be helpful for receiving countries to adapt their citizenship and immigration policies to new trends in international migration. Lastly, the level of happiness of HSBTI in host countries can also be included in future studies.

To conclude, this study improves upon the current scholarly knowledge and provides inspiration for further empirical research on citizenship by contributing original data, empirical analysis, and theoretical discussions on key issues such as migration, citizenship and naturalization.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Michael, Audrey Macklin, and Ratna Omidvar. (Contributed to The Globe and Mail, May 21 2014), "Citizenship Act will create two classes of Canadians," <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/citizenship-act-will-create-two-classes-of-canadians/article18778296/>, [Last Access, 21 July 2014].

Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg eds. 2012. *Statistics, Berlin Brandenburg: Die Kleine Berlin Statistics, 2012*. Berlin: H and P-Druck, Available online at: [http://www.fulbright.de/fileadmin/files/togermany/grants/gss/2013/2\\_Berlin\\_Statistic\\_2012\\_-\\_Amt\\_fuer\\_Statistik\\_Berlin\\_Brandenburg.pdf](http://www.fulbright.de/fileadmin/files/togermany/grants/gss/2013/2_Berlin_Statistic_2012_-_Amt_fuer_Statistik_Berlin_Brandenburg.pdf), [Last Access: 1 May 2014].

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anıl, Merih. 2007. "Research Note: Explaining the Naturalization Practices of Turks in Germany in the Wake of the Citizenship Reform of 1999," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33 (8): 1363-1376.

Aristotle. 1959. *Politics*. H. Rackham (trans). London: William Heinemann.

Ataca, Bilge, and John W. Berry. 2002. "Psychological, Sociocultural, and Marital Adaptation of Turkish Immigrant Couples in Canada," *International Journal of Psychology*, 37 (1): 13-26.

Aybay, Rona. 2008. *Vatandaşlık Hukuku*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

yayınları.

Balibar, Etienne. 1988. 'Propositions on Citizenship,' *Ethics* 98 (4): 723-730.

Balibar, Etienne. 2001. 'Outlines of a Topography of Cruelty: Citizenship and Civility in the Era of Global Violence,' *Constellation* 8 (1): 15-29.

Balta ,E and Altan Olcay, Ö. 2014. "Market Embedded Transnationalism of Turkish Elites", *Contemporary Turkey at a Glance. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Local and Translocal Dynamics*, Kristina Kamp, Ayhan Kaya, Fuat Keyman, Özge Onursal Beşgöl (ed.), Verlag fuer Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

Banulescu-Bogdan, Natalia. 2012. *Shaping Citizenship Policies to Strengthen Immigrant Integration*. Migration Policy Institute. Available online at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=902>,[2 January 2014].

Barbalet, J.M. 1988. *Citizenship: Rights, Struggle and Class Inequality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bauböck, Rainer. 1999a. "National Community, Citizenship and Cultural Diversity," *Reihe Politikwissenschaft / Political Science Series* (62). Vienna: Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS), Wien Institute for Advanced Studies.

-----, 1999b. "Recombinant Citizenship," *Reihe Politikwissenschaft / Political Science Series* (67). Vienna: Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS), Wien Institute for Advanced Studies.

-----, 2009. "The Rights and Duties of External Citizenship," *Citizenship Studies* 13 (5): 475-499.

Birtek, Faruk and Thalia Dragonas eds. 2005. *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*: London: Routledge.

Beiner, Ronald eds. 1995. *Theorizing Citizenship*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Benhabib, Seyla. 2002. "Transformations of Citizenship: The Case of contemporary Europe," *Government and Opposition: An International Journal of*

*Comparative Politics* 37 (4): 439-465.

-----, 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bertocchi, Graziella, and Chiara Strozzi. 2006. "The Evolution of Citizenship: Economic and Institutional Determinants," *IZA (The Institute for the Study of Labor) DP* (2510): 1-40.

Bloemraad, Irene. 2000. "Citizenship and Immigration: A Current Review," *Journal of International Migration and Integration (JIMI/RIMI)* 1 (1): 9-37.

-----, 2002. "The North American Naturalization Gap: An Institutional Approach to Citizenship Acquisition in the United States and Canada," *International Migration Review* 36 (1): 193-228.

-----, 2004. "Who Claims Dual Citizenship? The Limits of Post nationalism, the Possibilities of Transnationalism, and the Persistence of Traditional Citizenship," *International Migration Review* 38 (2): 389-426.

Bloor, Michael, and Fiona Wood. 2006. *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts*. London: Sage Publications.

Blum, Fred H. 1944. "Max Weber's Postulate of "Freedom" from Value Judgments," *American Journal of Sociology* 50 (1): 46-52.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1994. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. USA: Harvard University Press.

-----, 1989. *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*. Lanham, Md.: The German Marshall Fund of the United States and University Press of America.

Bulmer, Martin; and Anthony M. Rees eds. 1996. *Citizenship Today: The Contemporary Relevance of T.H. Marshall*. London: UCL Press.

Burchell, David. 2002. "Ancient Citizenship and its Inheritors." In Engin Işın and Brian S. Turner eds. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publication, 89-104

- Byrne, Darren J. 2003. *The Dimensions of Global Citizenship: Political Identity Beyond the Nation-State*. UK: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.
- Calder, Gideon, and Phillip Cole and Jonathan Seglow. 2010. *Citizenship Acquisition and National Belonging Migration, Membership and the Liberal Democratic State* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Carey, Malcolm. 2009. *The Social Work Dissertation: Using Small-scale Qualitative Methodology*. Maidenhead, Berkshire, England: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press.
- Castles, Stephen. 2000. "International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century: Global Trends and Issues," *International Social Science Journal* 52 (165): 269-281
- Castles, Stephen, and Alastair Davidson. 2000. *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Castles, Stephen. 2002. "Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization," *International Migration Review* 36 (4): 1143-1168.
- Caymaz, Birol. 2008. *Türkiye’de Vatandaşlık: Resmi İdeoloji ve Yansımaları*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Chagnon, Jonathan, and Anne Milan. 2011. "Population growth: Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2010," *Component of Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-209-X Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada*: 1-18, Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-209-x/2011001/article/11508-eng.htm> , [Last Access, 1 May 2014 ].
- Chagnon, Jonathan. 2013. "Migration: International, 2010 and 2011," *Component of Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-209-X Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada*: 1-13, Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-209-x/2013001/article/11787-eng.pdf> , [Last Access, 1 May 2014 ].
- Challinor, A.E. 2011. *Canada’s Immigration Policy: a Focus on Human Capital*. Migration Policy Institute. Available online at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=853>, [Last Access, 6 January 2014]

- Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2012. *Facts and Figures 2012: Immigration Overview—Permanent and Temporary Residents*. Ottawa: CIC, 2012, Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/menu-fact.asp>, [Last Access 21 January 2014].
- “Citizenship reforms a serious threat to rights of all Canadians,” [http://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2014/02/10/citizenship\\_reform\\_s\\_a\\_serious\\_threat\\_to\\_rights\\_of\\_all\\_canadians.html](http://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2014/02/10/citizenship_reform_s_a_serious_threat_to_rights_of_all_canadians.html), [Last Access, 21 July 2014].
- De Jong, Gordon F. 2000. “Expectations, Gender, and Norms in Migration Decision-Making,” *Population Studies* 54: 307-319.
- De Voretz D. and Pivnenko S. 2005. “The Economic Causes and Consequences of Canadian Citizenship,” *Journal of Immigration and Integration* 6(3-4): 435-468.
- Ehrkamp, Patricia. 2005. “Placing Identities: Transnational Practices and Local Attachments of Turkish Immigrants in Germany,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (2): 345-364
- Elçi, Şirin et al. 2007. *Supporting Sustainable Scientific Mobility: Country Reports from Turkey, Germany, South Africa and the United Kingdom*. Oxford: James Martin Institute for Science and Civilization, ResIST Working Paper 8.
- Elrick, Jeniffer. 2007. “Country Profile: Canada,” *Focus Migration* (8). Available online at: <http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Canada.1275.0.html?&L=1>, [Last Access, 14 December 2013]
- Ersanilli, Evelyn, and Ruud Koopmans. 2010. “Rewarding Integration? Citizenship Regulations and the Socio-Cultural Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (5): 773-791.
- Euwals, Rob et al. 2007. “The Labor Market Position of Turkish Immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands: Reason for Migration, Naturalization and Language Proficiency,” *IZA Discussion Paper* (2683).

- Faist, Thomas. 1997. "The Crucial Meso Level." In Hammar, Tomas et al. *International Migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Oxford: Berg, 187-217.
- and Jürgen Gerdes and Beate Rieple. 2004. "Dual Citizenship as a Path-Dependent Process," *International Migration Review* 38 (3): 913-944.
- Faist, Thomas, and Margit Fauser and Peter Kivisto eds. 2011. *The Migration-Development Nexus: a Transnational Perspective*. UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Federal Foreign Office of Germany. *Law on Nationality*.  
[http://www.auswaertigesamt.de/EN/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Staatsangehoerigkeitsrecht\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertigesamt.de/EN/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Staatsangehoerigkeitsrecht_node.html), [Last Access, 25 December 2013].
- Federal Ministry of the Interior. 2011. *Migration and Integration: Residence Law and Policy on Migration and Integration in Germany*. Available online at:  
[http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration\\_und\\_Integration\\_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296](http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Broschueren/Migration_und_Integration_en.ht%20ml?nn=2232296) [Last Access, 2 January 2014].
- Federal Statistical Office of Germany. 2013. *Year Book 2012: Extract of Statistical Yearbook*, (English version of the chapter as "Population, families, living arrangements"), Available online at:  
[https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook\\_Chapter2\\_5011001129004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook_Chapter2_5011001129004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile), [Last Access, 2 January 2014].
- Freeman, Gary P. et al. 2002. "Explaining the Surge in Citizenship Applications in the 1990s: Lawful Permanent Residents in Texas," *Social Science Quarterly* 83 (4): 1013-1025.
- Freeman, Gary P. 2006. "National Models, Policy Types, and the Politics of Immigration in Liberal Democracies," *West European Politics* 29 (2): 227-247.
- Fussell, Elizabeth and Douglas S. Massey. 2004. "The Limits to Cumulative Causation: International Migration from Mexican Urban Areas," *Demography* 41 (1): 151-171.
- "Germany moves to allow dual citizenship,"  
<http://www.euractiv.com/sections/justice-home-affairs/germany-moves-allow-dual-citizenship-303292>, [Last Access, 21 July 2014].

Gerring, John. 2007. *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1985. *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. USA: University of California Press.

Göztepe, Ece. 2003. "Yurttaşlığın Kamusal ve Ulusüstü Boyutu: Avrupa Yurttaşlığı ve "Göçmen Forumu" Örnekleri," *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 52 (4): 1301-1308.

Government of Canada. Backgrounder: Information for Applicants to the New Federal Skilled Worker Program. Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/departement/media/backgrounders/2013/2013-04-18.asp> , [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

-----, *Determine Your Eligibility*. Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp>, [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

-----, *Prepare for the Citizenship Test*. Available online at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/cit-test.asp> , [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

Gülalp, Haldun ed. 2007. *Vatandaşlık ve Etnik Çatışma: Ulus-Devletin Sorgulanması*. Istanbul: Metis.

Hailbronner, Kay. 2012. *Report on Germany*. Florence: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies EUDO (European Union Observatory on Democracy) Citizenship Observatory, European University Institute.

Hall, Peter A. 2003. "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics." In James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer eds. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 373-399.

Hammar, Tomas. 1989. "Dual Citizenship." In Rogers Brubaker eds. *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*. Lanham, Md.: The German Marshall Fund of the United States and University Press of America, 81-95.

- , 1990. *Democracy and the Nation-State: Aliens, Denizens, and Citizens in a World of International Immigration*. Avebury: Aldershot.
- et al. 1997. *International Migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Oxford: Berg.
- Hansen, Randall. 2003a. "Citizenship and Integration in Europe." In Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska eds. *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 87-109.
- , 2003b. "Migration to Europe Since 1945: Its history and Its Lessons," *Political Quarterly* 74: 25-38.
- Haug, Sonja. 2008. "Migration Networks and Migration Decision-Making," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34 (4): 585-605.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1996. "Identity Politics and the Left." The text of the Barry Amiel and Norman Melburn Trust Lecture given at the Institute of Education. London, 2 May 1996.
- Hollifield, James F. 2004. "The Emerging Migration State," *International Migration Review* 38 (3): 885-912.
- Horváth, Eniko, and Ruth Rubio-Marín. 2010. "'Alles oder Nichts'? The Outer Boundaries of the German Citizenship Debate," *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 8 (1): 72-93.
- Howard, Marc Morje. 2005. "Variation in Dual Citizenship Policies in the Countries of the EU," *International Migration Review* 39 (3): 697-720.
- , 2006. "Comparative Citizenship: An Agenda for Cross-National Research," *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (3): 443-455.
- Hawthorne, Lesleyanne. 2008. *The Growing Global Demand for Students as Skilled Migrants*. Migration Policy Institute. Available online at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/growing-global-demand-students-skilled-migrants-0>, [Last Access, 1 May 2014]

Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang and Sarah E. Shannon. 2005. "Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis," *Qualitative Health Research* 15: 1277-1288.

İçduygu, Ahmet. 2004. "Demographic Mobility and Turkey: Migration Experiences and Government Responses," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 15 (4): 88-99.

-----, 2005. "The International Migration and Citizenship Debate in Turkey: The Individual Level of Analysis." In Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu eds. *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*. London: Routledge, 196-216.

----- and Deniz Sert. 2009. "Country Profile: Turkey," *Focus Migration* (5).

İçduygu, Ahmet et. al. 2013. "Turkey," In Philippe Fargues eds. *EU Neighborhood Migration Report*, European University Institute. Available online at: [http://issuu.com/eui-publications/docs/mpc\\_eu\\_neighbourhood\\_migration\\_repo?mode=embed&layout=http%3A%2F%2Fskin.issuu.com%2Fv%2Fflight%2Flayout.xml&showFlipBtn=true](http://issuu.com/eui-publications/docs/mpc_eu_neighbourhood_migration_repo?mode=embed&layout=http%3A%2F%2Fskin.issuu.com%2Fv%2Fflight%2Flayout.xml&showFlipBtn=true), [Last Access, 1 January 2014].

Immigration, Diversité, et Inclusion. *Immigration Rules and Procedures*. Available online at: <http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/informations/rules-procedures.html>, [Last Access, 2 January 2014].

İnce, Başak. 2008. "The Construction and Redefinition of Citizenship in Turkey." Unpublished PhD Thesis. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, England.

-----, 2012. *Citizenship and Identity in Turkey: From Atatürk's Republic to the Present Day*. London: I.B.Tauris.

Işın, Engin, and Patricia K. Wood. 1999. *Citizenship and Identity*. London: Sage Publications.

-----, and Brian S. Turner eds. 2002. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publication.

-----, 2007. "Investigating Citizenship: An Agenda for Citizenship Studies,"

*Citizenship Studies* 11 (1): 5-17.

Janoski, Thomas and Brian Gran. 2002. "Political Citizenship: Foundations of Rights." In Engin Işın and Brian S. Turner eds. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publication, 13-52.

Jenson, Jane. 2007. "The European Union's Citizenship Regime: Creating Norms and Building Practices," *Comparative European Politics* 5 (1): 53-69.

Jones-Correa, M. 2001. "Under Two Flags: Dual Nationality in Latin America and its Consequences for Naturalization in the United States." *International Migration Review* 35(4): 997-1029.

Joppke, Christian. 1998. "Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Comparison of the United States, Germany and the Great Britain." In David Jacobson eds. *The Immigration Reader: America in a Multidisciplinary Perspective*. USA: Blackwell Publishers, 285-319.

-----, 1999a. "How immigration is Changing Citizenship: a Comparative View," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (4): 629-652.

-----, 1999b. *Immigration and the Nation-State The United States, Germany, and Great Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

-----, 2002. "Multicultural Citizenship." In Engin Işın and Brian S. Turner eds. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publication, 245-258.

-----, 2007. "Transformation of Citizenship: Status, Rights, Identity," *Citizenship Studies* 11 (1): 37-48.

-----, 2008. "Immigration and the Identity of Citizenship: the Paradox of Universalism," *Citizenship Studies* 12 (6): 533-546.

Kadıoğlu, Ayşe. 2000. "Democratic Citizenship." In Günay Göksu Özdoğan and Gül Tokay eds. *Redefining the Nation State and Citizen*. İstanbul: Eren, 59-67.

-----eds. 2005. *Vatandaşlığın Dönüşümü: Üyelikten Haklara*. İstanbul:

Metis.

-----, 2007. "Denationalization of Citizenship? The Turkish Experience," *Citizenship Studies* 11 (3): 283-299.

Kadirbeyoğlu, Zeynep. 2012. "Report on Turkey." *EUDO Citizenship Observatory Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Country Report* (RSCAS/EUDO-CIT-CR 2012/10). Italy: Badia Fiesolana, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI). Available online at: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/19640/Turkey.pdf?sequence=1>, [Last Access, 1 May 2014].

Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. 1983. *Karşılaştırmalı Siyasal Katılma*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi.

Kaya, Ayhan. 2005. "Citizenship and Hyphenated Germans: German-Turks." In Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu eds. *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*. Routledge: New York.

-----, 2009. *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Keyman, Fuat, and Ahmet İçduygu eds. 2005. *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*. London: Routledge.

Keyman, Fuat et al. 2008. *Aydınlanma, Türkiye ve Vatandaşlık*. İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Yayınları.

King, Gary, and Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1995. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kirişçi, Kemal. 2003. *Turkey: A Transformation from Emigration to Immigration*. Available online at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?id=176>, [Last Access, 30 December 2013].

Kivisto, Peter, and Thomas Faist. 2007. *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory, and Transnational Prospects*. USA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Köşer-Akçapar, Şebnem and Gökçe Yurdakul. 2009. "Introduction: Turkish Identity Formation and Political Mobilization in Western Europe and North America," *Turkish Studies* 10 (2): 139–147.
- Kvale, Steinar. 1996. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. California: Sage Publication.
- Kymlicka, Will, and Wayne Norman. 1994. "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory," *Ethics* 104 (2): 352-381.
- Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- , 2001. *Politics in the Vernacular Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- , 2002. *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- , 2003a. "Immigration, Citizenship, Multiculturalism: Exploring the Links," *The Political Quarterly* 74: 195-208.
- , 2003b. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lichbach, Mark Irving, and Alan S. Zuckerman eds. 2009. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1971. "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," *The American Political Science Review* 65 (3): 682-693.
- Lister, Michael, and Emily Pia. 2008. *Citizenship in Contemporary Europe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Logan, John R. and Sookhee Oh, and Jennifer Darrah. 2012. "The Political and Community Context of Immigrant Naturalization in the United States," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38 (4): 535-554.

- Macridis, Roy C. and Bernard E. Brown. 1990. *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings*. California: Brooks/Cole Publishing.
- Malmberg, Gunnar. 1997. "Time and Space in International Migration." In Hammar, Tomas et al. *International Migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Oxford: Berg, 21-48.
- Marshall, T.H. 1950. *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin-Engelmann, Daniela, and Thomas Risse. 2002. "Identity Politics and European Integration: The Case of Germany." In Anthony Pagden eds. *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 287-316.
- Massey, Douglas S. et al. 1993. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19 (3): 431-466.
- Massey, Douglas S. 1999. "International Migration at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: The Role of the State," *Population and Development Review* 25 (2): 303-322.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1882. *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive, Being a Connected View of Principles of Evidence, and The Methods of Scientific Investigation*. (8<sup>th</sup> ed.) New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers.
- Miller-Idriss, Cynthia. 2006. "Everyday Understandings of Citizenship in Germany," *Citizenship Studies* 10 (5): 541-570.
- Montreal Turkish Community web page,  
<http://tr.turkcommunity.net/index.php/hakkimizda> [Last Access, 1 May 2014]
- Morissette, René, and Rizwan Sultan. 2013. "Twenty Years in the Careers of Immigrant and Native-born Workers," *Economic Insights* (32): 1-4, Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-626-x/11-626-x2013032-eng.htm>, [Last Access, 1 May 2014].
- Mouffe, Chantal eds. 1995. *Dimensions of Radical Democracy*. London: Verso.

OECD. 2013. *International Migration Outlook 2013*. OECD Publishing.

Official Site of the Government of Quebec. The Montréal Region at a Glance.  
Available online at:  
<http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/settle/montreal.html>, [Last  
Access: 21 July 2014].

Ontario, Ministry of Finance. *Ethnic Origin and Visible Minorities*. Available online  
at: [http://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/economy/demographics/census/cenhi06-  
11.html](http://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/economy/demographics/census/cenhi06-11.html), [Last Accessed, 25 January 2014].

Oxford Dictionaries. Available online at:  
<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/identity>, [Last  
Accessed, 5 March 2014].

Özçürümez, Saime. 2009. "Immigrant Associations in Canada: Included,  
Accommodated, or Excluded?," *Turkish Studies* 10 (2): 195-215.

Özdoğan, Günay Göksu; and Gül Tokay eds. 2000. *Redefining the Nation-State and  
Citizenship*. Istanbul: Eren.

Quebec Portal. Culture. Available online at:  
<http://www.gouv.qc.ca/portail/quebec/pgs/commun/portrait/culture/?lang=en>  
, [Last Access, 21 July 2014].

Ray, Brian. 2005. *Canada: Policy Changes and Integration Challenges in an  
Increasingly Diverse Society*. Migration Policy Institute. Available online at:  
[http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/canada-policy-changes-and-  
integration-challenges-increasingly-diverse-society/](http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/canada-policy-changes-and-integration-challenges-increasingly-diverse-society/), [Last Access, 5 January  
2014].

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 1999. "Towards a Multicultural Conception of Human  
Rights." In Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash eds. *Theory, Culture and  
Society: Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*. London: Sage Publications,  
214-230.

Sassen, Saskia. 2003. "Citizenship." In Engin İşin and Brian S. Turner eds.  
*Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publication, 277-291.

Schmidtke, Oliver, and Saime Özçürümez eds. 2008. *Of States, Rights, and Social*

*Closure: Governing Migration and Citizenship*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Seawright, Jason, and John Gerring. 2008. "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research, A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options," *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (2): 294-308.

Smith, Rogers M. 2002. "Modern Citizenship." In Engin İşin and Brian S. Turner eds. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publication, 105-116.

Soyarık, Nalan. 2000. "The Citizen of the State and the State of the Citizen: An Analysis of the Citizenization Process in Turkey." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Ankara: Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey.

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoğlu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Post-National Membership in Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

-----, 1996. "Changing Citizenship in Europe: Remarks on Post-National membership and the National State." In David Cesarani and Mary Fulbrook eds. *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe*. London: Routledge.

Stasiulis, Daiva, and Abigail B. Bakan. 1997. "Negotiating Citizenship: The Case of Foreign Domestic Workers in Canada," *Feminist Review* (57): 112- 139.

Statistics Canada. 2009. *Census of Population: Immigrant population by place of birth and period of immigration*. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo24a-eng.html> [Last Access, 23 January 2014].

-----, 2011. *2011 Census*. Available online at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/censusrecensement/index-eng.cf8m> [Last Access 23 January 2014]

-----, 2012. *2011 National Household Survey: Data Tables*. Available online at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/dt-td/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=107551&PRID=0&PTYPE=105277&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2013&THEME=95&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF>, [Last Access, 23 January 2014].

- , 2012. *Ethnic Diversity and Immigration*. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11402x/2012000/chap/imm/imm-eng.htm?fpv=30000> , [Last Access, 23 January 2014]
- Süssmuth, Rita. 2009. *The Future of Migration and Integration Policy in Germany*. Migration Policy Institute. Available online at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/future-migration-and-integrationpolicy-germany> [Last Access, 2 January 2014].
- Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In Peter Evans and Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol eds. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 169-191.
- Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı (Republic Of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs). *Mavi Kart Uygulaması* (Author's trans.). Available online at: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/mavi-kart-eski-pembe-kart-uygulamasi-.tr.mfa>, [Last Access, 30 December 2013].
- Turner, Bryan S. 1990. "Outline of a Theory of Citizenship," *Sociology* 24: 189-217.
- eds. 1993. *Citizenship and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Turner, Bryan S. and Peter Hamilton. 1994. *Citizenship: Critical Concepts*. (Vol.1 and 2) London: Routledge.
- Ünsal, Artun eds. 1998. *75 Yılda Tebaa'dan Yurttaş'a doğru*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Van Gunsteren, Herman. 1994. "Four Conceptions of Citizenship." In Bart van Steenbergen eds. *The Condition of Citizenship* London: Sage Publications, 36-48.
- Verdugo, Richard R. and Claus Mueller. 2008. "Education, Social Embeddedness, and the Integration of the Turkish Community in Germany: An Analysis of Homeland Identity," *European Education* 40 (4): 3-22.
- Vink, Maarten Peter, and Jaap Dronkers. 2012. "Explaining Access to Citizenship in

- Europe: How Citizenship Policies affect Naturalization Rates,” *European Union Politics* 13 (3): 390-412.
- Vink, Maarten Peter, and Tijana Prokic-Breuer, and Jaap Dronkers.  
2013. “Immigrant Naturalization in the Context of Institutional Diversity: Policy Matters, but to Whom?,” *International Migration* 51 (5): 1-20.
- Wallace-Goodman, Sarah. 2010a. “Integration Requirements for Integration’s Sake? Identifying, Categorizing and Comparing Civic Integration Policies,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (5): 753-772.
- , 2010b. “Naturalization Policies in Europe: Exploring Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion.” *EUDO Citizenship Observatory Comparative Report, RSCAS/EUDO-CIT-Comp. 2010/7*. Italy: Badia Fiesolana, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI).
- Wood, Elizabeth Jean. 2009. “Field Research.” In Charles Boix and Susan C. Stokes eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics (The Oxford Handbooks of Political Science, General Editor Robert E. Goodin)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 123-146.
- Woodrow-Lafield, Karen A. 2009. “Assessing Immigrant Naturalization: Longitudinal Research, Findings, and Challenges,” Presented at the 2009 Research Conference, Federal Committee on Statistical Methodology, held in Washington, D.C. November 2.
- Yang, Philip Q. 1994. “Explaining Immigrant Naturalization,” *International Migration Review* 28 (3): 449-477.
- Yeğen, Mesut. 2008. “The Dialectic and the Tragedy of Citizenship,” *European Political Science* 7 (1): 98-112.
- Yetkin, Deniz. 2008. “Elites, Power Sources and Democracy.” Unpublished Master’s Thesis. İstanbul: Sabanci University, İstanbul, Turkey.
- Yurdakul, Gökçe. 2006. “State, Political Parties and Immigrant Elites: Turkish Immigrant Associations in Berlin,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (3): 435-453.

## **APPENDIX A:**

### **INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

1. How old are you?
2. What is your level of education?
3. Are you married? Does your partner have a job? What does he/she do?
4. Do you have children? How many?
5. How old are your children? Do they study or work?
6. Do you have a job? What do you do? (If you do not have job now, what was your job?)
7. What was your job in Turkey before you came here? Did you have a different job or status there?
8. What was your first job? How long did it take to find your first job?
9. How long did it take to find a job that you preferred to do? (How long did it take to find a job related to your profession?)

10. How did you decide to come to Canada/ Germany and how long have you been here?
11. Where did you use to live in Turkey? Which city in Canada/Germany did you arrive first?
12. Was there a special reason behind your choice to come to Canada/Germany? (Social rights, economic affluence, etc.?)
13. What had you expected before you came to Canada/Germany and were your expectations fulfilled?
14. When did you apply to get immigrant status? Did you apply as a high skilled immigrant or as a business immigrant?
15. Did you have some connections in Canada/Germany before you move to? Did they help you?
16. What is your mother tongue?
17. What languages do you speak? Did you have communication problems related to language proficiency in Canada/Germany?
18. Are you in contact with the Turkish community or associations here?
19. Do you consider returning to Turkey? Why/Why not?
20. What is your citizenship/nationality?
21. Did you apply for Canadian/German citizenship? What is the status of your citizenship application?
22. How did you decide to apply or not to apply for Canadian citizenship?
23. How would you define 'being a citizen'? (Rights, freedoms, duties, identity, etc.)  
What does it mean to be a citizen? (If a distinction→How would you define Turkish citizenship and Canadian/ German citizenship?)

24. Each country has different laws and regulations for granting citizenship. Such laws have been generally changing in time. (For instance, to be granted Canadian citizenship, people have to stay for three years in Canada, but they had to stay five years in the past.) What factors, in your opinion, do cause such changes in citizenship laws? Why could these laws be changing in Canada/Germany?
25. That's all for my questions. Do you have anything to add?
26. Thanks a lot for your time and interest.
27. May I contact you via email or telephone if I realize something is lacking in this interview?
28. If you know anyone who can contribute to this research, can I talk to them as well? (In Canada-Germany)

## APPENDIX B

### LIST OF THE CASE SUMMARIES

#### Canada—Group A

| Case No | Occupation                       | Gender | Age Interval | Accommodation in Canada | Citizenship Status            | Marital Status | Interview Date |
|---------|----------------------------------|--------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1       | Student/ Assistant               | Female | 20-34        | Montreal (Quebec)       | Turkish Citizen only          | Married        | 14.03.2011     |
| 2       | Bank Employer                    | Male   | 35-50        | Montreal (Quebec)       | Turkish Citizen only          | Divorced       | 14.03.2011     |
| 3       | Trade                            | Male   | 51-65+       | Montreal (Quebec)       | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Divorced       | 15.03.2011     |
| 4       | Non-Qualified Jobs               | Male   | 20-34        | Montreal (Quebec)       | Turkish Citizen only          | Single         | 16.3.2011      |
| 5       | Searching For a Job (Unemployed) | Female | 35-50        | Montreal (Quebec)       | Turkish Citizen only          | Married        | 17.03.2011     |
| 6       | Searching For a Job (Unemployed) | Male   | 35-50        | Montreal (Quebec)       | Turkish Citizen only          | Married        | 17.03.2011     |
| 7       | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Female | 20-34        | Montreal (Quebec)       | Turkish Citizen only          | Married        | 18.03.2011     |
| 8       | Non-Qualified Jobs               | Male   | 20-34        | Montreal (Quebec)       | Turkish Citizen only          | Divorced       | 19.03.2011     |

|    |                        |        |        |                   |                               |          |            |
|----|------------------------|--------|--------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------|
| 9  | Economically Inactive  | Female | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 19.03.2011 |
| 10 | Economically Inactive  | Female | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 19.03.2011 |
| 11 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Male   | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 19.03.2011 |
| 12 | Trade                  | Male   | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 19.03.2011 |
| 13 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Female | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 20.03.2011 |
| 14 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Male   | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 20.03.2011 |
| 15 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Male   | 35-50  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Engaged  | 20.03.2011 |
| 16 | Non-Qualified Jobs     | Male   | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Single   | 20.03.2011 |
| 17 | Student/ Assistant     | Male   | 35-50  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Single   | 23.03.2011 |
| 18 | Student/ Assistant     | Female | 35-50  | Montreal (Quebec) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 24.03.2011 |
| 19 | Student/ Assistant     | Female | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 24.03.2011 |
| 20 | Bank Employer          | Male   | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Single   | 24.03.2011 |
| 21 | Student/ Assistant     | Female | 20-34  | Ottawa            | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 26.03.2011 |
| 22 | IT Specialist          | Female | 35-50  | Ottawa            | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Divorced | 26.03.2011 |
| 23 | Economically Inactive  | Female | 35-50  | Ottawa            | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 26.03.2011 |
| 24 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Male   | 35-50  | Ottawa            | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 26.03.2011 |
| 25 | IT Specialist          | Female | 35-50  | Ottawa            | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 26.03.2011 |
| 26 | IT Specialist          | Male   | 20-34  | Ottawa            | Turkish Citizen only          | Single   | 26.03.2011 |
| 27 | IT Specialist          | Female | 20-34  | Ottawa            | Turkish Citizen only          | Single   | 26.03.2011 |
| 28 | IT Specialist          | Male   | 35-50  | Ottawa            | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Divorced | 26.03.2011 |
| 29 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Female | 51-65+ | Ottawa            | Turkish Citizen only          | Divorced | 27.03.2011 |
| 30 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Female | 35-50  | Ottawa            | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Divorced | 27.03.2011 |

|    |                                  |        |        |                   |                               |          |            |
|----|----------------------------------|--------|--------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------|
| 31 | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Male   | 35-50  | Ottawa            | Turkish Citizen only          | Single   | 27.03.2011 |
| 32 | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Female | 35-50  | Ottawa            | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Divorced | 27.03.2011 |
| 33 | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Female | 20-34  | Ottawa            | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 28.03.2011 |
| 34 | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Female | 35-50  | Montreal (Quebec) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 01.04.2011 |
| 35 | Non-Qualified Jobs               | Female | 35-50  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Widowed  | 01.04.2011 |
| 36 | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Male   | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 01.04.2011 |
| 37 | Economically Inactive            | Female | 20-34  | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 01.04.2011 |
| 38 | Student/ Assistant               | Male   | 35-50  | Montreal (Quebec) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Single   | 08.04.2011 |
| 39 | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Male   | 51-65+ | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 09.04.2011 |
| 40 | Economically Inactive            | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 09.04.2011 |
| 41 | Searching For a Job (Unemployed) | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 10.04.2011 |
| 42 | Bank Employer                    | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Divorced | 11.04.2011 |
| 43 | Bank Employer                    | Male   | 20-34  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 12.04.2011 |
| 44 | Bank Employer                    | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 12.04.2011 |
| 45 | Non-Qualified Jobs               | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Single   | 12.04.2011 |
| 46 | IT Specialist                    | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Single   | 12.04.2011 |
| 47 | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 12.04.2011 |
| 48 | IT Specialist                    | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Single   | 12.04.2011 |
| 49 | Bank Employer                    | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 13.04.2011 |

|    |                                        |        |        |                   |                                  |         |            |
|----|----------------------------------------|--------|--------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------|------------|
| 50 | Bank Employer                          | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Single  | 13.04.2011 |
| 51 | Bank Employer                          | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 13.04.2011 |
| 52 | Bank Employer                          | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 14.04.2011 |
| 53 | Searching For a<br>Job<br>(Unemployed) | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 14.04.2011 |
| 54 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 14.04.2011 |
| 55 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 14.04.2011 |
| 56 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 14.04.2011 |
| 57 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 17.04.2011 |
| 58 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 17.04.2011 |
| 59 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 18.04.2011 |
| 60 | Trade                                  | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 18.04.2011 |
| 61 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Single  | 18.04.2011 |
| 62 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Female | 20-34  | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Single  | 18.04.2011 |
| 63 | Bank Employer                          | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Turkish Citizen<br>only          | Single  | 18.04.2011 |
| 64 | Non-Qualified<br>Jobs                  | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Turkish Citizen<br>only          | Married | 18.04.2011 |
| 65 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Male   | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Turkish Citizen<br>only          | Married | 18.04.2011 |
| 66 | Searching For a<br>Job<br>(Unemployed) | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Turkish Citizen<br>only          | Married | 19.04.2011 |
| 67 | Economically<br>Inactive               | Female | 35-50  | Toronto (Ontario) | Turkish Citizen<br>only          | Married | 19.04.2011 |
| 68 | Other<br>(Qualified Jobs)              | Female | 51-65+ | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens<br>(Canada-Turkey) | Married | 19.04.2011 |

|    |                        |        |       |                   |                               |          |            |
|----|------------------------|--------|-------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------|
| 69 | Economically Inactive  | Female | 35-50 | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 20.04.2011 |
| 70 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Female | 35-50 | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 20.04.2011 |
| 71 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Male   | 35-50 | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 20.04.2011 |
| 72 | Student/ Assistant     | Female | 20-34 | Montreal (Quebec) | Turkish Citizen only          | Single   | 28.04.2011 |
| 73 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Female | 35-50 | Montreal (Quebec) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 05.05.2011 |
| 74 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Female | 35-50 | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 16.05.2011 |
| 75 | Trade                  | Male   | 20-34 | Montreal          | Turkish Citizen only          | Married  | 19.03.2011 |
| 76 | Bank Employer          | Female | 35-50 | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Divorced | 13.04.2011 |
| 77 | Other (Qualified Jobs) | Female | 35-50 | Toronto (Ontario) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 18.04.2011 |
| 78 | Trade                  | Male   | 35-50 | Montreal (Quebec) | Dual Citizens (Canada-Turkey) | Married  | 18.05.2011 |

## Germany—Group B

| Case No | Occupation                       | Gender | Age Interval | Accommodation in Germany | Citizenship Status  | Marital Status | Interview Date |
|---------|----------------------------------|--------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1       | Student/ Assistant               | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 18.07.2011     |
| 2       | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Female | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 20.07.2011     |
| 3       | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | German Citizenship  | Married        | 20.07.2011     |
| 4       | Student/ Assistant               | Female | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 21.07.2011     |
| 5       | Student/ Assistant               | Female | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 22.07.2011     |
| 6       | Student/ Assistant               | Female | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 22.07.2011     |
| 7       | Student/ Assistant               | Female | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 25.07.2011     |
| 8       | Student/ Assistant               | Female | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 26.07.2011     |
| 9       | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Female | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 27.07.2011     |
| 10      | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Male   | 35-50        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 28.07.2011     |
| 11      | Trade                            | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 29.07.2011     |
| 12      | Searching for a Job (Unemployed) | Male   | 35-50        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 29.07.2011     |
| 13      | Economically Inactive            | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 29.07.2011     |
| 14      | Searching for a Job (Unemployed) | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 29.07.2011     |
| 15      | Student/ Assistant               | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 02.08.2011     |
| 16      | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 02.08.2011     |
| 17      | Student/ Assistant               | Female | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 04.08.2011     |
| 18      | Other (Qualified Jobs)           | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 05.08.2011     |
| 19      | Student/ Assistant               | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 05.08.2011     |
| 20      | Trade                            | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Married        | 05.08.2011     |
| 21      | Student/ Assistant               | Male   | 20-34        | Berlin                   | Turkish Citizenship | Single         | 07.08.2011     |

|    |                                        |        |       |              |                        |         |            |
|----|----------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|------------------------|---------|------------|
| 22 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 07.08.2011 |
| 23 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Male   | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 08.08.2011 |
| 24 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 12.08.2011 |
| 25 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Female | 35-50 | Other        | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 25.07.2011 |
| 26 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Other        | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 09.08.2011 |
| 27 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Other        | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 09.08.2011 |
| 28 | Trade                                  | Male   | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 23.08.2011 |
| 29 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Male   | 35-50 | Braunschweig | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 25.08.2011 |
| 30 | Searching for a<br>Job<br>(Unemployed) | Male   | 20-34 | Braunschweig | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 25.08.2011 |
| 31 | Non-Qualified<br>Jobs                  | Female | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 02.09.2011 |
| 32 | Trade                                  | Male   | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 03.09.2011 |
| 33 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Male   | 35-50 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 04.09.2011 |
| 34 | Trade                                  | Male   | 35-50 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 06.09.2011 |
| 35 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Female | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 06.09.2011 |
| 36 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Male   | 35-50 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 07.09.2011 |
| 37 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Male   | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 07.09.2011 |
| 38 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Male   | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 07.09.2011 |
| 39 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Male   | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 07.09.2011 |
| 40 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Female | 20-34 | Berlin       | Dual<br>Citizenship    | Married | 12.09.2011 |
| 41 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Male   | 20-34 | Other        | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 09.08.2011 |
| 42 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Male   | 20-34 | Berlin       | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 13.09.2011 |
| 43 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Dresden      | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 16.09.2011 |
| 44 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Dresden      | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 16.09.2011 |
| 45 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Female | 20-34 | Dresden      | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 17.09.2011 |
| 46 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Dresden      | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 17.09.2011 |

|    |                                        |        |       |         |                        |         |            |
|----|----------------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|------------------------|---------|------------|
| 47 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Dresden | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 17.09.2011 |
| 48 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Male   | 20-34 | Dresden | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 17.09.2011 |
| 49 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Female | 20-34 | Other   | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 18.09.2011 |
| 50 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs))             | Female | 20-34 | Berlin  | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 20.09.2011 |
| 51 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Female | 20-34 | Berlin  | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 20.09.2011 |
| 52 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Other   | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 21.09.2011 |
| 53 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Male   | 20-34 | Other   | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 23.09.2011 |
| 54 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Male   | 20-34 | Dresden | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 21.07.2011 |
| 55 | Searching for a<br>Job<br>(Unemployed) | Male   | 35-50 | Berlin  | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 20.09.2011 |
| 56 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Male   | 20-34 | Other   | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 27.09.2011 |
| 57 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Berlin  | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 21.07.2011 |
| 58 | Non-Qualified<br>Jobs                  | Male   | 20-34 | Berlin  | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 20.09.2011 |
| 59 | Student/<br>Assistant                  | Female | 20-34 | Berlin  | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Single  | 09.08.2011 |
| 60 | Other (Qualified<br>Jobs)              | Female | 20-34 | Other   | Turkish<br>Citizenship | Married | 18.09.2011 |

## APPENDIX C

### LIST OF THE LEGAL DOCUMENTS

#### Turkey

Law No. 5901, Turkish Nationality Act, (Author's trans.) Available online at: [http://www.nvi.gov.tr/Hizmetler/Vatandaslik,Vatandaslik\\_Kazanilmasi.html](http://www.nvi.gov.tr/Hizmetler/Vatandaslik,Vatandaslik_Kazanilmasi.html), [Last Access, 30 December 2013], and <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5901.html> [Last Access, 30 December 2013].

#### Canada

Canada Citizenship Act(R.S.C., 1985, c. C-29), Available online at: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-29/page-2.html#h-3>[Last Access, 21 January 2014].

#### Germany

German Nationality Act (*Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* (StAG)), Available online at: [http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Gesetzestexte/Staatsangehoerigkeitsgesetz\\_englisch.html](http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/Gesetzestexte/Staatsangehoerigkeitsgesetz_englisch.html), [Last Access, 13 January 2014]