



# T.C. YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

# FACTORS AFFECTING ACQUISITION OF GERMAN CITIZENSHIP OF TURKS LIVING IN GERMANY

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# **ABBREVIATIONS**

CDU Christlich Demokratische Union

CSU Christlich Soziale Union

DİYİH T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü - Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad

NPD Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands

SPD Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

TAM Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi Vakfı – Center for Turkish Studies – Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien

# **DEDICATION**

To the fellow Turks in Germany

#### **FOREWORD**

I was born in Germany as a son of a *Gastarbeiter* family. At the end of 1980, after a couple of months in primary school in Germany, I was sent back to Turkey by my parents to continue and obtain my education there. When I was a child, every time we came to Turkey for vacation I would ask myself "why are we there in Germany and why are our relatives, who would cry of happiness when they saw us, here in Turkey?".

In the Kindergarten I went to in Germany I had friends from many different countries, such as Portugal, Spain, and Italy. Their families were also there, sharing the same aim with my family: To earn money, to have a better life. As the children of the foreigners we would somehow play and stick together, instinctively without being aware of the underlying unifying condition.

I became aware of the real motive when I first went to the *Ausländeramt* (Office-Police for Foreigners). We were "foreigners".

I stayed in touch with childhood friends in Germany for many years after I came back to Turkey; however, we gradually lost the connection. I often wondered what they had been doing, how they had been coping with life. As I was studying Political Sciences at university my interest and social concern for Turks in Germany became a rather professional concern.

Anthropology is a journey into the self. Often anthropologist have tried to understand their past and their present by exploring distant lives and cultures that have significant explanatory power, shedding light on their own questions. It can be said that my own research topic is also based on trying to understand issues that have personal significance for me.

During my master's programme at the Department of Anthropology of Yeditepe University, I had the chance to study this issue. I am greatly interested in the decision making processes through which migrants decide to stay or not to stay in the country they have migrated to. What are the foundations and the processes through which such decision are realized? My objective was to understand and explain the factors encouraging Turks to stay in Germany and acquire German citizenship instead of returning to the motherland Turkey.

On July 01, 2004, I set off to Germany to carry out fieldwork with the objective of finding the reasons for Turks living in Germany becoming German citizens and to understand the critical process of their determination for the course. The target group of the research was the Turkish citizens who were equipped with the background that the current law for becoming a German citizen required. Contacting the families who could accept and host me during my stay and arranging a travel schedule were the hardest among the preparations made before the journey. It was important for me to spend time with the families in order to fulfill the essentials of active observation method in field research, in which case the features of the host families were as important. Variables such as age, generation, education, starting point of the immigration in Turkey were the points to be taken into consideration while finding and selecting the families. Occasionally, I was able to find accommodation in hotels and motels, while I was completing the necessary route to accomplish the research.

I made use of some previous contacts in Germany to find host families. At this point, some people who can be regarded as key people from the 'community' helped significantly. For an instance, the intimate support of the members of the Association of Fenerbahçe Fans in Köln was quite important. The fans in the club are a gathered group of Turks in Germany who come from a variety of sections and backgrounds in terms of education, economic conditions and the homeland districts they feel attached to in Turkey. Approaching directly, without an introduction and requesting an interview might cause a sense of mistrust on the interviewee, therefore a trusted mediator can have a very critical significance to establish the connections.

In the appendix section there is a chart in which there is information on travel and accommodation details in terms of the regions covered and the hosting families. This section explains the route taken by the researcher during the field research.

As a result of previously made connections, the first family to host me was a family with three children living in Hannover. I had made the first acquaintance with this family during my short stay in Germany in November 2003, to make pre-arrangements for the field research. However the family, which greeted me at Hannover airport, told me that they could not host me because they were in the middle of a moving process from their house. Nevertheless, they insistently invited me to stay with them at a later time. Consequently, after a nice breakfast we had in the city center, I called other host

families and friends living in Köln. I took the train to Köln at noontime. As a result of this unexpectedly inconvenient situation I set off for Köln by train during noontime.

I received a lot of hospitality from the host families in Köln. I had the opportunity to take daily trips to smaller habitations, such as Bonn. I also had the chance to talk to tradesmen as well as other fellow Turks in coffeehouses in Keup Str., in Köln where the majority of the population is composed of Turks. This area is a place where mostly Turkish citizens with low economic status live. Here I was able to observe and take part in a street festival arranged to cause to forget a bombing event that happened in June 2004. Köln town hall gave support to the occasion, too. Joining these events provided a great deal of information for my research.

Eurofeb web site members and the members of Köln Fenerbahçe Fans Club, who showed great affinity to me, also helped me plan my route schedule for later phases of my field research. These friends made my meetings possible with all kinds of Turkish citizens and Turkish - German citizens in Nordrhein - Westfalen region, where the Turkish population is the most intense.

Taking off from Köln, I went to Munich, the south end of the field research. In Munich I had the opportunity to meet Dr. Margret Spohn, the manager of Landes Bayern Intercultural Relations Department. Dr. Spohn made many valuable suggestions for the sake of the research and its success.

Munich is the biggest city in South Germany. It is the capital of the State of Bayern. There is differentiation between the states of Northwest Germany and South Germany where the Turkish population is intense, in terms of socio-economic conditions and socio-cultural conditions. South Germany is Catholic and culturally conservative. They even have a different greeting style compared to other regions. In the south people generally greet each other with the words 'Grüss Gott' (God greet you) whereas in other regions people prefer to use the word 'Grüss' only<sup>1</sup>. I encountered and talked to Turkish citizens in Munich, the richest and the most 'German' state in Germany; in the streets around the central train station where the major population is formed of Turks, and in 'college districts' Leopold Str. and Schwabing. You can feel that Turkish citizens living in Munich districts where intellectuals live with a higher social and cultural level are slightly different. Turkish citizens living in this area have higher economic conditions.

www.yenisafak.com/diziler/diaspora (20.02.2005)

Most of them have acquired German citizenship, and they express their reasons more articulately with a clearer perception; that is they really know why they become German citizens. Although they are fewer in numbers, they provided me with more adequate information for my research during the interviews through their well expressed reason of choosing German citizenship; and their knowledge on the country's agenda. Their knowledge on their mother tongue Turkish is outstanding.

I stayed in Munich as much as I could afford staying. It was a busy season, so I had difficulty finding places to stay and I had to pay quite high prices for accommodation. After Munich, I headed to the north, to Stuttgart, the capital of Baden-Württemberg.

I had a chance to go through a lot of fruitful interviews in Stuttgart and its vicinity. Among the interviews made in this area, the ones made with the mosque community of mosques that are formally a part of the Religious Affairs Department in Turkey were good for my research. Casual conversations made in coffeehouses or mosque cafeterias were often more enlightening in terms of the aims of the research than the interviews recorded. Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg, they are 15 kilometers far from each other by train and many people who live in Ludwigsburg work in Stuttgart, so the trains are full during daytime, I could meet many people from different economical and cultural backgrounds. Their reasons for immigrating to Germany vary. Ludwigsburg, of which Oktay Sinanoğlu has written about the beautiful gardens he saw during his visit 40 years ago, used to be surrounded by big industrial establishments<sup>2</sup>. It is now a medium size city hosting many foreigners. Many Turks living in this area are working in worldwide famous Getrag steel and gear factory, the Daimler-Benz and the Porsche automobile factory, Man-filter spare parts factory and the Bosch factory. Ludwigsburg is also the election area of Cem Özdemir, the Parliament deputy of Turkish origin, who was elected to take part in the German parliament in federal parliament elections in 1994.

Bayram Gümüşsuyu, my host in Stuttgart is the owner of the last two year's best selling Call Center in Germany. Naturally, he has a wide business circle, which provided me with the opportunity of meeting Turks who work in the tourism sector.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sinanoğlu describes Ludwigsburg as a small town, talking about the castle and the gardens of King Ludwig, the Crazy (Interview: Çaykara, E. *Türk Aynştaynı"Oktay Sinanoğlu Kitabı*", Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 210)

Almost all of these people have already acquired German citizenship. The advantage that German passport provides during various necessary business travels is only one of the reasons for these people for acquiring German citizenship.

I went to Frankfurt, north of Stuttgart – Ludwigsburg. As it is known, Frankfurt is the finance center of Germany. The German Central Bank and the German stock market are located here. Thanks to the host families in Köln, I did not have any accommodation problems in Frankfurt. Young Turkish acquaintances hosted me in Frankfurt. Thus, again I had the chance to encounter many people from different political and economical backgrounds. In Frankfurt, I saw the only Turkish bookstore that I encountered during my whole research.

I would like to recall a scene I witnessed in Frankfurt; I went to the Sunday flea market built in the banks of river Main. In this finance center where the center of Euro, European Union currency is situated, people would around and tread upon each other to buy a pair of shoes. From an outside glance, the city seems like a place where everyone lives in prosperity and luxury, however, hardening living standards encourage people to go and shop with difficulty from flea markets. Ersal Yavi summarizes the tough economic conditions Germany is going through by the following words; "Germany; the sick man in Europe".

I went to the capital city Berlin, after a day's rest in Köln. I talked to Dr. Can Ünver, the official labor consultant of the Turkish Embassy in Berlin. I visited the famous distinct Kreuzberg that Ayhan Kaya describes as "little Istanbul in Berlin". I met and talked to many Turkish people there. Home of many Turkish immigrants, Berlin, alone, can be a topic for a single research. You can find anything in Kreuzberg, which you can find in Turkey; Turkish baths, branches of Turkish banks, Turkish florists etc. The first immigrants came here as it was regarded as the outskirts of West Berlin then. 60 percent of the houses seemed shabby, as they could not shelter people. The houses were main targets during the war; thus they are now shabby and cheap. During the 1970s and the 1980s the houses hosted artists, vandals, humanists, alcoholics and many independent individuals. This mingling of variety made Kreuzberg the most famous district both in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The work of Ersal Yavi - Necla Y. Yavi "Avrupa Birliği'nin Önlenemeyen Düşüşü, İzmir, 2004" is a reference book for those who are interested. The authors criticize the problems Germany has recently gone through as the leading country of the European Union and its activities, by referring to publications in Europe and America.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See, Kaya, A. 2000, Sicher in Kreuzberg-Berlin'deki Küçük İstanbul, Büke Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Berlin and in Germany. However, the ratio of unemployment is quite high in the district; it is 18.2 %<sup>5</sup>. The streets sellers close to Brandenburg Gate in the east, which is quite popular with tourists and shoppers, and the sellers selling clothing and equipments of the former Soviet Union army around the famous gate of cold war, Charlie Check Point are all Turks. With the combination of East and West Berlin, Kreuzberg, with its high Turkish population, has become a centre and Turks have made use of the opportunity.

Leaving Berlin, I went to Hannover, which was supposed to be the first stop for my research. Thanks to my host, I have the chance to meet and speak to many people of various mosque communities. I could observe differentiation in the motivations of religious communities to acquire German citizenship. My hosting landlord has been a technician who works for German Railways, building infrastructure for train stations, bridges, and tunnels. With his support and help, I could meet Turkish citizens and Turkish-German citizens of different backgrounds.

After Hannover, I went back to Köln. As I was in Köln, I paid a visit to Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi Vakfı - Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien (Center for Turkish Studies) in Essen. During the rest of my stay in Köln, I saw that some of the previous interviews I had made in Köln improved in quality and essence. That is, during the time of my two visits, the Turks I had met a rather a more positive perspective and attitude towards me.

Thus, field research was realized in various states and geographical locations of Germany, concentrating on places with a major population of Turkish immigrant. As the statistics in the reports of Ministry of Labor and Social Security<sup>6</sup>, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad - DİYİH (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü), and the chart of numbers of Turkish citizens who acquired German citizenship based on embassy areas indicate that the cities the research was run are the places where the population of Turkish citizens and Turkish-German citizens is high.

<sup>5</sup> Available at site, http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/~dogan/34.html (07.01.2005)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, 2003 Report. (T.C. Çalışma va Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003 Yılı Raporu)

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I also wish to thank all Turks living in Germany. They are the real heroes of this study. The ones wherever they come from who have struggled to come so far, starting with only a few things in hand but with a huge spirit in their hearts in order to survive and leave a better world to next generations.

Finally last but not least I owe great deal and I am indebted to my father and mother, who supported me in every possible way throughout my life.

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis aims to research the reasons for and the process of acquisition of German citizenship by Turks living in Germany. Within the framework of the convention made between Turkey and Germany in 1961, Turkish citizens started going to Germany as "guest workers" in large numbers due to the lack of labour force in Germany. Migration from Turkey to Germany has passed through various phases and consequently formed a population of 2.5 million Turkish people in the country.

Both the individuals forming this group and also the German society are aware that this migration is at a point of no return. At the beginning of the 1980s, German politicians aimed to reach the desired integration level of foreigners living in Germany, into the German society by providing easier access to German citizenship. As it got easier to acquire German citizenship with the advantages of the changing laws provided at the beginning of the 1990s, Turks living in this country started to apply for the acquisition of German citizenship.

In order to find an answer to the question "factors which influence decision of Turks living in Germany for acquisition of German citizenship and to make research preparations, I went to Germany in November 2003. After that I realized my field study between July 01, and September 22, 2004, especially in areas where there is a considerable Turkish population (Berlin, Hannover, Köln, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and München). I have conducted interviews with 134 people who posses the requirements that the German laws demand for the acquisition of German citizenship. At the same time I collected data through participant observation in various venues of the social life of Turks living in Germany, such as at home, marketplaces, Turkish coffeehouses, mosques and at football matches. This way I was able to observe Turkish citizens' approaches to the issue of acquisition of the German citizenship. I was mostly hosted by Turkish families, yet occasionally stayed at hotels during this time while I conducted interviews. A further research was made to find out the reasons why in some cases German citizenship has been acquired and in some others why it has not been. People who posses the right conditions that the German laws requires for the acquisition of German citizenship, were interviewed.

It has been found that the reasons declared by Turks living in Germany, for acquiring German citizenship are mainly as fallows:

- Freedom of travel with German Passport and its strong image
- Intention of staying permanently in Germany and having no intentions for returning to Turkey
- Desire for integration with German society
- Assuming acquisition of German citizenship as a counter-measure against discrimination and enhance feelings of equality vis-a-vis Germans
- Need / requirement of profession

On the other hand, the reasons of Turks living in Germany, but not acquiring German citizenship are mainly:

- Not finding it necessary, finding sufficient to hold residence and work permits
- Emotional reasons like loyalty to Turkey, patriotism and nationalism
- The high costs of fees for the application procedures

#### ÖZET

Bu tez Almanya'da yaşayan Türk vatandaşlarının, Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş süreci ve nedenlerini araştırmayı amaçlamıştır. 1961 yılında her iki ülke resmi makamlarının resmi anlaşmaları çerçevesinde, Almanya'nın o dönem ihtiyaç duyduğu işgücü açığını gidermek amacıyla, Türk vatandaşları misafir işçi olarak bu ülkeye kitleler halinde gitmeye başlamışlardır. Çeşitli aşamalardan geçen Türk göçü, bugün Almanya'da yaklaşık 2.5 milyon insanın oluşturduğu bir topluluk haline gelmiştir.

Hem bu topluluğu oluşturan bireyler hem de birlikte yaşadıkları Alman toplumu, artık söz konusu göçün geri dönülemez bir noktada olduğunu kabul etmektedir. 1980'li yılların başlarında Alman siyasetçileri, ülkelerinde bulunan yabancılara Alman vatandaşlığı edinme kolaylığı sağlamak suretiyle, arzu edilen Alman toplumuna entegrasyonu sağlamaya çalışmışlardır. 1990'lı yılların başlarında değiştirilen yasalar ile birlikte, Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kolaylaşmış ve bu ülkede yaşayan Türkler Alman vatandaşlığına geçmeye başlamışlardır.

Almanya'da yaşayan Türk vatandaşlarının, Alman vatandaşlığına geçme kararlarını etkileyen faktörler nelerdir, sorusuna cevap bulmak amacıyla ve bu konuda bir arastırmaya hazırlık yapmak için Kasım 2003 tarihinde Federal Almanya'ya seyahat ettim. Daha sonra 01 Temmuz - 22 Eylül 2004 tarihleri arasında, Almanya'nın özellikle Türklerin yoğun olarak yaşadığı şehirlerinde (Berlin, Hannover, Köln, Frankfurt, Stuttgart ve Münih) saha araştırması gerçekleştirdim. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş için Alman yasalarının aradığı gerekli şartlara sahip 134 kişi ile yüzyüze görüşmeler yaptım. Diğer yandan katılarak gözlem metodu kullanılarak, Türk vatandaşlarının toplumsal yaşamlarının pek çok anında, örneğin evlerinde, çarşıda, kahvelerde, cami derneklerinde, futbol karşılaşmalarında, bu insanların Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş konusuna nasıl baktıklarını öğrenmeye çalıştım. Görüşmeleri gerçekleştirdiğim süre içinde kimi zaman Türk aileler tarafından misafir edildim, bazen de otellerde konakladım. Bu araştırma, Alman vatandaşlığına niçin geçildiğini ve Alman vatandaşlığına geçmeyenlerin ise niçin geçmedikleri öğrenmek amacıyla yapılmıştır. Alman yasalarının, Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş için, gerekli gördüğü şartlara sahip kişilerle görüşülmüştür.

Almanya'da yaşayan Türklerin, Alman vatandaşlığına geçişlerinde dile getirilen başlıca nedenler olarak şu faktörler bulunmuştur:

- Alman pasaportunun sağladığı seyahat özgürlüğü ve bu pasaportun güçlü imajı
- Almanya'da kalıcı olma niyeti ve Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmak isteğinin duyulmaması
- Alman toplumu ile entegrasyon isteği
- Kişinin kendini Almanlar ile eşit hissetme amacı ve (Alman vatandaşlığına geçişi) ayrımcılığa karşı bir önlem olarak görmesi
- İş / meslek gereği duyulan ihtiyaç

Diğer yandan Almanya'da yaşayan Türklerin, Alman vatandaşlığına geçmemelerinde başlıca nedenler:

- Gerekli görmemek, oturma ve çalışma iznini yeterli bulmak
- Türkiye'ye bağlılık, vatanseverlik ve milliyetçilik gibi duygusal nedenler
- Vatandaşlık başvuru harcamalarını yüksek bulmak

#### 1 INTRODUCTION

# 1.1 Research Topic

While Turkey is trying to be a member of European Union and she has received a starting date for the membership negotiations, one face of hers in Europe is those Turkish citizens living in the European Union countries. Therefore, the social and economic position and status of the Turkish citizens in the societies in which they live is of great importance from the standpoint of Turkey and the image of Turkey in Europe.

When the breakdown of Turkish citizens and workers living in Europe is taken into consideration, one will see that most of them live in Germany. Also, Germany is the country, where the most Turks in Europe have acquired a second citizenship<sup>7</sup>. For this reason, this study is about the Turkish citizens living in Germany.

The Turkish workers who contribute to the economic development of the German economy with their hard work and under hardship have now become "permanent" and lost their feature of being "temporary". So, they have chosen Germany as their second motherland, and their children and grandchildren were born and grown in this second motherland. Germany has now become the motherland of the third generation Turks and today the Turkish citizens living in Germany are indivisible parts of the German society.

Today a Turkish society with a population of 2.5 million people is living in Germany. And they comprise 2.5 percent of the German population and 28.8 percent of the population of foreigners living in Germany.

## 1.2 The Objective of the Research

The objective of the research is to explore the factors for Turks behind their acquisition of German citizenship by taking into consideration age, sex, profession, education level and the point where their migration histories started.

The objective of the research is to gather all the information mentioned above and to find the means to reach the ends lying under these factors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2004, 2003 Yılı Raporu-Yurtdışındaki Vatandaşlarımıza İlişkin Gelişmeler ve Sayısal Bilgiler, Neyir Matbaacılık, Ankara.

# 1.3 The Importance of the Research

As the borders lose their significance, in Europe new borders have been drawn and the concept of citizenship has gained new meanings. It is a known fact that the developed countries offer citizenship to people who come to the country from the colonies to fill in the gaps created by the lack of labor force. After World War II while Europe was attempting a new enterprise, devastated countries were in need of labor force. For some countries this lack of labor force was supported by people from the colonies and for other countries the treaties made with their neighbor countries helped to fill in this need.

The immigration to Western Europe has gone through levels and come to an inevitable point. The immigrants could experience discrimination in migrated countries. They have paid their taxes as everyone else but could not make use of some legal rights. Within this framework the target countries of the migration had to consider the issue of permitting citizenship due to their needs.

As a result developed countries legalized citizenship to foreigners living in the country for a certain time based on determined conditions. One of these countries is Germany, where 2.5 million native Turks are residing.

730,000 Turks living in Germany are said to have acquired German citizenship. The fact that these Turks gave up their essential citizenship and acquired German citizenship shows the importance of the issue. This importance of the issue has been considered and regarded serious as to be investigated.

### 1.4 The Focus of the Research

In 1992 the Maastricht Treaty of the European Union (EU) created the status of European Union citizenship. Every citizen of an EU member state is now also a citizen of the European Union. This supranational citizenship has its own set of rights and benefits, including the right to vote and present oneself as a candidate in European and local elections wherever one lives<sup>8</sup>. Deriving from this point of view this research focuses on the motives and the factors that Turks are affected to acquire German citizenship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Miriam Feldblum, "Citizenship Matters: Contemporary Trends in Europe and United State", available at site, http://www.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-2/ferldblum.html (05.2.1997)

# 1.5 About Migration

Migration is a phenomenon which has influenced almost all the societies in the world. It is seen in almost all the ages of history that is known by us. This phenomenon is one on which many research studies have been made. The main reason why there is so much interest in the subject is that there are so many countries in which the phenomenon of migration is experienced and that there are also many positive and negative factors influencing the lives of the people who are affected by migration (Yalçın, 2004: v). Especially social scientists have worked on migration. The aim of this research within this framework is to provide a different approach to the subject from an anthropological point of view. The phenomenon of migration, which is as ancient as the acknowledged history of mankind is a diverse subject in that it has various facets such as demographic, economic, political, psychological, anthropological, and sociological aspects. Therefore, it becomes impossible at the very beginning to approach to migration on a universal basis (Yalçın, 2004: 3).

Almost all the Western European countries face the waves of migration. Many thousands of people from South America, Africa, and Far East try to reach West Europe hoping to have better lives. At the same time in reaction to this wave of migration, the favorite countries of migrants make access to their countries more and more difficult day by day. One can see many people in queues in front of the representative offices of the western countries hoping to get visas. Also many people are trapped and abused by human merchants. As a result western countries take increasingly stronger measures against illegal migration. However one can also say that these measures sometimes exceed the limits of humanitarian behaviour. International human rights agreements are disregarded with the latest laws and their application, and the reunion of families and even short visits become more and more difficult (sometimes impossible). In other words, a new iron curtain is being built on the borders of the Western European countries. The police officers who in the near past pointed their guns at those who want to take refuge in the West now point their guns at those who want to migrate to the West (Vassaf, 2000: 25).

The public of the western countries have started judging the migrants, who have come to the West with the hopes of a better life standard, depending on the claim that they cause some social problems and issues. The causes of the subject matter and the problems caused by it are open to discussion in many aspects. At this point the causes of migration and the factors which make the migrants migrate to the west must be taken into consideration. The questions and the answers to these questions on migration are obvious. Why did they invite them? They invited them because European Countries such as Germany needed cheap work force to

allocate in certain areas that the native Germans were not willing to work in either due to low wages and/or low social status occupations such as garbage collection or sanitary works. Why did they come? They came because they were unemployed in their homeland. Why? Because, as the West has become richer the East has become poorer. Especially those in agricultural works became jobless and had to migrate. The migration of the Easterner to the west is the result of the Westerners exploiting the East. At a meeting in Berlin a worker summarized as follows: "We are here, because you are there" (Vassaf, 2000: 30).

One can easily say within the historical process Turks are accustomed to migration. In no age of history the Turkic tribes have kept away from migration. Although it seems the migration started in Central Asia and ended in Anatolia, it continued with the expansion of the Ottoman Empire; and finally, Turkish workers started to migrate to Western Europe in 1960s (Yalçın, 2004: 6). As a result, Turkey showed its existence in Western Europe by sending those workers to the Western European countries especially in late 1960s. Although in certain eras of history there have been warm relations between Germany and Turkey, there has been no such age as this time, with so many Turks in Europe living together with Europeans. For Turkey has never been a colonial country, her citizens were lucky in that they did not experience the difficulties that were experienced by the citizens of some colonial countries who were forced to migrate. At the end of the Second World War, Western European countries began feeling the need for extra labour force as result of their expanding economy through the Marshall Aid. But they did not use the Turkish labour force till the 1960s. Therefore, Turkey was pretty late within the context of international migration. Although Turkey was late in this respect, she was able to send her people as labor force and brain force almost everywhere in the world.

The phenomenon of migration from Turkey's point of view has almost always been up-to-date and attractive for her citizens. Though Western countries have passed laws to prevent the migration of the Turkish labour force, it has not worked, because Turkish workers have almost always been able to break through after the period of normal and legal acceptance of the labor force (1960-1973) by way of family reunions, sending women workers; and sometimes by such illegal ways as use of gang networks and workers pretending to be refugees (Yalçın, 2004: 8).

# 1.6 Migration to the Federal Republic of Germany

Migration from Turkey to Germany started in 1961 with the signing of the Agreement on Labour Force Acceptance on September 30, 1961 between the two countries. The German

economy, while trying to get better after the Second World War, started experiencing a boom after the Korean War in 1951, and the rate of unemployment declined very sharply (Layard et al., 1994). This led to the need of employment of foreign labor force after the division of Germany into two different countries in the aftermath of the Second World War. So, Turkey was among the countries with which Germany signed agreements to obtain foreign labor forces (Germany, at that time, accepted foreign labour as a result of agreements on acceptance of foreign labour force with Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal). Another subject worth mentioning was the issues regarding the freedom of travel of the Turkish workers at that time. With the acceptance of the 1961 Constitution, Turkish citizens acquired the right of free entrance to this country (Abadan-Unat, 2002: 37). In this relatively free environment Turkish citizens began to come to Germany as a temporary labour force or as the Germans called them at that time they were accepted as guest workers (Gastärbeiter). This adventure, which started with the arrival of 7116 Turkish workers in Germany, passed through various processes and stages. The first group of Turkish workers to arrive in Germany was greeted cheerfully and enthusiastically by the German authorities and society at large (Gürsoy, 1992: xi). Immigration to Germany and to the other European countries has experienced same periods of emigration.

The presence of three million Turkish people in Western Europe today is the legacy of two successive periods of emigration: the labour migration period of the 1960s and 1970s, and the post labour migration period of the 1980s and 1990s. Three distinctive forms of migration characterize the latter period: a) family reunification dominated by marriage migration; b) politically motivated migration, firstly because of the military coup of September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1980, and the later due to Kurdish ethnic revival since the mid-1980s; c) clandestine labour migration (İçduygu, 1996: 26). Over the following years, this changed literally into a migration. Sending workers abroad was a solution for the Turkish economy during those years when it was experiencing a shift from agricultural society to industrialization, as a result of which process Turkey was suffering from unemployment. Once this migration started it did not only help decrease the rate of unemployment in metropolitan and major cities where industrialization was heavily being experienced, but also it helped lessen the burden of foreign trade deficit with the foreign currencies coming from the workers. At the same time, it was assumed that the Turkish workers would bring into Turkey the know-how and technology they have learnt in Europe and contribute to the Turkish economy by using them in their homeland. Demand for employment led to the export of a significant portion of the young, active male population. Later, however, as industry in Europe continued to employ out-ofdate industrial equipment and offer low wages, there was a rising demand for the employment of female migrant workers particularly in the manufacturing, iron and metal industries (Gürsoy, 1992: xii). The contribution to the German economy and the welfare of the German person of those people who were invited to Germany at that time as Gastarbeiter is really something to be appreciated. The fast economic growth in 1960s increased the need for additional work force in the Western European countries. And the migration of work force into these countries gained acceleration with the agreements signed during this period. Between 1962-1965 immigration from Turkey headed to France as the German market had got crowded. In April 1966, Turkey settled a deal on labor power with France as it had done with many other European countries (Fırat, 2003: 8).

At the beginning, it was thought that these workers (Turkish workers in Germany) would work for a limited period of three-five years and then return to their motherlands (İyidirli, 1989: 73). What is more according to the European governments, the official position was that foreign workers could be sent home at will, upon the decline of their productivity or when unemployment rose (Soysal, 1994: 2). With the conditions changing over the years, especially the big petroleum crisis in 1973, which influenced the whole world, Germany decided to stop accepting workers. But, the migration of the Turkish citizens into Germany did not stop. After this time, the features of migration began changing.

In 1973, when the big petroleum crisis overwhelmed the world economies, many German employers had to leave workers unemployed. And Germany started seeking measures to stop the ongoing labour force migration. However, despite Germany did take measures the migration gained acceleration. Between 1973 and 1984 the Turkish population in Germany raised from 500,000 to over 1.5 million. This sharp increase, although not this sharp, was seen in other Western European countries as well. The fundamental reason for the increase was the reunion of families. In other words, those workers who went to Germany without their wives and children showed an inclination to staying in Germany instead of returning to the motherland. Also another point contributing to the migration increase was that those who went to Germany as Bachelors got married with Turkish girls in Turkey and took them to Germany (Yalçın, 2004: 136).

Abadan-Unat (1986: 7-8), gathers the thesis for the positive results of immigration in three sections in the publications about immigration between the years 1961-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> More specifically, female workers were concentrated in electronics, the automotive industry, textiles, chemical production, food processing and packaging as well as in cleaning services (Gürsoy, 1992; xii).

- 1. The savings of the immigrants will establish a good resource for the country's welfare.
- 2. Workers who are mostly unqualified will improve to use their abilities in the industrially developed country to use them in necessary fields.
- 3. These workers will go back to their home country and work in fields they have been qualified for.

Castles and Miller (1993: 105) evaluate the situation as follows "Turkey has been disappointed in terms of expectations from the immigrants. The workers selected by the Labor Exchange Department of Federal Germany are qualified workers instead of the unemployed. These qualified workers have to work in casual works, only a few of them can improve their vocational abilities. The savings amounted 1.5-2 billion dollars that these workers sent to their homeland during the 1980s were somewhat a support for the country, however, most of this money was consumed in vain so that industry and production fields were not developed" (Yalçın, 2004: 131).

While Turkish population was growing day by day, German decision makers tried to reduce the numbers of foreigners/migrants in Germany. In November, 1983 Federal government legalized the law for "Going back to homeland for good". This law allowed the government to pay 10,500 DM Per adult and 1,500 DM Per kid to Yugoslavians, Turks, Spanish, Portuguese, Moroccan, Tunisian and Koreans who returned to their countries between October 31, 1983 and September 30, 1985. As a result, in 1983 and 1984 250,000 foreigners, most of whom were Turks, went back to their home countries (Şenocak, 1993: 150).

Despite increasing unemployment and formal policies of repatriation, the host states (The German state in our case) have not succeeded in sending their guestworkers away. Guestworkers are now permanent, and form large, "foreign" communities within the host societies (Soysal, 1994: 2).

The fundamental feature of the Turkish work force migration to Germany at the beginning is that these workers went to Germany alone leaving their wives and children in Turkey. An important reason for this was that they expected to stay and work there temporarily and to come back after making sufficient savings (Yalçın, 2004: 134). Most of those Turkish workers who went to Germany after the Labor Force Acceptance Agreement in 1961 were married men. Their intention was to make enough savings in Germany and then to return to their hometowns for a better life after working there for three to five years. However the life they lived in Germany changed their mind. Instead of returning to their wives and children

they took them to Germany. The ratio of men to women was very big at the beginning. But at the end of 2002 they were very close (Center for Turkish Studies, 2003: 11). The Turkish population in Germany started rising as a result of reunion of the families in the early 1970s. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the Turkish migration to Germany took the form of migration through marriage. Another minor migration form is the one which took place for political reasons right after the military coup on September 12, 1980. While migration by way of marriage shaped the destinies of the people who wanted to migrate to Germany, many more people accelerated the rate of migration from Turkey to Western Europe by using the method of "political refugee" (İçduygu, 1995). Therefore it may be misleading to call the Turkish citizens in Germany workers or children of workers, because the only reason for migration is not economical, but it is also political.

When we look at the breakdown of the Turkish citizens living abroad, it is clearly seen that most of them live in Western European countries. And most of the Turkish citizens in Western European countries live in the Federal Republic of Germany. At this point, it is necessary to answer the question why do they choose Germany (Yalçın, 2004: 149). The reasons why the Turkish citizens choose Germany can be grouped into four as follows:

- 1. The past good relations especially that have continued from the times of the Ottomans,
- 2. Some good features of the Turkish people: discipline, modesty, easily managed, and the less desire to become members of trade unions (this feature alone can be a good reason why the German employers choose the Turkish workers),
- 3. Germany opened many employment offices in Turkey during the employment process, and played active roles (these offices, as a result of un-confidence in Turkish doctors, undertook the medical examination, including the teeth, of the workers, which was carried out by German physicians). As Rist (1978: 111) pointed out, the number of these offices reached 600 in the 1960s.
- 4. The fact that Germany did not have colonies made it relatively easier to accept foreign labour force in comparison to other industrialized countries (Yalçın, 2004: 151).

Most of the first generation Turks who migrated to Germany is those who sacrificed themselves. And most of them were employed in inferior jobs for which they were overqualified. They were isolated from the native people, and had to live separately alone away from their wives and children in rooms called "hostel" close to their works and made for

bachelors under severely bad conditions. This generation was in a position where they were considered "Gastärbeiter", and were deprived of such rights as adaptation to the German society, learning the German language, good accommodation, and social security during the first ten years (Yalçın, 2004: 167).

First and second generation has had to work under hard conditions, struggling through many difficulties. They have carried on living in houses, rooms and 'Heim's which not even ordinary, facing problems were, eking out a living; if you can call it living. They have sent all their savings to Turkey, working with the diligence of a bee, patience of a saint, tolerance of a humble. They have added up to Turkish economy. With the foreign currency they have sent, many crisis have been avoided, many economical difficulties have been overcome. They have been seen as cash machines for years. These people have already paid their debt to their country, and they have overpaid it. However, the politicians and governors in Turkey have not fulfilled their duties to these people. They have been upset, offended, but they have not reproached (Turkishweb, Turkish Lesson, 2004). The immigration of the Turks to Germany is too big of a concept that it is almost impossible to be assessed with words, researches, laws or comments. The onlookers see or want to see this concept as a world full of consuming culture, showy cars decorated with shiny letters. However, each of the Turkish citizens living in Germany has a world, which can be spoken of for days or written about for pages. These lives can be sometimes pleasant while these people are trying to be accepted by the society they live in. Turkish people have come far to have the rights to acquire German citizenship through many struggles.

The journalist Murat Çulcu talks of the interviews he made with unemployed Turkish citizens in Germany in 1975. Most of these people had been redundant from Wolkswagen. They complain about German bureaucracy; "When we got sacked, we wrote to Arbeitsamt (labor exchange). This institution pays us a certain percentage of our salary. However, they offered works we could not do. When our residence permit was over, we went to Auslander Polizei (police for the foreigners). They asked for our Arbeitsbescheinigung (a document from the company you work in stating your work there). Because we were unemployed the Arbeitsamt should have given the paper, so we went to Arbeitsamt. However, they told us to get the residence permit first to get the work paper. So, time goes by and they fired us without paying anything" (Çulcu, 1993: 17).

Today a Turkish society with a population of 2.5 million people lives in Germany. And they comprise 2.5 percent of the German population and 28.8 percent of the population of foreigners living in Germany. In the long coming years the Turkish citizens living in Germany

are expected to become more and more integrated with the German society as well as keeping the features of their cultural and original nationality. Those Turks who went to Germany as workers 40 years ago have now become employers and broken the chains of economic and social insufficiencies (There are theories and models explaining the ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship. These are, in turn, "Minorities in between", "Cultural model", "Market deficiency", "Reaction", and "Interaction" theories and models)<sup>10</sup>.

The investments of the Turkish people living in Germany are increasing day by day also in new and different areas. A research study which was published by the Center for Turkish Studies, in 2000 shows clearly that the Turks in Germany intend to stay in Germany permanently. According to the research, the tendency of more than half of the Turks who were born and educated in Germany to return to Turkey has decreased by 10-15 percent. A rapid increase is seen in tendency to stay and have houses. During the last ten years the number of Turkish entrepreneurs has increased by 90 percent. The numbers show that Turks now make their investments in Germany and have houses in Germany. Among the Turkish people living in Europe it is common to see that their tendency to have real estate and other valuables where they live is becoming stronger, and as a result, the number of the Turkish people who have houses in the European Union countries has reached 180,000. This, in other words, means that one out of every five Turkish families living in the European Union countries own houses in the country where they live 11.

Now we have a reality of the Turkish society in Germany which has taken long miles in the integration process that the German authorities frequently emphasize. The Turkish society leading their lives in Germany is in a rapid transition in demographic, economic, cultural, and social aspects. The distance between the motherland and Germany is now short and the social relations have started changing. At the present time, there are nine Turkish newspapers published in Germany and it has become a natural habit to watch almost all Turkish TV channels. Today, there are many Turkish people in Germany who are successful in science, arts, culture, sports, business, and even politics, not only making great contributions to the society, but also creating a small Turkey within Germany. The Turkish society in Germany has been able to make such infrastructure for their needs such as mosques, various Turkish associations, and markets. A Turkish worker who lives in Germany once said "We used to say that we live away from homeland, but now Turkey is here" (Nielsen, 2002: 39).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> For models that offer more comprehensive review of ethnic and immigrant entrepreneurship, refer to http://www.dtm.gov.tr/ead/DTDERGI/nisan2002/viyana.htm (24.11.2004)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi Vakfı, Almanya ve Diğer AB Ülkelerindeki Türk Hane ve Girişimcilerinin Ekonomik Gücü, 2003. p.34.

On the other hand, there is another point which needs attention. Although there are many private enterprises belonging to Turkish people and many official/private organizations which produce goods and services for the Turkish people, it should be noted that this and similar organization structure help the Turkish people create a unique environment for themselves. Being self-sufficient in almost every stage of the daily life and becoming inhabitants does not mean integration with the German society. This way of living of the Turkish people is not the way of integration that is desired by the German authorities.

The importance given to the issue of integration<sup>12</sup> by the German authorities is a worthwhile subject that must be taken into consideration with a special care. The issue of integration which interests almost all the foreigners in Germany is a subject that is continuously taken up by the German decision makers and the German media. Contained within the coalition agreement, signed between the SPD and the Greens (Die Grünen), was a statement of intent concerning the importance of integration (Day, 2000).

We recognize that an irreversible process of immigration has taken place in the past and set our hopes on the integration of those immigrants who live here on a permanent basis and who accept our constitutional values. The focal point of our integration policy will be the creation of a modern nationality law...acquisition of German citizenship is not dependent on renunciation of the previous citizenship...To promote integration, those foreigners living here who do not possess the citizenship of an EU Member State shall also receive the right to vote in district and local elections 13.

It is a common thought that the success of integration will determine the approach of the German society to the foreigners living in Germany. Thus, one can fairly say that the more successful the integration of the Turkish people in Germany is, the less will be the resistance of the German society to the EU membership of Turkey (Schönbohm, 2002: v).

In the fortieth anniversary of the workers migration to Germany (October 22, 2001), the Minister of Social Security at that time Mr. Yaşar Okuyan indicated that the best way to obtain the desired ways of integration in Germany is to give them confidence and not to let

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Prime Minister Helmut Kohl defines integration as 'the concept of settlement in German society without having citizenship rights and any conflicts' in a statement he made in 1982 (Kastoryano, 2000: 51).

See Coalition Agreement Chapter IX (7) http://www.spd.de/english/politics/coalition/nine.html> Italics added. Chancellor Schröder (during the policy making process in November 1998) claimed that 'For far too long those who have come to work here, who pay their taxes and abide by our laws have been told that they are just 'guests'. But in truth they have for years been part of German society. For this reason the government will modernize the law on nationality. Citizenship Reform and Germany's Foreign Residents, http://www.germany-info.org/newcontext/np/np 3c 1.html

http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/copenhagen/ws6/day.PDF (19.01.2005)

the workers feel foreign. To do this, he added, the representatives of the workers must take active parts in discussions regarding the subject matter.

The Turkish people living in Germany for over 40 years have problems such as education, unemployment, inequality in some social rights, hostility against foreigners, and racism. The causes and results of some of these problems are that most of the Turks living in Germany have started dwelling in Germany and are becoming more alien to Turkey than before on cultural and social grounds. German authorities show interest at times in such subjects as the issues originating from the German laws and some applications of German governments. They also develop some projects for the solution of such problems. However, the Turkish society also has some responsibilities and duties for the solution of the problems. The Turkish society should be well organized in unity and show willingness and spend efforts for the solution of the problems on political and legal grounds in a democratic manner. They should try to acquire the German citizenship which is the right of foreigners depending on some terms and conditions.

# 1.7 Thoughts on Germany's Recognition of the Citizenship Rights for the Foreigners Living in Germany

The participation of guestworkers in the host polity as social, political, and economic actors with a wide range of rights and privileges contests the foundational logic of national citizenship. Citizenship defines bounded populations, with a specific set of rights and duties, excluding "others" on the grounds of nationality. Yet guestworkers, who are formally and empirically constituted as aliens within the national collectivity, are nonetheless granted rights and protection by, and thus membership in, a state that is not "their own" (Soysal, 1994: 2).

International migration since World War II has led to the emergence of large groups of foreign citizens who, far all intents and purposes, are permanent residents but cannot fully benefit from the various civil, political and social rights granted to citizens of the state (İçduygu, 1996: 257). As a result of constant immigration to Germany from various countries, conflicts mentioned above occured in Germany, too.

As the world and the nation states in the international system settle in to a new era towards the turn of the century, some interesting aspects of further analytical inquiry on the immigration and citizenship debate have emerged, one of which is the demand for a better understanding of immigrants perceptions and attitudes, concerning their own position in the process of access to citizenship and to citizenship rights. Several studies on the immigration

and citizenship debate have emphasized that research in this field is not fully developed. A common conclusion is that the main perspective of many citizenship studies has generally ignored immigrants perceptions and attitudes concerning their own position; instead there has been a focus on the interplay of nation state and citizenship rights taken into consideration by the receiving society (İçduygu, 1996: 257).

Consider two institutionalized principles of the global system in regard to immigration: national sovereignty and universal human rights. Celebrated and codified in international conventions and treaties, these principles form pivotal components of postwar international migration regimes. These two global precepts simultaneously constrain and enhance the nation-state's scope of action. On the one hand, nation-states are charged with expanding "responsibilities", on the basis of human rights, with respect to the foreign populations living within their borders. On the other hand, they are expected to regulate immigration and exercise border controls as a fundamental expression of their sovereignty (Soysal, 1994: 7).

The German official authorities claim that they recognize the citizenship rights for foreigners so that they can successfully integrate into the German society. However, the actual reason for this is different. Not only Germany but also other developed Western European countries which have succeeded in becoming welfare societies are afraid that their own citizens would be minorities one day in their motherland because their population is decreasing and getting old because of low birth and mortality rates. So, they recognize citizenship rights for foreigners living in their countries (According to the results of a research made by the Federal Statistics Office, in the forthcoming 10 year time spans the German population will both get old and diminish. Therefore the population of major cities like Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, and Cologne will have less Germans. Mr. Johann Hahlen, the head of the Federal statistics Office said, in the announcement he made on 06.06.2003 that the population of Germany, at 82 million now will diminish down to 75 million in the year 2050)<sup>14</sup>. This citizenship right is arranged within the framework of certain laws.

The evaluation of Gündüz Vassaf regarding the recognition of the citizenship rights for the foreigners in the developed European countries draws attention. The answer to that must be looked for in the fact that Europeans have less children than before and that the population of Europe is thus not growing any longer. On the one hand you see a Europe whose population is getting old, and getting too loose due to becoming a welfare and a consuming society as a result of industrialization, and on the other hand you have a European youth who is getting alien to his own society by looking for salvation in religions like Buddhism, or diverging to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Available at site, www.calisma.gov.tr/birimler/yih/bulten/2003\_sayi3/bulten3.htm (17.12.2004)

homosexuality. They are frustrated by the politicians tricks on Leftist and Rightist, and have no belief in any ideology any longer. They shout "peace" and "no war no blood" on the streets in demonstrations in order to be able to lead a normal private life. According to experienced politicians like Willy Brandt, the major problem of the Western Europe is the young generation who has lost hopes for and does not believe in the future (Vassaf, 1983: 179).

It is very clear that the aim of Germany is to integrate the foreigners living in Germany into the German society by giving them citizenship rights. The German decision makers take up this subject up-to-date at the present time very frequently. However a great majority of the foreigners living in Germany doesn't seem to forget what was said on the subject in the near past. The following examples of what was said in the past are not easy to leave in the past. Below is part of the declaration made on January 16, 1981 to the newspaper called National Zeitung by Mr. Alfred Gregger, an MP for CDU<sup>15</sup>. "Foreigners usually do not get in touch with Germans. They withdraw to their ghettos. And this is a real problem especially for German children, because they are exposed to masses of foreign children who do not speak German. For this reason, we must encourage the foreigners to return" (Çulcu, 1993: 48).

An event which took place in an evening in Germany in the near past has a deep place in the memories of the foreigners especially the Turkish people. Mr. Murat Çulcu tells the story as follows: It was an evening before the elections of October 9, 1980. Most of the Turkish people in the country were having dinner. And they were watching TV at the same time.

The news at 22:00 was over, and the election propaganda of political parties had started. First the screen got dark. In a short while it started getting bright slowly. The picture was of a brunet Turkish worker from an airport. He had heavy bags and suitcases in his hands. He looked tired. He slowly dropped the bags off his hands. He was deeply breathing while his wife and three children were approaching. Then the picture on the screen got slightly red. At that moment the following hand written slogan was on the screen.

# "Ausländer Stop...." (Foreigners stop...)

A voice in the background coming from the depths of the throat was repeating what was written on the screen.

## "Deutschland den Deutschen" (Germany belongs to Germans)

Many Turks had a hard time believing their eyes and ears ....But the voice was repeatedly saying those words with a horrible tone. The Turks were watching their TV's as if they were watching a horrifying movie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Christlich Demokratische Union, www.cdu.de

"We will not let foreigners get "Ghettos" in our country. We say "no" to identification of foreigners with our society! NPD (German Nationalist Party) will help them return to their own country".

One other debate was related with the loyalty issue, while right to acquire German citizenship for foreigners living in Germany, was one of the headlines of German newspapers. Erwin Marchevski, CDU/CSU parliament group internal affairs spokesman, evaluates double citizenship as a "loyalty conflict" and clears the situation as follows; "Maintenance of the Government depends on the loyalty of its citizens. Therefore, it is unacceptable to have national minorities under the roof of German citizenship whose aims and interests are against the German government. To allow double citizenship will give way to such process because by defending the interests of foreign governments, foreigners will be let to mistreat German citizenship" (Şenocak, 1993: 143).

Ralf Fücks from Heinrich Böll Foundation states otherwise: multiple nationality leads neither to deficient loyalty nor to privileges or disadvantages for the person involved. The number of people in Germany with multiple nationalities is presently estimated at far more than two million. Children from binational partnerships receive the citizenship of both parents; ethnic Germans emigrating from Eastern Europe are not required to renounce their previous citizenship; and there is also a considerable number of individual cases in which the multiple nationality of foreign nationals is tolerated when they are naturalized. This has not lead to any practical problems, either for the person involved or for society<sup>17</sup>.

Although the German state provided citizenship rights under certain terms and conditions for the foreigners living in Germany, there were still times when differences in practice were witnessed in various federal states of the country. For this reason the following news is worthwhile.

According to the news broadcasted in the internet site www.evrensel.de on July 11, 2002 the acquisition of German citizenship is at low rate among the Turkish workers in Berlin, where the rate of unemployment among the Turkish workers is 42 percent. The number of foreigners who have acquired German citizenship in the capital city of Berlin is less than the other federal republics. While many applications made are rejected due to the high rate of unemployment, it is officially accepted that the officers receiving the applications behave according to their state of mind. Interior affairs Senator of the federal republic of Berlin Mr. Ehrhart Körting's (SPD) spokeswoman Henrike Morgenstern said that they will facilitate the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 28 March 1981-Hürriyet, Europa edition

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Citizenship and Migration: The Debate Surrounding Dual Citizenship in Germany www.boell.de/downloads/migration/citizenship.pdf (April 2000)

acquisition of German citizenship. It is said that a total of 33,000 applications are under examination in the office of citizenship. It is officially accepted that the acquisition of German citizenship is more difficult for foreigners in Berlin. After the decree of the republic's Interior Ministry addressing to the officers to firmly examine the applications was clearly known by the public, and some plans are being made for the easy acquisition of citizenship. Spokeswoman Henrike Morgenstern of Senator Ehrhart Körting (SPD) declared the other day that they will facilitate the acquisition of citizenship. Because the economic terms and conditions required for the acquisition of citizenship are very tough and severe, the rate of acquisition of citizenship is very low in Berlin in comparison to the other federal republics. While it is known that those workers who live on unemployment payment and social aid are deprived of the acquisition of citizenship, now it is said that the acquisition of citizenship will be facilitated for those workers who do not owe any debts and for those workers who will prove that they will start working at a job site. However, it is once again indicated that those who live on social aid will not be given citizenship according to the articles of the citizenship law.

# 1.8 Identity Issue within the Context of Changing Citizenship

International migration is the only phenomena which directly refers to the citizenship positions of individuals. In other words, it is international migration that makes citizens feel challenged by the conventional notion of citizenship and often puzzled by accounts of their legal status, identities, and civic virtues on the one hand, and those of their membership status, sense of belonging, and attachment on the other hand (İçduygu, 2005: 1).

It should be quite convenient, within this study, to briefly talk about the new identity the Turks living in Germany have established or been forced to establish related to the process and the reasons for them to acquire German citizenship. I would not prefer to use the words "identity conflict" because the term does not refer to any relation to cultural heritage, on the contrary, it is directly related to political and social changes (Kaya, 2000: 40). Thus, the Turks living in Germany have had to create a mixture of a new identity. It should be very difficult for them to continue their lives with the values of both societies, carrying on their daily life relations both in German society and Turkish society without having any problems. *Gurbetçi*, the guest worker, who goes abroad, as Zafer Şenocak puts it into words, has to learn to "walk on both sides of the river" and develop a multiple identity (Kaya, 2000: 52).

When the migrant Turk comes home in the evening, he tries to hold on to a life proper to his values which is, during the day, at school, at work or at the market, surrendered with a chain of values belonging to another society totally different from his own. Indeed, in its common usage, citizenship essentially refers to either a membership status in a particular nation-state recognized in international law or to a sense of belonging to the national community represented by that nation-state. From this perspective the word citizenship remains as just a word which is identified, not identifies. Citizenship does not give any foreigner an identity.

What is noteworthy about much of the debate around taking citizenship as a membership of a nation is that this model of membership mostly implies a sense of belonging. This sense assumes the presence of a shared national identity, or it requires necessities for fostering a national identity. It is assumed that an individual has a sense of belonging to a nation if and only if he or she identifies with the rest of the people forming the nation. In other words, citizenship seems to be referring to national belonging in the sense of membership of a cultural community (İçduygu, 2005: 5).

Most of the migrants could establish an accumulation of cultural values whose elements they choose from the society they are living in and the values they feel they belong to. On the other hand, some migrants isolate themselves into a daily life far away from the time and the place they live in by shutting the doors on the outside life (such as some Islamic communities). It is possible to say that this new identity the migrant is forced to form is mostly the result of the discrimination and the treatment as a second class person he has to put up with no matter if he is a German citizen or not.

Modern diaspora's identity is a product of the globalization process and can be expressed through means/devices of globalization. The television, radio, press, internet and inexpensive flight opportunities have increased the communication between Turkey and Germany. Turkish youth have determined a diasporic daily life politics to overcome problems such as discrimination, racism and externalization (Kaya, 2000: 18). Ethnic identity is conditioned with the interaction between the thoughts and the beliefs that the individuals or groups have for themselves and the thoughts and the beliefs 'the other' has for those individuals and groups (Kaya, 2000: 29).

The effect of mass migrations has been the creation of radically new types of human being: people who root themselves in ideas rather than places, in memories as much as material things; people who have been obliged to defend themselves--because they are so defined by others--by their otherness; people in whose deepest selves strange fusions occur, unprecedented unions between what they were and where they find themselves. The migrant suspects reality: having experienced several ways of being, he understands their illusory nature. To see things plainly you have to cross a frontier (Rushdie, 1992: 124-125).

Turkish society living in Germany, especially the generation born in Germany, has both preserved the cultural values brought along by their families and had to add into their lives some of the values and cultural elements of the German society. "Founding a new homeland far away from the homeland is one of the essential features of this identity" (Kaya, 2000: 59). The cultural package brought along from the homeland during the immigration has a very significant place at determining the identity politics (Kaya, 2000: 86). Emotional attachment to Turkey is an important part of the identity owned in Germany. Daily news from Turkey and what is going on there are topics spoken constantly by Turks in Germany.

The Turks living in Germany who are regarded as guest workers (Gastarbeiter), foreigner (Ausländer) and "Mitbürger" are always seen as "the other". In addition to this, these Turks are regarded as *gurbetçi* or "our citizens living in Germany" by formal Turkish offices and as *Almanyalı* or *Almancı* by the prejudging Turkish society. The reason lying behind the definition *Almancı* is the general prejudice that these people are as rich as Germans, eat pork and lead a comfortable life, having lost their Turkish identity and are on the way to become more Germanized (Kaya, 2000: 143).

To sum up, Turks living in Germany have formed their own unique identity. This identity is a mixture of the values they brought from Turkey and the values of industrialized German society. As it was mentioned before, it is a combination of discrimination, Turkishness (or how they define themselves, such as nationalist, Islamist etc), and the state of being a migrant. Official citizenship cannot be identified with the identity of the migrant. It is possible to say that most of the German society, as the hosting society, does not recognize migrants as Germans even though those migrants have acquired German citizenship<sup>18</sup>.

# 1.9 About the Acquisition of German Citizenship

In general, acquisition of citizenship by decree of an authorized body is called *naturalization* in the technical literature of law. The literal meaning of naturalization is *for a person to leave his tribe and pass to another tribe*. Naturalization, in a broader sense, comprises all kinds of acquisition of nationality except birth (Aybay, 2004: 107). The German authorized bodies accept the fact that the Turkish society intends to stay in Germany forever and therefore started making new regulations for the foreigners living in the country. The first of these regulations is the new citizenship law, which was passed on January 01, 2000. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> To give an interesting example: During the interviews, some Turks mentioned an instance happened 2 years ago in Leverkusen before a football match. There were limited tickets for Turks with Turkish passports, however, Turks who have already acquired German citizenship could not buy tickets from where Germans would, since they were totally regarded as Turks only even though they had German passports.

new regulations are considered to be encouraging and positive developments in that they regard "the criteria of land" as well as "the criteria of blood" as an element of citizenship and that they allow double citizenship temporarily. Another point is that the fact that Germany has now become a country of migrants and migration is also clearly admitted by almost all the political parties as a result of debates on migration that have taken place during the last 1.5-2 years. According to the new citizenship legislation, which has been in effect since 2000, each child whose mother or father has lived in Germany for eight years regularly and on a continual basis will have the right to become a German citizen. These individuals will have the right of having double citizenship until the age of 23. However at this age, they are to make a choice between the German citizenship is valid only for certain countries, but Turkey is not among those certain countries. However, it is a widely known fact that the Turkish citizens living in Germany for so many years want both to keep the Turkish citizenship and to benefit from the advantages of the German citizenship. Most of our citizens living in Germany do not want to totally lose their relationships and ties with Turkey.

- 1. The German Nationality Law admits double citizenship for very exceptional cases. Therefore it might be a useful hint to give some information about this subject at this point. If a foreigner living in Germany has not been able to renounce his citizenship or experiencing difficulties in this respect, then the mechanism starts working differently. These conditions which are given in article 87 are as follows: In case the law of the foreign country does not allow the renouncement of citizenship,
- 2. If the foreign country denies his citizen's renouncement of citizenship and despite this if the citizen has made his application for renouncement,
- 3. If the foreign country has denied the renouncement for reasons that are not acceptable for the foreigner, or if the foreign country has declared unacceptable conditions for renouncement, or if the foreign country has not made a decision on the renouncement within an acceptable period,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "German citizenship has been characterized as ethnocultural because the identity and criteria of citizenship were historically tied to understandings of a German ethnic people, nation or Volk which were not derivative of the nation state" (Feldblum, http://www.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-2/ferdblum.html, 05.02.1997)

- 4. If it is a barrier for the old people to have double citizenship, or if the old people have much difficulty in the renouncement process, or if the refusal of citizenship causes great deprivation and unjust treatment,
- 5. If the renouncement causes especially economic losses beyond the loss of citizenship rights,
- 6. If the foreigner is being treated like a political refugee or legal action is taken against him for political reasons,

Then the foreigner who has made an application for citizenship is given the guarantee of citizenship<sup>20</sup>. With the new Nationality Law, which has been in force since January 01, 2000, there was a huge amount of foreigners who acquired the German citizenship. Some 186.000 foreigners obtained the German passport. The rise in the number of foreigners had continued despite the required payment for citizenship which was 500 DM at the time. However in 2003, the number of foreigners who acquired the German citizenship decreased at a rate of 9 %.

While only 1.5 % of 39,280 foreigners who acquired the German citizenship were Turkish citizens in 1982; 2 % of 101,377 foreigners in 1990 and 10.1 % of 313,606 foreigners in 1995 were Turkish citizens. This rate doubled in 1998 and 20.5 % of 291,331 foreigners who became German citizens were Turkish people (59,664 Turkish citizens acquired the German citizenship at that time)<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> For the complete text of German Citizenship Law, http://www.germanembassyank.com/tr/press/stag/artikel.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> For those interested, see www.byegm.gov.tr/yayinlarimiz/ANADOLUNUNSESI

Table 1: The Number of Turkish Citizens Who Have Acquired the Citizenship of Other Countries Over the Years

Germany	1972-2003	565,766		
Holland	1946-2002 224,034			
Belgium	1985-2003	83,922		
Austria	1983-2003	88,734		
Australia	1996-2003	39,189		
France	1991-2003	44,596		
Sweden	1990-2003	26,066		
Switzerland	1990-2003	26,328		
Denmark	1980-2002	19,386		
England	1989-2002	36,780		
Total 1,135,611				

Source: Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, 2003 Report. p.20. (T.C. Çalışma va Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003 Yılı Raporu)

At the present time, the number of Turkish citizens who acquired the German citizenship is indicated to be 565,766 (as of 2002) in the yearly report of 2003 of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (the numbers are from the statistics of the Federal Statistics Office of Germany). Mr. Faruk Şen, the chairman of the Turkish Research Foundation in Essen, Germany said that this number is now estimated to be around 730,000 as of 2004. It is expected that this number will increase more and more in a few years' time after the new legislation on citizenship becomes valid. The increase in the number of the Turkish citizens who acquire the German citizenship also means that the number of the Turks who have the right to vote will increase.

There were/will be, of course, other reasons and consequences for and of the increase in this number. To give one simple example, Şen, while arguing about the case in Austria, indicates that one of the reasons for the growing intention to acquire citizenship is that the more foreigners living in Austria acquire citizenship the more they make investments in the country (Şen, 2005: 150).

Table 2: The numbers of Turkish citizens living in Western European countries (2002)

Name of the country	Number of citizens	Number of workers	Number of unemployed people	Percentage of unemployed	General percentage of unemployment
<u> </u>	2.052.600	707 700		Turks %	
Germany	2,053.600	727,780	147,922	20.8	9.0
France	311,356	76,122	32,623	30.00	8.7
Holland	308,890	54,000	11,000	20.00	3.00
Austria	134,229	57,098	4,836	9.76	5.05
Belgium	69,183	25,021	9,083	34.26	8.33
Sweden	35,844	5,800	1,700	22.50	4.3
England	79,000	44,000		11.5	5.3
Denmark	35,232	15,596	3,449	22.40	5.2
Italy	10,000				10.50
Finland	3,325				15.90
Spain	1,000				23.30
Luxembourg	210	60			2.30
Switzerland	79,501	33,888	2,427	6.6	1.7
Norway	10,000	6,000			4.50
Liechtenstein	809	339	49	7.80	4.00
Total	3,132,179	1,045,704	213,089		

**Source:** T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçiler Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, *Migration Newsletter*, No.1, 2002, in Abadan-Unat, N., 2002, *Bitmeyen Göç-Konuk İşçilikten Ulus Ötesi Yurttaşlığa*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul. p. 329.

<sup>(\*)</sup> Those who have double nationality are included in the numbers of Turkish citizens.

Table 3: The number of the Turkish citizens who have acquired the German citizenship over the years

		, J	
1990-1992	12,940	1998	59,664
1993	12,915	1999	103,900
1994	19,590	2000	82,861
1995	31,578	2001	76,573
1996	46,294	2002	64,631
1997	42,240	Total	565,766

Source: Federal Statistics Office in Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, p. 27. (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü)

Table 4: The number of Turkish people in various European countries who have acquired the citizenship of the country where they live (as of the years 1997/1998)

Countries Number of Turks who acquired citizenship of the country they live		Total number of Turks (2001 datas)
Holland	157,850	299,909
United Kingdom	6,688	79,000
Germany	252,899	2,053,600
Belgium	30,294	70,701
France	287,000	311,356
Austria	29,635	134,229
Sweden	17,396	38,844

Source: The new arrangement from Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2000

As is seen in the numbers in the above tables, for the years mentioned (1997-1998), the number of the Turkish citizens living in Germany was over two million, but the rate of those Turkish citizens who have acquired the German citizenship is only 10 % of the total Turkish population in Germany. However a great majority of the Turkish citizens living in Holland and France have already acquired the citizenship of these countries. The tendency of the French governments to give citizenship easily to the foreigners living in France is clearly seen in the table. Although Great Britain also provides easy citizenship, the rate is only 10 %. The main reason for this is that the Turkish citizens living in this country settled in this country much later than those in Germany (Yalçın, 2004: 166).

Therefore it can equally be said that the governments of the countries which act more tolerantly in giving citizenship to the foreigners living in their country seem to have differences in application and practice. In France and Great Britain, foreigners can only apply for permanent residence after continually living in the country for five years. And as soon as

they obtain this right, they take an oath for loyalty to the country and become citizens (Soysal, 1994: 26). The fact that these countries are not against double citizenship make it easier for foreigners to have the right of double citizenship.

Another subject that must be indicated at this point is that what we call the right of permanent residence has some other meaning for the European countries. For example, what the foreigners living in France and Great Britain acquire after five years of residence in these countries is something more than the permanent residence right, and is defined as "naturalization". Although the meaning in the dictionary is acquiring citizenship, what actually it is to foreigners is that the foreigner living in the country has adapted himself to the foreign society and become a part of it. This becomes possible by speaking the language, and being willing to live the rest of the life in the foreign country. These are the prerequisites of having the right of citizenship (Yalçın, 2004: 165). Brubaker (1992: 77), for example indicates that naturalization is the expected and anticipated outcome of a long time residence of the foreigners living in France. Another example is that each foreign child born in Great Britain before January 01, 1983 gained the right of becoming a British citizen. Although this right was abolished later, it is said that there are still no big obstacles to acquiring citizenship (Dummett and Martin, 1984: 27). To give an example to clarify the subject we can say that the following conditions are required for acquiring citizenship in Great Britain (Dummett and Martin, 1984: 50-51):

- 1. The applicant must be fully 18 years old and free from all mental diseases,
- 2. The applicant must have been living in the country for at least five years, and within those five years he must not have left the country for 450 days on the total and 90 days within any one year,
- 3. The applicant must have a good personality,
- 4. The applicant must speak English well,
- 5. The applicant must absolutely have the intention of settling in Great Britain.

There are some opponent views to the migration law in force in Germany and the ways of giving citizenship to foreigners. Mustafa Peköz approaches the subject matter by saying that the changes made so that the migrants can become German citizens essentially aim at making migrants German citizens through a "Germanization" process. Peköz points to the fact that some conditions of becoming a German citizen require that the migrant must adapt to the life style in Germany and speak German sufficiently well. He adds that these are part of an assimilation process (2002: 41).

The fact that those Turkish people who acquire German citizenship shall also have the rights of electing and being elected causes the Turkish people to be more and more willing to be part of German society. This gives them the right to seek solutions for their own problems in the federal parliament. On the other hand, it is a very positive step to the integration process that some of the Turkish people who have acquired German citizenship take active parts in politics and become candidates for the parliament. This shows that the Turkish society in Germany is determined to control its own destiny, that their feelings of belonging to Germany, which they have made into a "country of migrants" together with the German Society and other migrants are growing, and that they are not indifferent to the social and environmental problems and issues taking place in the society around them.

Because of the German federal political and administrative structure, migrant policy and its implementation differ considerably among local states (Länder), as well as between the states and the federal government. There is no nationally formulated policy, except for some principles that serve as guidelines for the local states. The principle of integration, as stated in the official texts, is general and does not target collective groups (Soysal, 1994: 62): Integration implies offering fair and equal opportunities in education, on the labor market, and in society at large. Integration also calls for considerable effort from the foreigners themselves to adjust to the living conditions prevailing here. Finally, integration also calls for a gradual reduction of the social and cultural gap separating nationals and non-nationals, together with an increase in mutual tolerance and acceptance (Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs of the Senate of Berlin 1985: 9).

Those Turkish people who were born and grown and have been living in Germany can make up a different, independent and unique culture in Germany by interacting with the German society and other foreign societies in Germany, this new culture being a synthesis of the Turkish, German and other society's cultures. In this new pool of cultures, the Turkish and German cultures/identities can make up an inseparable entity. This leads to the thought that the future of the Turkish society living in Germany, which also serves as a strong bridge between the two countries is very bright and prosperous in the mid and long terms, since the Turkish society living in Germany has the advantage of having a multi-faced culture and living in a society of high dynamism as well as having such features as entrepreneurial spirit and young population. These features may be of great help for the solution of today's problems and for the process of integration<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For more information see, Euro-Turks: A bridge, or a breach, between Turkey and the European Union," is a quantitative and qualitative project based on field research and structured interviews in Germany and France, The research aims to reveal the political culture of Euro-Turks as well as to make a comparison of contemporary French and German models of incorporation and integration vis-à-vis migrants, leaded by Assoc. Prof. Ayhan Kaya, İstanbul Bilgi University, Center for Migration Research.

## 1.10 Law on Citizenship

The notion of state cannot be considered separately and independent from a certain community. A certain geography, a community that has settled permanently on that country and a public power dominating the country are the basic elements of a state. In other words, the "human" element of a state, meaning a certain community dependent upon a state, is one of the integral "founding" elements of a state (Aybay, 2004: 3). The human element, which is probably the most important element constituting a state, is an entity signifying the physical gathering of the citizens of that state. There is a significant bond between this living entity composed of individuals living within the boundaries of a state and the state itself, to the extent that these two define each other. In this regard, it is possible to define citizenship (nationality), as a legal bond determining mutual relations involving rights, duties and obligations between the state and the individual (Aybay, 2004: 4). Such bonds are established today on legal grounds, being subject to changes when states require and in accordance with present needs. The state carries out its relationships with the individual whom it recognizes as its citizen, through a legal bond. In this case, how the state considers the individual with whom it will establish a legal relationship, how it will entitle the individual, briefly, in which cases the state will call the individual a citizen/national becomes very important.

In Article Three —The Authority of the State in Chapter Two, General Rules Concerning Nationality of the "European Convention on Nationality"; it is stipulated that "Each State shall determine under its own law who are its nationals". In this regard, it might be said that countries of immigration have at their disposal the right to grant such immigrants the citizenship opportunity under certain conditions. Concerning the entitlement to citizenship of those living on its territory, there are naturally certain regulations applicable in Germany, too. Until 2001, the concept of citizenship included in the German Constitution was based solely on the "law of blood" (ius sanguinis). This principle is still applicable (Abadan-Unat, 2002: 254). For this reason, after 1990, Germany granted German citizenship to those who came from Russia and who could not speak any German at all, but who was considered as German due to the law of blood. For example, a person who came from Poland or Russia and was recognized as being of German blood could obtain a German passport on the day of his arrival and was immediately entitled the right to vote and be elected even though he did not frame a sentence in German.

The German authorities are worried about the abuse of the status of "Aussied"s (individuals of German origin who can immediately be entitled citizenship) which means to prove the law of blood or the existence of German ancestors. Der Spiegel, on its issue on

March 06, 1989 concerning foreigners, mentions that there are doubts that 20 % of them are not German citizens (Kastoryano, 2000: 30). On the other hand, a Turkish person, whose knowledge about Turkey is limited to the experience he got during his holidays and who has attended high school and university in Germany, has been subject to the special law on foreigners which treats him as a second class or even third class person, notwithstanding the fact that he has been living in Germany for thirty years (Şekeroğlu, 1998: 190).

Concerning the immediate entitlement to citizenship by Germany to Germans living abroad; in line with the classification made under Parekh's immigration theory, the "Ethnical or Nationalist View" naturally foresees that persons immigrating to a country should only be accepted as citizens, on condition that they have a blood bond with that country. According to this view, if the country concerned has a great need for the human resources that it would receive from abroad, these can only be temporarily accepted, meaning that they may be subject to guest status. The most significant example for this was Germany. Germany grants citizenship immediately upon arrival to those who are German through the law of blood, wherever they had been living and regardless of the extent of their familiarity with the German culture (Yalçın, 2004: 44).

There might be a need to proceed in detail on the subject of nationality. The acceptance of the continuity and unchanging character of nationality is a traditional conception. Today, the lifelong dependency of a person to a single nationality does not correspond with the truth. People, due to various reasons, have been changing their nationalities. Today, one of the basic principles embraced by the Law on Nationality is that "the individual should be free to choose and change his nationality". This principle was also mentioned on the Universal Declaration on Human Rights which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. Nobody, (...) can arbitrarily be deprived of his right to change his nationality (A.15/2)" (Aybay, 2004: 170). As it would be construed through this expression, a person has the right to change his nationality without being subject to any pressure. On the other hand, it would be useful to mention that this issue cannot be totally put into practice. Because each state determines who are and who can be its nationals through various laws.

As previously discussed, the new legislation completed upon the entry into force of the new law on German citizenship on January 01, 2000, takes into consideration the "law of blood" basis as well as the "the right of the soil" basis for the entitlement to German citizenship (for example, persons who were born on German territories after this date shall be entitled to dual citizenship. When they are 23 years old, they shall choose one of two

nationalities). For clarification purposes, it would be useful to focus on the "law of blood" basis" and the "the right of the soil" basis, in other words, the principle of place of birth.

While states traditionally entitle nationality<sup>23</sup> to a person, they regard the principle that there should be a meaningful bond between the state and the person concerned. Such bonds are the "right of the soil" (ius soli) basis and the "law of blood" basis (ius sanguini)<sup>24</sup>. "The right of the soil" basis, in other words, the birth place principle, stipulates that a person shall be a national of a state which exercises sovereignty upon his place of birth and lawfully governs that place. The birth place principle is primarily attractive for states that accept immigrants. The reason for this is that as a consequence of the exercise of this principle, the children of immigrants who are born on the new country will be regarded as nationals of that country through birth. Thus, it will facilitate the weakening of parental bonds with their home countries and their adaptation to the society they are in (Aybay, 2004: 25). On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Germany has been indifferent towards the principle of birth place for many years. At present, the fact that the birth place of a person is Germany is not sufficient enough for direct entitlement to German citizenship (for those who are out of the scope of the law of blood principle).

As it is seen acquiring German citizenship is not a thing that every immigrant is able to realize. Requirements questioned carefully by German authorities as a result of German politics on foreigners and immigrants. The immigration policy of Germany has been characterized by the emphasis on not being an immigration country. Access to citizenship is determined by the German understanding of the nation-state, which follows the principle of descent (ius sanguinis). Waiting periods and conditions to acquire citizenship for foreigners in Germany are somewhat more restrictive than the three other (France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands) countries (Dörr & Faist, 1997: 404).

The principle of law of blood is based upon the entitlement of nationality of the mother and/or father, taking into account the bond of descendant. For states that regulate their citizenship laws taking into account the law of blood, the right of the soil- in other words, the birth place- has no importance. Contrary to the principle of birth place, the principle of law of blood is attractive for country of emigration abroad. This principle ensures the bonding of nationals of a state that send immigrants abroad, even their children and grand children who are born long after their settlement in a foreign country, to that state through the bond of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> In his work "The Law on Citizenship", Rona Aybay makes a distinction between "national" and "nationality" and points out to a catachresis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The Turkish Law on Citizenship recognizes the bond of descendant obtained through birth as a precondition for entitlement to full Turkish citizenship. Moreover, the same law stipulates that a person may be entitled to Turkish citizenship in case he was born in Turkey (ius soli).

nationality (Aybay, 2004: 25). However, the situation mentioned by Aybay has been changing. For example, Turkey officially encourages the transfer of her own citizens to German citizenship. The basic idea behind this approach is the willingness of the country of emigration to play an effective role in the country of immigration. In this case, by determining a system of citizenship based on the principle of the right of the soil, countries accepting immigrants are actually taking a step towards ensuring the integration of immigrants in their country with the society; while on the other hand, by entitling citizenship to the citizens of the country of emigration, they offer the said country the opportunity to establish lobby/pressure groups within the countries of immigration.

This approach was familiar for the researcher through repetitive encounters at various phases of the research. During the research, some Turkish citizens living in Germany mentioned the fact that the right of citizenship granted by Germany was in fact a step towards the realization of integration, while some citizens mentioned about Turkey's supportive approach concerning the right of citizenship and the way she has been encouraging Turkish citizens living in Germany for this. Considering the right to vote and to be elected provided by the German citizenship and the fact that the votes given by German citizens living in Berlin Kreuzberg were highly influential in the coming into power of the current Schröder government, the political views of these citizens become more important. That is why the CDU/CSU coalition which had generally addressed voters with anti-foreigner assertions, cannot receive votes from foreigners living in Germany, in particular from the Turks<sup>25</sup>.

It would be appropriate at this stage to give brief information about CDU/CSU joint movement. CDU and its sister party from Bavaria, CSU were established in 1945, naming itself as "Union". The Union, very obviously, determined its path with the vision to become a political party which envisages a Christian human being profile and basic moral and legal principles determined on the basis of natural law, Christian ethics and western culture; embracing such a world view in the political realm. The Party considered itself as "conservative" with regard to protection of such values, "liberal" with regard to its approach towards habits of freedom as well as efforts aimed at freedom in future and "social" with regard to its efforts towards being fair in social and economical aspects (Buchstab, 2002: 59).

In summary, the entitlement to citizenship of the country of destination by the citizens of a country of emigration can provide those citizens with a number of advantages and can help them have a say in the determination of their own destinies. It may be assumed that in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> During the elections, Turks voted in favour of other parties in particular SDP – Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands v Greens –Die Grünen. The fact that at a time when Edmund Stoiber who was initially leading the elections and was poised to take the office as the Prime Minister, he lost the elections with 13 thousand votes; indicates how the immigrants' votes value as gold. www.yenisafak.com/diziler/diaspora (20.02.2005)

future, this new population called the "Euro-Turk" (indicating Turks that obtain citizenship of the country settle in), will draw the attention of political parties. Thus policies favoring the interests of such voter groups will be pursued (Abadan-Unat, 2002: 233).

# 1.11 How to Obtain German Citizenship

# 1.11.1 German Citizenship under the New Law on Foreigners

An unlimited residence permit or the chance to gain full citizenship are of utmost importance for immigrants. Once they have achieved such a status, they are treated equal to the natives, at least as far as social rights are concerned (Dörr & Faist, 1997: 422).

Through amendments made to the German Law on Foreigners which entered into force on January 01, 2000, new regulations were introduced for obtaining German citizenship. What lies behind the new German laws is related to the current demographic situation. Demographic pressures demand paying more attention to the immigration question as the ethnic German population grows older and the low domestic birth rate fails to produce enough workers to support the social welfare system. Economic pressures may prompt this as both low-skilled manual workers, doing the jobs Germans do not want to do, and high-skill programmers and engineers, workers that the German economy needs but its universities and highly-regulated labor market cannot adequately produce, continue to be sought<sup>26</sup>. Accordingly, dual citizenship may be possible in very exceptional cases.

Interesting examples may be cited from the newspaper "Özgür Politika" published in Germany. According to a news account published on the newspaper, people of Kurdish origin who applied for German citizenship were not required to renounce Turkish citizenship because applications submitted by them to renounce Turkish citizenship were not processed by Turkish consulates or were never replied. German authorities, aware of this situation, initially put forward certain barriers, however in time; they gave up and allowed citizenship. Thus, dual citizenship was exceptionally granted to refugees. Moreover, German authorities emphasized that the German state would not be held responsible in case those that were granted German citizenship while also maintaining their Turkish citizenship, went to Turkey and encountered problems there<sup>27</sup>. The old passport must be returned upon obtaining German citizenship. It is not possible to obtain dual citizenship status if one reverts to Turkish citizenship later on. It was declared that German citizenship granted to those who resort to this method will be directly cancelled.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Boles, David, *The (Un)Development of German Immigration Law*, www.humboldt\_foundation.de/de/programme/stip\_aus/doc/buka/berichte\_02/boles.pdf (17.3.2005)

## 1.11.2 The Requirements for Acquiring German Citizenship

According to the new regulations under the amended German Law on Foreigners concerning entitlement to German citizenship (from 01.01.2000), foreigners living in Germany and fulfilling the following requirements shall have the right to obtain German citizenship starting from the age of 16.

- 1. To live in Germany for at least eight years.
- 2. To have the Residential Permit (Aufenhaltserlaubnis) or the Right of Abode (Aufenhaltsberechtigung) at the time of entitlement to citizenship.
- 3. To accept the liberal and democratic system forming the basis of the German Constitution.
- 4. To have sufficient knowledge of German language. To have attended a school or to have successfully completed a German language course. Those who do not fulfill this requirement, have to pass a language examination when they apply for citizenship.
- 5. Not to have been subject to a penalty for more than six months.
- 6. The person and his family members shall not be receiving any social aid and unemployment relief for their living. In case the applicant has been receiving such assistance due to reasons unavoidable by him, it does not constitute a barrier. Moreover, this requirement is not applicable for those below the age of 23.
- 7. According to paragraph 46 in the Law on Foreigners, there shall not be a court decision made for deportation of the applicant.
- 8. Until the date of entitlement to citizenship, the applicant shall have renounced the citizenship of the country of which he had been a citizen. This requirement is not applicable in case it is not possible due to reasons unavoidable by the applicant<sup>28</sup>.

## For example:

## In case,

- the applicant cannot legally renounce his previous citizenship,
- the previous country of citizenship has been persistently rejecting the application for renouncing citizenship without any justifications or it has been imposing unreasonable conditions or does not make a decision within a reasonable period,
- renouncing citizenship causes certain problems and disadvantages for old people,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> İdeal Werbeagentur und Promotion, 2004, NRW Rehberi, Köln (p.376-379)

- renouncing previous citizenship causes financial damage and certain disadvantages occur concerning the mass of assets,
- the person applying for German citizenship has been living in Germany as a political refugee,
- the previous country of citizenship lays down the completion of military service as a condition for the approval of the application for renouncing citizenship.

If the applicant fulfills the above mentioned requirements, his/her spouse and infant children may be entitled to German citizenship without being subject to the condition of residing in Germany at least for eight years. They may either submit an application for citizenship as a family or each spouse may apply individually. In case an application for German citizenship is submitted as a family, five year residence in Germany of one of the spouses or of children will be deemed sufficient, provided that the other spouse fulfill the requirements.

Any person who applies for German citizenship must pay a fee of Euro 255. For infants, the fee is Euro 50. In case children are applying for German citizenship separately from their parents, the amount of the fee will be Euro 255, similar to adults.

For some, it is easier:

- To be married with a German (he/she shall not be a person who was not a German citizen before) for at least two years and to be living in Germany for three years,
- The abovementioned "requirements" and the requirements except the first item are also applicable in this case. Stateless Persons/Statenlose and political refugees/Asylberechtigte whose application were accepted shall be entitled to German citizenship seven years after their application for asylum in Germany.
- Not to be found guilty because of any crime. According to the Penalty Law for the Youth, those who were subject to a punishment or subject to a penalty equivalent to 180 days or those who were sentenced for imprisonment up to six months but the imprisonment stands adjourned, shall not be regarded as sentenced. However, for recurring serious crimes, the civil servant shall have the discretionary authority.

# 1.11.3 What are the requirements for eligibility of persons below the age of 23?

• To be living in Germany for 15 years

• To renounce Turkish citizenship.

# 1.11.4 Required procedures and required documents:

## Step 1:

You have to apply in person for the Foreigners' Department located nearby your residence and to obtain the required application form (Antrag auf Einbürgerung). When the application form is obtained, you will be asked how many years you have been living in Germany, whether you wish to obtain German citizenship together with your spouse and children.

## Step 2:

After filling in the application form, you will submit it to the Foreigners Department, attaching the required documents. Required documents:

- Geburtsurkunde (Birth certification) to be obtained (separately for each applicant) from the consulate,
- Payroll of the last three months and its copy,
- If you are unemployed, a document indicating that you have been receiving unemployment relief or other assistance and a copy of the document,
- One copy of the passport and one copy of each page containing information,
- Marriage certificate and one copy of each recorded page,
- If you were divorced, the relevant court decision with its German translation,
- School report cards of children,

Other documents that might be requested depending on the status of the applicant.

## Step 3:

After a certain period, you will receive an "Einbürgerungszusicherung" (A Certificate Assuring That You Will Be Granted German Citizenship) from the Foreigners' Department. This certificate is valid for two years. Within this period, Turkish citizenship must be renounced.

## Step 4:

You have to visit the Consulate General located in your residential area and submit the certificate to apply for "Authorization for Renouncing Turkish Citizenship".

# 1.11.5 Documents required for obtaining authorization for renouncing Turkish citizenship:

- Two application forms to be obtained from the Consulate General (In case the
  application will be submitted on behalf of a family, two additional application
  forms are required for the spouse. For young persons older than 15 but not
  older than 18, two application forms are required. For those at lower age, no
  application form is required)
- Copies of identity cards to be issued by the public notary service at the Consulate General (In case the application will be submitted on behalf of a family, copies are required also for the spouse and children. Two photos are also required for the spouse).
- Eight passport-size photos (In case the application will be submitted on behalf of a family, eight photos are required for the spouse and no photos are required for children).
- The Marriage Certificate and two copies of each page containing information.
- Concerning divorces, the court verdict on divorce and two copies of it. In case
  the divorce was concluded at German courts and certified in Turkey, two
  copies of the verdict and its Turkish translation are required.

Additional documents to be submitted by citizens who are married with a German:

- Two copies of each page of the International Marriage Certificate containing information and the International Marriage Certificate (Internationale Heiratsurkunde)
- Two copies of the German Identity Card (Personalausweis)
- Two copies of the German Identity Cards issued for children (Kinderpass)

## Step 5:

Before leaving the Consulate General, a certificate in German, confirming the application for renouncing Turkish citizenship must be obtained. This certificate must immediately be sent to the Foreigners Department or must be delivered by hand.

#### Step 6:

The German translation of the "Authorization for Entitlement to a Foreign Country Citizenship" sent from Turkey and obtained from the Consulate in return for a signature, shall be submitted to Foreigners' Department. Usually, an applicant receives

a certificate confirming his entitlement to German citizenship (Einbürgerungsurkunde) within six - eight weeks and at the same time; he is required to hand over his Turkish passport. These passports are subsequently returned to the Consulate General following the cancellation of residential permit. By submitting the certificate confirming his entitlement to German citizenship (Einbürgerungsurkunde), you may obtain German passport and identity card at the Pass-Stelle section located in the municipality office.

## Step 7:

At this stage "Einbürgerusurkunde" is translated into Turkish, two copies of the translation are taken and by submitting these documents to the Consulate General you will certify entitlement to German citizenship. Passports and identity cards of persons, who were authorized to renounce Turkish citizenship, are cancelled and they receive a certificate called "the Certificate Concerning Exercise of Rights Reserved under the Law Nr. 4112". This certificate has been used for residence, travel, working, investment, business, purchasing and transfer of movables, leasing, etc. in Turkey (Law Nr. 4112 contains another provision concerning citizens abroad. According to the provision, the section (b) stipulating the requirement of military service under the Law Nr. 403 on Turkish citizenship regulating the conditions for renouncing Turkish citizenship, was abolished. Thus, persons who have not completed their military service obligations may also obtain the authorization to renounce Turkish citizenship. This may be considered as a proof that the political authorities in Turkey have started to take certain legal initiatives in order to provide facilitation for citizens living abroad. Upon receipt of the "Certificate for Renouncing Turkish Citizenship", a person is deemed to have renounced his Turkish citizenship.

## Step 8:

The German translation of the "Certificate for Renouncing Turkish Citizenship" to be obtained from the Consulate General, shall be submitted to the Foreigners' Department and thus, all procedures are finalized<sup>29</sup>.

## 1.12 German Citizenship for Children

Children who were born in Germany but are foreign nationals must decide on a single citizenship from age of 18 until the end of age of 23. In case they wish to maintain their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> For further information on "How to become a German citizen?" www.einbuergerung.de and for the Turkish text of the German Law on Foreigners www.tcberlinbe.de/tr/yararlibilgiler/yasa.htm

citizenship status, their German citizenship is terminated. If the person concerned does not submit any declaration until completion of age of 23, again, his German citizenship is terminated. If the person concerned has decided to obtain German citizenship, then, he must submit competent authorities a document confirming that he renounced his foreign citizenship until the end of age 23.

The German Law on Citizenship entered into force on January 2000 with new regulations. The most important element of the new law on citizenship is its facilitation of the acquisition of children who were born in Germany and are infants, of German citizenship.

## 1.12.1 Citizenship by birth / Geburtsrecht

In case one of the parents is a German citizen, foreign children who were born in Germany after January 01, 2000 are directly entitled to citizenship without the need for any application. In cases where one of the parents is a citizen of another country, this will not be taken into account. Moreover, in case one of the parents obtained a residential permit (Aufenhaltsberechtigung) due to eight years' residence in Germany, their children born in Germany will be directly entitled to German citizenship (NRW Rehberi, 2004: 376).

## 1.12.2 Optional model / Optionsmodell

It is applicable for children who become German citizens by birth and before the age of 10. Children must decide whether they will obtain German citizenship until age of 23. After age 23, competent authorities notify the person concerned to choose between two citizenships. If the person chooses the citizenship of the other country, then he would lose German citizenship. If the person does not reply the notification, again this would result in the termination of German citizenship. Entitlement to more than one citizenship is not a desirable status for a state as in the abovementioned German example. It might be considered as problematic and may result in confusion for a person to be entitled to more than one citizenship.

In our age, in view of the developments in the international level, the meaning of the principle "each person shall have only one nationality" has become debatable in certain cases. Because there are millions of people who earn their living outside the country they are nationals of and have adopted this as a permanent life style. Turkey is one of the leading countries in this sense. With a rough calculation, we may state that one out of every 20 Turks has been living outside Turkey (Aybay, 2004: 77).

## 1.13 About Turkish Citizenship

The relevant law in force at present, concerning the acquisition and the loss of Turkish citizenship is the Law on Turkish Citizenship of February 11, 1964 Nr. 403. The Law on Turkish Citizenship which has been subject to some amendments in time by certain governments was comprehensively amended in 2003.

During the post-Cold War period, there was an influx from the ex-iron curtain countries to Turkey. Due to the geographical proximity, people coming from such countries mainly met their commodity needs in Turkey where they found a much broader range of products compared to their home countries. At the same time, Turkey symbolized a different window for these people who could easily enter or exit Turkey, compared to travel restrictions applied in their countries for many years. In time, due to certain reasons, many people coming from the Eastern Bloc countries obtained Turkish citizenship. While examining the process and reasons of entitlement of Turkish citizens living in Germany to German citizenship, the focus was basically on the legal requirements for transfer to German citizenship. In this section, it would be useful to focus briefly on the process of obtaining Turkish citizenship through naturalization. Requirements for obtaining Turkish citizenship are included in article 6 of the Law on Turkish citizenship as follows:

- To be adult (full age)<sup>30</sup>
- To be residing in Turkey for five years
- To be determined to settle in Turkey
- To be descent<sup>31</sup>
- To be healthy<sup>32</sup>
- To speak Turkish<sup>33</sup>
- To be earning one's living

# Renouncing Turkish Citizenship

The Law on Turkish Citizenship names the renouncing of a Turkish citizen as a result of the authorization he obtains upon a decision made by the "competent authority" as "renouncing citizenship".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Here "adult" refers to the possession of the person concerned of the ability/power to make a distinction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The concept of "descency" mentioned in this section refers to moral criteria commonly recognized in Turkey at the time of application (Aybay, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The requirement stipulated under this article is that the applicant for Turkish citizenship should have no infectious disease that might risk public health.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ability to speak Turkish refers not to have knowledge of Turkish grammar but rather to be able to speak basic Turkish.

According to the definition given in the Regulation "Renouncing citizenship is subject to a special authorization granted to a Turkish citizen upon the decision of the Ministry of Interior Affairs for entitlement to citizenship of another country" (Regulation, amended a.31 first sentence), (Aybay, 2004: 193). The most important point to take into consideration in this case is that the person should be willing to submit an application to the competent authority for renouncing Turkish citizenship.

The Law on Turkish Citizenship stipulates certain conditions for accepting the application and granting a Turkish citizen the "authorization for renouncing citizenship". These conditions include the requirement for the applicant to be "Perceptive and Adult", in other words to have reached the age of discretion and to be of full age and for the applicant to be in a position to have obtained or supposed to obtain the nationality of another state.

The Law on Turkish Citizenship stipulates, in order to prevent the person concerned to become stateless, that the position of obtaining or being able to obtain a new citizenship by those who are supposed to renounce Turkish citizenship, should be based on reliable indicators. Such "indicators" are defined in the regulation as follows.

"The certificate confirming acceptance of the application of the person concerned for entitlement to citizenship given by the public authorities of the relevant state or a document proving that the person has been residing and carrying out professional, commercial, industrial activities in that country as a Turkish citizen or the status of the person as married to a citizen of that country provided that this is regarded as a facilitator for granting him citizenship, may be accepted as convincing indicator" (Regulation, amended a.31/c).

In case the applicant is submitting an application for renouncing Turkish citizenship abroad, the relevant authority is the Turkish consulate located there. Documents required for application will be submitted to the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

In case the person who wishes to renounce Turkish citizenship is not a national of another state at that time (in other words, if there are convincing indicators that he will be able to obtain nationality of another state) he will receive an "authorization" instead of an acceptance certificate.

Authorization is a certificate confirming that a Turkish citizen is allowed to be entitled to nationality of another state by Turkish competent authorities (Regulation, amended a.33/b). After receiving the authorization, a person who wishes to renounce Turkish citizenship but has not obtained nationality of another state yet, will get a document confirming that he obtained the nationality of a foreign state, to be given by the competent authorities of that state and will submit it to Turkish competent authorities. Following this, the procedure for

renouncing will be finalized and the person concerned will be given an "acceptance certificate". Thus, the involvement of the person in Turkish citizenship will end upon the receipt of the "acceptance certificate" (Aybay, 2004: 200). Turkish laws have progressed in time and new adjustments have been put in place for those that renounced Turkish citizenship, in other words, those that lost Turkish citizenship. In accordance with a law issued on July 2004, the Turkish Law on Citizenship was amended to include adjustments made on behalf of citizens who renounced Turkish citizenship upon the authorization of the Council of Ministers as follows:

"According to this Law, persons who lost Turkish citizenship shall be treated as foreigners from the date of loss. However those who were Turkish citizens by birth and obtained the authorization to renounce citizenship from the Ministry of Interior Affairs and their infant children recorded on the acceptance certificate, will continue to exercise the same rights granted to Turkish citizens notwithstanding the provisions concerning the national security and public order of the Turkish Republic, notwithstanding acquired social security rights except the military service obligation and the right to vote and be elected; right to become a civil servant or duty-free importation of vehicles or household goods, subject to provisions concerning the exercise of such rights" (The Law on Turkish Citizenship, article 29a, adopted on June 29, 2004, published on the Official Gazette dated July 06, 2004). There are certain privileges for those that lawfully renounce Turkish citizenship according to a decision of the Council of Ministers. Certain adjustments were put in place for ensuring that Turkish excitizens may use the rights stipulated by law. In order to facilitate exercising such rights, an identity card is issued by the General Directorate for Register of Births and Citizenship at the Ministry of Interior Affairs for such persons. This card is publicly known as "Pink Card" and it allows for exercising rights reserved under the Law Nr. 4112.

For obtaining this certificate known as the "Pink Card" the person concerned should have obtained a citizenship renouncing certificate. Pink Card should contain the photography of the person, his identity information and information concerning his place of birth record before renouncing Turkish citizenship. Pink Card is issued abroad by Turkish diplomatic missions.

# 1.14 Demographic Information Concerning Germany

Table 5: General, Foreign and Turkish Population in the Federal Republic of Germany

General		Foreign (including Turks)	Turkish
Men	40,344,879	3,926,671	1,032,296
Women	42,191,801	3,408,921	879,873
Total	82,536,680	7,335,592	1,912,169

**Source:** Federal Statistical Office (as of 31.12.2002) in Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, 2003 Report, P.25. (T.C. Çalışma va Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003 Yılı Raporu)

Table 6: Turkish Citizens Born, Dead, Married In Federal Republic of Germany

Jurisdiction of the Consulate	Born	Dead	Married Turkish-	Married	
General	DOTA	Join Dead		Turkish-Foreigner	
Berlin	1,465	310	232	644	
Düsseldorf	11,236	438	470	326	
Essen	3,225	323	323	865	
Frankfurt	3,182	356	190	1,030	
Hamburg	1,287	221	265	363	
Hannover	2,447	383	128	672	
Karlsruhe	2,289	256	203	549	
Köln	2,757	343	483	298	
Mainz	1,467	155	168	352	
Münich	2,656	318	285	345	
Münster	2,338	284	174	471	
Nürnberg	1,244	204	397	278	
Stuttgart	3,484	409	344	394	
Total	39,077	4,000	3,662	6,587	

**Source:** Turkish Consulates General in Germany (as of 2003) in Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, 2003 Report, P.27. (T.C. Çalışma va Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003 Yılı Raporu)

The most interesting point concerning the table above is that the number of marriages made by Turkish citizens living in Germany with foreigners is higher than marriages among

Turks. Children who were born as a result of marriages made by Turks with foreigners may be the subject of another research<sup>34</sup>.

Table 7: Acquisitions of Citizenship after 1982 and Share of Turks in Foreigners

Acquiring German Citizenship

Years	All Foreigners Acquiring German Citizenship	Turks Acquiring German Citizenship	Share of Turks (%)
1982	39,280	580	1.5
1983	39,485	853	2.2
1984	38,046	1,053	2.8
1985	34,913	1,310	3.8
1986	36,646	1,492	4.1
1987	37,810	1,184	3.1
1988	46,783	1,243	2.7
1989	68,626	1,713	2.5
1990	101,377	2,034	2.0
1991	141,630	3,529	2.5
1992	179,904	7,377	4.1
1993	199,443	12,915	6.5
1994	61,709	19,590	7.6
1995	71,981	31,578	10.1
1996	86,356	46,294	15.3
1997	82,913	40,996	15.1
1998	106,790	59,664	55.9
1999	143,267	103,900	72.5
2000	186,700	82,800	44.3

**Source:** Federal Statistical Office in Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi — Center for Turkish Studies, 2000, *Almanya'da Yaşayan Türkler İle İlgili Seçilmiş İstatistikler*, Essen, p.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> According to the release published by the Federal Statistical Office based in Wiesbaden; the parents of 83,000 (11.3%) out of the total of 734,500 babies who were born in 2001 were foreigners, while only one the parents of 78,000 babies (10.6%) were foreigners. Most of the babies whose parents were foreigners were Turkish. The number of babies with Turkish parents, which were born in the said year was 30,100 and the number of babies born through Turkish-German marriages is 12,800.

<sup>(</sup>www.calisma.gov.tr/birimler/yih/bulten/2003 sayi3/bulten3.htm).

Table 8: Turkish Citizens Living in Federal Republic of Germany by Sex and Age

Groups

	Age of	Age of Age of		Age of	Age of
	0-14	15 – 29	30 – 39	40 – 49	50 and above
Men	239,142	287,016	215,953	85,732	201,995
Women	203,381	258,501	168,436	90,349	161,664
Total	442,523	545,517	384,389	176,081	363,659

Source: Federal Statistical Office (as of 31.12.2002) in Federal Statistical Office (as of 31.12.2002) in Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, 2003 Report. P.25. (T.C. Calısma va Sosval Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dıs İliskiler ve Yurtdısı İsci Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003 Yılı Raporu)

Table 9: Number of Turkish Citizens by Period of Stay in Germany

Period of Stay	Number
0 – 1 year	36,200
1 – 6 years	241,300
6 – 10 years	262,100
10 – 15 years	331,200
15 – 20 years	171,600
20 and more years	869,800
Total	1,912,200

Source: Federal Statistical Office (as of 31.12.2002) in Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, 2003 Report. P.28. (T.C. Çalışma va Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003 Yılı Raporu)

Table 10: Number of Turkish Citizens Entering in Germany and Leaving Germany

	Leaving
47,858	45,142
48,129	42,823
40,858	26,656
58,128 36,750	
	48,129 40,858

Source: Federal Statistical Office in Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, 2003 Report. P.28. (T.C. Çalışma va Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003 Yılı Raporu)

Table 11: Percentage of Turkish Workers Abroad By Region of Origin

Regions	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Marmara	40	34	35	32	40	28	24	27	27
Aegean	13	12	18	17	14	14	16	14	17
Mediterranean	2	5	6	7	8	9	8	7	8
Southeastern Anatolia	-	-	1	1	2	3	1	1	2
Eastern Anatolia	4	4	3	3	4	4	5	3	5
Black Sea	11	15	12	12	9	14	13	13	12
Central Anatolia	31	31	25	29	23	28	32	36	31

Source: Paine (1974: 73) in Yalçın, C. 2004, Göç Sosyolojisi, Anı Yayıncılık, Ankara. p. 41.

As the table indicates Marmara region, which is much more industrialized than others, ranks first with a significant difference compared to other regions in terms of the number of Turkish workers abroad by region between 1963 and 1971. Although since 1968 its percentage has decreased, this region was at the top among regions sending workers abroad in 1963-1967 with a percentage of 40%. After 1969, the Central Anatolian Region has gained the top position in terms of sending workers abroad. When we consider other regions such as the Southeast Anatolia and East Anatolia regions it would not be surprising that they rank the lowest due to the fact that they have been the least developed compared to other region.

Table 12: The Gender Breakdown of the Turkish Citizens Living in Germany (31.12.2002)

Female	46%
Male	54%

**Source:** Federal Statistics Office in Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi Vakfi – Center for Turkish Studies, 2003, *Almanya ve Diğer AB Ülkelerindeki Türk Hane ve Girişimcilerinin Ekonomik Gücü*, Essen, p.11.

As seen above the ratio of female and male Turkish citizens living in Germany are in corresponding numbers. This might be seen as an indicator that the early *Gastarbeiter* who came by himself (married or unmarried) to Germany has this way or another established family ties in growing numbers. Today this ratio could also be seen as that an era has changed and "going back home to the motherland" is not a strong intention as it was forty years ago.

Table 13: Data on Turkish Households in Germany (2002)

Data	Value
Total number of Turkish citizens	1,912,000
Turks Acquiring German citizenship	730,000
Total number of population of Turkish origin	2,642,000
Average size of households	4
Total number of households	660,000
Average net monthly household income (EUR)	2,020
Average monthly net savings per household (EUR)	359
Monthly consumption and foodstuff expenditures	1,661
Average annual net income per household (EUR)	24,240
Total annual net household income (billion EUR)	16,0
Total amount of annual net household savings (billion EUR)	2,8
Total amount of net consumption expenditures of Turkish households (billion EUR)	13,2

Source: Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi-Zentrum für Türkeistudien, 2003, Almanya ve Diğer AB Ülkelerindeki Türk Hane ve Girişimcilerinin Ekonomik Gücü, Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi Vakfı, Essen, p.15. (Center for Turkish Studies, Essen 2003)

## 1.15 About the Research

I have given prominence to the matter of immigration during my post-graduate education in the department of Social-Anthropology since the realm I aim to work on in the future is based on the phenomenon of "Immigration" and regarding that the concept of immigration will be more significant in a country like Turkey from where emigration to lands all around the world and also where it receives immigrated population has increased in a noticeable way in the recent years. Regarding this case, I considered that it might be just right to have a research in Germany where Turkish citizens abroad mostly live.

It was not easy to establish the limitations of the research in which the principles of the Anthropology discipline will be realized in Germany. The main principle should have been the openness of the human behaviors to observation during the research. It was important that the group of people, that was going to be observed during the research, to perform an attitude and behaviors which can help gathering scientific information. It should not be forgotten that anthropology is a discipline which examines the culture and how the people perceives the concrete ways of behaving in specific environments. Anthropology has been based on the

ethnographic studies previously made (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2004: 31). The different anthropological studies made before and the essays written are great assistance for this research, with the help of these studies, the problematic of the thesis has been established, the research subject and the group to be studied could have been designated.

The process has started by determining the problematic of the thesis and has developed thanks to the guides on the ways the social researches should be practiced. These resources helped the researcher in his tracing through the harmony of theory and practice for instance. I find it very necessary to enumerate the elements which are needed for a sound and successful research.

Yıldırım and Şimşek has established the ten necessary elements for the functioning of a social research:

- 1. Determining the research matter
- 2. Constructing the hypothetical and conceptional structure
- 3. Setting down the research question
- 4. Establishing the research field and its sample
- 5. Establishing the role of the researcher
- 6. Developing the data-gathering means
- 7. Obtaining information (interviews, observations and documents)
- 8. Analyzing information, delineation and explication of findings
- 9. Limiting the results and reaching analytical generalizations

Recommended results for research hypothesis and implementation (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2004: 68-72)

## 1.16 A Research Based on Immigration

Immigration is a fact through human history which affects almost all communities. Immigration is one of the significant subjects which has been and is being studied to a great extent. The main reason for my interest in this subject is the outnumbering countries which highly experienced immigration and also both positive and negative impacts of immigration in human life (Yalçın, 2004: v). In this context, my aim is to approach a subject which is closely related with immigration through an anthropological perspective and by using the ways of anthropology discipline studies. The phenomenon of immigration, which is epitomic with the human history, is quite diverse with its demographic, economical, political, psychological, anthropological and sociological aspects (Yalçın, 2004: 3). Anthropologists

had not spent much time working on European and American societies earlier, however that was in the past. In today's world, modern societies and cultures are observed from various points with the help of advanced research techniques in anthropology (Wells, 1972: 198).

I went to Germany in November 2003 in order to clarify the research field I was going to make in Germany and to focus on a specific subject. I had discussions with the Turkish compatriots on various subjects. It was quite noticeably being discussed by the media that being naturalized as German citizen is a movement that gained importance among Turkish compatriots. Particularly the German citizenship law which has come into force by January 01, 2000 made it easy to be naturalized as German citizen. I noticed through our interviews the number of Turkish people who have become naturalized as German citizens has also been high after this date. As follows, Researches of Turkey Centre in Essen was also recently holding this matter up in view. Particularly the tendency of Turkish voters for Social Democratic Party has indicated that this matter can be examined from different view points. Citizens of a country who immigrated to another country have almost been in a position designating the politics of the country they immigrated to.

It has caused some important alterations as Turkey has begun considering the Turkish people living Germany as a lobby group, not merely as a source of foreign currency income (Kaya, 2000: 60). In this context, Turkish politicians going to Germany and the diplomats in Germany gave a lecture about the advantages of being naturalized as German citizen when they came together with the citizens<sup>35</sup>. During his official trip over Germany as the Prime Minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan advised the Turkish immigrants to "Be a German citizen". "There are Turkish citizens which also can be German citizens. They somehow doubt about being a citizen. However, this is pointless. Being a German citizen will not alter your genetics and does not mean you will lose your values. Never be in a suspicion like this" Prime Minister said<sup>36</sup>.

Being naturalized as German citizen among Turkish people is worth to be examined from various perspectives. The importance of the matter will be understood more clearly day by day. Before starting my research, I have felt the need to make researches on the concept of citizenship and also on the legal arrangements. At this step, the "problematic" of the research began emerging. Due to what reasons would one alter his citizenship? Why do they alter their citizenship? On the other hand, why does one keep his current citizenship? May be this kind of approach might not seem logical for those who live in their native countries; however it is

<sup>36</sup> Available at site, www.aksam.com.tr/arsiv/aksam/2003/09/03/politika/politika4.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> For example, the citizens that I have made interviews with in Yavuz Selim Mosque, which is affiliated with Department of Religious Affairs in Ludwigsburg told that Onur Öymen had come years ago and explained about the advantages of being naturalized as German citizen and reinforced the community on this.

quite understandable that this fact carries different meanings for an immigrant who lives or has to live away from their native country. Almost nobody had the idea of naturalization during their first periods of Germany adventure in which the Turkish citizens planned to return to Turkey after working for some period in Germany. May be this matter could not even be talked those days. Nowadays, it is seen that there is a massive alteration in the feelings and thoughts of Turkish community about being naturalized into another citizenship by renouncing Turkish citizenship. We can invoke the changed economical conditions, developments in communication and international transportation services as the factors of this alteration. But surely the most effective factor is the increasing number of Turkish people who earn their livings in different fields outside of Turkey (Aybay, 2004: 79).

Another point of the research is that, in some cases, the decision regarding the acquisition of citizenship may be accelerated with the influence of friends and relatives. At this point now it is time to mention the theory of the network of relationships of Abadan-Unat. The network of migrant's relationships is the interpersonal relations and connections between new comer migrants, ancient migrants, and non-migrants of the same origin or the same roots, citizenship and friendship (Abadan-Unat, 2002: 300). The theory of network in the theory of migration focuses on the networks of the people who migrated beforehand and on the influence of those networks on the new comers and non-migrants (Yalçın, 2004: 49). It is a fact that networks of migrants have both positive and negative functions and influences. Gurak and Caces (1992: 153) indicate that networks of migrants have six important functions.

- 1. They insulate migrants from the society to which they have migrated and have them continue with connections and relations with the motherland,
- 2. They determine who will mostly migrate by influencing the beginning of migration and place of migration aimed at,
- 3. They facilitate adaptation of migrants to the new motherland,
- 4. They also serve as news channels for the potential migrants in the motherland and the new comers to the network about the new opportunities and official arrangements as well as new structuring in the foreign society.
- 5. They determine the speed and size of migration to a great extent.
- 6. They relieve migrants of the burden of expenses and uneasiness caused by migration,

It is possible that the acquisition of the German citizenship by the Turkish people is accelerated and influenced by the networks of migration. It seems that the answer to this question is worth investigation. Do the people who have fellow countryman relationships

really influence each other for the acquisition of German citizenship? Another way of migration is that the migrants reach the point of arrival through the people they know and are acquainted with. Thus, *chain migration* is the one which is realized through those relatives, friends and acquaintances who have migrated before. The first wave of migration is usually made with the intention of staying temporarily. However, the following chain migrations are made in masses with the intention of staying permanently (Erder, 1986: 18-19). In such cases, however, is it possible that the people who migrate afterwards are influenced by the close friends and relatives on such a subject as the acquisition of the German citizenship in spite of living there for many years?

Some Turkish citizens, who have been naturalized as German citizens, have retaken their Turkish passports by applying to the Turkish foreign legations in Germany especially before the year 2001. Nowadays, German government does not accept the pursuance of dual-citizenship. However, it is known that a fair number of Turkish people are dual citizens (This matter will be extendedly mentioned at the conclusion part). Although Germany put on some clampdowns for dual-citizenship by some juridical inhibitions, the matter has been widely accepted by the community. Dual-citizenship has no longer has negative connotations and has become relatively more acceptable. The Turkish people living in Federal Germany have a key role in this (Aybay, 2004: 83). Aybay emphasizes the moral level in his thoughts about the naturalization. It will be beneficial to make room here for the precious thoughts of former Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal;

Dual-citizenship means booming into a level of thought and feeling which is upper than the current one. Dual-loyalty and dual-patria-love are not concepts easy to be realized or experienced. Adjusting people to such a level is a mutual task for both Turkey and Germany that send them to foreign lands for work and employ in their own land (1995)<sup>37</sup>.

As a concluding point I would like to underline that for the sake of this field research, which was the basis for my thesis, has been made in different German states, in various geographical regions, and most importantly in the regions where the Turkish people live intensively. As the 2003 report of DİYİH and a chart based on the number of Turkish citizens naturalized as German citizens and the consulate regions indicate that the research has been made in the regions in which both the Turkish people live intensively and the number of Turkish people who are naturalized is high<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Hürriyet, January 17, 1995

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The researches on *Gastärbeiter* residences indicate that 50% of the families of Turkish origin live only on 4% of Germany. Surely, these are the industrial areas such as *North Rhein-Westfallen*, *Baden Würtemberg* or the worker neighborhoods of the big cities. Köln, Munich, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Stuttgart (Kastoryano, 2000: 205).

Table 14: The Number of Turkish Citizens Naturalized as German Citizens Vear 2003

General Consulate region The number of naturalized people	
Berlin	1,510
Düsseldorf	4,464
Essen	3,228
Frankfurt	4,416
Hamburg	1,646
Hannover	4,334
Karlsruhe	2,881
Köln	5,364
Mainz	3,351
München	3,168
Münster	3,147
Nürnberg	2,739
Stuttgart	5,193
Total	45,441

Source: The Turkish Consulates in Germany in Ministry of Labor and Social Security, General Management of the Department of Foreign Relations and Services for Workers Working Abroad, 2003 Report. P.27. (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Dış İlişkiler ve Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2003 Yılı Raporu)

#### 2 RESEARCH METHOD

## 2.1 Research Techniques

The most effective research methodology for comparative research in our time is participant observation and in-depth interviewing, which are the core of social research. This methodology is preferred for two reasons. Firstly, fieldwork brings along interactive scrutiny, face to face communication with the informants. A further opportunity the fieldwork supplies is its manifestation of the attitude of the informants within the research, not the researcher's (Türkdoğan, 2003: 305). Secondly interviewing with a questionnaire lets the researcher receive detailed information from the informants with open ended questions.

## 2.1.1 Participant Observation

Quoting what decedent Henry Taifel's like to say, the researcher should not "parachute" into the community. First he should be a part of the community he plans to research, and a symbiotic relation which is based on the mutual trust has to be set, not a sponge (Vassaf, 1985: 278).

The researcher has succeeded to be a part of the community he studied. He has been accepted in the field as a result of his personal history. The distance experienced generally at the beginning of the interviews instantly disappeared thanks to the communication established between the researcher and the research participants, so the compatriots could put their points of view and feelings about the research through sincere expressions. When a researcher succeeds to be a part of the community that he studies, it means that he has established the mutual trust and has gone quite a long way in obtaining the correct information considering the research. As it is known the participant observer comes to a social situation with two purposes: (1) to engage in activities appropriate to the situation and (2) to observe the activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation (Spradley, 1980: 54). This is quite important since the social anthropology researcher should try to understand how the informants see and evaluate the world themselves. In this research, it has been taken care to understand how the immigrants perceive their living conditions as well as the social and political implications of immigrant life. As Brettel states "it is important to emphasize that anthropologists, who perceive the disjunction between the ideal and the actual as a fundamental characteristic of human experience, tend to look at immigration policy from the perspective of the immigrant who acts, adapts, and often circumvents" (2000: 100).

The impression the community has about the researcher and/or the research group has such an importance that it may change the facts and the direction of the research. Even though the researcher has gone to the field as fully-prepared, the important thing is that the researcher has to be accepted by the relevant community. As it can be imagined, the community firstly will wonder whether they will have a loss as a result of the information they give. This is also the case with the Turkish citizens having a life struggle in Germany. It is observed during the field research that, as a result of the conditions getting harder in Germany and the mass communication systems instantly visualizing Turkey in Germany, the economical conditions force people to act reservedly and that they think first whether they will have a loss. It gets hard to construct a trusting atmosphere when the cultural identity and national belonging is emphasized besides the already-existing distance between the researcher and the one being studied is inevitably got over. Also it must not be forgotten that "the immigrants" feel that they are in an untrusting environment in the foreign land. The community behaves in such a self-possessed way in expressing themselves since they feel afraid that the information they give might danger their situations in their native countries or in the country they live in (Vassaf, 1982: 289).

## Observation Box - 1

## Hannover, August 2004

Since my host family in Hannover had recently moved, they wanted to have their daughter enrolled in a school close to their new home. For this reason they had to visit the municipality in order to get a new copy of their residential permit. I expressed a desire join them on this visit. Actually this office was under the Federal Administration and it processed all issues related to the residents in this state "Nieder-Sachsen". All foreign residents in this state had a department in this center that dealt with their matters.

Despite the fact that this unit had to civil officers working in it, the foreign residents had the habit of calling civil officers as the "police for the affairs of foreign residents".

On my visit I saw that German citizens had their issues solved on the ground floor, while the foreigners were directed upstairs. Surprisingly, while the ground floor was lively and noisy with children running around, the second was completely silent. Children were told by their parents to keep silence to behave. Everyone waited silently for their turn. Things were the same on my next visit the day after. Foreigners, despite all their valid residence and working permits, experienced a form discrimination based upon spatial segregation.

The method of participant observation, which is the basis of this research realized in Germany, was quite necessary in order to obtain accurate results. Being together with the Turkish compatriots in as many areas as possible in daily life is raising the accuracy of the information and also of the results. The field researcher gets involved in the social environment of the people, participates in their conversations and behaviors and in this way he tries to identify their feelings, thoughts, beliefs and reactions (Seyidoğlu, 2003: 32). For instance, by staying with a family, he gets the possibility to observe them closely. It becomes possible to evaluate their positioning/distancing related to being naturalized as German citizen by observing the photographical instants in their lives such as the problems this family faces in social life, the way they try to solve these problems and the way they anticipate the possible problems in the future. Their expectations about the naturalization and the group/family interactions can be observed. A trusty observation is realized with all the sense organs and basically with the eyes. The information is obtained by hearing, smelling and touching and sensing heat so with the all sense organs; and it is supervised and reinforced by talking, questioning and discussing (Güvenç, 2002: 137).

The researcher has tried to be with informants, in all aspects of their daily life. The aim was to find out if there is something hidden or missing during the interviews. Because any physical setting can become the basis for a social situation as long as it has people present and engaged in activities. A street where people cross, a bank window where people line up and transact business, an ocean pier where people loiter and fish, a bus door through which people enter and exit the bus, and a grocery-store check-out counter where grocers are rung up, paid for, and bagged are all social situations. Each of these places offers rich opportunities for participant observation (Spradley, 1980: 409).

## 2.1.2 Interviewing

Besides the "quantitative" ones, "qualitative" studies are also important for the immigrant researches. Particularly during the field research, it is important for the researchers (especially the anthropologists and sociologists) to get involved in the situation, ask the right questions and construe the answers the right way (Erman, 1998: 61).

Another approach used in the field research is the face-to-face informal interviews with the compatriots living in Germany. As noted by Bernard, "informal interviewing is characterized by a total lack of structure or control; the researcher just tries to remember conversations heard during the course of a day in the field" (2002: 204). It was thought that the researcher

had to be mobile in searching for the people and communities that he aims to research. The researcher must not be in a stable position. Elaborating this case, the face-to-face interviews have been realized in common daily life environments. For instance, the tea saloons of the mosques (The mosques in Germany must not be described merely as prayer places. These mosques also have tea saloons, a market in which the Turkish consumption goods are sold, a masjid for women and Ouran rooms. These mosques are the places where the Turkish compatriots hang out together and shop), Turkish cafés, the internet cafés that the Turkish youngsters often go and Turkish restaurants can be said to be the places where the most effective interviews were realized. During these interviews, the researcher usually not asked the interviewees to answer the questionnaires since it was observed that putting on these questionnaires changes the way of the interview and constructs a different identity to the researcher at the perspective of the participants. As the paper is somehow recalled with an official duty or bureaucracy, the citizens acted more reservedly in some situations. The relative subject must be considered with their own experiences. The Turkish compatriots in Germany approach to the researcher as if he is an official worker as they often see the papers, documents, the forms to be filled at the consulates and at the foreigner chamber.

Only a limited number of people can be observed with participative research. That is why I have also tried to obtain information by using the questionnaires during the research. At the first days of the research, the Turkish compatriots in Germany were asked to answer the questionnaires, but it was noticed instantly that this was no good for the research. A massive part of the questionnaires were filled according to the answers given, as the questions in the questionnaires were asked since some of them did not want to spend their time, some did not have Turkish literacy and some did not want to fill the questionnaires with their own expressions and hand-writing. A small number of questionnaires were filled just after the interview since the citizens acted reservedly.

The researcher did his best to be objective during the interviews and observations he did. It is necessary to be straight and non-appraising to obtain the right information. As an observer who believes in this perspective, I tried to have the interviews and also almost everything heard and seen recorded. The social fact which is the subject of the research is directly related to the feelings and thoughts of the people. During the field research, the people first talked about the sentiments on the matter. Kastoryano has approached to the case in this way. "The matter of being naturalized as German citizens causes a sentimental confusion. A religious community newspaper released in Ulm gives an idea about this matter. There are pictures of both German and Turkish passports following a title written in big points

at the cover of March 1995 issue of the newspaper: "Nothing to lose, but a lot to gain!" There is a part of four pages which amplifies the advantages of naturalization as German citizen without having an effect on their benefits in Turkey. These advantages are described as refusal and selection rights, the freedom of choosing profession, not being sent out of the country, free-roaming in the European Union and having the same rights as the Germans" (2000: 223).

As I was 'stealing' the informants' time – since I really wished the research to spread into a long time for it to be more objective- I offered at least some hot/cold drinks, beverages during the interviews to make the informants more willing to spend time with me. So that the interviews were made in a conversation like atmosphere.

"Personal gain becomes exploitative when the informant gains nothing or actually suffers harm from the research. Every ethnographer bears a responsibility to weigh carefully what might constitute a "fair return" to informants. When conducting lengthy interviews, one might consider payment of an hourly wage, although such an offer would insult some informants" (Spradley, 1980: 24).

Since I share Spradley's ideas I had brought some presents to my host families from Turkey. I observed that it was a good idea because attitude of host families toward me got more positive. Thanks to that positive "first impression" of the researcher host families tried to be very helpful. I also did some shopping such as food stuff to share their daily cooking expenses. It is a must to recall the times when everything was easier for human beings to understand the abstract significance of this mutual materialistic approach to 'share' the burden. Some time ago, when the economies of countries were better, people were more hospitable because they did not have to think of the 'end of the month' very carefully. They could share their food with their friends, and even with the guests they did not know well. However, now, it is getting more and more difficult for people to 'open their doors' to guests no matter how much they feel contented about the visit.

# 2.2 Thoughts About the Questions

The questions asked to the Turkish compatriots are prepared as a consequence of the interviews and observations made during the journey which the researcher made over Federal Germany in November, 2003. It was an attentive work aiming that there would be a little number of questions and the questionnaire would not exceed a paper written both sides. A great number of questions are disincentive, so the scope of the questions is kept wide. For instance, the immigrants were asked for their immigration stories so that we have made it a

mere question which indirectly comprises the information such as their families, their connections in Germany, the reason and the way of their immigration to Germany. Asking for the immigration history can also be seen as a way of completing the question of birth place. Also this method helped us obtaining information about the city they are registered under population in Turkey, or the city the Turkish compatriots who were born in Germany feel connected to.

# Questionnaire Sample

1. Gender	Age	Place of Birth		
2. Immigration History?				
When did you come to Germa	When did you come to Germany? (Why?-Family Unity-Asylum etc.)			
3. The current work status in (	Germany?			
4. Number of the household n	nembers? Number of employed	household members?		
5. Do you own your house? I	Do you have any other estates	in Germany except for the house		
you live in?				
6. State of health?				
7. Can you make any savings'	?			
8. The school you last graduat	ted from?			
9. Which sector do you work	9. Which sector do you work in?			
10. Have you already acquire	10. Have you already acquired German citizen?			
11. If so, what is the reason(s)	)?			
(Political, economical concern	ns etc.)			
(Vote and selection rights, other advantages of citizenship)				
12. If not, what is the reason(s)?				
(Legal problems, not interested/not needed, permanent residence permit is seen enough,				
Not willing to leave Turkish citizenship)				
13. What were effective on your decision to be naturalized?				
14. Do you plan to return to Turkey?				
15. What are your future expectations?				
16. What are your plans for the future? Do you have plans you want to realize?				

The question which aims to clarify the employment status of the citizen is very important. So that was found out whether the person took the unemployment benefit and social security help and he paid the insurance premium for a while which can debar his naturalization. The

citizens also gave information about their type of employment with the question about their employment status. This question is completed by the number nine question.

Questions regarding the number of the household members and the number of employed people in the household obtain information about their daily bread. Question regarding the number of employed people in the household is also important in facing the economical stresses which get harder day by day in Germany. The number of the employed people in the household who make an income and their positions are significant for those who live in a rented flat.

The status of being tenant or householder indicates the financial status of the family and their retrenchment preferences. Related to this question, it can be considered as a sign of permanency from a different point of view<sup>39</sup>.

The question about the state of health was not planned to be asked initially. However, it was seen through the telephone calls made before the 2004 field research in Germany and the interviews in November, 2003 that the health system in Germany was trusted and considered seriously by the Turkish citizens in Germany. For instance, it was indicated that they live in Germany or go to Germany often for health tests since the trust for the Turkish health system is quite low among the generation who retired and did not return to Turkey. Therefore, the Turkish citizens informed us also about the states of health of their kin. For example, during a recorded interview in Köln, a person has indicated that due to the heart problems her daughter had been suffering, she was naturalized not to face a situation like being sorted out of the country and to guarantee her stay in Germany for a better treatment. Once again in an interview in Köln, a Turkish citizen explained that they had a traffic accident in which his brother was injured severely in Gümüşhane where they have been for summer holiday and they have been asked for bribery at the state hospital. This citizen also added that he was naturalized immediately after he got back to Germany and permanently gave up the thought of about returning to Turkey.

The question about the last school that the citizens graduated from was asked to find out their state of education. The ones who completed their education in Germany have given the names of the type of schools they have graduated from.<sup>40</sup> Some of them completed their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> For detailed information on purchasing flat of Turkish citizens living in Germany and on the economical strength of the households, see *Almanya ve Diğer Avrupa Birliği Ülkelerindeki Türk Hane ve Girişimcilerinin Ekonomik Gücü* (Economical Strength of Turkish Households and Entrepreneurs in Germany and Other EU countries), Essen, October 2003 Center for Turkish Studies

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> For a remarkable view on German education system, see Abadan-Unat, N., *Bitmeyen Göç*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002.

education in Turkey and went to Germany in elder ages. This question aimed to set a connection between the state of education and the consideration of being naturalized.

The ninth question regarding the sector the person is working in complements the question on the employment status of the person.

The questions about being naturalized which is the aim of the research start by the tenth question. It is found out clearly whether the person was naturalized or not by this question. The citizens generally indicated also the year they were naturalized in answering this question. The next question is addressed to the ones who were naturalized. At this question, the naturalization is asked and we vented some of the reasons which directed the person to be naturalized. There were refusal and selection rights, economical concerns and other advantages of the citizenship among these. The aim is not to miss out the factors which motivated him to be naturalized.

At the twelfth question, the aim is to find out why the person has not acquired German citizenship even though he has the right to do so. At the first sight, it may seem that the person carried out the necessities of the legal procedure nevertheless an unexpected event might have occurred then. An event took place in the media can be given as an example related to this case. An application for the naturalization as German citizen was declined due to the report of The Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Rheinland-Pfalz state, even though the applicant discharged the necessities and legal procedures concerning the naturalization. Mainz Superior Court declared that the relevant person's application has been declined since he has been a member of National Front sect and "there were suspicions about his fidelity to the constitution" so that he would not be naturalized<sup>41</sup>.

Sufficient room has been left at this stage to understand why the ones who have the right for naturalization did not prefer to do so, considering that one sentence answer will not clue us in so that whosoever sees the sufficient room below the question will not refrain from elaborating. This space has been spared because if the informant sees a small space for the answer he/she might try to express themselves within a few words.

The aim of the question "What were effective on your decision to be naturalized?" is to obviate a possible missed-out point at the question "Why has the person naturalized?" The solidity of the previous question is also tested by this question and makes it possible to compare it with the eleventh question.

The question "Do you think about returning to Turkey?" has been asked to find out both the point of view of the participant and whether there is a connection between returning to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Frankfurt Office of Cumhuriyet, Cumhuriyet, October 21, 2004.

Turkey and naturalization. Some discussions are struck upon about how the idea of returning has become a mythological structure since it has been postponed constantly after staying for a while in the country where they immigrated to with the idea of not settling permanently (Çağlar, 1994).

As a matter of fact those who immigrated had the idea of returning when they would reach the economical strength (an amount of money, purchase of a certain land, earning enough money to run a business etc.) at the beginning, then they postpone returning since they want their children to be raised-up, go to school and be a part of that community where they have been. These place alterations, which were planned temporarily at the beginning, can eventuate in a way that these immigrants can become foreigners for their own country in the long term (Yalçın, 2004: 21).

The aim of the fifteenth question is to find a logical connection between the expectations of the person and his view of naturalization if there is. Speaking of this, it will be beneficial to give a comment from Center for Turkish Studies.

"TAM's research clarifies the fact that the sentimental fidelity for Turkey is outright nevertheless the plans of the citizens for the future are intended according to Germany. This situation is also understood from the interest shown in naturalization by Turkish citizens. According to data of TAM, reckoning the Turkish children who are dual-citizens by birth at the beginning of the year 2000, the number of the Turkish-rooted citizens in Germany reached 730,000 by the end of the year 2002 (Center for Turkish Studies, 2003: 12). The question about the future plans has been asked to create a projection for the future. There was a concern that the last two questions could be mixed up by the participants to the research. This case has realized that in some situations the participants could/did not distinguish the questions and this has been mirrored in the answers recorded.

# 2.3 Research Group

Every Turkish person, who lives in Federal Germany and posses the conditions which are needed to be naturalized as the law emitted, has been seen as an informant for this research. The people, who have the conditions which are ruled out according to the naturalization laws, have been ruled out of the research. The researchers had to amplify this case before almost all interviews. But the people who could not discharge the necessities of the law are talked about their expectations, thoughts and perspective.

The question which was aimed to be observed in this research was the approach of the compatriots to naturalization, altering citizenship and how the period of considering or

deciding passes. The field research and participant observation, which is at the centre of anthropology discipline, are the feasible research methods about a subject which is connected with a social fact and interests the society in a wider respect. Related to the research subject, the size of the group which is going to be observed can change in the field research. Field research is actually practiced observing small groups of people, however it also took a whacking role at realizing this research successfully since it is a social matter. At this point, it will be good to give a room for Kağıtçıbaşı's (1999: 55) approach which can enlighten the subject. "It is often the social structure of a small group or society, interactions between people or groups, foundations, values etc. that is the subject worked on in the field research".

The interviews were made with people who can represent the Turkish community in Germany and who differ from each other in social, economical, geographical, educational, age bracket etc. aspects. The element of trust is important for the informants in a research like this. So, sometimes some references had to be used. For instance, it was available for us to interview in the mosques of National Front sect (Milli Görüş Teşkilatı) in Hannover thanks to a reference. Equally, the acceptance of the researcher in Ludwigsburg was due to some connections set up here. The most effective example that I present as a reference is "Köln Fenerbahçe Supporters Club" members and the members of a web site called "Eurofeb" that has members in Germany, France and Holland but has its headquarter in Germany. The members of this site has met the researcher in Köln, Berlin and Stuttgart and helped him during his field research. As a consequence, the supporter clubs are not open merely for a social group of people. People from every social class can come together there. An organization like this helped the researcher in reaching many stories which differ from each other. Ali Kırca approaches this matter as: "People from different community parts and classes with opposing interests, different world views and ideologies, from political parties whose leaders are in quarrel can come together under the identity of the same football club supporter. They share the excitement, happiness or sadness before the match, during the 90 minutes and after the match. The comments of an ordinary supporter and a professor can be at the same scale. Supporting is maybe the most intriguing example of the group psychology" (Kırca, 2000: 55). One of the most fascinating examples that can be given for this sentiment intensiveness is that the researcher was met at Berlin Zoo Garten train station by an Eurofeb member at 04:45 in the morning. The researcher, who had trouble due to the increasing ticket prices in summer, preferred the relatively cheaper night traveling. The mere negative side of night traveling is departure and arrival time.

The researcher met with the members of Köln Fenerbahce Supporters Club in Prague, the capital of Czech Republic where he has been to watch the match between Sparta Prague and Fenerbahçe. Being naturalized as German citizen was also a subject during the conversations (Some friends who were naturalized as German citizens and who went to England again for a football match had phoned the researcher and told that that was the advantage of German citizenship: they can go everywhere they want in an hour). The members of Eurofeb came to Istanbul once again for a football match and they were hosted by the researcher.

One of the most important points of the research was that the group had to represent all the Turkish citizens in Germany. So the researcher tried to make his research at the football matches, women tea parties, at the Turkish cafés, at the canteen of Köln University and at the mosques. Speaking the same language helped the researcher finding the common points, presenting himself and his aim and using his references. As a result, the researcher tried to communicate with the informants at every area of life such as home, café, street etc.

It was not easy to find families to host the researcher during his research. As it can be guessed, the average size of the houses of Turkish compatriots is relatively smaller than the average they had in Turkey and it is difficult to host a stranger in a small house. Another problem is the life conditions getting harder day by day. As a consequence, it is a question of fact for the house owner whether the researcher will also be involved in the house expenses and outcome. This should be seen as natural. So the researcher has not many choices of a householder or where to stay. However, the researcher did not only stay with families, he also went to the regions in which the Turkish population is intensive and he moved independently by staying at hotels or hostels. A choice has been made among the families who accepted to host the researcher. It was preferred to stay with different families who have different immigration stories and who came from different regions as possible.

## 2.4 Ethical Issues – Personal Presentation

If to mention about the research ethics, the research ethics or the codes of the research ethics, even science morality itself can be described as the plan and the morals of the scientific research and scientific standards to be discharged for the process (Balcı, 2004: 251).

The research made in Germany is a social research. Regarding this case, it is important to prevent the participants from suffering physically/psychologically and being faced with some juridical process (During the research, I came across with people who illegally went to Germany). The participants must not be deceived about the research.

Cook (1976) describes the facts which break the ethics as 42;

- a. Making people involve in the research without their knowledge or approval,
- b. Forcing people to participate in the research,
- c. Hiding the aim of the research from the participants,
- d. Causing the participants to act humiliatingly,
- e. Breaking the self-determination rules: For instance, researching about the control of behaviors or character alterations,
- f. Stressing the participants physically or psychologically,
- g. Infringing the private life,
- h. Withholding the benefits from the participants of the control groups,

Failing to approach each participant fairly, interestedly and respectfully. I explained who I am and my aim to all the participants during the time I was in Germany, 01 July – 22 September. I used my university ID card when needed. The Al-Spor football club café in Berlin Kreuzberg, where I entered incidentally, can be given as an example. I did not know anyone in this café which is often visited by Alevi Turkish citizens. I entered and asked for tea. Then I started talking with the waiter who brought the tea. It was obvious that I was a stranger. Due to the frosty approach to me, I explained the reason of my visit to Germany and showed my university ID card.

I believe that it is needed to harp on the research ethics. Particularly considering where the research was made, the importance of the research ethics can be valued more. The personal presentation and the ethical subjects gained more importance in a country such as Germany where the Turkish citizens feel that they have been sorted out. So the main aim of the researcher is to protect the participant (Aydın, 2001: 160).

Elaborating this case, Kottak indicates that he embraced an ethical code, which was released by AAA (American Anthropological Association) in 1971 and titled as "AAA Principles of Professional Responsibility", and the principle at the helm of these principles is to refrain from behaving in a way that can offend/harm the communities/societies or the science world (Kottak, 2002: 572). The principles are headed under six different items:

1. Responsibility towards the studied subjects. In research, anthropologists' paramount responsibility is to those they research. Anthropologists must do everything in their power to protect the physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honor the dignity and privacy of those studied. When there is a conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. The public and its interests should be protected. Anthropologists should inform the informants

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> On this, the pages 252-269 of the work of Balcı entitled as "Sosyal Bilimlerde Araştırma" (Research in Social Sciences) may be read.

about the target and the expected outcomes of their researches. In gathering information, the anonymity of the informants should be preserved. The informants should not be exploited for personal gains. Anthropologists should take measure in order to prevent any harm that the publication of the research materials may lead. The reports should be open to public use in accordance with the Association's general position on secret researches.

- 2. Responsibility towards the public. Devoting themselves to understanding the diversity of the humanity, anthropologists should explicate their knowledge and beliefs they obtain as a result of their professional efforts. They should contribute to an adequate definition of reality upon which public opinion and public policy may be based. Anthropologists should be aware of the limitations of their profession.
- 3. Responsibility towards the discipline. Anthropologists bear responsibility for the good reputation of the discipline and its practitioners. Anthropologists should attempt to maintain such a level of integrity in the field that, by their behavior they will not jeopardize future research there.
- 4. Responsibility towards students. In relations with students, anthropologists should be candid, fair, non-exploitative, and committed to the student's welfare and progress. They should alert students to the ethical problems of research.
- 5. Responsibility towards sponsors. Anthropologists should be honest about their qualifications, capabilities and aims. Anthropologists should not accept those works that may harm the professional ethics. They must retain the right to make all ethical decisions in their research.
- 6. Responsibilities towards one's own government and to host governments. Anthropologists should demand assurance that they will not be required to compromise their professional responsibilities and ethics as a condition of their permission to pursue research (Kottak, 2002: 572-573).

I listened to the life stories of people I had my studies with. As I mentioned before, I attentively cared about the face-to-face interviews not to be limited by moments. Because it was obvious at the beginning of the research that people were not willing to spend a lot of time due to the environment they were in. So I intended to realize my research with the people with whom I can spend more time and have a chat. Thence, their private life and stories are mentioned. Information about their privacy has not been recorded during the research. The notes I took down and what I wrote has been shown to the informant. It was emphasized that all the talks and information will be used for an academic research and this research is an academically thesis.

Taking the pictures of the studies, those who are studied and their activities is a matter which must go through the strainer of ethics. Arrestingly, merely the ones who were interviewed and questioned were not well-disposed to be photographed. The right of not being visualized was respected. Taking pictures can be generally considered as the visual diversion of the research. In some situations, taking picture gave a memorial message to those who were interviewed and a sincere atmosphere was created. The 250 km. trip over Manheim to watch a friendly match of Fenerbahçe can be given as an example for this. I had the impression of being dignified both before and after match where also many Turkish compatriots from Stuttgart and Heidelberg came over.

It was observed that the compatriots stiffened against the speech recorder. We did not insist on it. Speech recording may have been identified with solemnity. Speech recorder could be used mostly at the interviews in which more than one person speaks in the same breath.

Informants have a right to remain anonymous. This right should be respected both where it has been promised explicitly and where no clear understanding to the contrary has been reached. These strictures apply to the collection of data by means of cameras, tape recorders, and other data-gathering devices, as well as to data collected in face-to-face interviews or in participant observation. Those being studied should understand the capacities of such devices; they should be free to reject them if they wish; and if they accept them, the results obtained should be consonant with the informant's right to welfare, dignity and privacy. Despite every effort being made to preserve anonymity it should be made clear to informants that such anonymity may be compromised unintentionally. (Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1971, para. 1,c), (Spradley, 1980: 23)

In 1971, the Council of the American Anthropological Association adopted a set of principles to guide ethnographers (social researchers) when faced with conflicting choices. These *Principles of Professional Responsibility* begin with the following preamble (Spradley, 1980: 20).

Anthropologists work in many parts of the world in close personal association with the peoples and situations they study. Their professional situation is, therefore uniquely varied and complex. They are involved with their discipline, their colleagues, their students, their sponsors, their subjects, their own and host governments, their particular individuals and groups with whom they do their fieldwork, other populations and interest groups in the nations within which they work, and the study of processes and issues affecting general human welfare. In a field of such complex involvements, misunderstandings, conflicts, and the necessity to make choices among conflicting values are bound to arise and to generate ethical dilemmas. It is a prime responsibility of anthropologists to anticipate these and to plan to resolve them in such a way as to do damage neither to those whom they

study nor, in so far as possible, to their scholarly community. Where these conditions cannot be met, the anthropologist would be well-advised not to pursue the particular piece of research.

Informants are human beings with problems, concerns and interests. I have met with some illegal immigrants during the field work. Some of them have told about his story passing the German borders illegally. I have honored their confidentiality, both in my social life and academic professional writing. The thing what is more important is, some informants and some Turkish citizens have asked me about the options/possibilities about illegal immigration for some of their relatives living in Turkey, assuming that the researcher knows the tricks and is able to help them. Their aims were to find ways to bring their relatives to Germany legally or illegally. As a matter of fact I really wanted to tell some pieces of my data and stories of this issue to help them but I did not.

## 3 FINDINGS

In this research 134 Turkish people were interviewed between July 01, 2004 and September 22, 2004 in 7 different cities of the Federal Republic of Germany about the subject of the reason for and process of the Turkish citizens living in Germany and trying to obtain German citizenship. All the interviews were recorded in writing. In addition to the interviews, the research is further enriched with findings obtained in informal talks with the Turkish people other than those interviewed.

According to the research results kept in writing and obtained through interviews with the research group of 134 Turkish people living in Germany and having the qualities that the German authorities seek for acquisition to German citizenship, the number of people who have acquired German citizenship is 59. Among the 134 people that I interviewed, 75 people said they still keep their Turkish citizenship. When the years of acquiring the German citizenship are taken into consideration, it is noted that, of the 48 people who gave the year of acquisition, 31 acquired the German citizenship after January 01, 2000. The main reason why the acquisition process has accelerated after the year 2000 is that the economic crises in Turkey are widely broadcasted to the Turkish people in Germany through written and visual media. Besides the facts influencing the acceleration of acquisition in to German citizenship, the presentation of Turkish economic life via satellites and Turkish channels broadcasting throughout Europe deserves great attention. The consequences of learning any type of negative developments in Turkey have far more drastic effects over the psychological conditions and eventually their decision making processes which in this case was an increase in the number of acquisition of German citizenship.

However we should not underestimate the change in the legislation of German citizenship which was another reason for this acceleration. According to the statistics on the foreigners acquiring the German citizenship declared by the Federal Statistics Office, there was a decrease in the number citizenship acquisitions by the foreigners in 2003. The majority of foreigners who obtained citizenship are Turkish people 43. This also supports our findings we obtained in the conversations we made during our research. All those who have acquired German citizenship and most of those who are still Turkish citizens indicated that they would not return to Turkey.

<sup>43</sup> http://www2.dw-world.de/turkish/politik/1.77606.1.html (24.05.2004)

Table 15: The gender and citizenship information of the 134 people

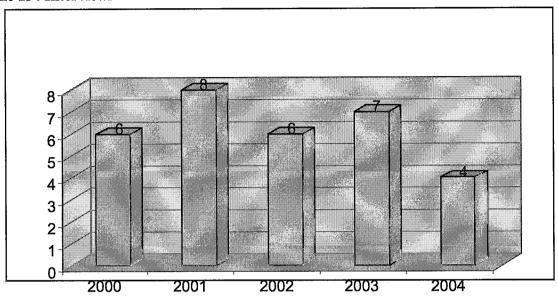
	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Those who acquired the German citizenship	39	20	59	44%
Those who have not acquired the German citizenship	46	29	75	56%
Total	85	49	134	100%

During the field research, the people interviewed said that a reply is received in six – eight weeks from the German authorized bodies after the application for citizenship is made. They also said that the applications to the Turkish Consulates to renounce Turkish citizenship is replied very late and even one year later in some cases. For this reason the year of application for citizenship may be different from the year of the acquisition of citizenship.

Table 16: Age Groups of Group Interwieved

Breakdown of age	22-35	35-54	55 and above
Number of males who			
acquired the German	18	16	5
citizenship			
Number of females who			
acquired the German	14	4	2
citizenship			
Males who have not			
acquired German	21	13	12
citizenship			
Females who have not			
acquired German	14	8	7
citizenship			

Chart 1: The Acquisition of German Citizenship Over the Years After 2000 Based on the 134 Interviews



It should be remembered that the above figure shows the interviews made until September 22, 2004, the date when the researcher returned, as far as the data for the year 2004 is concerned.

Table 17: Reasons of Turkish Women for Acquiring German Citizenship

Reasons of Turkish women for acquisition of German citizenship	Number of woman declaring the reason
Measure against discrimination / feeling equal to Germans	6
Integration with society / being part of German society	5
Need / requirement of profession	5
Freedom of travel with German Passport and strong image of Passport	4
Intention of staying permanently and no intention of returning	4
Social security system in Germany works well and gives confidence	3
Influence of people around me	3
Influenced by Turkish MP's Lale Akgün and Cem Özdemir	3
Germany is a democratic country	2
Bringing my husband from Turkey more easily	1
The thought that it gives an advantage and facilitates finding a job	1
I can fulfill my religious duties under no pressure in Germany	1
Importance of the right to elect and be elected	1

More than one factor mentioned.

Among the answers Turkish women who acquired German citizenship have given, the prevailing ones are; measure against discrimination and/or feeling equal to Germans, integration with society and the sense of being a part of German society and finally need for job. To be more open it can be said that German citizenship may bring advantages while applying for a job, traveling for business.

# Observation Box - 2

# Hannover, August 2004

One day we were driving with my host in Hannover. He was driving the car as I sat next to him. In an instant, my host was engaged when a car cut his way. He started yelling at the other driver with words such as "you foreigners can not even manage to drive properly!" I was puzzled to see a foreigner who had a German citizenship, shouting at another foreign resident this way, since the person was an asylum seeker himself, not so many years before.

<sup>44 &</sup>quot;Ihr ausländer, könnt noch nicht mal richtig auto fahren"

Table 18: Reasons of Turkish Men for Acquiring German Citizenship

Reasons of Turkish men for acquisition of German	Number of men
citizenship	declaring the reason
Freedom of travel with German Passport and strong image of Passport	15
Intention of staying permanently and no intention of returning	13
Integration with society / being part of German society	7
Germany is a democratic country	6
Need / requirement of profession	6
Feeling no ties with Turkey and Turkish people	5
Importance of the right to elect and be elected	5
Influence of people around me	5
Social security system in Germany works well and gives confidence	5
To be exempted from military service in Turkey	5
I can fulfill my religious duties under no pressure in Germany	4
My wife is German / some other foreigner	4
Measure against discrimination / feeling equal to Germans	3
The predominant religion in Germany is Christianity	1
Influenced by Turkish MP's Lale Akgün and Cem Özdemir	1

More than one factor mentioned.

The answers that Turkish men who acquired German citizenship are slightly different on some basis than the ones Turkish women mentioned. The major factor men have declared is the freedom of travel with German passport and strong image of that passport. Men's traveling tendency being higher can be the reason for this.

From an another perspective, the complications experienced by Turkish *Gastärbeiters* at European consulates while getting visas and entering European countries in the past had a tremendous implication on their decisions for applying to become German citizens:

I have witnessed an interesting incident as an example. Turkish workers have formed a long queue in front of the German Embassy in Amsterdam. They were waiting for the Embassy to open to get their visa. However, there was no action at the gate although it was past ten in the morning. As one of the workers rang the bell, a group of five or ten tried to prevent him and told him off; "What do you think you are doing? What if those foreigners get angry and reject our visa demand!"

Finally the gate opened and under the cross looks and ordering type of talk of the Germans, the workers required transit visa with their low voice to be able to go to their homeland to spend their religious holiday. Most of them were filled with rage inside but none could actually speak up. As long as this non-reacting, sinking sensation is suppressed, it causes psychological uneasiness (1983: 146).

Intention of staying permanently and no intention of returning is also another major factor. The factor of integration with German society scores almost equal to answers of women.

In both of the tables given above, the choice of not intending to return to Turkey is independent of the answer to question number 14. If the person said that he does not think about returning to Turkey in response to the questions of why he chose German citizenship and what influenced him, then this response was placed in the table. There is more than one point that attracts attention in the responses of men who chose German citizenship. These are a) the wife is German or some other foreigner, b) the predominant religion in Germany is Christianity, c) Feeling no ties with Turkey, and finally d) being exempted from military service in Turkey. These responses are emphasized by men and are not chosen by women. During the talks with those people which were not recorded, it was noticed that one subject that accelerates the acquisition of the German citizenship is the wish of exemption from compulsory military service in Turkey. However in the recorded interviews this subject does not seem to be overwhelming. In other words, it can be fairly indicated that the Turkish citizens in Germany hesitate to mention this point. "Military service" is a right given only to the Turkish citizens, and is also a holy duty in the Turkish culture (Constitution, art. 72). The grandchildren of the only nation in the world sending sons to the army in cheers should especially be careful when talking about being exempted from military service.

I want to quote from Cem Özdemir, former member of German parliament "Bundestag", an interesting view on this issue. What Özdemir went through in Urach town hall while he applied to be dismissed from the citizenship is not nice. Nevertheless, Cem Özdemir gives an account of his acceptance to German citizenship; "It was a great happiness to have the document. We celebrated my German identity card with an 'acquisition the citizenship party', which almost turned into a masked ball. Some of my friends did not really understand; what was to be celebrated about becoming a German? They even saw this as a horrible thing; 'This jerk is happy while all leftist liberals would be embarrassed to be Germans'. It is impossible to tell them what it means to go to your military service with a Turkish passport in your pocket in a country, which they have got to know only during their vacations" (Özdemir, 1999: 58).

Compulsory military service, of which the conditions are determined by laws in Turkey, can be a unique research topic. The attitude of people, who have lived in Germany for long years and have come to a specific phase in their lives, towards compulsory military service is a considerable point, especially when the circumstances are out of their control and initiative. (The researcher has been told about the possible incidents that might occur while the Turkish citizen is away from work; since he has to go fulfill his military service by getting permission from the work places). Almost all Turkish citizens in Germany have something to say about the issue. They, at least, tried to speak their minds on the subject. Cem Özdemir, the deputy in German Parliament, has given a place to the topic of compulsory military service in his memoirs; "Having a Turkish passport forces me to fulfill the military service in Turkey. I was ready to go almost everywhere, but not there. Turkish army would certainly not care about my being a vegetarian and get me a special diet" (1999: 55).

Among both women and men who have already acquired German citizenship, most of them stated the inspiration they have received from Turkish originated deputies Lale Akgün and Cem Özdemir. Cem Özdemir remarks that he also has heard such rumors; "I have recently received a letter from an officer who works in Ludwigsburg regional government citizenship department. A young Turkish woman answered the question 'Why would you like to acquire German citizenship?" on the form by saying "Because Cem Özdemir has become my role model!" (1999: 257).

Throughout the field research, a frequently encountered subject is bringing the wife or husband from Turkey. These wives or husbands are called "imported grooms / brides" by the Turkish society in Germany. Although this subject was spoken about in almost all the meetings held during the research, there was only one person who declared that she chose German citizenship in order to bring her husband from Turkey. Another frequently observed case is that the children of the Turkish families living in Germany are married by their parents to the children of close acquaintances or friends in Turkey and the spouses are brought to Germany after marriage, because some families in Turkey believe that living abroad is better than living in Turkey and thus want their children to get married to the Turkish people living abroad (Yalçın, 2004: 137). Hayrettin Aydın is a researcher at Bremen University, Department of Religious Sciences, and carries out scientific studies on the imported brides and grooms. According to Aydın, those imported brides and grooms of the second generation Turkish people are much more educated than the first generation Turkish people. 28 % of the second generation is high school graduates and 11 % is either university students or persons who have applied to universities for education. Of the imported brides/grooms 55 % is brides

and 45 % is grooms<sup>45</sup>. The most important reason why the Euroturks choose a spouse from Turkey is the money paid by the groom to the bride's family. The thought behind this is that a young person who has not had a good education in Turkey and was not able to get a good job can have a better life abroad if he/she marries a Turkish person living abroad. And those young Turkish people go to Europe this way by paying an amount of money to the families of their spouses, hoping that they will find a job and have a better life in Europe. This sum of money is called "milk money" by the Turkish people in Europe. A second important reason why they choose a Turkish spouse is that they want an innocent spouse who will obey them, because most of the young Turkish people living in Europe call their peers who were born there "degenerated Turks". The third reason is also monetary. The imported grooms find jobs as quickly as possible and thus start contributing to the budget of the family. And the imported brides help in the house work<sup>46</sup>. It is a widely known fact that some Turkish people who desire to get a residence permit in Germany marry German people or Turkish people living in Germany in order only to get a residence permit. That is to say, this type of marriage is only done for the purposes of fulfilling a formality, because it renders some rights and privileges. However, the goal is different. This type of marriage is done in return for money. After the negative impact of marriages with the German people (however, this type of marriage is done only with German women), the payment agreed on is made on installments and the compulsory period of marriage is completed. Once the residence permit is obtained, the procedures and process of divorcing start at the end of the third year of the marriage. During this time period, they say, the people who brought one man from Turkey demand more money than the amount agreed on.

On the other hand one also encounters marriages that are not done in return for money. For example, a Turkish man from Pertek, Tunceli in Turkey who has been living in Ludwigsburg, Germany since the late 1960s invited the researcher one evening to his house for dinner. His story follows; He convinced a friend of his in order to bring his grandson who was at the time 24 years old to Germany and married him to the daughter of his friend who has already acquired German citizenship. This marriage was not done for money. The grand son said that they had some marriage photographs taken in a studio in Turkey. The reason here was that the German authorized bodies required that some photographs be needed as a proof of marriage in order to give visas for acceptance to Germany for the first time (This type of marriage is called reunion of families, and a visa at first is given, and then the visa is prolonged. And the process ends with receipt of the residence permit). The researcher was also told that the

46 same site as above

<sup>45</sup> www.aksiyon.com.tr/detay.php?id=19078 (13.12.2004)

authorized German officers rarely visit the given address and try to see if the family is really living there. Another different story was that of a woman who was from Düzce, Turkey and was also the neighbor of a Turkish host who invited the researcher to dinner in Cologne. The lady from Düzce who lost her husband wanted to bring her daughter to Germany, whom she sent to Turkey in 1980, when she was six years old so that she could start going to school in Turkey, Though the mother strove for bringing her daughter to Germany, she was not able to get a residence permit for her. But she decided to do what she wanted to do when a big economic crisis happened in Turkey in 2001 as a result of which her daughter lost her job in Turkey. However she did not tell her idea to any Turkish citizens. But, she did tell her German boss about the story, and the boss said he will help her. The boss came to Turkey, fulfilled the formalities in a short time and took the daughter to Germany. The age difference of 33-34 years was considered to be problem at the beginning by the Consulate. However, the boss proved that he is a rich man and that this marriage was not done for money. The German authorized officers visited their home after a short while and asked where the lady was (Those Turkish people narrating the story said that the age difference might have drawn attention). However the pictures taken and some underwear for women left in the house beforehand were of great help.

Like Germany, many undocumented migrants, enter Holland on a tourist visa, thus becoming "illegal" residents only after some months. Migrants' relatives or friends usually look after their guests for an initial period. Unemployed "tourists" are also financially dependent on their legal compatriots (Staring, 1998: 232). To secure their position some illegal migrants searches for someone to marry. Some "tourists" mention the fact that Turkish parents ask an unusually high bride price in the case of marriage to an undocumented migrant. (Staring, 1998: 235).

There are also some love marriages between some Turkish people living in Germany and some other Turkish people living in Turkey. The family in whose house I stayed in Köln was such a family. However the wife who was living in Germany did not choose to become a German citizen in order to bring her husband to Germany earlier. On the other hand, another Turkish lady who answered my questions said she had to choose German citizenship in order to bring her boy friend living in Şile, İstanbul to Germany as quickly as possible.

Turks, with whom I have interviewed, argued that German public health service is considered as one factor acquisition of German citizenship. For instance in Köln, one mentioned that his daughter had a serious problem with her hearth that is why he felt obligated to acquire German citizenship. So that he could take advantage of adequate health

service. As it is known, labour migrants usually have the same rights as citizens in the field of health care. The majority of labor migrants in the four countries (Germany, France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands) have had immediate access to the national health care systems, which made them equal to the native population at least on a formal level (Dörr & Faist, 1997: 415).

## Observation Box - 3

## Köln, September 2004

During dinner with one of my hosts who had acquired German citizenship, the topic came to his thoughts on the issue of German citizenship. I asked him about his feelings about his former Turkish citizenship, and whether he regretted having to give it up. He became excited, and started telling me about an incident he had witnessed personally a couple of months ago.

On a trip to the U.S with his wife, my host was making entrance to this country at New York airport. In the line at the entrance there was a man in front who happened to be one of the wealthiest and famous businessmen in Turkey. When the turn came to the businessman, the airport police started asking many questions to him, and the process went on and on. My host, who witnessed this long interview from his line was astonished. His turn came and as a German citizen, he went through the control point in a few seconds. Once he passed the gate and turned around to see the businessman still kept for questions, my host said his feelings at that moment was not only surprise, but also joy. In his own words "a representation of the people who had called people like himself Almanci, and used other derogatory expressions for decades" was treated like a second class guest in a foreign country, while he was respected and had to waste no time in queues. Outside the borders of Turkey being a Turkish elite meant nothing compared to having a German passport, After telling me about this small affair, my host turned to me and said "you see, this is the reason I would never even consider giving up my German passport in favor of Turkish citizenship"<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> "On yıllardır kendilerini *Almancı* ve benzeri ifadelerle tanımlayan insanları temsil eden kişi, yabancı bir ülkede (sınır kapısında) ikinci sınıf insan muamelesi görürken, kendisi hiç vakit kaybetmemiş hatta itibar görmüştür. Türkiye sınırlarının dışında bir Alman pasaportuna sahip olmak, bir Türk eliti olmakla mukayese bile edilemez".

48 "Görüyorsun, işte tam da bu yüzden Alman pasaportumu, Türk vatandaşlığına feda etmeyi düşünmem bile".

Table 19: Reasons of Turkish Women Who Did Not Choose German Citizenship

Reasons of Turkish women who did not choose German citizenship	Number of women declaring the reason
She is aware but she does not need / residence and work permits are enough	11
She finds the fee for application too high	8
She feels she is loyal to Turkey	5
She thinks about returning to Turkey	5
She was not interested / not informed	4
She does not like Germans and Germany	3
Nobody in the family choose / there may be a reaction from the family	2
If she chooses German citizenship she will worry about properties in Turkey	2

More than one point mentioned.

Among the answers Turkish women who have not acquired German citizenship the most major ones are as follows: finding the fee for application too high and being aware of the issue but not feeling the need because they think residence and work permits are enough.

Table 20: Reasons of Turkish Men Who Did not Choose German Citizenship

Reasons of Turkish men who did not choose German citizenship	Number of men declaring the reason
He is aware but he does not need / residence and work permits are enough	11
He feels he is loyal to Turkey / he defines himself nationalist	11
He finds the fee for application too high	10
He was not interested / not informed	5
He does not like Germans and Germany	3
He applied but was rejected	3
He has not thought about it but will apply	2
He thinks about returning to Turkey	2
If he chooses German citizenship he will worry about properties in Turkey	2

More than one point mentioned.

Among the answers Turkish men who have not acquired German citizenship the most major ones are as follows: finding the fee for application too high and being aware of the issue but not feeling the need because they think residence and work permits are enough. They also have indicated the factor of feeling loyal to Turkey and defining themselves nationalist.

One of the most declared factor is "He feels he is loyal to Turkey / he defines himself nationalist". But we cannot associate the concept of nationalism carried through this factor with the concept of nationalism in political terms as voting for nationalist party during the elections. Moreover the research made by Faruk Şen and Andreas Humpert in which 1006 interviews were conducted about the political tendency of those who have not acquired German citizenship, justifies the above idea. One of the major questions asked during the research was "which party would you vote for if you had the opportunity to take part in the elections in Turkey?" The result indicates that the vote ratio for nationalist party is not outstanding at all.

...The Turkish citizens are deprived of the right to vote for local and national elections. Although being deprived of political rights is important from the standpoint of being an active member of a democratic society, it has not been a sufficient reason for most of the Turkish people to change citizenship (Nielsen, 2002: 43).

The reasons indicated here are worthwhile in that they are the expressions of those who feel loyal to the motherland. Being loyal to the motherland is an important part of the identity of the young Turkish people. The young Turkish men who have the feeling of being excluded in the Diaspora see Turkey as a shelter (Kaya, 2000: 138). Exposure to exclusion and to hostility toward foreigners evokes feelings of belonging. This feeling of belonging integrates with the national identity. According to the results of a research made in the near past, 70.9 % of those who were unwilling to change citizenship gave the reason that they want to keep their national identity<sup>49</sup>. For many Turkish people changing citizenship means giving up the ties with the motherland. Another important reason for the rejection of changing citizenship is not identifying with the new society. In other words, the official relationship between the citizen and the state is considered to be equal with other ethnical and political ties and relations (Nielsen, 2002: 43).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Auslander (March 1997), Daten und Frakten zur Auslandersituation, 16. Auflage, Bonn, p.26.

Under the exploitation of the capitalistic regime of Europe and against the racist Neo-fascist pressures, the worker who defends himself becomes more and more nationalistic and religious than he would be in Turkey (Vassaf, 1983: 68). As Vassaf indicated above, the instinct of keeping the self and the identity may become an emotional barrier to changing citizenship especially from the point of view of the first generation of Turkish migrants. The head of the family who considers the values and life style of the society he is living within to be a threat for his own family may not welcome the idea of changing citizenship, because changing citizenship is in a way another face of the threat.

It is a widely known fact that the gatherings of the Turkish societies in Europe are usually held around mosques. Those who do not visit mosques for praying in Turkey started going to mosques at least from time to time (say, in religious feasts) for their own social and psychological needs.

Another subject emphasized by those Turkish men and women who did not acquire German citizenship is that they formed reactions against Germany and Germans as a result of what they experienced in the society. Such people normally give more importance to their own identity and show it in various ways. These ways of showing their own identity are commonly seen especially among young Turkish people. Some of them show their Sunni or Shiite identities in the foreground, and some others make up rap groups and sing songs which sound like the Afro-American songs made for protesting against racial discrimination (Nielsen, 2002).

It is not surprising that the Turkish citizens living in Germany speak out against Germany and Germans. It is a known reality that the Turkish citizens in Germany are from time to time exposed to discrimination. For example, some Turkish children are sent without much consideration to Sonderschule, a school for those who have difficulties in understanding and learning, after some IQ tests prepared by Germans or some Turkish children are ground in the German education system or some of them are kept from progressing. However no other discrimination or hidden / open hostility have left as deep scarves as the sabotages in Solingen and Moelln in 1992 and 1993. (Ms. Margret Spohn, the intercultural affairs representative of the Federal Republic of Bavaria mentioned "hidden racism" against the foreigners especially the Turkish people living in Germany when the researcher talked to her). Therefore the hostility against foreigners showed an increase causing many foreigners to lose their lives. Moreover, even though it is not spoken out, some German authorities, especially some politicians support these actions against foreigners with the hope that such actions will force the foreigners to return to their motherlands (Yalçın, 2004: 9).

During the research we have heard from many Turkish people (it does not matter if he/she acquired German citizenship or not) that there is a discrimination against them. I personally encountered very few Turkish people who did not speak about this subject. Most of the people said it is the liability of the German authorities and the German society on the whole. Very few Turkish citizens or German citizens of the Turkish origin said there was little discrimination and that it is not worth talking about. Some of these people said the liability of discrimination lies with the actions of the Turkish citizens. Researcher Enis Tütüncü's approach to the subject draws attention:

The major problem that the Turkish society in Germany encounters in the daily life is discrimination. Although a new policy has been applied to prevent such happenings after the German Social Democrat Party and the Greens came to power, there are still important happenings. Those happenings and applications of discrimination encountered during the daily life are sometimes more effective and permanent than the decision made by authorized official bodies. The burden of this is especially on the second and third generations. The young generations who have a higher level of education and can speak German with no accent want to draw attention to the subject<sup>50</sup>.

I want to mention more about the fact that most Turks living in Germany always claim about, the "discrimination". It does not matter that one acquired German citizenship or not, most Turks usually have talked about discrimination they face every single day. There are many examples that I have heard during my field research. To be more objective I want to pay attention to what Özdemir has mentioned. The examples Cem Özdemir gives about the discriminative attitudes foreigners receive in Germany are prevailing. Following is from the results of a research ILO (International Labor Organization) carried out in 1996; "The foreigners should take into consideration that they are in a disadvantageous place in employment comparing to German workers. Non-Germans are mostly rejected in service sector, banking, industry sectors and finally customer related off office works", Özdemir says that even he has become the victim of discrimination while dealing with car insurance or renting a house. "Especially young people have to face many problems every day. They are not accepted into the discos. The excuse for this can mostly be the dress code or drunkness, however, there can also be some other reasons lying behind. They are rejected for being lonely 'men', that is 'foreigners'. Moreover, there is often a quota for foreigners. Once the percent of the foreigner customers reach up to 10, 20 or 25, no other foreigners are allowed inside (1999: 246). Özdemir adds; "Discrimination and racism cannot be avoided with a German passport" (1999: 245).

<sup>50</sup> www.enistutuncu.nom.tr/hedefler/hedef2/hedef26/hedef26 5.asp

Probably a kind of prejudice of German media is the cause for that discrimination. In its 14 April 1997 issue, *Der Spiegel*, a prominent liberal weekly magazine, denounced the foreigners in the country as dangerously alien and as the cause of the failure of multicultural society in Germany. In the magazine, Turkish youth in Germany is represented as criminals, fundamentalists, nationalists and traumatized (Kaya, 2002: 39). The prejudice Turks have to put up with has its basis from late 1960s and early 1970s when the immigration accelerated. The reason for that prejudice must have been the way Turks were regarded; mere labor force, not a social being with human needs. Swiss writer Max Frisch articulates the situation with his famous words that indicate the overall understanding of all politicians about the issue in early 1970s: "We wanted a labor force, but instead we got human beings" <sup>51</sup>.

I have heard many stories from people I met about their lives in Germany and the process plus the reasons for the acquisition of German citizenship. I would like to share some of them here:

Bayram (a 40-year-old male in Stuttgart)

In 1994 me and my Italian girlfriend, who is now my wife, decided to go to Turkey on vacation. There were Spanish, Greek and German friends in our group whom I had known for years. Our plane landed in Antalya Dalaman airport. I was the only Turk among the passengers who had got the package tour. Everyone could pass through the passport control without having any problem. When it was my turn to show my passport, the police officer told me that I had a problem concerning my military obligations. I had already done military service according to the law for Turkish citizens living abroad. When I insisted on the subject some other police officers approached us. They took me to a separate room. My girl friend came with me. I would have never expected what had happened in that room. As I was trying to clear the misunderstanding, explaining myself, the police officers beat me in front of my girl friend. It was obvious that my only mistake was to be a Turk, very happy to have been back to his own beloved country. Having gone through this unbelievable experience, I applied for German citizenship as the first thing as soon as I got back to Germany<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Gürsoy, A. 1992, "Introduction", in *Please, No Police*, by Ören Aras, Center for Middle Eastern Studies at The University of Texas at Austin, p.xiv.

<sup>52 &</sup>quot;1994 yılında, şu anda eşim olan, İtalyan kız arkadaşımla birlikte Türkiye'ye tatile gitmeye karar verdik. İçinde bulunduğumuz arkadaş grubunda, uzun yıllardan bu yana tanıştığım İspanyol, Yunan ve Alman arkadaşlarım vardı. Uçağımız Antalya Dalaman Havaalanına indi. Uçakta paket tur ile seyahat eden yolcular arasında tek Türk yolcu bendim. Tüm yolcular herhangi bir sorun yaşamadan pasaport kontrolünden geçti. Sıra bana geldiğinde ise görevli polis memuru, askerlik yükümlülüğüm ile ilgili bir sorun olduğunu söyledi. Oysa askerlik hizmetimi, yurtdışında yaşayan Türk vatandaşlarına yönelik çıkarılan kanunlar çerçevesinde yerine getirmiştim. Bu konuda ısrar edince yanımıza başka polis memurlarıda geldi. Beni içerde başka bir odaya götürdüler. Kız arkadaşım da benimle birikte geldi. O odada neler yaşayacağımı tahmin edemezdim. Kendi durumumu açıklamaya ve bir yanlış anlaşılma olduğunu anlatmaya çalışırken, odada ki polislerden biri bana tokat atıp vurmaya başladı. Benim tek hatam bir Türk olmak ve tatil için ülkeme gelmekten son derece mutluluk duymamdı. Bu inanılmaz tecrübeden sonra, Almanya'ya döner dönmez ilk işim Alman vatandaşlığına başvurmak oldu".

# Mustafa (a 28-year-old male in Köln)

I went to Turkey on vacation with my family two years ago. We had a traffic accident on the road between Gümüşhane and Bayburt. My elder brother was severely injured but as there was no ambulance or any other kind of help, we had to carry him to the public hospital in Gümüşhane. Nobody took any care of us or my injured brother. We must have showed that we were coming from Germany, the doctors in charge asked for bribe to treat my brother. We would certainly not experience such a thing in Germany. We realized how lucky we were to be living in Germany and how unlucky our friends in Turkey were. As a result I acquired German citizenship, because I was and am still sure that German state will take care of her citizens all around the world<sup>53</sup>.

I have heard many complaints about Turkish consulates and other Turkish official agencies from almost everyone that I spoke to during the field research. I believe that this issue is a hidden as well as a very obvious factor which triggers the decision making process of the acquisition to German citizenship. The point is, even though I have clearly explained my interest and the aim of my research, the Turkish citizens deliberately spoke out their grievances. Since I was a Turkish citizen doing a research on this special topic they wanted to share their complaints and wanted me to underline it specifically. It was one of the rare issues that everyone had a certain negative experience. They kept moaning about the rigid and troublesome process in the consulates. Elders, on the other hand, stated that everything had been even worse in the past. However positive progresses have been made.

Finally I would like to quote Miriam Feldblum, the writer of the article "Citizenship Matters: Contemporary Trends in Europe and in the United States"; Feldblum says that for many foreigners and immigrants, the goal is permanent residency; not citizenship<sup>54</sup>. No matter where you were born or raised, to belong is what makes you who you are. All in all, what matters are not the etiquette, but the identity and dignity that identity will bring along. In twenty-first century, when "globalization" has become a true life story, the will to "fit in" is the essential human right for everyone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> "İki yıl önce (2002) ailem ile birlikte Türkiye'ye tatile gittim. Gümüşhane-Bayburt karayolunda bir trafik kazası geçirdik. Abim ciddi bir şekilde yaralandı. Ambulans gelmediği için, onu Gümüşhane Devlet Hastanesine biz taşımak zorunda kaldık. Ağır yaralı abimle hastanede kimse ilgilenmedi. Almancı olduğumuz anlaşılmış olmalı ki, doktorlar bizden abimle ilgilenmek için rüşvet istediler. Böyle bir şeyi biz Almanya'da hiçbir zaman yaşamadık. Almanya'da yaşadığımız için ne kadar şanslı olduğumuzu düşünürken, Türkiye'de yaşayan yakınlarımızın o derece şanssız olduklarını düşündük. Sonuçta, Alman vatandaşlığına geçtim çünkü hem geçmişte hem de şimdi Alman devletinin dünyanın her yerinde, kendi vatandaşlarıyla ilgileneceğine inanıyorum".

The whole document is available at site http://www.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-2/feldblum.html

# 3.1 Another Study Related to the Acquisition of a Foreign Country's Citizenship: The Melbourne and Stockholm Surveys

İçduygu conducted a research concerning changing citizenship strategies by immigrants in Melbourne and Stockholm. The data were collected between 1987 and 1990 from interviews with 276 immigrants in Melbourne, a city which has been a primary destination for more than half the Turkish migrants to Australia. The Swedish survey data were obtained in 1991 from interviews with 297 immigrants in Stockholm where lives almost three-fifths of Sweden's Turkish community (İçduygu, 1996: 260-261).

Although most Turkish migrants tended to regard their stay in Australia and Sweden as temporary, only a few had actually returned to Turkey. This suggest that while migrants willingness to go back to Turkey remains alive in their minds, Turkish settlement in both countries has been characterized by a transition from temporary sojourn to unintended settlement (İçduygu, 1993: 76; 1994: 82). There is no doubt that becoming a citizen in the host country plays a very important strategic role within the context of this transition. When asked when and why they decided to become citizen, more than two-thirds of those interviewed in Melbourne and over one half of those interviewed in Stockholm stated that their decisions on citizenship were related to their decisions concerning permanent settlement (İçduygu, 1996: 262).

İçduygu points that according to the Melbourne survey, among those who were eligible to become Australian citizens 63 percent had taken out Australian citizenship at the time of interview in 1987. Apart from those who were already Australian citizens, 15 percent declared their intentions to become citizens and another 8 percent stated that they had already applied for citizenship. The Stockholm survey indicated that the proportion of Turkish-born persons with Swedish citizenship was 39 percent, only 3 percent stated that intentions to become citizens. Despite the time gap between these two surveys, the higher figures for the Melbourne survey were due to mainly to the differences between the immigration, settlement and consequent citizenship policies in Australia and Sweden (İçduygu, 1996: 262)<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> The mixed results on impact of duration of residence on the likelihood of citizenship acquisition were due to partly to the fact that characteristics of the two migrant populations were different. For example, being village-born and having limited formal education were more charachteristics of early Turkish immigrants in Sweden than those in Australia. Village-born immigrants with limited formal education were less likely to become citizens than those who were city-born with high levels of schooling. Similarly, later immigrants in Sweden were mostly refugees and therefore more likely to become citizens than early economic immigrants...Those who migrated (to both countries) at a younger age were more likely to become citizens than those who were older. Similarly, urban background higher levels of schooling, white-collar occupation and high levels of language skill were positively related to acquisiton of citizenship (İçduygu, 1996: 263).

Table 21: Reasons for Taking or Not Taking Citizenships: Melbourne and Stockholm Surveys (per cent distribution)<sup>56</sup>

Reasons	Percentage	
	Australia	Sweden
Those who had taken citizenship or intended to take it		
Taking a decision of permanent settlement	21	5
To be able to use the citizenship rights, in the country where they live, such as voting	21	15
To make the future of their children easy and comfortable in the receiving country	13	25
To have better job opportunities	7	14
To be able to live in both receiving and sending countries without having visa problems	23	34
To be able to travel around the world without having visa problems	9	3
Others	6	4
Total Number	100 237	100 131
Those who had no intention of taking citizenship		
No benefit from it	33	25
Because intending to go back home permanently	21	32
Feeling of forfeiting some rights in Turkey	23	21
Feeling of being a Turk rather than an Australian or Swede	18	20
Others	5	2
Total Number	100 39	100 167

Ahmet İçduygu, "Temporariness versus permanence: Changing nature of the Turkish immigrant settlements in Australia and Sweden", paper presented at the 22<sup>nd</sup> General Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 24 August-01 September 1993, Montreal, Canada.

## 3.2 House Ownership

Housing for immigrants has received much more attention than problems of old-age insurance or health care. Housing generally is regarded as crucially important for the social situation and integration of migrants. Deficits in the area of housing lead to reductions in the quality of life and diminishing opportunities in such areas as employment and education (Dörr, Faist, 1997: 416).

Owning a house in Germany is a major aim for the Turks living in Germany, whether or not he/she is German citizen. The reason for this is to feel secure in foreign land. Turks living in Germany prefer to buy houses on mortgage system with 20 year debts. Turks would rather own houses than pay rents for years and years which would cost them almost the same amount.

Table 22: House Ownership

House owner who acquired German citizenship 21 people	Tenants who acquired citizenship 38 people
House owners who have not become  German citizens  18 people	Tenants who have not become German citizens 56 people

TAM (Center for Turkish Studies) has made studies about the opportunities for Turkish citizens living in European Union countries, especially in Germany, to buy property. However, these studies take the issue as a display of the economic power and the permanency of Turkish citizens in Germany. The reasons for Turkish citizens to buy property in Germany can be a study subject. It is a known fact that Turkish citizens buy these properties by getting into debt to be paid back in 15 to 20 years. It is a wonder to think whether the reality that lies behind the reasons for the will of Turkish citizens to buy property is their fear that their landlord will one day fire them and as a consequence they will be exiled from Germany, losing their rights of residence, "Anmeldung"; it is a must to officially declare an address to have the residence permit. This obligation has given way to a new sector; some Turks and Turkish associations, and mosques have divided the guesthouses within the buildings or houses into separate sections to rent for a cheap price.

# 3.3 Financial Savings

When the interviewees were asked the above given questions some citizens asked the researcher about the criterion of savings in terms of the amount of savings. The criterion is left up to the interviewee. Some of our citizens asked whether the savings of the family or the interviewee's savings are the subject of the question. In such cases the criterion depends on whether the interviewee lives alone or lives with his family or with other relatives in addition to his family. Also the interfamily relationships and sharing of the income of the family must also be taken into consideration, because, even if the person spends all his personal earnings, he may have answered this question taking into consideration the support from the family or the earnings of the whole family he lives with.

Table 23: Financial Saving

Those who acquired German citizenship and could make savings  25 Male  14 Female	Those who are still Turkish citizens and could save  13 Male 7 Female
Those who acquired German citizenship but could not save 15 Male 14 Female	Those who are still Turkish citizens and could not save 27 Male 20 Female

The researcher aimed at finding out the savings of the interviewee himself, if he has made any. On the other hand the aim of asking this question was to evaluate the framework within which the economic and social status of the interviewee lies, rather than to try to find a direct relation between the earnings and the acquisition of German citizenship.

On the total 38 men and 21 women of the interviewees who answered this question said they could make savings. Those who said they could not make savings are 42 men and 34 women on the total. When the 136 interviewees who answered this question and the answers are compared, it is seen that the rate of those who could make savings is 43 %, and the rate of those who could not save is 56 %.

## 3.4 Returning to Motherland

"In my opinion the question of whether or not Germany should become a country of migrants has no relation to the reality. At least the fact that there are people like me in this country already shows that this country has been a country of migrants since there has been migration to this country for the last forty years, even though it is not said as clearly as this. This country has changed. To my generation and to those who came afterwards it is a motherland. The country of our ancestors has become the second motherland. This change cannot be reversed any longer" (Özdemir, 1999: 256).

There are no women who want to return to Turkey among the Turkish people who acquired German citizenship. The answer of one man who gave a reply as this was not persuasive, because at first he said he does not want to go back to Turkey, however he changed his mind when he noticed that the researcher was recording the interview and said to the researcher "you write down what I last said".

Table 24: Returning to Motherland

Those Turks who acquired German citizenship and who want to return to Turkey	Those who are still Turkish citizens and who want to return to Turkey
3 Male	17 Male
(No woman gave such an answer)	9 Female
Those who acquired German citizenship and who do not want to return to Turkey	Those who are still Turkish citizens and who do not want to return to Turkey
31 Male 20 Female	28 Male 19 Female

The answers of two men who are still Turkish citizens and who want to return to Turkey were not found sincere. Three women said they would return to Turkey, but this would take some five-six years. The reason they gave was the education of their children. This explanation of the women interviewed (those who were married) may be a projection of the decisions made or to be made by the family.

The desire and thought of the Turkish people living in Germany to return to Turkey was insistently taken up in this research because it is thought to be directly related with the decision and process of acquiring German citizenship. Not only the interviewees but also all the Turkish people who were met during the travels, in football matches, cafes, talks and chatters in groups, in short all the people in every setting where there was mutual communication were asked the same question "Will you return to Turkey one day?".

Contrary to the first years of migration, as many academicians and researchers note, the desire of the Turkish workers in Germany to return to Turkey has weakened over the years. This reality is commented on by Cemal Yalçın as follows: "Most of the Turkish people who

live in Western countries have left aside the thoughts of returning to the motherland. It is known that they have given up the idea of evaluating their investments in Turkey, which they used to evaluate in the motherland (such investments as houses, building plots, fields, or bank deposits). As the number of people increased who think that investing their money in houses, building plots and land in a country where they would stay for a couple of weeks in a year is not a good idea, it can be foreseen that in a near future, the ties of the Turkish people living abroad will weaken" (Yalçın, 2004: 179). The fact that the life conditions and standards (such as better education, social security, health services, unemployment fee) in the countries where they live are better than those in Turkey make the Turkish people living in those countries think about returning to Turkey once again (Yalçın, 2004: 240). For those Turks living abroad, returning to Turkey may indicate different meanings according to the distance between where they live and motherland Turkey. The distance between Turkey and European continent is not as long as United States and Australia for example. As İçduygu points out, it can be said that because their original aspiration was to be guest workers, the myth of return remained alive in their minds for a long time, and because the long distance between Turkey and Australia limited frequency of visiting home, this myth became stronger (İçduygu, 1994: 79).

The petroleum crisis in 1973 caused many workers to lose their jobs in Germany, and as a result, the German government had to take some measures against the waves of workers migrating into the country. Despite these measures the migration of workers did not stop. On the contrary more and more migrants began to come to the country. Between 1973 and 1984 the Turkish population in Germany increased by one million and became more than one and a half million. This sharp increase is also seen in other Western European countries. However the increase in the Turkish population in other Western European countries was not as sharp as it is in Germany. The main reason for this increase in migration is the reunion of families. In other words the workers who went abroad leaving their wives and children in Turkey years ago postponed the idea of returning to the motherland or gave up returning and decided to bring their families to the countries where they lived. Another factor contributing to the population increase is that those workers who went abroad as bachelors started getting married to Turkish girls in Turkey and took them to the country where they were living (Yalçın, 2004: 136).

The fundamental feature of the worker migration to Germany is that most of the workers left their wives and children in Turkey and went there alone. One of the main reasons for this was that they intended to stay and work there for a short time and then return to Turkey after having sufficient savings (Yalçın, 2004: 134).

The idea of returning to the homeland after making sufficient savings (a certain amount of bank deposits, the purchase of a building plot or a field for agricultural purposes, a sum of money sufficient to run a small business, etc.) was really very strong at the beginning. However, as time passed, factors such as children growing and going to school in Germany and wishing to live there made them postpone their ideas of returning. Therefore this migration of workers which was planned to be temporary at the beginning ended up in some cases with alienation of the workers (Yalçın, 2004: 21).

As mentioned in earlier sections, the Turkish citizens were asked what they thought about returning to Turkey. Most of them replied that they do not have the intention of returning. Some of them said they intend to return but they had not yet decided when. Therefore, I find it useful to look at the subject from a different point of view. When a relative of our citizens in Germany dies there, they have to incur very high expenses in order to take the dead person to Turkey. Somehow they do not find it suitable to bury them in Germany. During the recent years there have been rumors that the German authorities will spare room for Turks in the German graveyards. This has been realized. And when I asked our citizens about the subject, some said they did not know about it. However, during the field research, the Turkish people from the community of the mosque of Yavuz Selim in Ludwigsburg, the smallest city that I visited in Germany said that the local municipal administration gives importance to the sensitivity felt by the Turkish people on the subject. In this city, part of the new graveyard is spared for the Turkish people. (The martyrdom is in a separate part of the graveyard, divided into three separate parts, and each of the parts here has entrances independent from each other. The first part of the graveyard is called the old graveyard where those who died before the First World War were buried. The second part is spared for those soldiers from Ludwigsburg who were killed in the First and Second World Wars. In the part which is called the new graveyard lie those who died after 1915. The most interesting part that draws attention about this graveyard is that some part of it is spared for Jewish people.) I went to visit this graveyard to see the part spared for the Turkish people. There were no graves of mature Turkish people. I only saw graves of the offspring who died during birth or at a very young age. I think there is a psychological reason for this.

Such acts of the Turkish people as sending money to the motherland, purchasing real estate in Turkey, or sending their children to Turkey so that they could go to school in the motherland depended on the assumption that one day they would return to the motherland. However, today, the relations between the motherland and the country

## 3.5 Findings of Two Researches on Economic Situation, Thoughts on Issues Concerning Citizenship, Their Past, Present, and Future of Turks Living in Germany

The confederation of German Trade Unions made a contribution to a research study on poverty in the year 2001<sup>57</sup>. The aim of the research study was to identify and point to the problems of and issues relating to the migrant workers in Germany. The fundamental aim of the research was to find an answer to the question of whether the first generation migrant workers were exposed to the danger of poverty when they become old. In this study, especially the results of the research study and the definitions of poverty in Germany in general terms are compared. The content and comprehension of the research study was determined by IG Metall - Commission of foreigners. According to the results of this research study on 129 Turkish workers who were members of IG Metall and who were over 55 years of age, only eight percent of the workers with whom the interview was realized said that they want to return to Turkey. The reasons indicated by the remaining 92 percent attract attention. The reasons they gave was that a) the other members of the family are living in Germany, b) the social security and health system in Germany is better than the one in Turkey, c) Germany is now considered to be the second motherland, and d) the economic conditions and welfare is better in Germany.

The ratio of the 100 people out of the 129 people that were interviewed who acquired German citizenship was only 19 percent. Of these 19 people 36.8 percent indicated that the easiness and quickness of the solution of problems and issues at the state and governmental offices and less bureaucracy are the most effective reasons for them choosing the German citizenship. 26.3 percent said the only advantage of the German citizenship is the freedom of travel in the European Union countries with no need for visas. One fifth of those who acquired German citizenship indicated that this did not make a noteworthy change in their lives. According to them they are still considered to be "foreigners with black heads". 81 people did not choose German citizenship for various reasons. According to 40.74 percent, they are now old people, and there is no need any longer for such a change. However, the succeeding generations and their children and grandchildren should make use of this opportunity, and must absolutely choose German citizenship. This way their children can

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> www2.igmetall.de/homepages/ kiel/file\_uploads/altersarmuttr.doc (07.08.2004)

have the rights that they were themselves deprived of, and can have better status in the society, thus having the society accept them. The ratio of those who see no good to becoming German citizens in principal independently of age is 16.04 percent, and the people interviewed indicated that, in their opinion, there is no way to prevent the unfair behavior and prejudice of the German people. 12 percent of the people interviewed said they had not thought about the subject at all and another 12 percent said that they did not choose the German citizenship because they did not want to lose their rights and possessions in Turkey.

91 percent of those people who participated in the survey were tenants. Of the 100 people interviewed 72 percent indicated that they have health problems. The most common health problems are heart diseases, blood circulation problems, and problems relating to the skeleton, that is to say, problems relating to the movement system of the body, which have maybe arisen out of such heavy working conditions as heavy industrial work in, for example, steel mills. Other commonly seen diseases are breathing system problems and rheumatism.

The results of this research reveal that there is no direct relationship between the acquisition of German citizenship and the intention of returning to Turkey permanently, when the research results and the findings obtained in the field survey are interpreted together. Also there is no direct relation between possessing a house in Germany and the acquisition of the German citizenship. In fact, those migrants who do not have houses are thought to be more eager to obtain the citizenship of the country they live in, because, when they look for houses for themselves, it may give them an advantage that they do not own houses.

The second research that I would like to draw your attention to is conducted in the summer of 2001, by the Konrad-Adenauer foundation which realized the first face-to-face survey on the attitude of the Turkish people living in Germany towards the society and the state. The survey which was realized on 326 people and which had a qualitative nature showed the differences between the Turkish people who acquired the German citizenship and those Turkish people who were still Turkish citizens. Of the people interviewed during the survey 61 percent was of Turkish nationality and 30 percent had already acquired the German citizenship. At the time when the face-to-face interviews were realized, the ratio of those who had double citizenship was seven percent.

At the appraisal stage of this survey, it is noteworthy that the Turkish people who acquired the German citizenship were called "Germans of the Turkish origin". The answers to the questions relating to loyalty were very interesting. Those who still have Turkish citizenship show more loyalty to Turkey (63%), whereas loyalty to Germany is less (45%). As for the

German citizens of the Turkish origin, loyalty to Germany is more (55%) than loyalty to Turkey (45%).

In the general evaluation made after the questions were directed relating to the current social order and structure of Germany and its organizations and the democratic structure, it was seen that the people interviewed said they were happy to live in Germany in spite of the fact that they were exposed to hostility towards foreigners.

The survey also reveals that the Turkish people who acquired German citizenship have stronger inclination of adaptation to the German society than those Turkish people living in Germany who did not choose the German citizenship. What the reasons were can of course not be determined here; whether or not changing citizenship (to German citizenship) plays an important role or whether or not their having high levels of consciousness of adaptation plays a role. But most probably, the two factors strengthen each other mutually (Konrad-Adenauer Foundation, 2002: 16). Again in the appraisal stage it was found out that 11 percent of the Turkish people interviewed applied for acquiring German citizenship, and 48 percent was thinking about application.

The studies conducted by the Confederation of the German Trade Unions, and the one conducted by the German Trade Union of steel and iron mills workers and that conducted by the Conrad-Adenauer Foundation are all in the form of surveys and have the nature of being quantitative. Therefore they were not observations or field works done by way of joining or participating. For this reason it will be of help to approach to these studies with a little precaution. However it will be convenient to speak about these studies here, as there is not much work done on the subject of the Turkish people living in Germany and their acquisition of the German citizenship. Likewise, the study conducted by the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation is noteworthy in that it shows the differences of the views and opinions of the Turkish people who acquired the German citizenship and those who have not acquired the citizenship about the daily life, social order, and the so-called integration process.

The expectations and anticipations about the future of the people interviewed are surprisingly positive. Almost 80 percent has the expectation that their children will have a better future. The ratio of those who are optimistic about their own future is 43 percent, whereas the ratio of those who are anxious about the future is 32 percent. However a differentiation was not made among those people who answered this question as to whether they acquired the German citizenship or not. 70 percent of the people interviewed indicated that they were treated as if they were a second class citizen in Germany. This point may seem contradictory to the positive opinions and evaluations.

The interpretation of the Konrad-Adenauer foundation regarding the replies is that the Turkish people who acquired the German citizenship adapt to the German society in almost all aspects. At this point here it is worth mentioning that there may be a criticism about the field research conducted by the researcher as follows: It is obviously very well known that many members of some Islamic communities acquire the German citizenship. However these people are criticized that they are obviously far from adaptation to the German Society. This fact was observed by the researcher, as well in his travels in Germany in all the interviews both recorded and unrecorded.

Although the Turkish population in Germany is pretty high (approximately two million), there are surprisingly few things known about this community. There is very little data about the German citizens of the Turkish origin. Therefore there exist a very interesting perspective about the Turkish people living in Germany who have not chosen the German citizenship and the German citizens of the Turkish origin (Konrad-Adenauer Foundation, 2002: 23).

Those participants in the survey of Konrad-Adenauer Foundation who acquired the German citizenship define their lives in Germany as being obviously more successful than those Turkish people living in Germany who have not acquired German citizenship. Also according to this research, the relationships of the German citizens of the Turkish origin with Germans in almost every aspect are more heavily felt especially among the people who were interviewed in the research study.

## 3.6 Controversial Situation of Turks Who Have Acquired Turkish Citizenship After the Acquisition of German Citizenship

The current situation in Germany, which German officials are quite strict about, causes difficulty for the Turkish society in Germany and is not particularly pleasant for some of the Turkish citizens in Germany.

German laws, which reject double citizenship principally, have a tough attitude towards people who acquire Turkish citizenship after acquiring German citizenship. The situation will be cleared within the frame of the new law put into force in January 01, 2005. Article 38 of this law is about the citizens in this situation. The section, which is about the residence permit of this article, says that 'People who do not have the German citizenship and are in the foreigner status (these people are dismissed of German citizenship when detected) are allowed to live in Germany legally. Ones who have the residence permit will have the work permit<sup>58</sup>. Lale Akgün, the deputy, says that the procedure for Turkish citizens who are dismissed of

<sup>58</sup> See http://www.ozgur-radyo.de/modules.php for further information. (20/04/2005)

German citizenship to receive their residence and work permits has not been cleared yet. (The foreigners who have lived in Germany for five years without leaving the country have limitless residence permit. In this case, people who acquired double citizenship by acquiring German citizenship -and losing it afterwards - after January 01, 2005 will have first temporary then permanent residence permit)<sup>59</sup>.

Federal Internal Affairs declared that the people who acquire another country's citizenship without informing German offices will certainly be dismissed of German citizenship and stated that 'However, the new Immigration Law guarantees people who have lost their German citizenship by acquiring another citizenship to have residence permit and will make the acquisition of German citizenship easy for them<sup>60</sup>.

During the field research, Turkish citizens questioned the researcher on the subject.

In the explanations Lale Akgün did during the press conference, she stated that the number of Turkish originated people with double passport is about 50,000 according to the latest data, whereas the estimated number was 80 to 100 thousand and added that "German offices receive information during new passport procedures and processes about families. In the new passport procedure, an investigation on the applicant's citizenship position is carried out. A further investigation is made during the process for the new family members who are moving to Germany. Turkey has promised to give Germany all the information about citizens who have double citizenship and after the data transfer this problem occurred.

Double citizenship crisis revealed between Turkey and Germany has also appeared in the state of Bayyera. Gunther Beckstein, Minister of State Internal Affairs said that they had started to send letters to almost 46,000 Turks for double citizenship and these letters had to be responded until June 30. Official process has been started the other day to dismiss the German citizenship of the 'secret double citizens' who are Turkish originated Germans in the state of Bavyera. Gunther Beckstein, Minister of State Internal Affairs organized a press conference in Munich and said that they would send letters to 46,000 Turkish originated Germans after January 01, 1998. Beckstein asked the citizens to respond the letters the latest on June 30, adding that it would be then possible to work over the re-acquisition of the German citizenship. As it is known, the state of North Rhein-Westfalen sent 'hearing letters' to almost 70,000 Turkish originated Germans due to coming elections<sup>61</sup>. Dr. Hakkı Keskin, the general deputy of German Turkish Association, Kenan Kolat, assistant deputy, and Board member Cumali Kangal met with Lutz Diwell, the deputy for Federal Internal Affairs Department, Dr. Gerold Lehnguth, Foreigners Law General Manager and Hans Josef Stein, Citizenship Affairs General Manager on Monday, January 10. The aim of this meeting and the following ones is to solve or minimize the results of the legal problems faced by Turkish citizens who acquired Turkish citizenship after January 01, 2000. thus lost German citizenship.

Decisions taken are as follow;

<sup>61</sup> Newspaper, Özgür Politika, 28 April 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> http://www.ozgur-radyo.de/modules.php for further information. (20/04/2005)

<sup>60</sup> Same web site

- 1) Almost 50,000 Turkish citizens are about to lose their German citizenship automatically by acquiring Turkish citizenship after January 01, 2000.
- 2) German Turkish Association has asked for Turkish citizens who applied to acquire Turks citizenship before January 01, 2000 to remain their double citizenship depending on the equality principle.
- 3) The issue of residence permits of the citizens who have lost their German citizenship is dealt in the meeting. It is agreed that besides the rights article 38 of the new Immigration Law gives, the decisions (1/80) taken in Turkey-EU Partnership Treaty are valid, too, and people in the mentioned position will have their residence permits without having any problems.
- 4) There is a common agreement on the easiness of the conditions for the acquisition of the German citizenship by the ones who have lost it. The ministry has promised to deal with the issue in the meetings with states. German Turkish Association clearly indicates that the residence permits will not be cancelled or Turkish citizens will not be deported depending on the rights given by the Turkey-EU Partnership Treaty and stated that there should be no worries about the issue<sup>62</sup>.

The notice for 50,000 German-Turkish citizens with dual citizenship finished on June 30, the ones who have lost their right for German citizenship can apply for their previous residence and work permits<sup>63</sup>. Turkish foreign representatives should not have accepted back the Turkish citizens who had acquired German citizenship. As a result many Turks will not be able to vote in the coming elections. German general election in the year 2006 is closely related to the situation of Turks in Germany. Because the opposition party leader Angela Merkel says that she would dismiss all the Turks, who gained the right to have dual citizenship since 1986, from German citizenship<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Available at site, http://www.tgsh.de/turkce/hauptinhalt.php3 (05 May, 2005)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Newspaper Cumhuriyet, 01 July 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Donat, Yavuz, Newspaper Sabah, 24 April 2005.

#### 4 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of global economical stillness felt in almost everywhere in the world, it can be clearly suggested that the economical conditions in Germany are not heart calming. Turkish citizens who live in Germany obviously see the hard situation both Germany and Turkey are in and thus are struggling to maintain their current circumstances. With the hardening life standards which is especially caused by the use of "Euro", the common currency for European Union countries, and the serious perplexity of unemployment seem to have had a lot of impact on Turkish citizens living in Germany<sup>65</sup>. On the other hand, as the advanced communication devices provide Turkish citizens with the latest news from their homeland instantly, they have developed an impulse for protecting what they have in hand, thus they can be quite negative to the demand of the researcher who comes up to them with a will for an interview. The reason is the researcher is associated with the government, and is mostly regarded as an official with papers in his hand, in which case the researcher has difficulty reaching the target group.

The matter which should certainly be pointed out here is the fear that the Turkish citizens feel for their future and the impulse for remaining their current situation as it is, as they are quite aware of the tough financial standing of their two homelands and the constantly increasing ratio of unemployment in both countries. These people had already been affected by the change created by the accession of Euro, and now they are almost hopeless about the circumstances in Turkey so that they have been hesitant in the many matters of the daily life. For instance, they can even be hesitant about meeting a stranger who talks in their mother tongue, but who also requires to have an interview. This is not something personal. For the last 40 years, the Turkish citizens in West Germany have been trying to survive under difficult conditions and thus, feelings such as mistrust and insecurity have absolutely had a bad impact on their psychology.

Many researchers and politicians focusing on the situation in Germany have commented on the less number of people acquiring the foreign citizenship as a result of the hard procedure. Until the changes made in 1991 and 2000, the criteria for acquisition of the citizenship depended on ius sanguinis (blood relation) and the application procedures were quite difficult.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Out of 1065 Turkish informants 808 informants declared that the European Union's legal tender "Euro" affected them negatively. For more information see: Euro-Turks: A bridge, or a breach, between Turkey and the European Union," project. It is a quantitative and qualitative project based on field research and structured interviews in Germany and France. Lead by Kaya and Kentel from İstanbul Bilgi University, Centre for Migration Research, Department of International Relations.

However, the reality is more complicated, because no matter what ius sanguinis principle said, more than 10% of the Turks in Germany had had the right to acquire the German citizenship in the past 10 years. Similarly, many Turks in Denmark and Holland did not acquire citizenship not because they were not allowed to, but because they did not want to. So, how come the result turns out this way although the two third of these people are raised outside Turkey? There are a lot of personal reasons; however, one of the general factors is the fact that the passport is regarded as an 'umbilical cord' tied to the homeland. In other words, as the research shows, the major reason why Turks do not acquire the citizenship of the hosting country is because they cannot have double citizenship. Countries such as Germany, Denmark and Holland request the elimination of the Turkish passport from the applicant. Turkey did not allow double citizenship until 1995. In June 1995, the Turks living in Europe were encouraged to change citizenship by the government allowing double citizenship with an alteration in the Constitution. Thus the Turks could still remain their Turkish citizenship by first acquiring German citizenship, then applying for Turkish citizenship.

Indeed, the real obstacle for many Turkish citizens acquiring the German citizenship is neither the German laws, nor the Turkish laws; the real obstacle is their wish to keep their Turkish citizenship and their passports with the moon and star symbols of the Turkish flag.

During the field research, many outstanding dialogues were made between the researcher and the participants. Some of these dialogues are about the process of acquisition of the German citizenship, however, many ideas and conversations were exchanged about the daily life in Germany. One of the topics was about "Sonderschule", a school for "mentally challenged children" which most of the Turkish kids in Germany are sent; massacre of intelligence is in charge affecting the children of working class in countries such as Germany. I believe that it is an outrage to block a child's education by forcing him or her to attend schools for the mentally handicapped just because they do not fulfill the norms of another culture or they have problems expressing themselves in an another language than their mother tonque. The researcher feels amazed and sad with the idea when a father says that he would apply for German citizenship to change the discriminative attitude his kid receives as a Turkish kid at school. During the 84 day stay in the country for the field research aimed to find out the reasons and the process of acquisition of the German citizenship by the Turkish citizens living in Federal Germany, 134 recorded interviews were made. Meanwhile, the researcher was invited to a Turkish wedding, thus, had the chance to make observations there. Along with Turkish friends, the researcher traveled to Köln, Mannheim and Siegen to see

three official football matches. An appointment was made with Dr. Margret Spohn<sup>66</sup> from Bavyera State Intercultural Relations Department (Stelle für Interkulturelle Zusammenarbeit München) in Munich and her opinions about the research were received. A visit was paid to Turkish Embassy in Berlin and an appointment was made with Dr. O. Can Ünver, Work and Social Security consultant (Botschaftsrat-Arbeit und Soziale Sicherheit). He was spoken about the research and his valuable ideas were received about the 'immigration law' officially published in Federal Official Newspaper after having been voted and accepted in Federal Parliament in June 30, 2004 and in Federal Representatives Parliament in July 09, 2004 and will come into force on January 01, 2005. In extension of the research, Center for Turkish Studies (Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien) in Essen was visited and from the various publications of this center, the ones regarding this research were taken.

From north to south, the field research continued in Berlin, Hannover, Köln, Frankfurt, Ludwigsburg, Stuttgart and Munich. Mosques of various foundations were visited and interviews were made. Turks in Germany often meet in Turkish coffeehouses. Many efficient talks occurred in these coffeehouses about the research, the Turkish society existing in Germany and many other topics. Conversation like talks with individuals and groups took place in these places without any written documentation, thus without a record during the talk but some notes afterwards. Much information was gripped from these conversations. "Imported bride-imported grooms", "illegal immigration", "illegal work-schwarz work" are some examples of the daily life instances which were both witnessed and heard about. Information received through interviews and group conversations were transferred to other Turkish citizens and different views were asked about the problems Turkish people face in Germany and their solutions were discussed. The researcher was accepted within the 'field' with the helps of friends who can also be regarded as contacts. Many views were exchanged about the Turkish society in Germany with people in coffeehouses, university canteens, beer houses and parks. The researcher accompanied Turkish citizens he met to many places; to a graveyard or to a swimming pool.

I believe that my close relations with the Turkish community in Germany have been one of the strong points of this research. It has prowled access to various areas of immigrants' life in Germany. As a son of a migrant family (through the Turkish migrant eyes), they approached me positively and welcomed me in their daily life, sharing with me their sincere opinions about various issue. On the other hand, as a person from Turkey I was never really one of them. The fact also contributed to the research. It is my belief that members of the Turkish

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Margret Spohn's book *Her Şey Türk İşi-Almanların TürklerHakkında 500 Yıllık (Ön)yargıları (Alles Getürkt*), published by Yapı Kredi in 1996 is an outstanding work .

community would not have been so sincere with a researcher himself living and working in Germany.

The research would have benefited from a longer stay in Germany, which would have enabled a more extensive research. Financial constraints limited duration of my stay in Germany. A larger research fund could have let me make more observations and more interviews. It could have allowed me to make visits to smaller towns that were not included in this research. A bigger budget could have affected positively my relations with my informants by letting me pay for more meals, gifts etc.

The inner dynamics of the Turkish community in Germany on the issue of acquiring German citizenship is another subject to be investigated. Informal relations and their effect on shaping peoples viewpoints on citizenship could be explored by another researcher.

Turks should go to institutions such as embassies in case of any problems, however, gatherings, mosques, foundations, newspapers have replaced such institutions. On the other hand, the number of Turks living in consulate areas should not be underestimated, and the difficulty of serving a big amount of citizens should be taken into account. It is natural for people who feel desperate and deserted to compensate the emptiness of official help with such establishments.

Margret Spohn, who works over the Turkish image dealt within the German education system, indicates the negative effect created about this image in history lessons, which are quite important for the improvement of kids' character. In the past, the country of Turkish kids was never mentioned in these lessons. However, now, Turkey is referred through the German point of view, and thus the dubious aspects of Turkish history are spoken of. There is no time spared for Turkish culture or history in the curriculum. The Turkish student who cannot get any feedback about his own culture and history at school has to grow up lacking his own national identity and cultural background. In addition to this, since all adults in the family have to work, this kid remains all alone. Therefore, the stage is left to groups emphasizing religious education and Islamic culture. Such groups filling in the gaps serve to already known German-Islamic project by spreading "community consciousnesses". So, German governments are constantly pushing schools to teach religion lessons to Turkish kids not in Turkish but in German. Consequently, there are two ways the Turkish kid/youth can follow in such cases; either grow up to be a German or become a radical Muslim. The researcher had to listen to complaints of Turkish citizens as if he was an official officer. The complaints were about the consulates, the health system in Turkey, and the difficulties they had to face in Turkey, which were almost all about Turkey. From time to time the citizens would perform different attitude and behavior to the researcher thinking that the researcher was criticizing them. Again, from time to time, the political conversations could go out of limits, and the researcher would have to take a side against the reactions to Turkish Republic and Turkey, itself. Such dialogues upset the researcher as a Turkish citizen, but they also made him think about the subject matter. Some communities imbued their members to acquire German citizenship all together, and they manifested Turkish Republic religiously hostile. The researcher could get shocked in such dialogues or conversations, not expecting that such propaganda could be that prevailing. It is so obvious that German-Islamic project is in process<sup>67</sup>.

The immigration-citizenship relation can be beheld through various dimensions within the context of this research. Depending on different approaches to the research, the immigration-citizenship relation can be observed either in depth or on the surface. This scientific research might lack some aspects, because it was realized by one person with limited resources although it is an open subject especially for a group of researchers with a bigger budget carrying on their studies in different countries, comparing and contrasting different social and economic layers in the societies. Supported projects and many issues dealt within this study are open to be observed within their varying dynamics. For instance, issues such as the connection of acquisition of a foreign citizenship with religious communities, or the effect of the immigrants asking for the foreign citizenship on the foreign country's legislation on acquisition of the citizenship for foreigners can be studied.

It is not obvious what these people could or could not live within the 40 years. What is obvious is that life or living is constantly postponed, or left to Turkey.

Nevertheless, these people are the representatives and face of Turkey in the middle of Europe. They have become Turkish originated Germans and they have had to find a dignified place in the society where they live.

It is possible to make tens and thousands of researches on what has been said in the previous hundred pages, however, when all has said and done, what remains is the absolute reality and that is what these immigrants have to live through everyday in their lives, from the moments they get up from their beds until they end the day full of regrets, endeavor, dreams and hope. They do not have political hopes. Politics, for them, is just a case that should be followed to have a better life. Politics, on the other hand, does not do much to help them. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Refer to Hamuroğlu, A., *Alman İslamı*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001 and Erdin, M., *Almanya'nın Kucağında İrtica*, Kastaş Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2002 to find out about the Islamic structures in Germany and the views of German governments about the subject.

politics of their heart is what matters to them. What governs those hearts is sole faith. They believe one day they will be accepted into the hearts of both Germans and Turks.

As a concluding remark, I would like to underline the transformation of my feelings, perceptions about the Turkish community living in Germany. Although not strongly felt at the moment when I was conducting those interviews I later became aware that I have been carrying a kind of emotional burden. I participated in the daily lives of my informants during my fieldwork as a researcher, and as well as one of them by birth since I was born in Germany into a Gastarbeiter family. The striking point was that I was no longer a part of that community since at a very early age I moved to Turkey where I was raised up and educated. Even then, first I caught myself making judgements and criticising the evaluations and approaches of those I got in touch with. Later, however, at the end of my research I found myself in a more understanding and empathizing towards the Turkish population living in Germany.

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#### 6 APPENDIX

## 6.1 European Convention on Nationality<sup>68</sup>

#### **Preamble**

The member States of the Council of Europe and the other States signatory to this Convention,

Considering that the aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve greater unity between its members:

Bearing in mind the numerous international instruments relating to nationality, multiple nationality and statelessness;

Recognising that, in matters concerning nationality, account should be taken both of the legitimate interests of States and those of individuals;

Desiring to promote the progressive development of legal principles concerning nationality, as well as their adoption in internal law and desiring to avoid, as far as possible, cases of statelessness;

Desiring to avoid discrimination in matters relating to nationality;

Aware of the right to respect for family life as contained in Article 8 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms;

Noting the varied approach of States to the question of multiple nationality and recognising that each State is free to decide which consequences it attaches in its internal law to the fact that a national acquires or possesses another nationality;

Agreeing on the desirability of finding appropriate solutions to consequences of multiple nationality and in particular as regards the rights and duties of multiple nationals;

Considering it desirable that person possessing the nationality of two or more States Parties should be required to fulfill their military obligations in relation to only one of those Parties;

Considering the need to promote international co-operation between the national authorities responsible for nationality matters.

Have agreed as follows:

Chapter I – General matters

Article 1 – Object of the Convention

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Word/166.doc (14.03.2005), Council of Europe, *European Treaty Series No. -166* 

This Convention establishes principles and rules relating to the nationality of natural persons and rules regulating military obligations in cases of multiple nationality, to which the internal law of States Parties shall conform.

#### Article 2 – Definitions

For the purpose of this Convention:

- a. "nationality" means the legal bond between a person and a State and does not indicate the person's ethnic origin;
- b. "multiple nationality" means the simultaneous possession of two or more nationalities by the same person;
- c. "child" means every person below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier;
- d. "internal law" means all types of provisions of the national legal system, including the constitution, legislation, regulations, decrees, case-law, customary rules and practice as well as rules deriving from binding international instruments.

#### Chapter II – General principles relating to nationality

#### Article 3 – Competence of the State

- 1. Each State shall determine under its own law who are its nationals.
- 2. This law shall be accepted by other States in so far as it is consistent with applicable international conventions, customary international law and the principles of law generally recognised with regard to nationality.

### Article 4 - Principles

The rules on nationality of each State Party shall be based on the following principles:

- a. everyone has the right to a nationality;
- b. statelessness shall be avoided;
- c. no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his or her nationality;
- d. neither marriage nor the dissolution of a marriage between a national of a State Party and an alien, nor the change of nationality by one of the spouses during marriage, shall automatically affect the nationality of the other spouse.

#### Article 5 - Non-discrimination

- 1. The rules of a State Party on nationality shall not contain distinctions or include any practice which amount to discrimination on the grounds of sex, religion, race, colour or national or ethnic origin.
- 2. Each State Party shall be guided by the principle of non-discrimination between its nationals, whether they are nationals by birth or have acquired its nationality subsequently.

#### Chapter III - Rules relating to nationality

## Article 6 - Acquisition of nationality

- 1. Each State Party shall provide in its internal law for its nationality to be acquired *ex lege* by the following persons:
  - a. children one of whose parents possesses, at the time of the birth of these children, the nationality of that State Party, subject to any exceptions which may be provided for by its internal law as regards children born abroad. With respect to children whose parenthood is established by recognition, court order or similar procedures, each State Party may provide that the child acquires its nationality following the procedure determined by its internal law;
  - b. foundlings found in its territory who would otherwise be stateless.
- 2. Each State Party shall provide in its internal law for its nationality to be acquired by children born on its territory who do not acquire at birth another nationality. Such nationality shall be granted:
  - a. at birth ex lege; or
  - b. subsequently, to children who remained stateless, upon an application being lodged with the appropriate authority, by or on behalf of the child concerned, in the manner prescribed by the internal law of the State Party. Such an application may be made subject to the lawful and habitual residence on its territory for a period not exceeding five years immediately preceding the lodging of the application.
- 3. Each State Party shall provide in its internal law for the possibility of naturalisation of persons lawfully and habitually resident on its territory. In establishing the conditions for naturalisation, it shall not provide for a period of residence exceeding ten years before the lodging of an application.
- 4. Each State Party shall facilitate in its internal law the acquisition of its nationality for the following persons:
  - a. spouses of its nationals;
  - b. children of one of its nationals, falling under the exception of Article 6, paragraph 1, sub-paragraph a;
  - c. children one of whose parents acquires or has acquired its nationality;
  - d. children adopted by one of its nationals;
  - e. persons who were born on its territory and reside there lawfully and habitually;
  - f. persons who are lawfully and habitually resident on its territory for a period of time beginning before the age of 18, that period to be determined by the internal law of the State Party concerned;
  - g. stateless persons and recognised refugees lawfully and habitually resident on its territory.

## Article 7 - Loss of nationality ex lege or at the initiative of a State Party

- 1. A State Party may not provide in its internal law for the loss of its nationality ex lege or at the initiative of the State Party except in the following cases:
  - a. voluntary acquisition of another nationality;
  - b. acquisition of the nationality of the State Party by means of fraudulent conduct, false information or concealment of any relevant fact attributable to the applicant;
  - c. voluntary service in a foreign military force;
  - d. conduct seriously prejudicial to the vital interests of the State Party;

- e. lack of a genuine link between the State Party and a national habitually residing abroad;
- f. where it is established during the minority of a child that the preconditions laid down by internal law which led to the *ex lege* acquisition of the nationality of the State Party are no longer fulfilled;
- g. adoption of a child if the child acquires or possesses the foreign nationality of one or both of the adopting parents.
- 2. A State Party may provide for the loss of its nationality by children whose parents lose that nationality except in cases covered by sub-paragraphs c and d of paragraph 1. However, children shall not lose that nationality if one of their parents retains it.
- 3. A State Party may not provide in its internal law for the loss of its nationality under paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article if the person concerned would thereby become stateless, with the exception of the cases mentioned in paragraph 1, sub-paragraph b, of this article.

## Article 8 - Loss of nationality at the initiative of the individual

- 1. Each State Party shall permit the renunciation of its nationality provided the persons concerned do not thereby become stateless.
- 2. However, a State Party may provide in its internal law that renunciation may be effected only by nationals who are habitually resident abroad.

#### Article 9 - Recovery of nationality

Each State Party shall facilitate, in the cases and under the conditions provided for by its internal law, the recovery of its nationality by former nationals who are lawfully and habitually resident on its territory.

## Chapter IV - Procedures relating to nationality

#### Article 10 - Processing of applications

Each State Party shall ensure that applications relating to the acquisition, retention, loss, recovery or certification of its nationality be processed within a reasonable time.

#### Article 11 – Decisions

Each State Party shall ensure that decisions relating to the acquisition, retention, loss, recovery or certification of its nationality contain reasons in writing.

#### Article 12 - Right to a review

Each State Party shall ensure that decisions relating to the acquisition, retention, loss, recovery or certification of its nationality be open to an administrative or judicial review in conformity with its internal law.

#### Article 13 - Fees

1. Each State Party shall ensure that the fees for the acquisition, retention, loss, recovery or certification of its nationality be reasonable.

2. Each State Party shall ensure that the fees for an administrative or judicial review be not an obstacle for applicants.

#### Chapter V - Multiple nationality

### Article 14 - Cases of multiple nationality

- 1. A State Party shall allow:
  - a. children having different nationalities acquired automatically at birth to retain these nationalities;
  - b. its nationals to possess another nationality where this other nationality is automatically acquired by marriage.
- 2. The retention of the nationalities mentioned in paragraph 1 is subject to the relevant provisions of Article 7 of this Convention.

#### Article 15 – Other possible cases of multiple nationality

The provisions of this Convention shall not limit the right of a State Party to determine in its internal law whether:

- a. its nationals who acquire or possess the nationality of another State retain its nationality or lose it;
- b. the acquisition or retention of its nationality is subject to the renunciation or loss of another nationality.

## Article 16 - Conservation of previous nationality

A State Party shall not make the renunciation or loss of another nationality a condition for the acquisition or retention of its nationality where such renunciation or loss is not possible or cannot reasonably be required.

#### Article 17 – Rights and duties related to multiple nationality

- 1. Nationals of a State Party in possession of another nationality shall have, in the territory of that State Party in which they reside, the same rights and duties as other nationals of that State Party.
- 2. The provisions of this chapter do not affect:
  - a. the rules of international law concerning diplomatic or consular protection by a State Party in favour of one of its nationals who simultaneously possesses another nationality;
  - b. the application of the rules of private international law of each State Party in cases of multiple nationality.

## Chapter VI – State succession and nationality

#### Article 18 – Principles

1. In matters of nationality in cases of State succession, each State Party concerned shall respect the principles of the rule of law, the rules concerning human rights and the principles contained in Articles 4 and 5 of this

Convention and in paragraph 2 of this article, in particular in order to avoid statelessness.

- 2. In deciding on the granting or the retention of nationality in cases of State succession, each State Party concerned shall take account in particular of:
  - a. the genuine and effective link of the person concerned with the State;
  - b. the habitual residence of the person concerned at the time of State succession;
  - c. the will of the person concerned;
  - d. the territorial origin of the person concerned.
- 3. Where the acquisition of nationality is subject to the loss of a foreign nationality, the provisions of Article 16 of this Convention shall apply.

#### Article 19 - Settlement by international agreement

In cases of State succession, States Parties concerned shall endeavour to regulate matters relating to nationality by agreement amongst themselves and, where applicable, in their relationship with other States concerned. Such agreements shall respect the principles and rules contained or referred to in this chapter.

## Article 20 - Principles concerning non-nationals

- 1. Each State Party shall respect the following principles:
  - a. nationals of a predecessor State habitually resident in the territory over which sovereignty is transferred to a successor State and who have not acquired its nationality shall have the right to remain in that State;
  - b. persons referred to in sub-paragraph a shall enjoy equality of treatment with nationals of the successor State in relation to social and economic rights.
- 2. Each State Party may exclude persons considered under paragraph 1 from employment in the public service involving the exercise of sovereign powers.

## Chapter VII - Military obligations in cases of multiple nationality

#### Article 21 – Fulfilment of military obligations

- 1. Persons possessing the nationality of two or more States Parties shall be required to fulfil their military obligations in relation to one of those States Parties only.
- 2. The modes of application of paragraph 1 may be determined by special agreements between any of the States Parties.
- 3. Except where a special agreement which has been, or may be, concluded provides otherwise, the following provisions are applicable to persons possessing the nationality of two or more States Parties:
  - a. Any such person shall be subject to military obligations in relation to the State Party in whose territory they are habitually resident. Nevertheless, they shall be free to choose, up to the age of 19 years, to submit themselves to military obligations as volunteers in relation to any other State Party of which they are also nationals for a total and effective period at least equal to that of the active military service required by the former State Party;

- b. Persons who are habitually resident in the territory of a State Party of which they are not nationals or in that of a State which is not a State Party may choose to perform their military service in the territory of any State Party of which they are nationals;
- c. Persons who, in accordance with the rules laid down in paragraphs a and b, shall fulfil their military obligations in relation to one State Party, as prescribed by the law of that State Party, shall be deemed to have fulfilled their military obligations in relation to any other State Party or States Parties of which they are also nationals;
- d. Persons who, before the entry into force of this Convention between the States Parties of which they are nationals, have, in relation to one of those States Parties, fulfilled their military obligations in accordance with the law of that State Party, shall be deemed to have fulfilled the same obligations in relation to any other State Party or States Parties of which they are also nationals;
- e. Persons who, in conformity with paragraph a, have performed their active military service in relation to one of the States Parties of which they are nationals, and subsequently transfer their habitual residence to the territory of the other State Party of which they are nationals, shall be liable to military service in the reserve only in relation to the latter State Party;
- f. The application of this article shall not prejudice, in any respect, the nationality of the persons concerned;
- g. In the event of mobilisation by any State Party, the obligations arising under this article shall not be binding upon that State Party.

#### Article 22 – Exemption from military obligations or alternative civil service

Except where a special agreement which has been, or may be, concluded provides otherwise, the following provisions are also applicable to persons possessing the nationality of two or more States Parties:

- a. Article 21, paragraph 3, sub-paragraph c, of this Convention shall apply to persons who have been exempted from their military obligations or have fulfilled civil service as an alternative;
- b. persons who are nationals of a State Party which does not require obligatory military service shall be considered as having satisfied their military obligations when they have their habitual residence in the territory of that State Party. Nevertheless, they should be deemed not to have satisfied their military obligations in relation to a State Party or States Parties of which they are equally nationals and where military service is required unless the said habitual residence has been maintained up to a certain age, which each State Party concerned shall notify at the time of signature or when depositing its instruments of ratification, acceptance or accession;
- c. also persons who are nationals of a State Party which does not require obligatory military service shall be considered as having satisfied their military obligations when they have enlisted voluntarily in the military forces of that Party for a total and effective period which is at least equal to that of the active military service of the State Party or States Parties of which they are also nationals without regard to where they have their habitual residence.

## Chapter VIII - Co-operation between the States Parties

#### Article 23 - Co-operation between the States Parties

- 1. With a view to facilitating co-operation between the States Parties, their competent authorities shall:
  - a. provide the Secretary General of the Council of Europe with information about their internal law relating to nationality, including instances of statelessness and multiple nationality, and about developments concerning the application of the Convention;
  - b. provide each other upon request with information about their internal law relating to nationality and about developments concerning the application of the Convention.
- 2. States Parties shall co-operate amongst themselves and with other member States of the Council of Europe within the framework of the appropriate intergovernmental body of the Council of Europe in order to deal with all relevant problems and to promote the progressive development of legal principles and practice concerning nationality and related matters.

### Article 24 - Exchange of information

Each State Party may at any time declare that it shall inform any other State Party, having made the same declaration, of the voluntary acquisition of its nationality by nationals of the other State Party, subject to applicable laws concerning data protection. Such a declaration may indicate the conditions under which the State Party will give such information. The declaration may be withdrawn at any time.

#### Chapter IX - Application of the Convention

## Article 25 - Declarations concerning the application of the Convention

- 1. Each State may declare, at the time of signature or when depositing its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession, that it will exclude Chapter VII from the application of the Convention.
- 2. The provisions of Chapter VII shall be applicable only in the relations between States Parties for which it is in force.
- 3. Each State Party may, at any subsequent time, notify the Secretary General of the Council of Europe that it will apply the provisions of Chapter VII excluded at the time of signature or in its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession. This notification shall become effective as from the date of its receipt.

#### Article 26 – Effects of this Convention

- 1. The provisions of this Convention shall not prejudice the provisions of internal law and binding international instruments which are already in force or may come into force, under which more favourable rights are or would be accorded to individuals in the field of nationality.
- 2. This Convention does not prejudice the application of:

- a. the 1963 Convention on the Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality and Military Obligations in Cases of Multiple Nationality and its Protocols;
- b. other binding international instruments in so far as such instruments are compatible with this Convention,

in the relationship between the States Parties bound by these instruments.

#### Chapter X – Final clauses

#### Article 27 – Signature and entry into force

- 1. This Convention shall be open for signature by the member States of the Council of Europe and the non-member States which have participated in its elaboration. Such States may express their consent to be bound by:
  - a. signature without reservation as to ratification, acceptance or approval; or
  - b. signature subject to ratification, acceptance or approval, followed by ratification, acceptance or approval.

Instruments of ratification, acceptance or approval shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

- 2. This Convention shall enter into force, for all States having expressed their consent to be bound by the Convention, on the first day of the month following the expiration of a period of three months after the date on which three member States of the Council of Europe have expressed their consent to be bound by this Convention in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph.
- 3. In respect of any State which subsequently expresses its consent to be bound by it, the Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiration of a period of three months after the date of signature or of the deposit of its instrument of ratification, acceptance or approval.

#### Article 28 - Accession

- 1. After the entry into force of this Convention, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe may invite any non-member State of the Council of Europe which has not participated in its elaboration to accede to this Convention.
- 2. In respect of any acceding State, this Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiration of a period of three months after the date of deposit of the instrument of accession with the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

#### Article 29 - Reservations

1. No reservations may be made to any of the provisions contained in Chapters I, II and VI of this Convention. Any State may, at the time of signature or when depositing its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession, make one or more reservations to other provisions of the Convention so long as they are compatible with the object and purpose of this Convention.

- 2. Any State which makes one or more reservations shall notify the Secretary General of the Council of Europe of the relevant contents of its internal law or of any other relevant information.
- 3. A State which has made one or more reservations in accordance with paragraph 1 shall consider withdrawing them in whole or in part as soon as circumstances permit. Such withdrawal shall be made by means of a notification addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe and shall become effective as from the date of its receipt.
- 4. Any State which extends the application of this Convention to a territory mentioned in the declaration referred to in Article 30, paragraph 2, may, in respect of the territory concerned, make one or more reservations in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraphs.
- 5. A State Party which has made reservations in respect of any of the provisions in Chapter VII of the Convention may not claim application of the said provisions by another State Party save in so far as it has itself accepted these provisions.

#### Article 30 - Territorial application

- 1. Any State may, at the time of signature or when depositing its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession, specify the territory or territories to which this Convention shall apply.
- 2. Any State may, at any later date, by a declaration addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, extend the application of this Convention to any other territory specified in the declaration and for whose international relations it is responsible or on whose behalf it is authorised to give undertakings. In respect of such territory, the Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiration of a period of three months after the date of receipt of such declaration by the Secretary General.
- 3. Any declaration made under the two preceding paragraphs may, in respect of any territory specified in such declaration, be withdrawn by a notification addressed to the Secretary General. The withdrawal shall become effective on the first day of the month following the expiration of a period of three months after the date of receipt of such notification by the Secretary General.

## Article 31 - Denunciation

- 1. Any State Party may at any time denounce the Convention as a whole or Chapter VII only by means of a notification addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.
- 2. Such denunciation shall become effective on the first day of the month following the expiration of a period of three months after the date of receipt of notification by the Secretary General.

#### Article 32 - Notifications by the Secretary General

The Secretary General of the Council of Europe shall notify the member States of the Council of Europe, any Signatory, any Party and any other State which has acceded to this Convention of:

a. any signature;

- b. the deposit of any instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession;
- c. any date of entry into force of this Convention in accordance with Articles 27 or 28 of this Convention;
- d. any reservation and withdrawal of reservations made in pursuance of the provisions of Article 29 of this Convention;
- e. any notification or declaration made under the provisions of Articles 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31 of this Convention;
- f. any other act, notification or communication relating to this Convention.

In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto, have signed this Convention.

Done at Strasbourg, this sixth day of November 1997, in English and in French, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall be deposited in the archives of the Council of Europe. The Secretary General of the Council of Europe shall transmit certified copies to each member State of the Council of Europe, to the non-member States which have participated in the elaboration of this Convention and to any State invited to accede to this Convention.

## 6.2 Sample of an Interview Sheet

Konsnel.	1. Cinsiyet Yaş Doğum Yeri	Ü
	2. Gög tarihçesi?	
	Almanya'ya ne zaman geldiniz? (Hangi nedenle geldiniz-Aile birleşimi-İltica vb.)  Allesi Pool Lesi (Vi. Pool John John John John John John John John	
	3. Almanya'da mevcut çalışma durumu?	٠
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	3. Hane halkı sayısı? Hane halkından çalışan kişi sayısı?	
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	4. Ev kendinizin mi? Oturduğunuz ev dışında Almanya'da başka gayrimenkulunuz varmı?	
	5. Sağlık durumunuz?	
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	6. Maddi birikim yapabiliyormusunuz?	
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	7. En son mezun olduğunuz okul?	
	8. Hangi sektörde çalışıyorsunuz?	
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	9. Alman vatandaşlığına geçtiniz mi?	
	10.Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmişse nedeni/nedenleri? (Siyasi, ekonomik kaygılar vb.) (Seçme ve seçilme hakkı, vatandaşlığın sağladığı diğer avantajlar)	
	11.Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmemişse neden/nedenleri? (Hukuki sortınlar, ilgilenmemiş/ihtiyaç hissetmemiş, süresiz oturma izni yeterli görülmüş, Türk vatandaşlığından ayrılmayı düşünmüyor)	
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12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?

12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?

13. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyormusunuz?

14. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler?

15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?

11. Etapla elennet le bir en alma yarınız var mı?

12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?

13. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyormusunuz?

14. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler?

15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?

16. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?

17. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?

18. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?

18. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler?

Her görüşme sonrası araştırmacı tarafından, dağıtılacak ve doldurulacak olan görüşme kağıtlarına düşünceler belirtilecektir. Bu bölümde görüşmenin yapıldığı yer ve zaman belirtilecektir.

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# 6.3 Sample of an Interview Sheet of an Informant Who Acquired German Citizenship

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	3. Almanya'da mevcut çalışma durumu?	
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	3. Hane halkı sayısı? Hane halkından çalışan kişi sayısı?	
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	4. Ev kendinizin mi? Oturduğunuz ev dışında Almanya'da başka gayrimenkulunuz varmı?	
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	5. Sağlık durumunuz?	
	6. Maddi birikim yapabiliyormusunuz?	
	7. En son mezun olduğunuz okul?	
	Tours de lotales love	
	8. Hangi sektörde çalışıyorsunuz?	
	Time	
	9. Alman vatandaslığına geçtiniz mi?	
	10.Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmişse nedeni/nedenleri? (Siyasi, ekonomik kaygılar vb.)	
	(Seçme ve seçilme hakkı, vatandaşlığın sağladığı diğer avantajlar)	
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•	11. Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmemişse neden/nedenleri?	
	11. Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmemişse neden/nedenleri?  (Hukuki sorunlar, ilgilenmemiş/ihtiyaç hissetmemiş, süresiz oturma izni yeterli görülmüş, Türk vatandaşlığından ayrılmayı düşünmüyor)	-Jan.
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12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?

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Pland de Lelici olası introdu.

13. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyormusunuz?

Hale

14. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler?

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15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?

Lelici b Torak fallı dizelel

15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?

Her görüşme sonrası araştırmacı tarafından, dağıtılacak ve doldurulacak olan görüşme kağıtlarına düşünceler belirtilecektir. Bu bölümde görüşmenin yapıldığı yer ve zaman belirtilecektir.

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# 6.4 Sample of an Interview Sheet of an Informant Who Acquired German Citizenship

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1.Cinsiyet Yaş Doğum Yeri				
Roger 28 Alamaja				
2. Göç tarihçesi? Almanya'ya ne zaman geldiniz? (Hangi nedenle geldiniz-Aile birleşimi-İltica vb.)				
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3. Almanya'da mevcut çalışma durumu?				
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3. Hane halkı sayısı? Hane halkından çalışan kişi sayısı?				
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2 Carrier In				
4. Ev kendinizin mi? Oturduğunuz ev dışında Almanya'da başka gayrimenkulunuz varmı?				
Kira				
5. Sağlık durumunuz?				
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6. Maddi birikim yapabiliyormusunuz?				
7. En son mezun olduğunuz okul?				
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8. Hangi sektörde çalışıyorsunuz?				
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11.Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmemişse neden/nedenleri? ————————————————————————————————————				

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12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?
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13. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyörmüsünüz? citif Merut katıpını Hanıs da sorrayar.
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14. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler?
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15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?
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## 6.5 Sample of an Interview Sheet of an Informant Who Acquired German Citizenship

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	1.Cinsiyet	Yas	Doğum Yeri
	BAYAN	29	ALMANYA
	2. Göç tarihçesi?	geldiniz? (Hangi nedenle gel	ldiniz-Aile birleşimi-İltica vb.)
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	3. Almanya'da mevcut	çalışma durumu?	
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	5. Sağlık durumunuz?		
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	6. Maddi birikim yapab	oiliyormusunuz?	·
	Evet		
	7. En son mezun olduğu		
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	8. Hangi sektörde çalışı	-	
	Noter Hemu	ne	
	9. Alman vatandasličin	a gectiniz mi?	1
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12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?

Alman Vatandaşlığına geçememin en büyük etkenlerolen binsi 1541

Alman Vatandaşlığına geçememin en büyük etkenlerolen binsi 1541

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lindir.

13. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyormusunuz?

Bazen dilkiniyorum, fakat 15, saftlu Türkiye'nin sartlarını alipinince
dönme Alunolen tüz vozgeçiyorum.

14. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler?
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15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?

Her görüşme sonrası araştırmacı tarafından, dağıtılacak ve doldurulacak olan görüşme kağıtlarına düşünceler belirtilecektir. Bu bölümde görüşmenin yapıldığı yer ve zaman belirtilecektir.

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### 6.6 Sample of an Interview Sheet of an Informant Who Acquired German Citizenship

1.Cinsiyet Almanya'ya ne zaman geldiniz? (Hangi nedenle geldiniz-Aile birleşimi-İltica vb.)
1970'lerin losendo devlet lorsu ile pelmiz. Tipakunş 3. Almanya'da mevcut çalışma durumu? Simil Morein de Gabragel. 3. Hane halkı sayısı? Hane halkından çalışan kişi sayısı? Almanes Le coop 4. Ev kendinizin mi? Oturduğunuz ev dışında Almanya'da başka gayrimenkulunuz varmı? 5. Sağlık durumunuz? Mi pro 1 desi. 6. Maddi birikim yapabiliyormusunuz? 7. En son mezun olduğunuz okul? Tip golden Endemoly, is hortolikely 8. Hangi sektörde çalışıyorsunuz? 9. Alman vatandaşlığına geçtiniz mi 10. Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmişse nedeni/nedenleri? (Siyasi, ekonomik kaygılar vb.) (Seçme ve seçilme hakkı, vatandaşlığın sağladığı diğer avantajlar) Bule Lewishin Romer olden soyles. Exces ich der brend bryd Ath dijel. Sonct Hordryn brithe byteth An land Stands | And Andrew | 11. Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmemişse neden/nedenleri? 11. Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmemişse neden/nedenleri? (Hukuki sorunlar, ilgilenmemiş/ihtiyaç hissetmemiş, süresiz oturma izni yeterli görülmüş, Türk vatandaşlığından ayrılmayı düşünmüyor)

12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?	
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13. Türkiyê ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyormusunuz?	
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14. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler?	
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15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?	-
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Her görüşme sonrası araştırmacı tarafından, dağıtılacak ve doldurulacak olan görüşme kağıtılarına düşünceler belirtilecektir. Bu bölümde görüşmenin yapıldığı yer ve zaman belirtilecektir.

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## 6.7 Sample of an Interview Sheet of an Informant Who Acquired German Citizenship

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Kihle i	s is in pelmis. OF EYLOL SOUDER KOLSCH BRAUHAUS	
	takep ediger.	
Aller	1.Cinsiyet Yaş Doğum Yeri	
المناعب المناعب		
- mertanni	2. Göç tarihçesi?	
Yemeje Sikolin Ledhel.	Almanya'ya ne zaman geldiniz? (Hangi nedenle geldiniz-Aile birleşimi-İltica vb.)  1969 ' babası gatarmas. Padası, ilk gidenlerden 1963.	
Bien not		
alapron.	3. Almanya'da mevcut çalışma durumu?  Hambirg da bir spor sinleri mogatosino	
	Spor Maltemeleri de Satismar. Arrapanin hemen	
	3. Hane halki sayisi? Hane halkindan çalışan kişi sayısı?	
	3 lyanlik birkis our. hismetheri dor.	
	Esi Calismijar	
,,,,,	4. Ev kendinizin mi? Oturduğunuz ev dışında Almanya'da başka gayrimenkulunuz varmı?	
	5. Sağlık durumunuz?	
	<b>\</b> i-	
	6. Maddi birikim yapabiliyormusunuz?	
**	Eet	
	7. En son mezun olduğunuz okul?	
	Hamburg sniversitesi ekonomi babas	
·	8. Hangi sektörde çalışıyorsunuz?	
	Spor maltemeleti	
	9. Alman vatandaşlığına geçtiniz mi?	
	10.Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmişse nedeni/nedenleri? (Siyasi, ekonomik kaygılar vb.) (Seçme ve seçilme hakkı, vatandaşlığın sağladığı diğer avantajlar)	
	Pet and a modern or of the Manual A Hyracia is Sanda	À
مدياه ١٦٠	a Sounsit yours to bitipinit her yerde yorkdisinda	•
Lenzinia	Petroki avantoji vor. Og kullanakiligarut. Hurgere iz Sagaha a Sarunsut gapigarut. Bittipinit hergerde gurtdisinda govende hissedigarut. Kyari irin de svantoj lari van Mesa	ť.
kredi kul	lenited down about durandiklarin desiriyaring Parkebir	
	11. Alman vatandaşlığına geçilmemişse neden/nedenleri? (Hukuki sorunlar, ilgilenmemiş/ihtiyaç hissetmemiş, süresiz oturma izni yeterli görülmüş,	
	Türk vatandaşlığından ayrılmayı düşünmüyor)	
	olur. Soplikie Soyal	
	- Maklar dona porandi altina alinniz dur.	
İ	altina alianis dur.	

	•
12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?	
Almonya da Meucut Sosyal hablar, Syasi hablar	d
banka, kredi, agalindar pilai.	
13. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyormusunuz?	
Birgin belki	•
	•
14. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler? 15/27:0 ve alim 930000 1002	•
delia tatuin colici. Logata pelmesi.	
and the state of t	
15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerceklestirmek istediğiniz planlarınız yar mı?	•
	Þ
yer bisenler line Spormaken abrinda distri	Moston
	·
7	
	Almonys de Meucut Sosyal Naklar, Syssi naklar denakrosi, isletne acisinden potitif alabilecek yakla banka, kredi, acilindra plai.  13. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyormusunuz?

Her görüşme sonrası araştırmacı tarafından, dağıtılacak ve doldurulacak olan görüşme kağıtlarma düşünceler belirtilecektir. Bu bölümde görüşmenin yapıldığı yer ve zaman belirtilecektir.

Purhan Canabi Cipte pasapartlu. Askerlipinide

Yine de yapmis. Hereslindin dinger. (1 an)

Cak epitimli (Cak ditain bir Tarker ye sohip.

Tingan, takip ednar. Alman ortakları var. İyi katanıyana

dedi. Otakdapı da kandi tirktiminiti yapalını diyarlar.

Keln'e hen is ham Ziyarete pelmisler.

İlpine Senler anlatıyar.

## 6.8 Sample of an Interview Sheet of an Informant Who Acquired German Citizenship

1	<aln< th=""><th></th><th>C</th><th>16 Temme</th></aln<>		C	16 Temme
	•			thren str.L
410		er, is ian kein	<u> </u>	
-	1.Cinsiyet	Yaş	Doğum Yeri	,
	Boy	74	Konya	10/10
	2. Göç tarihçesi? Almanya'ya ne zaman geldin	iz? (Hangi nedenle geldiniz-Ai	le birleşimi-İltica vl	o.)
	1979 de amas	esinn upnino pelmis.	Terorden L	sch, illian
	tedror iltico demis	, total darba olin	3 95 voermen	wiler
	3. Almanya'da mevcut çalışı	nadurumu? Sciste mayre 1-pto	salia mosamo	Buca
	telepon ue bil	eisoper oqualori sa	to moretos	war. Tonger
	behard to petil	alkından çalışan kişi sayısı?	an polacy	secons.
	3. Hane haiki sayisi? Hane ha	aikindan çalışan kişi sayısı?	[ & EINDCI	اله جم مل المعدد
	4 Something	Lessi colonar.		
	4. Ev kendinizin mi? Oturdu	ğunuz ev dışında Almanya'da b		iuz varmi?
		oslo dikkonlar u	orms.	
	5. Sağlık durumunuz?			
	140			
	6. Maddi birikim yapabiliyon	musunuz?		
	Evet			
	7. En son mezun olduğunuz o	alma19		
	•	JK.U. f		
امدا	aredelise terk			
	8. Hangi sektörde çalışıyorsu	nuz?		
	Ticaled	<b>.</b>		
	9. Alman vatandaşlığına geçt	iniz mi?		
	10.Alman vatandaşlığına geç	vet 1995!		
	(Siyasi, ekonomik kaygılar vi	b.)	. ••	
	(Seçme ve seçilme hakkı, vat	andaşlığın sağladığı diğer avan	taylar)	warnedy.
	Dal sall	2 Tak ingueron a control. Tork u	ا است معطم الم	In a Dade
. \	residen gooms		Then sol	
	11.Alman vatandaşlığına geç	ilmemişse neden/nedenleri?		
	(Hukuki sorunlar, ilgilenmen Türk vatandaslığından ayrılm	niş/ihtiyaç hissetmemiş, süresiz nayı düsünmüyor)	oturma izni yeterli	görülmüş,
	ţ.	. , ,		
			-	

12. Alman vatandaşlığına geçiş kararınızda neler etkili oldu?
Esi de alma votados, almi. Cacillardo ilelde objeto
Esi de alman votandos, almis. Gocillardo ilella altra la
Secretled dinel
13. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapmayı düşünüyormusunuz?
Ten getienn brob, donne
14. Gelecek beklentileriniz neler?
·
15. Gelecek ile ilgili planlarınız neler? Gerçekleştirmek istediğiniz planlarınız var mı?
Dopr Almanoino scalmano Colique Roilesmon de
obste Orasi de gould digare
Dops Ahadde Osyrelese posson potole bolance.

Her görüşme sonrası araştırmacı tarafından, dağıtılacak ve doldurulacak olan görüşme kağıtlarına düşünceler belirtilecektir. Bu bölümde görüşmenin yapıldığı yer ve zaman belirtilecektir.

Hennovern iande beledgeden bryer intenister. Deldage bostengte portinatel. Milk tynethymis. Hopblik tobalde bosteng baten bitde almont, ognan gopman demizler. Fabet som itale asoman to IBM inog, twolenes. O todas yttek ratem verenenister

Scrabil petryones, Simili hastel Circle potono girmet O redete utobed-prop Sweld pitryolar Alma posopal methis burger digol Carrondeld ton elenantono pecissi destellina.

Flortoy septope insulation mosropter Lamengorism digal. Por Kalisanus parasus Karali Verming, votandishi Masioplarium. 6.9 The List of People Interviewed During the Field Research Made in Seven Different Cities of Federal Germany Between the Dates July 01 and September 22, 2005.

Diffe	rent Cities of Federal Ger	many Betw	een the l	Dates July 01 and So	eptember 22, 2005.
NO	PLACE OF BIRTH AND CITY REGISTERED IN TURKEY *	SEX	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION**	STATUS OF CITIZENSHIP
1	Germany / Kastamonu	Female	26	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
2	Germany / Afyon	Female	27	Realschule	Turkish citizen
3	Germany / Burdur	Female	25	Realschule	Turkish citizen
4	Bolu	Female	46	Primary School	Turkish citizen
5	Çankırı	Female	37	Middle School	Turkish citizen
6	Afyon	Female	51	Primary School	Turkish citizen
7	Amasya	Female	39	Middle School	Turkish citizen
8	Germany /Burdur	Female	26	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
9	Edirne Keşan	Female	58	Primary School	Turkish citizen
10	İzmir	Female	57	High School	Turkish citizen
11	İstanbul Silivri	Female	59	High School	Turkish citizen
12	Giresun	Female	32	No information	Turkish citizen
13	Germany / Adana	Female	23	Berufschule	Turkish citizen
14	Balıkesir Ayvalık	Female	35	Hörhandelschule	Turkish citizen
15	Bursa / M.K.Paşa	Female	37	Primary School	Turkish citizen
16	Germany / Konya	Female	28	Berufschule	Turkish citizen
17	Erzincan	Female	61	No Schooling	Turkish citizen
18	Uşak	Female	53	Primary School	Turkish citizen
19	Sakarya	Female	57	Primary School	Turkish citizen
20	Kütahya	Female	37	Hautschule	Turkish citizen
21	Germany / Düzce	Female	26	Köln University	Turkish citizen
22	Çankırı	Female	34	Primary School	Turkish citizen
23	Germany / Trabzon	Female	23	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
24	Germany / Konya	Female	24	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
25	Germany / Bolu	Female	25	Berufschule	Turkish citizen
26	Düzce	Female	55	Primary School	Turkish citizen
27	Konya	Female	28	Realschule	Turkish citizen
28	Zonguldak	Female	56	Primary School	Turkish citizen
29	Gaziantep	Female	31	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
30	Germany / İzmir	Female	30	Münih University	German citizen
31	Adana	Female	40	High School	German citizen
32	Germany / Amasya	Female	28	Realschule	German citizen
33	İstanbul	Female	56	High School	German citizen
34	Germany / İzmir	Female	26	Realschule	German citizen
35	Germany / İzmir	Female	29	Realschule	German citizen
36	Germany / Erzurum	Female	24	Berufschule	German citizen
37	Germany / Uşak	Female	21	Hauptschule	German citizen
38	Germany / Adiyaman	Female	29	Köln University	German citizen
39	Balıkesir	Female	34	Fachhochschule	German citizen
40	İstanbul	Female	60	High School	German citizen
41	İstanbul	Female	40	Middle School	German citizen
42	Germany / Bursa	Female	29	Gesamtschule	German citizen

43	Germany / Mersin	Female	22	Realschule	German citizen
44	Germany / Tunceli	Female	26	Berlin University	German citizen
45	Germany / Tunceli	Female	33	Berufschule	German citizen
46	Germany / Amasya	Female	31	Hörhandelschule	German citizen
47	Rize	Female	39	Middle School	German citizen
48	Mardin	Female	46	Primary School	German citizen
49	İzmir	Female	31	Hörhandelschule	German citizen
50	Kars	Male	62	No information	Turkish citizen
51	Bingöl Genç	Male	51	Middle School	Turkish citizen
52	Germany / İzmir	Male		High School	Turkish citizen
			31	dismissed	
53	Konya Kulu	Male	2.4	High School	Turkish citizen
		ŀ	34	dismissed	
54	Kastamonu	Male	46	Middle School	Turkish citizen
55	Germany / Çankırı	Male	29	Realschule	Turkish citizen
56	Rize	Male	39	Primary School	Turkish citizen
57	Sivas	Male	33	High School	Turkish citizen
58	Urfa	Male	27	Middle School	Turkish citizen
59	Tunceli Pertek	Male	71	No Schooling	Turkish citizen
60	Trabzon Sürmene	Male	67	Primary School	Turkish citizen
61	Karabük	Male	30	High School	Turkish citizen
62	Germany / Kütahya	Male	29	Berufschule	Turkish citizen
63	Giresun	Male	39	Middle School	Turkish citizen
64	Sivas İmranlı	Male	54	Middle School	Turkish citizen
65	Yozgat	Male	41	Primary School	Turkish citizen
66	Bolu	Male	49	Primary School	Turkish citizen
67	Germany / Düzce	Male	23	Berufschule	Turkish citizen
68	Kayseri	Male	29	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
69	Çankırı	Male	36	High School	Turkish citizen
70	Urfa	Male	36	High School	Turkish citizen
71	Erzincan Başköy	Male	61	Primary School	Turkish citizen
72	Elazığ	Male	45	Middle School	Turkish citizen
73	Yozgat	Male	41	High School	Turkish citizen
74	Germany / Düzce	Male	27	Berufschule	Turkish citizen
75	Ankara Gölbaşı	Male	46	Primary School	Turkish citizen
76	Germany / Gümüşhane	Male	27	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
77	Bolu Gerede	Male	34	Middle School	Turkish citizen
78	Balıkesir	Male	38	No information	Turkish citizen
79	Samsun	Male	59	Primary School	Turkish citizen
80	Germany / Balıkesir	Male	31	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
81	Sivas Zara	Male	29	Berufschule	Turkish citizen
82	Manisa Salihli	Male	63	Primary School	Turkish citizen
83	Burdur	Male	56	Primary School	Turkish citizen
84	Trabzon	Male	68	Primary School	Turkish citizen
85	Germany / Çorum	Male	28	Realschule	Turkish citizen
86	Sivas	Male	31	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
87	Kars	Male	30	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
88	Trabzon	Male	34	No information	Turkish citizen
89	Konya	Male	67	No information	Turkish citizen
90	Kırıkkale	Male	32	High School	Turkish citizen

91	Ankara	Male	40	Gazi University	Turkish citizen
92	Canakkale	Male	67	No information	Turkish citizen
93	Niğde	Male	67	No information	Turkish citizen
94	Rize	Male	31	Hauptschule	Turkish citizen
95	Bursa İnegöl	Male	69	No information	Turkish citizen
96	Antalya	Male	33	Vocational	German citizen
				School	
97	Malatya Arapgir	Male	57	Medicine School	German citizen
98	Van	Male	39	High School	German citizen
99	Germany	Male	34	Dental School	German citizen
100	Balıkesir Ayvalık	Male	45	Hamburg University	German citizen
101	Germany / Samsun	Male	31	Gymnasium	German citizen
102	Samsun	Male	35	Berufschule	German citizen
103	Mersin	Male	34	No information	German citizen
104	Samsun	Male	40	Berufschule	German citizen
105	Bingöl Kiğı	Male	37	Middle School	German citizen
106	Germany / Afyon	Male	25	Hauptschule	German citizen
107	Gümüşhane	Male	28	Realschule	German citizen
108	İstanbul Anadoluhisarı	Male	32	High School	German citizen
109	Erzurum	Male	59	Primary School	German citizen
110	Sakarya	Male	43	High School dismissed	German citizen
111	Düzce Akçakoca	Male	42	Primary School	German citizen
112	Konya Ilgin	Male	44	Middle School	German citizen
113	Germany İzmir	Male	32	Tourism high School	German citizen
114	Germany İzmir	Male	30	Hauptschule	German citizen
115	Mardin	Male	42	High School	German citizen
116	Germany / Trabzon	Male	32	Hörhandelschule	German citizen
117	Rize	Male	34	No information	German citizen
118	Kahramanmaraş Afşin	Male	36	Hauptschule	German citizen
119	Kerkük	Male	42	Primary School in	German citizen
				Iraq	
120	Adana Kozan	Male	41	No information	German citizen
121	Malatya	Male	45	High School	German citizen
122	Germany / Antalya	Male	31	Gymnasium	German citizen
123	Germany / İzmir	Male	30	Berufschule	German citizen
124	Germany / Antakya	Male	31	Köln University	German citizen
125	Denizli	Male	58	Primary School	German citizen
126	Germany / İstanbul	Male	30	Realschule	German citizen
127	Rize	Male	38	Middle School	German citizen
128	Kahramanmaraş	Male	61	Primary School	German citizen
129	Rize	Male	59	No information	German citizen
130	Tokat Turhal	Male	50	Middle School	German citizen
131	Germany / Giresun	Male	29	Hauptschule	German citizen
132_	Germany / Afyon	Male	27	Realschule	German citizen
133	Aydın / Germencik	Male	46	Middle School	German citizen
134	Sivas	Male	46	High School	German citizen

\* The first column of the chart gives information on the original location and the starting point of the immigrant, and secondly to find out where the informants and their families come from in Turkey so as to supply the objectivity of the research.

\*\* Hauptschule: Middle School and High School together including grades 5 to 10

Realschule: Regular High School Berufschule: Vocational School

Gymnasium: up to grade 13 with an outstanding education quality

Hörhandelschule: Vocational School (Trading School), raising accountants and

executives of middle level

Fachhochschule: including after grade 10, Trading School

Gesamtschule: Regular High School

6.10 Turkish Hosting Families

6.10 Tur	kish Hosting I		
	Age Ratio	General Information	Citizenship Status
Hannover	31-38	Husband took refuge to Germany They are from Kahramanmaraş He had married in Turkey and taken his wife along with him.	Husband is German citizen. He says he will choose for both of his daughters to be German citizens. Woman is still Turkish citizen.
Köln	26-27	Wife college graduate, born in Germany. Both of them are from Düzce originally. She married 3 years ago and took her husband to Germany by the right of family connection.	Wife does not want to acquire German citizenship although she has fulfilled the requirements.
Köln	29-34	Husband is from Mersin. Woman was born in Germany. They live in their own houses. They have a higher income and education compared to other Turks around them.	Woman states that she has never had the need to be a German citizen, and she does not consider getting out of Turkish citizenship. Man has already acquired German citizenship.
Köln	44-49	The family is from Bolu. Both their daughters are married. Man does not work, receives unemployment pension. He is a butcher. He sometimes works illegally (Schwarz) Woman is the main breadwinner.	Both husband and wife do not consider getting out of Turkish citizenship. They are thinking of going back to Turkey. One of the daughters has acquired German citizenship.
Stuttgart	36-40	Man is from Samsun. His wife is Italian. They have two kids. Man's family and two brothers live nearby Stuttgart. They always gather at parents' house at the weekends. Younger brother (36) has acquired to German citizenship. He is married to a German.	Man has German citizenship. The Turkish police had pulled him about over an argument at the airport when he came to visit Turkey with his wife. He acquired German citizenship as soon as he came back to Germany. (1993)
Ludwigsburg	30-38	A family from Rize. Only the man works. They have two daughters.	Both husband and wife acquired German citizenship saying that they can perform their religious rituals more independently in Germany.

6.11 Travel and Accommodation Details of Field Research in Germany Departure from Turkey: 01 July 2004, Istanbul - Hannover

Accommodation (Hosting family/Hotel-City)
Fatih Yeşilyurt (Köln)
Seyhan Kasapoğlu (Köln)
Ali Erdem (Köln)
Hotel (Munich)
Bayram Gümüşsuyu (Stuttgart)
Yakup Akbulut (Ludwigsburg)
Guest-room of Yavuz Selim Mosque
(Ludwigsburg)
Vural Erkoç (Frankfurt)
Motel (Frankfurt)
Hotel (Köln)
Hotel (Berlin)
Sabri Manavbaşı (Hannover)
Motel (Hannover)
Fatih Yeşilyurt (Köln)
Motel (Köln)

Departure from Germany: 22 September 2004, Bonn/Köln – Istanbul

## 6.12 Sample Article Emphasizing the Worsening Economic Situation of Germany (*Post NRW-RHEIN*, September, 2004)

## Yılda 100 bin Alman ülkesini terkediyor

ONN- Yapılan istatistiklere göre her yıl 🗖 100 bin Alman. Almanya'yı terkediyor Bu sayının önümüzdeki yıllarda daha da artacağından endise ediliyor. Bir cok insanın Almanya'ya gelebilmek icin yarını yoğunu sattığı ve insan ticareti yapan sebekelere binlerce dolar verirken Almanların Almanya vi terk etmesi arastırmalara konu olmava başladı. Almanya'yı terk edenlerin büyük bir bölümünün yüksek eğitimini Almanya'da tamamladığı, kariyer için ise başta ABD olmak üzere başka ülkeleri tercih ettiği belirlendi. Dış göç uzmanı Christina Busch Almanlar, Almanya'yı terk etmelerine en büyük etkenin çalışma imkanları olduğunu belirtti. "Sahsi tecrübe ve yeteneklerin vurt dışında pekistirilmesi cok önemli" diyen Busch. yabancı bir ülkede calısmayı göze alanların Almanya'ya döndüklerinde daha kolay is bulabileceğini ifade etti. Almanya'yı terkedenler arasında emekli olup. Türkiye gibi ülkelere yerlesenlerin oranı ise oldukça az.

## 6.13 Sample Article Emphasizing Discrimination in Germany (*Post NRW-RHEIN*, August 19, 2003)



## 48 BİN TÜRK'ÜN, ALMAN VATANDAŞLIĞI TEHLİKEDE

ALMANYA'da, Vatandaslık Yasası'nın değiştirildiği 2000 yılından sonra yeniden Türk vatandaşlığına gectikleri icin Alman vatandaşlıklarını otomatikman kaybeden Türkler, Alman basınına konu oldu.

Almanya'nın en ciddi gazetelerinden Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung basta olmak üzere bir çok gazetede ver alan haberlerde, 2000 yılından sonra Alman vatandaşlığına geçen ve Türk vatandaşlığını gizleyen 48 bin Türk'ün, Alman vatandaşlıklarını yitireceklerine yer verildi.

Çocuklarla birlikte bu sayının 100 bin okluğu tahmin edilirken haberde, hükümetteki Sosyal Demokrat Parti'nin (SPD) konuya ılımlı yaklaştığı, ancak İçisleri Bakanı Schily'nin bu kisilere karşı affa karşı olduğu yazıldı.

Yazıda İçişleri Bakanlığı Sözcüsü'nün, "Alman vatandaşlığına geçmek isteyenler dil testine tabi tutulurken, cifte vatandas oldukları tespit edilip Alman vatandaşlıkları iptal edilen, daha sonra yeniden Alman vatandaslığa geçmeye kalkanların dil testinden muaf olmaları düşünülemez. İki pasaportla donanmış Türk kökenlilerin bilgisizlik nedeniyle bu duruma düstüklerine inanmak güç. Alman



vatandaşlığına geçerken Alman vatandaşlığına geçenlerin çifte vatandaş olmalarının yasak olduğu açıkca dile getiriliyor. 2000 yılında değiştirilen vatandaşlık yasasına göre, 'Bir Alman vatandaşı, yeni bir ülkenin vatandaşlığına geçmesiyle birlikte Alman vatandaşlığını yitirir' deniliyor" sözlerine yer verildi.

Gazetede yer alan haberde, "Cifte vatandaş oldukları tespit edilenlerin Alman vatandaslığı iptal edilir. Bu kisiler Almanya'da kaçak duruma düser. Bu duruma düsenler altı av icinde veni bir oturum almak için gerekli başvuruları yapmak durumundalar" denildi.

**FRANKFURT** 

# VATANDAŞLIKTA düşündüren tablo

Almanya'da 2000 yılından beri sürekli düşüş içindeki vatandaşlık başvuruları neredeyse durma noktasına geldi

#### Hak kayıpları etkiledi

Alman vatandaşlığını alanlara tekrar Türk vatandaşlığına geçme izni verilmenesi, Alman vatandaşlığını kaybedenlerin oturma izni almasının zorlaşması ve Türkiye'den borçlanarak emeklilik hakkının kaybolmasının başvuru sayısını olumsuz etkilediği tahmin ediliyor.

#### 'Herhalde Türk kalmadı'

Bazı vatandaşlık daireleri düşüşü "Herhalde başvurmak isteyenler başvurdu. Başvurnacık daha Türk kalmadı" şeklinde yorumluyor. Almanya İçişleri Bakanlığı ise "Bir düşüş olduğu doğru. Ancak bunu reforma bağlamak için henüz çok erken." açıklamasını yaptı.

#### Sürekli bir düsüs var

Yasının çıktığı 2000 yılında 186 bin 700 vatandaslığı aççiş ile rekor ilgi gösterilmiş, ancak ardından düşüs eğilimi başlamıstı. 2003'te vatandaşlığa gecen Türkler'in sayısının 56 bin öklüğu beliritikli. Bu rakam yabancılar arasındaki toplam oranın yüzde 40'ma dend düşüyor. ■ 15 smoil E@EL/FRANISUR!

Almanya'da vatandaşlık başvuruları bıçak gibi kesildi

## TURK'UN CEVABI

Zoraki tek vatandaşlığı istemiyoruz

2000'den sonra yeniden Türk vatandaşlığına geçenlerin vatandaşlıklarının iptali, vatandaşlıkları kaybettirilenlerin ikamet statülerinin ne olacağı konusundaki belirisizlik, Alman vatandaşlığa başvuruları durdurdu. Berlin'in hesapsız kitapsız çıkardığı yasalar, böylece uyuma en büyük darbeyi vurdu.





LETTE votandasign vosaklavan, oturma izinkerini bile inanalsari sarthara bughto pi zorsaklar çika tran Alamaya'da alan oldi ve votandasila geiderke iranulmaz bir dasurjeleriki SPD- Yesiller bir



kumen, çıkandığı "çifte vatandaşlığı engelleşen yası" ile uyuma on biy ile darbeşi varmuş oldu. I. L. 2007'de yaturduğı girim yasadını sunra cifte vatandı asırın çıkanı ve yeniden Türk vatandaşlığını geçenleri be lirlemek için özel ekişler bile kurup sonuşturmalar yapan Almanya'da vatandaşlık buyumıları en dayak seriyese

olaştı. Bazı bölgelerle ise beşik çib kesikli.

Donma noktasına geldi
Almiansı da valtandaşlışı secen Türkler'in sayvanın
2003'e oranla önemli ölçüde daşerken, en havvik düsibi.
Hessen ve Kurye Ren Vestlah'a de Bayven Eyeler'inde
oldu. Yeni Vatandaşlık Yasası'nın vürurlüğe girdiği.
2000'den ben varekli düşüşi şerde elan vutandaşlık baş-

#### Başvuracak kalmadı

Bursts extractedisk jerakterini består ri osvadej, judima ediliziren Durnistal Valliffe Vara-diski för 160. "Yen sav nederinisk dosajera artik säverlifemer samtir "seddimanni sygti. Buz sämtadisk diriefer ika dissan "Her hakk bayvarrask intsjente hav unde Basvitissal Teck kalmadi "disse vermitarken" som halik kajti skandalimi andindan 2014an underras Sigti networtinisen keildig semintarya syndyst. Alma Sigti networtinisen keildig semintaria yangkyst. Alma Sigti networtinisen keildig semintaria yangkyst. Alma sertinismosi. Titalismosi para tirki semintaria keildiski skattlerisk kin bayvardist istimma erekkeildis sambosi.

#### Bakanlık anlayamadı

Admarya kepker Bakanja, Audosin Admarya kepker Bakanja, Audosin Seni Vatandayki Yasas-Vu ligih edulpum ara kemak gan cok arkan yabagama beliteraki, Abrel amedigira su acalamma ya-"Bir disisis oddaga dogra. Bana reforma baglamak, m boka segar nodagama suspense gan erken. Vat.m. halik huwurular ha nedaken delay m distuti' yaklim kiki saruwa "Boka coup vermak istemiyanza, Degerkantiki saruwa "Boka coup vermak istemiyanza, Degerkan-

#### İki milyon Türk başvuru yapmıyor

ACMANANAM in mitjeen agter trik vaturdesjy spyre. Alman valandas edan Tiuk stiecili (soyte ise 600,000 ye.h.in. Votardaslega, towarutarun geleere distancia, iki mitjoen Tiure vatundasmin, edantale engeleere bakarak "Tiuk vatundassa darak kamany sejeckiligin "gostetyne Ce tift kereleer Hurriyet'e koonsan Tarkke, ceellikkciti vatardaslegan poudklamusoom, vatardaslah, serusturmakrimin kundikerii Alman vatandaslagendas vojettiigina agkliyes.

Çilbe vatandaşlık olmadığı için Fürkler, Türkiei'den bordanızınık emedilik hakkarılı dickeriyen Türk vatanlaşı kalanlar, bern Almonya em Türkiye'den emekliki musas alap bir ölçükle abatlariken, sadece Alman votandası olanlar bu akkarı şurardınımıyen, Türkiye'den bevelanırınık makli olan bir kişi, daba sonra Alman votandaşlırı makli olan bir kişi, daba sonra Alman votandaşlırının vereme, bordararınık meldililik denlurunlurun.

#### Yıllardır düşüyordu

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<sup>\*</sup>All photographs are taken by Yaman Kepenç (Y.K.)



**Picture 1:** The festival which took place in Keup Str., Köln (11.07.2004). This event was held to mark the renovation of this street after the devastating bombing incident which took place on June 9, 2004. 22 people injured. The festival was organized by the Municipality of Köln and the residents of the Keup Str.



**Picture 2:** A shop owner inviting the police on duty during the same festival to have a glass of beer in his restaurant (11.07.2004, Köln)



Picture 3: The informants and the researcher at a dinner party given by Seyhan Kasapoğlu sitting far right (10.07.2004, Köln)



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**Picture 7:** Fenerbahçe football team landed in Düsseldorf. Ali, one of my host family member in Köln, and his daughter meeting a team member. (12.07.2004, Düsseldorf)



**Picture 8:** At a football match, in Manheim with Eurofeb members (14.07.2004, Manheim)



Picture 9: A scene from Manheim Stadium (14.07.2004, Manheim)



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Picture 12: Fenerbahçe fans meeting in a Kebabhouse called Seyfi Baba in Köln. (24.07.2004, K"oln)



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**Picture 14:** An outside look to a Turkish Café in Kalk Post where I conducted a number of interviews. (20.07.2004, Köln)



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**Picture 16:** The hostel room the researcher stayed in Munich between the July 26 and August 01, 2004. (27.07.2004, Munich)



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**Picture 20:** Bayram Gümüşsuyu and his sons from Stuttgart relaxing during a weekend. Mrs. Gümüşsuyu who is not in the picture is preparing deserts. (01.08.2004, Stuttgart)



Picture 21: The mosque where various interviews were made (03.08.2004, Ludwigsburg)



Picture 22: Yavuz Selim Mosque's charity members (03.08.2004, Ludwigsburg)



Picture 23: The researcher's host in Frankfurt (11.08.2004, Frankfurt)



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Picture 28: The groom and his friends (18.09.2004, Köln)



Picture 29: From the same wedding. (18.09.2004, Köln)



**Picture 30:** From the same wedding; cultural diversity can be observed through clothing. Generational change from total covering of head to partial covering and open head style. (18.09.2004, Köln)



Picture 31: One of the hosts, "Düzceli Fatih" (16.10.2004, Köln)

6.18 Map of Germany and the Route Researcher Has Followed Deutschland/Germany DANMARK m Kiel ROSTOCK Ostfries Inseln Cuxhaven Schwerin HAMBURG BREMEN Oldenburg POLAND BERLIN . Lingene HANNOVER THE NETHER-Braunschweig Magdeburg LANDS Hildesheim Satzgitter Munster Göttingen DORTMUN BEL-GIUM FRANKFURT CZECH REPUBLIC Warzburg Bamberg Ludwigshafen Saarbrücken HEIDELBERG Chamill Regensburg STUTGART FRANCE MÜNCHEN AUSTŘIA LIECHTENSTEIN SWITZERLAND

ITALY

#### 6.19 Some German Railway Tickets of the Researcher

CIV 80		Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS	UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1.GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO	1 Erwa	chsener	
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Abteil Nichtr	wagen aucher		1 Fenster			
1 50	arNigh	AZ/NZ	809910148338	PREIS	EUR ***	29,00
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_	ICE	-		04	<b>bf</b> achsene	
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DB CIV 80	ICE	Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS	UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1.GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO	04		18:26
DB CIV 80	ICE	Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS 27.04 - 01.08.04	UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1.GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO  H: bis 01.08.04	1 Erwa	achsene	KI/CI
CIV 80 Gültig	ICE  keit: 31.6	Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS 07.04 - 01.08.04 VON München :M*S)	UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1.GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO R: bis 01.08.04  ->NACH ->Stuttgart	1 Erwi	achsene	KWCI 2
CIV 80 Gillig	ICE  keit: 31.6	Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS 07.04 - 01.08.04  VON München :M*S)	UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1.GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO  H: bis 01.08.04	1 Erws	achsene	***44,
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CIV 80 Giltis See See See See See See See See See See	ICE	Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS 27.04 - 01.08.04  VON München :M*S)  MWSt D: ****44, 5  Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS	UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1.GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO  H: bis 01.08.04  ->NACH ->Stuttgart  OO 16,0% =****6,07 CARD  UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1.GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO  B: bis 27.07.04	1 Erws	S EUR *	киа 2 ***44,
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CIV 80 Sillting VIA  VIA  PAS 75 9889  CIV 80 Gültigk	ICE	Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS 77.04 - 01.08.04  VON München :M*S)  Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS .04 - 27.07.04  VON Köln	UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM  1. GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO  H: bis 01.08.04 >NACH>Stuttgart  OO 16.0% = ***6.07 CARD 70461 31.07  UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1. GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO  H: bis 27.07.04 >NACH	1 Erwa	S EUR *	***44 ,
CIV 80 Sillting VIA  VIA  PAS 75 9889  CIV 80 Gültigk	ICE	Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS 77.04 - 01.08.04  VON München  :M*S)  MWSt D: *****444,  5  Fahrkarte NORMALPREIS .04 - 27.07.04  VON KÖIN	UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM  1. GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO  H: bis 01.08.04 >NACH>Stuttgart  OO 16.0% = ***6.07 CARD 70461 31.07  UNTAUSCH/ERSTATTUNG AB DEM 1. GELTUNGSTAG: 15 EURO  H: bis 27.07.04 >NACH	1 Erwa	S EUR *	***44 ,

#### **Budget:**

Pre-field research	expenses*
Gifts for host families	• 85 €
Visa cost	• 55 €
Health insurance	• 100 €
Air flight ticket	• 240 €
Sub Total:	480 €
Field research ex	rpenses*
Train tickets for traveling in Germany	• 348 €
Daily expenses	• 2200 € (25 € /day)
Communication	• 120 € (public phone)
Support for kitchen expenses of host	• 600 €
families	
Gifts for informants	• 800 €
Accommodation (hotel cost)	• 654 €
Sub Total:	4722 €
Post- field research	
Books	• 212 € (350 YTL/1,650)**
Photograph developing	• 48 € (80 YTL/1,650)
Printing/ photocopying costs	• 96 € (160 YTL/1,650)
Sub Total:	356 €
TOTAL:	5558 €

<sup>\*:</sup> The costs are given Euro Currency
\*\*. Central Bank of Republic of Turkey Exchange Rate (14/06/2005)