

**NATURALIZATION OF THE FIRST, SECOND AND
THIRD GENERATION TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN
THE NETHERLANDS**

Master of Science Thesis in Public Administration

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August 2008

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ABSTRACT

Acquiring of the host country's citizenship by the immigrants are one of the essential topics in the last decades that include both state and immigrants as actors in this process. The reasons of naturalization of the Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands have been examined by different scholars but firstly it will be analyzed by this dissertation with taking in consideration of the socio economical; cultural, associational, psychological; socio demographical and political reasons all together and the effects of policy beliefs and regulations on the decision of naturalization will be included in this analysis. Furthermore, this dissertation will give special attention for the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants so both the differences on their approach to naturalization and effects of policy beliefs for each generation will be discussed by this paper first time in the academic arena.

Key words: *Naturalization; first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants, Dutch policy beliefs; dual nationality; socio economic factors; cultural, associational, psychological factors; socio demographical factors; political factors.*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To move to a country where you are completely alien in certain respects from language to society, culture to history and people to daily life not surprisingly will put firstly the people who moved from their home country and secondly the people of the host country to a world of differences. Most probably, the story of the first generation Turkish immigrants who moved from Turkey in late 1960's as labour force to work temporarily in the Netherlands can be one of the most suitable examples for the statement mentioned above. Though they came to the Netherlands temporarily, their stay altered permanently and triggered a set of significant questions about naturalization and integration with natural emergence of the second and the third generation of the Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands.

The numbers of the Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands is 372.714 (Statistics Netherlands, 2008) in the Netherlands by 2008 as the second largest ethnic group after the Indonesians. Both their numbers and the discussions about the immigrants in the Netherlands lead to make research about the Turkish immigrants and their naturalization by various scholars; For instance, Bevelander and Veenman (2006) research is about employment integration of the Turkish immigrants; Bratsberg, Ragan and Nasir (2002) looked for socio economic reasons and naturalization of the Turkish immigrants; Van den Bedem (1993) also tried to find motives for naturalization of the Turkish immigrants; Thränhardt (2006) research was about naturalization and Dutch policies; Van Oers, De Hart and Groenendijk (2006) remarked the naturalization reasons of the immigrants in the Netherlands. Furthermore, Penninx, Garcés-Mascareñas and Scholten (2005) explored the naturalization and migration politics of the Netherlands and finally, Penninx (2005) looked in depth the new Dutch migration policies after the murder of Van Gogh in the Netherlands. Though all of these studies provide significant research to understand clearly both Dutch politics and the situation of the Turkish immigrants in the country, there is a need to make a further analyze which leads to central research question of this paper; *What are the reasons to be naturalized or not of the first, second and third generation Turkish Immigrants and effects of policy beliefs and regulations on the decision of naturalization?* Both such a comparison about naturalization of the different Turkish generations and the role of policy beliefs and regulations on the decision of naturalization make this research both interesting and essential. Firstly, elaboration of the naturalization reasons will give perspective of the immigrants. Secondly, the role of policy beliefs and regulations will show the stance of the state on naturalization so it will be easier to look for the effects of those policies on the decision of naturalization. Therefore, the main aim of this research will be exploring of the first, second and third

generation Turkish immigrants' naturalization reasons and their attachment to Dutch citizenship with considering the roles of policy beliefs and regulations.

There is firstly need for explanation why I made such a distinction between the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants and I did not take the whole sample just as Turkish immigrants. There are two main factors; firstly, the reason of their existence in the Netherlands either by moving to the Netherlands or the place of their birth as the Netherlands can cause different profiles on the decision of naturalization. This can be observed especially on the first generation immigrants who came to the Netherlands to earn money and with the decision of staying permanently they caused having the second and third generation immigrants but the second and the third generation did not come from Turkey and they were born in the Netherlands and received their education in Dutch system and culture. Those differences especially between the first and the second, third generation can lead to different results on the decision of naturalization.

Secondly, to be brought up in the families whose parents have different backgrounds than their kids can be noted as causing different profiles in every generation than the previous generation. For instance, potential different profiles can be observed for the second generation who were born in the Netherlands but their families are the first comers to the Netherlands who were born in Turkey. As a result, to be brought up in a family who have clear attachment to Turkey and Turkish culture can influence the profiles of the second generation. For the third generation different profiles can be found because similar to the second generation, they were born in the Netherlands but different from the second generation, their families were born in the Netherlands as well. As a result, the level of attachment for Dutch citizenship may potentially be found between the second and third generation.

After clarifying the topic of the research and my central question, initially lots of questions started coming to mind about naturalization first in general and later on specifically. Why those immigrants prefer to be naturalized? What are the reasons behind taking such a serious decision that will affect their lives? What kind of profile do those immigrants have who want to be naturalized? What kind of variables of their backgrounds is effective on their naturalization? What is the linkage between their attachment to the host society, culture and state and the reason of naturalization? Are they naturalized because of being proud to be the citizen of the host country or are there more practical reasons by having practical benefits of having the passport of that country like socio economic benefits in their jobs to travel easily without visa requirements?

All these questions are directly regarded with the background of the immigrants, their lives and their wishes for the future. As a result, there will be four sub questions in this research to make more clarification and to focus on central question of the research. The first two questions will try to

concentrate on the points that have been asked above which are mostly regarded with the position of the immigrants, their lives and backgrounds and its influence on decisions. Therefore, the first sub question is about what is their approach to Dutch citizenship? Do they see it either very valuable or honorable owning and proud to be Dutch or the other reasons are influential on their decision? This question triggers the second question which is about the role of other factors as it is mentioned the factors of socio economical; cultural, associational and psychological; socio demographical and political? As a result, two sub questions have been tried to answer to have more knowledge and understanding about the perceptions and outlook of the immigrants on naturalization which have more focused on the immigrants.

After focusing on the first part of the sub questions, the second part of questions have started structuring in the minds following with the other two sub questions? Different from the first two sub questions which are mostly regarded with the immigrants perceptions, feelings, attachments, the second sub question is more regarded with the policy beliefs of the state and the relation between the state and immigrants. At this point, the questions commence to shape for instance, why do the states want the immigrants to be naturalized? What kind of profile do the states prefer from the immigrants who think to be naturalized? How can we understand the policy beliefs of the immigrants on naturalization? What is the role of direct intervention of the states in the decision of the naturalization of the immigrants like what kind of policy requirements do they want from the immigrants and what are the disadvantages or advantages of those policy regulation perceived by the immigrants and affect their decision of naturalization?

To answer those questions, on the side of the states and the effects of it on the decision of the immigrants, the last sub question appears; what is the role of policy regulations and policy requirements on naturalization? This sub question will also try to show the effects of the state as an internal factor which can have role directly affecting the decision of naturalization with policy regulations and administrative factors. Thus after focusing on the immigrants backgrounds, facts and situations with the external factors of their naturalization with socio economical; cultural, associational and psychological; socio demographical and political, the factors of policy regulations and administrative factors will light the way of the answers about the effect of the state so finally a better analysis can be done how those policy beliefs affect the immigrants' perceptions on naturalization as a reason of motivation or not to be naturalized.

The reason why do the naturalization policies are important factor on the decision of the immigrants can be explained by two reasons; firstly, the approach of the state to the immigrants is a significant factor. How do they see those immigrants either a part of their society or the ones who are not belonged to the host country. The perspective of the state for their immigrants may have direct

influence on the immigrants especially emotionally. It is difficult to assume that changing your citizenship or acquiring a new passport of a new country is very easy and desired when you consider that country has certain discriminations for immigrants and you feel that as unwanted people in that country even if the reason of some immigrants has not because of any cultural attachment or not being to be proud of acquiring the citizenship of the host country. As Bauböck and Cinar (1994) stated naturalization is found as the most significant legal instrument to accelerate the integration of resident immigrants and of subsequent generations.(p.1) As a result, the approach of the state by its policies or approach to their immigrants in a country can affect the immigrants first difficult decision either to go for naturalized or not.

Secondly, after you chose to be naturalized the role of state goes on this process. As it is mentioned above the main understanding and approach of the state for their immigrants were effective one of the significant reasons for the decision of naturalization, when the immigrants decide to be naturalized. The legal process has to be started by the immigrants so again two main actors have been on the stage; the immigrants and the state. At this level, the role of the state shows itself as required documents, eligibility criteria's and waiting period for naturalization. Therefore, taking in consideration of all these variables by the immigrants, the role of all these administrative factors and regulation may have been resulted either to be naturalized or not. Though, those policies have influence on the decision of naturalization that is not enough to explain the reasons of naturalization when excluding socio-economical, cultural-psychological, political, demographic factors and personal circumstances. Those factors are essentially important to have any idea about the situation of the immigrants to understand their reasons of naturalizations. In addition to these motives, a person can only make the decision whether or not to naturalize if he is aware of the possibility to be naturalized.

Additionally, the decision of naturalization and sometimes changing the flags is one of the most emotional aspects of the issue. Though, the states beliefs about naturalization can be understood by evaluation of the legal documents and regulations, to understand what do the immigrants think about the topic of naturalization can not be explained only by counting their naturalized numbers from the diagrams or tables As a result, to understand deeply what do they think, how do they perceive and what is the level of their attachment can be analyzed by in depth and face to face interviews which has been the milestone of this research. Both statistical numbers but more remarkably 23 interviewee's responses from the first, second and the third generation will help to explore their reasons of naturalization and at what level their attachment to the Dutch citizenship. Finally, that is also significant to test the effect of the policy regulations and administrative factors on the immigrants.

After the introduction chapter, I will analyze general perspective on naturalization in two structures. Firstly, external factors which are directly related with the situation of the immigrants.

Secondly the role of the state regulations on naturalization will be discussed. As a result I will try to focus on four factors that influential either to be naturalized or not which are socio economic reasons; cultural, associational and psychological attitudes; socio-demographic and political factors. After that the second part; policy requirements and administrative regulations of the state on naturalization will be analyzed.

After giving general perspective, findings on this issue and theoretical framework, I will give the necessary information about my research design. Firstly, there will be information about central and sub questions of the research but more specifically the variables of the research have been discussed in a detailed way and hypotheses will be given as well. Secondly, the issue will be about how I conducted the research with 23 interviewees, the structure of the interviews, how I choose my sample and according to what criteria will be examined. Finally, I will talk about the limitations of the research.

After the research design and before the qualitative and exploratory analysis, there is a need to look for the historical processes in the Netherlands' policies on naturalization. To have knowledge about the policies and developments on the area of immigration and the situation of the Netherlands will help try to understand the perspective of the state according to each variable that has already been discussed in the theoretical framework. After that, the empirical part and interviews will be the landmark of the research and comparison of the first, second and the third generation will be discussed according to the each variable.

Final step will be allocated to answer the central question what are the reasons of naturalization of the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants, what are the similarities and differences in each generation and secondly the effects of those policy approaches and what kind of profile do the policy beliefs want from the immigrants to be naturalized and the situation of the ones who are not naturalized will be discusses.

CHAPTER II

PERSPECTIVE

To come up for the decision to acquire a new citizenship and sometimes to sacrifice the citizenship of your home country nationality may mostly lead to difficult stories that challenge the immigrants and create lots of questions in the minds of them. Human beings are the social creators and naturally can be affected by thousands of factors that will both shape and change their lives while changing their nationalities. The main factors for this decision have been gathered below as in the

titles of socio economic; cultural, associational and psychological, socio demographical and political factors. Those factors are also mentioned by Van Oers, De Hart and Groenendijk (eds. by Bauböck, Ersboll, Groenendijk and Waldrauch, 2006) as external factors that affect the guarantying of nationality which are demographical, economical, social and political reasons. (p. 424).

The reason why I chose those factors can be explained because of non existence of such a research in this field that includes all these factors together. The theories were mostly targeted one or a few factors either role of socio economic or cultural effects on the decision of naturalization but there is a need to take a further step and include all these factors together to have more deeper knowledge and understanding the perceptions of the immigrants. Secondly, these factors are the most significant ones that are directly related to people's lives, backgrounds and their future targets in a very broad category that includes most of the dimensions that affect the decision of naturalization For instance, when we look for socio economic factors it includes the variables of *jobs, education level and their future plans where they want to live and how long they stay in the country*. Those variables have direct influences on the immigrants. For example, jobs and what kind of jobs you are doing are necessary to earn money and survive; education level determines also the social position, the job he is doing and future desires; the future life settlement can have role on immigrants in which country they want to live and how the years that they stayed during a country influence their naturalization decisions.

After socio economic factors; cultural, associational and psychological factors have variables of *language capacity, kinship ties, relationship with native society and loss of former nationality*. Those variables are regarded with more about the feelings, emotions and the concepts they have shaped in their subconscious so firstly their language capacity of the host and home countries can have role about attachment to either home or host country. Secondly, their kinship ties with the home country immigrants can be significant; how much does it strong and how the structure of the ethnic community whether close or open society can be effective on naturalization. Thirdly, the relationships and the contacts with the native society can determine their thoughts and attachment level to Dutch citizenship and finally the loss of former nationality is a good testing way how much do they attach to their home country at the structural level.

The third external factor is socio demographic which is necessary to consider this factor mostly related with the facts about the respondents. There are three variables of this factors which are *age, gender and marital status*. The first two variables are important because they are about the simple facts to have basic knowledge about the respondents. The age of the respondents can give clue about their future decisions either to be naturalized or not, the differences in gender can exist because of certain psychological, cultural and life style differences between men and women. Finally, marital status may be another important variable because either people are single or not in other words mean

that he or she should consider not only herself or himself but also should consider their dependents; either their spouses' or children lives while naturalizing or not.

Finally, the role of political factors can be counted as the variables of *voting rights, to be effective in the politics of the host country and gaining knowledge about political issues during the naturalization process*. The topic of naturalization is regarded with the politics as broad and the state politics and immigrants lives specifically so it is natural that one can think to be naturalized to use his or her voting rights and to have voice in the national elections to affect the future national and international politics of the country where he or she has been living. Finally, during the learning process of naturalization the immigrant who wants to be naturalized can start being interested in politics because of any requirements or disapproval of the administrative or regulation policies.

After those external factors have been examined, the second point which is administrative and policy regulations will be the issue of the perspective part which can have crucial effects in the decision of the naturalization before, during and after the naturalization with the requirements and obligations that are demanded by the states for naturalization. The reason why I chose looking for the policy regulations and administrative factors can be explained firstly its difference from the external factors that have been mentioned above. The difference is their relationship about the position of the immigrants. The first four factors which are socio economic, socio demographical,, cultural and political are directly related with the immigrants' lives, backgrounds and themselves but the effect of the state has not been observed as a direct influence at first glance so its name is external factors but when we consider naturalization process also as a process between the two actors who are the immigrants and the state so there is a need to count the role of the states on naturalization decision of the immigrants directly which I named as an internal factor. There are three variables; the first one is the papers which are demanded by the states regularly if you do not have citizenship and visa requirements of the country. The second is the time and money the immigrants have to allocate to be naturalized which are required by the states. Finally, the immigrants have to fulfill those requirements to be admitted of their application by the states. Secondly, why I decided to include policy requirements and administrative factors can be found about their relevance with my central question which will try to answer the aim of those policy beliefs of the Netherlands so clearly it is possible to find a connection between policy beliefs and policy requirements and administrative factors of a country that are obliged for their immigrants.

II-A

SOCIO ECONOMIC FACTORS

The theories of socio economic factors during the naturalization process vary not only from country to country but also it has different reflections among the scholars. In the first glance, there are three major steps in the socio economic factors; the first one is the effect to carry the passport of the host country in the job applications. Secondly, the education level and the education in which country the immigrants obtained their degree as an indicator of their social statue. Finally, the duration of the immigrants that they stayed in the host country can be another dimension either to tend to be naturalized or not. There are different dimensions in the socio-economic factors and they are connected to each other like a circle of a chain so in some situations to explain the reasons of naturalization because of just one factor becomes much more difficult. As a result, while focusing on each dimension, the combination of those factors which are influential on the decision of the naturalization can be important factor which needs not to be neglected.

One of the first dimensions that come to mind in the socio economic factors probably the jobs that the immigrants can find easily with the passport of the host country or not. This is one of the main economic reasons that pushes the immigrants to acquire the passport of the host country. One of the main studies in this field had been done by Bevelander and Veenman (2006) for the Netherlands. In their findings, they state that "a clear difference in employment rate arises for those who have obtained Dutch nationality and those who have not. Dutch citizenship appears to be correlated with higher employment rates." (p.20) In this research, the passport factor can have absolute benefit to find out the jobs. Afterward, they conclude that "citizenship acquisition has a positive and significant effect on job chances." (p.21). Though, there are some certain jobs in every state that only the citizens of that country can apply like the jobs in the ministries of the country or police officers but mostly this does not cover the majority of the job opportunities in a country like in the Netherlands. If that is true, most of the immigrants most probably wanted to work in the institutions of the states that require citizenship which is quite impossible.

For the Netherlands case, Dutch passport has the influence to have more chance to find a job in the labour market but the scholars have not consistent results for this argument for every country. For example, Constant, Gataullina and Zimmerman (2007) state that "similarly, DeVoretz and Pivnenko (2004) demonstrate that Canadian immigrant wages increase after citizenship acquisition." (p. 5). However, the empirical results of Mata (1999) could not find a direct relationship between Dutch passport and job chances he indicates that "no relationship between naturalization and immigrants' wages in Canada." (p. 5). The argument for the direct correlation between the naturalization and finding job has not always constant results but the case may change from country to

country. Therefore, different perceptions about the immigrants which are reasoning from the native society can have the role in the job applications so that can be one of the factors pushing the immigrants whether to apply for naturalization or not in the country where they live and feel discrimination in the job competitions.

Secondly, one of the most important aspects that determine socio economic statutory of the immigrants is the education level they have and the place of the education where they had obtained it. As Bevelander and Veenman (2006) also indicate that "a higher educational level as well as having obtained their education in the Netherlands increases the log odds of obtaining employment." (p. 21). The education level of the immigrants have truly effective role in obtaining jobs but high education level does not mean that the immigrants can find the job easily than the less educated immigrants because they get high education level the recruitment process for the jobs which they apply, can become more competitive when we consider these jobs are open for international competitions. Hence, the possibility of low level educated immigrants can find ordinary jobs easier than the high level educated immigrants who are looking for more outstanding jobs. For this reason, what do the immigrants want can have another essential role that is mostly neglected by the scholars. If we come back to the effect of the education as a social paradigm in the naturalization it can be difficult to mention about the direct relation between job and education level but there is a need to include the backgrounds of the each immigrant situation and their job preferences individually as well.

Finally, duration of the residence in the country is also one of the essential social factors. Some scholars try to find a correlation between duration of the residence and the willingness of naturalization. For instance, Janoski and DeMichele (2007) say that "more immigrants that enter the country and the longer they stay, the more immigrants will naturalize to full citizen status." (p.2). As a result, they explain the duration of the immigrants in the host country can be an essential determination in the decision of naturalization. When we think, the longer stays that are almost true that the numbers of experiences of the immigrants faced in different situations can increase but one may also argue that the features of the experiences whether negative or positive can have more influence rather than the numbers of the experiences. Not the quantity but the quality of the duration can have the more influence in some situations. There are immigrants who have 20 years residence in the host country but never considered to be naturalized and immigrants who have lived in the host country for 5 years immediately may start to apply for naturalization

. Most probably, other variables can have the role rather than just the duration that the immigrants lived in the host country or the backgrounds of the immigrants and what kind of a job the immigrants are looking for may become more important than the education level they obtained. Finally, rather to have the passport of the host country or not, the attitudes of the employees in the host

country can be more determinative factor. That causes to rethink the combinations and the other variables of the different factors which can have more persuasive rather than focusing on just one factor for the effects of the socio economic factors on the decision of the naturalization.

As a result, though the role of acquiring passport of the host country on the chance of finding a job has different results for different countries, for the Netherlands there is a direct correlation. Secondly, the education level has directly effect the socio economic positions of the immigrants by the job they have found. Finally, there has been a correlation between the duration of the immigrants that they have stayed in the host country and the decision for naturalization.

CULTURAL; ASSOCIATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES

The most psychological challenges for the immigrants while naturalizing are the role of their emotions on questioning their past identity and linkage to their home countries so how to interpret acquiring of their new citizenship becomes more important. Is it either a disloyalty to their backgrounds and ethnic identities or is it an honor for them to carry the passport which country they attach the most? Furthermore, different from those alternatives, is it a just a structural change to have the passport of the host country? In other words, to obtain the citizenship of the other country does not make you ethnically member of that country but makes your lives easier with the help of guarantying as a full member of that society where you have to survive. These questions are mostly the ones that press on the immigrants when they want to apply to acquire citizenship. There are four major measurements for cultural, associational and psychological factors; Firstly, the language capacity of the immigrants which can have role on both integration and attachment to the host country. Secondly, kinship ties of the immigrants and their strong ethnic community structures like living mostly as communities in certain parts of the towns have another significant variable. Thirdly, the role of the relationship between native society and immigrants might affect the immigrants' position as being one of the real parts of the society and finally requirement for the loss of nationality of the home country are one of leading factors that determine how the immigrants culturally attach to each country. All these variables structure cultural, associational and psychological factors for naturalization.

Firstly, the effect of the language skills and secondly kinship ties and strong ethnic community have been searched by the scholars but there are also different perspectives for the role of cultural factors in structuring the decision of the naturalization among the scholars. There are scholars like Yang (1994), and the others like Watsula (2005) agree that about a deep role of cultural factors, structure of ethnic community in the country and language skills on naturalization. (p.3) Like Watsula, Barkan and Khokhlov (1980), also indicate that knowledge of the language of the host country can be an important variable as a cultural attitude.(p.160-161) Furthermore, Watsula (2005) indicates that

"Yang's results confirm the previous findings of Jasso and Rosenzweig. So called "cultural assimilation" factors, such as language skills, kinship ties, and a strong ethnic community are all significant determinants of the propensity of an immigrant to naturalize." (p.3). Like socio economic factors mentioned above, contradictory arguments still go on for cultural factors on naturalization. Different from the argument of Watsula (2005), Bevelander and Veenman, (2006) for their study in the Dutch case found "only a weak relation between cultural integration and naturalization." (p.9) These two different perspectives make the borders of the discussion for the cultural factors quite blurry but also takes the attention to another remarkable point which is that if different arguments mention by the scholars what is the real background cultural reason which affects the decision of the each immigrant to be naturalized or not. The immigrants who are integrated culturally can still do not want to take the decision to be naturalized but also that can be observed for the individuals who are culturally assimilated and attached only to the host society and country may want to naturalize instantly. As a result, the role of cultural determinants on naturalization may depend on how the individuals have cultural attachment to which society more or less, ethnic community dependency, language skills and home country kinships.

Thirdly, the other essential part of the cultural, associational and psychological attitude can be observed in the relationship between the immigrants in the host country and the native society. For this factor, Wanner and Etienne (2000) say that "It is also an indicator of the degree of openness and of reciprocal contact between the host society and its immigrants." (p.1). Therefore, the relationship between these two societies has the regulatory role either altering the immigrants to a more closed society and living in ghettos in the certain parts of the city or may have the role changing the immigrants' lives to a more opened and transparent society who have better communication with all members of the society so this can open the ways of more interaction of the two societies. The relationship of the two societies is also two ways of communication which is regulated by both natives and immigrants in the country.

Finally, one of the most tempting and challenging aspects on the decision of the naturalization is loss of the citizenship of the home country. The loss of the nationality makes the issue more emotional and complicated. For the immigrants who have completely assimilated in the host society can be more willingly to acquire the citizenship of the host country but for the ones who have still attach to each country both home and host country, the problem becomes like an identity crisis and a very difficult decision waits for those immigrants. For Bevelander and Veenman, (2006) "losing the original nationality often can be considered as the most important disadvantage." (p.7). Furthermore, there are arguments who think that dual citizenship should be permitted. For instance, Carroll and Vollhardt (2002) mention that "dual citizenship would take into account and represent their bi-national identity, which cannot be denied. It could improve the currently low numbers of naturalization, which

can be seen as helpful for integration." (p.129). As a result, in the countries, where dual citizenship is not permitted like the Netherlands, the immigrants who have somehow attach to each two countries have more troubles for the decision of naturalization. At this level, what determines the decision of naturalization for bi-nationalities can be observed not only for cultural factors but they try to include socio economical, political or socio demographical reasons to come up such a difficult decision of naturalization as well.

Therefore, there has been done a lot of research for the cultural aspect of naturalization reasons among the scholars. The studies show that there is an essential role of culture and naturalization, though, in the study of Bevelander and Veenman, (2006) in the Dutch case found "only a weak relation between cultural integration and naturalization." (p.9). On the other hand, the scholars agree the importance of language capacity for integration and motivation of naturalization. In addition to this, they remark the relationship between the host society and immigrants as an important determinant factor. Finally, it is noted that the loss of home country nationality as a big disadvantage for the immigrants who have willingness to be naturalized.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

In the decision of naturalization, the basic features of the immigrants about their socio demographical backgrounds like their age, gender or marital status can have significant results that affect their approach to naturalization. Different scholars like Carroll and Vollhardt (2002), Yang (1994), Bevelander and Veenman (2006), Nicolas and Sprangers (2001) also try to show the importance of socio demographic features; age, sex and marital status on the decision of naturalization.

The question whether the men or the women can have more attachment to be naturalized is analyzed by Carroll and Vollhardt (2002) state that "Yang's final contributions come in the form of demographic characteristics that play a role in naturalization. He found that women are more likely to naturalize than men." (p.4) Moreover, Like Carroll and Vollhardt (2002), Bevelander and Veenman (2006) found similar results in their studies. They state that the ones who identify themselves as 'Dutch' are the most modernized women in their scale of the research (Bevelander and Veenman, 2006 p.9) The higher interest of the women than the men for naturalization is interesting to note.

After the effect of gender on naturalization, another part of socio demographical measurement is the importance of the age. Carroll and Vollhardt (2002) state that "the relationship between age and naturalization is curvilinear. There is a positive association which peaks at middle age and then turns negative as the immigrant ages. (Yang 1994)" (p.4) Different ages can have different interests for

naturalizations but that is also necessary to note that at what age the immigrants migrated to the host country and other personal features of the immigrants can cause shifts in the decision of naturalization. For instance, in the study of Bevelander and Veenman, (2006) for the Dutch case they found that "age, age at migration and education influences the propensity of naturalization among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. In addition, gender affects the likelihood of obtaining Dutch citizenship." (p.9)

Finally, after influence of age and sex on the decision of naturalization, marital status of the immigrants can have another important feature that can affect the decision of the immigrants. For instance, Nicolas and Sprangers (2001) in their Dutch study explored that "Variables that are strongly connected with the migration motive like sex, age, and marital status, year of most recent arrival and country of birth." (p.6). Moreover, if we imagine that such an immigrant who is married and have children that can affect their naturalization decision for the future or education of their children to settle in the host country permanently and to have benefits of the marriage where the state has some benefits for married couples.

As a result, the theories in this field found very close relationship between the age, age at migration, gender and marital status of the immigrants. Those variables have been remarked as considerable signs that affect the decision of naturalization. Age has been presented as an indication and reaching its peak level of naturalization at mid ages. Moreover, for the Dutch case, there has been found that modernized women are more eagerly to be naturalized than the men. Finally, marital status of the immigrants have been evaluated as changing factor for the decision of naturalization on the basis of dependency situation of the immigrants.

POLITICAL FACTORS

Political reasons are one of the significant for naturalization of the immigrants. One of the major claim that come to mind as political factor is firstly the right of voting, secondly the power to affect the regulations of the state by their voice with holding voting rights. Finally, gaining of the knowledge and interest to the political issues during the naturalization process is the other variable that motivates to put efforts of the immigrants to vote. These three issues are also mentioned by different scholars as essential reason that pushes the immigrants to naturalize.

Firstly, there is a need to look why the immigrants want to naturalize because of political reasons. The research in the U.S.A, *Guide to Naturalization* (revised 2/2004), included voting right as one of the main motives that causes the immigrants in the U.S.A to be naturalized. Watsula (2005) refers to the *Guide* and according to the *Guide*, "some of the most important" reasons to naturalize are gaining the right to vote." (p.4)

Secondly, the experiences that the immigrants face like the procedures they should complete process during the naturalization process and the knowledge they obtained in this course can cause to increase their attention to the politics of the host country. De Spio (2007) explains this situation with these words: "naturalizing citizens developed a more complete understanding of U.S. politics through the requirements of the naturalization process. With this greater knowledge, they took the responsibilities of democracy more seriously and they participated more." (p.7). That is interesting to mention that one of the indirect requirements to have knowledge about the naturalization process to apply for naturalization also leads to the result of the naturalization by affecting the politics of the host country with the votes of the immigrants in the future. Mazzolari explains that (2007) "perceived anti-immigrant sentiment encouraged immigrants to naturalize to protect their rights and vote against anti-immigrant legislation." (p.14) Moreover, DeSipio (2007) supports this argument and state that "immigrants who naturalized for political reasons are more likely to participate than those who naturalized for other reasons and immigrants who naturalized in order to obtain or maintain access to government services would be less likely to vote." (p. 4).

For the case of the Netherlands, the first political initiative started in the mid 1980's with the aim of integrating the immigrants in the country to have more voice and giving the chance of shaping the Dutch politics in the issues of their problems. Pennix (2005) explained that "the active and passive voting rights were launched in 1985 and this caused to direct participation of the immigrant background in the local elections. The Dutch parties also looked for the immigrant backgrounds candidate and in the just 15 years 8 % percent of the MP's constrained from the immigrants' background or naturalized citizens." (p.2). Pennix (2005) adds that "for all target groups of minorities' policy was established that should give these groups a voice in matters." (p.3) Though, there is no need to be Dutch citizen to have voting rights but requires at least 5 years residency, to vote in the national election one must be Dutch citizenship. Thus, the reason of naturalization becomes more and more important for the ones who want to have active voice also in the national elections.

As a result, voting rights for the reasons of naturalization have been one of the most influential political reasons that affect the politics of the country by the right of voting not only for local but also for the national elections. Through the knowledge and experiences of the immigrants they acquired during this process can become more aware of their political rights like voting and more willingly to go for voting but also there should not be ignored that existence of the people who have already this knowledge before starting the process of naturalization and they may have the willingness to be naturalized just to be full member of the society not only paying taxes but also holding the right of voting.

II-B)

POLICY REQUIREMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS

The external factors which are not directly related with state role but mostly related with the backgrounds and tendencies of the immigrants have been gathered above as socio economic; cultural, associational and psychological; socio demographical and political reasons. Apart from those external factors, the role of the policy requirements and administrative factors; like the barriers make the naturalization process more difficult or the incentives that make it easier can be put by the states as internal factors so this is the other noteworthy factor that can have role to determine the decision of the immigrants to be naturalized or not by the active intervention of the state regulations before, during and after the naturalization process. These internal factors can be gathered under three essential variables. Firstly, to get rid of paper work and easier visa procedures after naturalization. Secondly, to save both time and money by naturalization and finally to have the necessary conditions to be eligible to apply for naturalization.

When we look for in a detailed way for those internal factors, the first and one of the most important one is to get rid of paper work which have been demanded by the states like extending their residence permits or by naturalizing to get rid of visa requirements as being EU citizen. These factors are especially considerable to make the lives of those people easier. As a result, by obtaining Dutch passport they will save both time and money and have more freedom to travel around the world.

Secondly, the energy to gather the documents before the application and the time need to wait after the application process, economic cost and effort they will show during this process can be the reasons to reevaluate naturalization process one more time. For instance, the time for waiting after they have applied can cause to nervous and excitement. Tjebbes (2000) indicates that "naturalization process, in most cases, brings with it few problems (but takes a long time, currently about 8 to 10 months)" (§ 11) Economic cost of the naturalization process becomes another crucial factor especially for the ones whose economic power is not very good. For example, for the Netherlands the high fees can create problems for economical constrains. Sterling (2008) summarizes this situation and he states that "immigrants face visa fees amounting to hundreds of dollars per year, and permanent residency or naturalization fees that cost nearly \$1,500" (§ 7) Therefore, both the time and economic cost on the one hand and the effort they will show during this process and after completing all of the requirements for naturalization and finally the waiting duration with full of excitement to get the passport or not, are the factors that lead to rethink to acquire citizenship one more time.

Finally it is important to note the requirements to apply for naturalization. Though there are different requirements that change for each country, there are major similarities for the naturalization requirement in various countries. Chopin (ed. Bauböck, 2006) gathered nine major factors of those similarities: "language proficiency, tests of the applicants' knowledge about the country's political system and values, absence of criminal record, good character of the applicant, general integration or assimilation of the immigrant, employment and duration of residence." (p.223). When we look back for the policy requirements for the Netherlands, this has been noticed that it has not been that much easy like in the past with the last updates in 2003. The requirements which are included have mentioned by Rovers and Van Helsen (2003) "the applicant is asked to complete a naturalization test, five years residence permit (three years for spouses), language requirements, not owning a criminal record, to be a good citizen and application fees." (§ 5-6).

Consequently, the role of policy regulations and administrative factors are significant to have more outlook about the policy beliefs of the states by the requirements that has been set for the immigrants to be naturalized and the time and energy the immigrants put their effort for naturalization or the papers that the immigrants have to fill to extend their residence and work permits which are obliged by the states and finally the right with free movement in the EU countries and getting rid of paper works have become more important reasons as bringing practical solutions while making the lives of the immigrants much more easier.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

The reasons of naturalization of the first, second and third generation of the Turkish immigrants who are living in the Netherlands will be the main subject of my research. In other words, why do the Turkish immigrants want to be naturalized and what is the role of the policy beliefs and state regulations on their decision of naturalization. As a result, my central question is what are the reasons of naturalization of the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants and the effects of the policy beliefs and regulations on the decision of naturalization?

To make my central question more prominent and explicate, I have three sub-questions which the first two questions are regarded with the first, second, third generation Turkish immigrant's attitudes and approach to naturalization and the last question is about the policy beliefs and regulations on the policies of naturalization;

In the first sub question, the significance of the Dutch citizenship and image of the Dutch passport in the mind of those the first, second and the third generation Turkish immigrants will be the central topic. For this reason, the questions will be; what do they feel about acquiring Dutch citizenship? Is it a status that does not mean anything to the different generation of the Turkish immigrants except practical benefits in their live or is it a proud or a valuable gaining to carry Dutch passport?

After drawing the picture of the image of Dutch citizenship, the second sub-question will be about the reasons of obtaining Dutch citizenship or not. To evaluate those factors, the question will be about what are the role of socio-economic, demographic, cultural backgrounds and political rights on the decision of naturalization for the first, second and the third generation Turkish immigrants? I picked up those factors because these are directly related with the lives, background and their perceptions on naturalization.

The first two questions are necessary to have idea of the different generations of the Turkish immigrants' approach to Dutch citizenship. Afterwards, the last sub question is also significant to know about the politics of the Dutch state for naturalization of their immigrants in the Netherlands. As a result, the third sub-question aims to identify what is the role of the state's policy regulations and administrative factors on the decision of the naturalization for the Turkish immigrants? The naturalization process has not been such a play where the only actors are the immigrants but also it's such an agreement between the states and the immigrants. Though, the decision of naturalization has been taken by free choice of the immigrants, unsurprisingly the effects of the policy regulations and the perceptions and outlook of the states for their immigrants may have vital role on the immigrants for naturalization. Therefore, these factors which are different from above external factors are more regarded with the internal factors where the influence of the state politics both on the application process and their perception about the immigrants may directly be observed on the decision of the naturalization. As a result, that makes necessary also to observe the policy regulations and perceptions for it's the effect on the decision of naturalization.

In the light of my sub-questions, my central factors will be socio-economic; cultural, associational and psychological; socio demographical and political reasons that shape the decision of naturalization. All these factors will include sub variables to look deeply and to make more focused analysis of the research so for the socio-economic reasons there are three variables; job applications, education level and the duration of the immigrants that they stayed in the Netherlands. For the cultural, associational and psychological reasons there are four variables which are language capacity, kinship ties and strong ethnic community, the relationship with the native society and the loss of former

nationality. For the socio demographical reasons there are three variables which are age, gender and marital status. Finally for the political reasons again there are three variables will be discussed; voting rights, influencing to the politics of the country and finally the interest of politics while naturalizing.

As it has been seen above all those variables are the external factors that are directly related with the immigrants backgrounds and lives which may lead to significant results to take the decision of naturalization but those factors are not enough with excluding the role of the policy beliefs and regulations on immigrants to make such a prominent conclusion on naturalization. As a result, after those factors and variables have been discussed, administrative factors and policy regulations will be the second headline with three variables which are it will be about the role of the policy regulations and administrative factors on naturalization. This role will be examined under three variables which are firstly the papers and visas that are required by the state when the one does not have Dutch citizenship. Secondly, the role of the energy, time and application fees during the application process to be naturalized will be the topic. Finally the requirements for naturalization will structure especially the outlook of the state and what kind of immigrants' image do they want to be naturalized.

To measure my variables, firstly statistical data and in depth interviews are the milestones of the research. In this respect, I will first examine whether there is any change in the numbers of naturalization, relying on statistical data from the Statistics Netherlands (CBS) to show the changing naturalization numbers of the Turkish immigrants between 1996 and 2005.

However, the changes in the number of naturalization, if any, would not reflect the change in the meanings the immigrants reasons' attach to the Netherlands citizenship. That's why in depth interviews are necessary to look for the reasons of naturalization. These interviews will be done with semi structured and open questions¹ and all of the interviews will be held face to face. How to select the candidates of my sample is also important to increase the reliability of the research. I chose my sample firstly by reaching Turkish students in the University and meeting also the ones who they have other Turkish friends and contacts. Secondly, I entered to the Turkish restaurants, cafes and patisseries in the town centre of Enschede and explained my research and asked for their participation. Finally, I have relatives and friends of my mother who are living in Haarlem.

To prevent bias is one of the most significant parts of the research. My sample should also reflect very close features of the whole Turkish population in the Netherlands and because of time limitation; I could interview 23 respondents so I should have been very careful about my sample. I decided to construct my sample according to equal numbers of male and females so I interviewed with

¹ Please look for the appendix to see the main questions that have been asked to the respondents during the interviews

13 males and 12 females. After decided closing numbers of respondents both from males and females, Firstly, I decided the numbers of my sample for each generation according to the statistics of the Turkish immigrants by each generation which belongs to Central Office of Statistics. Secondly, the numbers of the Turkish immigrants who hold Dutch citizenship and who do not is very important to have a reliable sample so according to the numbers of Central Office of Statistics again; I made a decision about the numbers of the respondents. Finally, the level of education is an important factor that I have to be suspicious so I was also careful while choosing the suitable background for education level as well. Though, there were more respondents that I can make interviews, I did not prefer to make interview because increasing the numbers of each factor may affect the balance of my sample for the whole Turkish population in the Netherlands negatively so I tried to create the profiles of the immigrants then looked for the ones who are more suitable to be interviewed.

Secondly, according to Central Office of Statistics by 2002, no less than 57% of the Turkish origin immigrants hold Dutch citizenship as well. (Jacobs, 2003, p.11) After 2002 till 2006 there are around 15,000 thousand Turkish immigrants are naturalized as well (CBS, 2006). This means that close to %70 percent of the Turkish immigrants hold Dutch citizenship. Because of this reason, there are 19 respondents who have Dutch citizenship among 23 respondents in my interview. As a result, in my sample the majority of the interviewees hold Dutch citizenship.

Firstly, when we look for the numbers of each Turkish generation in the Netherlands, the first generation is higher than the second generation immigrants. The number of the first generation Turkish immigrants is 195.000 and the number of second generation Turkish immigrants is 173.000 by 2007. Because of this reason, in my sample the number of the first generation is quite bigger than the second generation which is 12:7. Secondly, the number of the third generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands is still small. There are around 5000 third generation immigrants in the Netherlands (CBS, 2001). Most of those immigrants are less than 18 years old but in my research I found four respondents who are over 18 years old. This is the reason why the numbers of the third generation immigrants are only 4 among 23 respondents in my sample which is also a reflection of the whole Turkish population in the Netherlands.

Finally, I tried to prevent bias being careful about educational level of the immigrants. The first generation Turkish immigrants who came in late 1960s, were mostly the ones who have primary education and came to the Netherlands to work lower level jobs and there is also a group of Turkish immigrants who are choosing their partners from Turkey who have secondary education because of this reason I chose the majority of the first generation immigrants from the ones who received primary or secondary education. The second generation received vocational training as well. On the other hand though their numbers are small there are immigrants who came to the Netherlands to study and then

stayed in the Netherlands who started living in the Netherlands permanently by marrying a Dutch citizen. Therefore, taking in consideration of all these facts and with the statistics of the number of the Turkish immigrants who have University education in the Netherlands is just around 5,800 (CBS, 2007). As a result, majority of my respondents have not received University education. 16 of my respondents have primary, secondary or vocational training among 23 respondents.

I divided the questions in my interview into two parts in order to test empirically whether immigrants' differential likelihood to naturalize is caused by differences of the immigrants' interests and/or there are essential effects of the policy beliefs and regulations on the immigrants to be naturalized.² Therefore, we need suitable indicators to measure it. In the first part, socio-economic benefits by naturalization and economic capital can be one of the measurements that affect naturalization in terms of home or business ownership because those ownerships can have essential role to change the decision of naturalization so I asked the questions about the socio-economic situation of the first, second and the third generation of the Turkish immigrants on the decision of the naturalization. Secondly, I asked the role of Dutch passport on job applications. The educational background of the immigrants may have significant influence on naturalization so this is measured by a question asking in which country they completed their education and what degree they attained (a higher education degree in the Netherlands degree indicating naturalization-related gains in the form of being naturalized because of the reaching to have more or better job positions). On the other hand, not getting a high education can have effect naturalization reasons as well. Afterwards, cultural, associational and psychological factors are measured by asking the questions about their relatives living abroad, their Dutch contacts, the language knowledge both Dutch and Turkish and their attachments to the Netherlands or Turkey and how do they identify their home country and how do they perceive loss of Turkish nationality to be naturalized. Thirdly, socio-demographic factors are measured by the questions about their age, gender and marital status, family reunification and in the commencing of the interviews. Finally, degree of political interest is assessed by indicating naturalization-related their interest for political participation as voting rights and gains in the form of opportunities for political participation.

After the questions answered about the reasons of naturalization, in the second part, the questions were about the policies of the state and administrative policies. The procedures, difficulties or motivations to be naturalized which are demanded by the state organizations asked to find the effects of those policy regulations on the decision of naturalization

² Those questions which have been asked to the respondents can be found at the end of the thesis in the appendix.

There may be also limitations of the research. Since Turkish population has not homogenous structure in the Netherlands. There is a need to make interviews from all ethnic backgrounds, including ethnic background of Kurdish or ethnic background of Balkan countries or Lazs, religious background of Turkish Christians, Alevi or Milli Görüş, or different gender backgrounds like Turkish homosexuals who have considerable number in the Netherlands. The decisions of naturalization of those groups whether political or cultural have the possibility to affect the results of the research so the research accepts the effects of those groups in the reasons of naturalization among the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants population. Though, those groups have sizeable numbers, they are still not the majority in the Turkish immigrants population in the Netherlands. The main group of the Turkish immigrants are the ones who were migrated to the Netherlands in late 1960s with thousands of numbers and the profiles of those immigrants are the ones who came from the heart of the Anatolia without any marginal ethnic, religious or sexual backgrounds have decided not to leave from the Netherlands and let coming of the second and third generation of the Turkish immigrants from this group. To prevent biases and to increase the reliability of the research I tried to look for different groups which mostly changes in age, education, socio-economic position, gender and their backgrounds. My sample firstly has been constrained of the people from Enschede Utrecht and Haarlem coming from the heart of the Anatolia and the next generations of those people whose number 23. As a result, the research will provide the opportunity to develop expressive, understanding and insight into individuals' attitudes, viewpoints, concerns, incentives, aspirations and preferences about naturalization in the Netherlands with the focusing point of socio-economical, socio-demographical, cultural, political reasons and try to explore the effects of the policy beliefs and regulations on the immigrants' decisions on naturalization.

In addition to this, that can be very helpful to conclude the hypotheses to test my central question and sub questions easily and in a structured way by taking in account of those hypotheses so I have seven hypotheses which the first four hypotheses are focused four external variables. In other words, they are regarded with the reasons of naturalizations of the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants, the fifth one is about the effects of policy beliefs and regulations on the Turkish immigrants. The sixth one is deal with the ones who are not naturalized and the last one is related with attachment of the Dutch citizenship of the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants.

Hypothesis 1-: For the decision of naturalization socio economical factors may be effective more for the first generation and then second generation and less for the third generation Turkish immigrants.

Hypothesis 2: Cultural, associational and psychological factors may have the most influence for the first generation but the least for the third generation

Hypothesis 3: Three variables of socio demographical factors; gender, age and marital status may affect the reason of naturalization for all of the first, second and third generation immigrants

Hypothesis 4: The right of voting as one of the political variables may be indicated as a motivation to be naturalized by the entire first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants.

Hypothesis 5: Policy beliefs and regulations affect the decision of naturalization for the entire Turkish immigrants

Hypothesis 6: The reasons for the ones who are not naturalized can be explained because of their top level attachment to Turkey

Hypothesis 7: Attachment to Dutch citizenship increases by each next generation of the Turkish immigrants respectively

Therefore, the first four hypotheses will help to make distinctions about the reasons of the naturalization among the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants. The fifth one will facilitate the role of policy beliefs and regulation among different generations. The sixth hypothesis will pay attention for the reasons of the ones who are not naturalized. Finally, the last hypothesis will indicate the comparison between the first, second and third generation immigrants about the attachment of Dutch citizenship. As a result, after the empirical part, the analysis has already been done for those hypotheses so the verification of those seven hypotheses will be one of the issues of the conclusion as well.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL OUTLOOK FOR THE NATURALIZATION POLICIES IN THE NETHERLANDS, POLICY BELIEFS AND EMPRICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter has been constrained of three parts: firstly, there is need to understand the migration and naturalization politics in the Netherlands. This will be done by giving information in a chronological order about developments in the Netherlands. Secondly, the factors which have structured the naturalization decision and policies have been explained will be discussed under four key variables which are socio economical; cultural, associational and psychological; socio demographical and political approach of the Dutch policy belieaf on naturalization. Therefore, socio economical, cultural, socio demographical and political factors will be discussed with connection to

policy beliefs in these areas. Finally, the empirical analysis of the research has been examined according to each factor among the first, second and third generation.

HISTORICAL OUTLOOK FOR THE NATURALIZATION POLICIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

To understand the naturalization policies of the Netherlands there is need to go back nearly one century ago, to the end of the 19th century. Scholars like Van Oers et al. (2006) try to take attention to the act of 1892 (p. 392-398). Van Oers et al. (2006) mention that by the act of 1892 to have Dutch citizenship by birth became impossible but required to be a son or daughter of a Dutch man so the ones whose father are Dutch can become Dutch citizen. (p. 424) When we consider the time of that day, in most of the societies men and women equality had not been approved in nearly most aspects of the social and political life so gaining citizenship by father blood can be considered as normal but this situation also signifies the construction of the citizenship with strong blood backgrounds as full loyalty to the Dutch state became clearer. In this regard, Van Oers et al. (2006) also state that to be a child of a Dutch family is also approval of your loyalty to the Dutch society and territory. (p.424)

This attachment of the citizenship policy of the Netherlands as ignorance of the naturalization policy would survive till 1952. Van Oers et al. (2006) state that the first change for flexibility had been occurred by 1953 with permission of acquiring citizenship also for the third generation immigrants who would get Dutch citizenship by the birth in the Dutch territories. (p. 409-411) By 1976, this process also explains as a liberalization of the Dutch nationality law and lead to the other liberalizations without parliamentary interventions for the second generation immigrants who have 'strong connection with the Netherlands.' (Van Oers et al. (2006) p. 425). The first liberalization movements commenced in the Netherlands as a milestone year of 1952 and the developments in the national law was the clue that this would be the first but would not be last liberalization movement in the country.

The years of 1960's and 70's were the time for the Netherlands as neglecting itself as a country of immigrants (Van Oers et al., 2006, p.402) so that was quite impossible to take any initiative for clear and unambiguous immigration politics. Penninx, Garcés-Mascareñas and Scholten (2005) declare that the lack of recognition of the Netherlands itself as a country of immigrants. (p. 11). This situation is also a natural outcome of not recognizing such an immigration issue explicitly. On the other hand, by 1984, the second liberalization movement for naturalization policy had already become legalized. Penninx, Garcés-Mascareñas and Scholten (2005) explain the recognizing of the immigrants who have been long term residents in the Netherlands as a target to integrate those people

into Dutch society (p.3) After recognizing those people existence, the new policies commenced to be have active role in this integration process. Van Oers et al. (2006) summarized this situation as simplifying to acquire Dutch citizenship for the second generation by declaring to the authorities without public order and necessities for the integration so mostly, second generation and to some extent the third generation got the chance to be member of the Dutch nation. (p. 409-410) In order to understand those developments by 1984, there is a further need to look for the new minority policies which was acted just one year ago, in 1983. The very important perception change was included in this act. Van Oers et al. (2006) explain this change of the outlook of the state to the immigrants as 'permanent residents' and essential need of integration policies not to let the immigrants to be weak part of the Dutch society. (p. 426). As a result, when we reached to the mid 80's, interesting start of those changes by 1952 of the national law were followed with bigger steps which was prioritized and provided gaining importance of the immigrants and acquiring citizenship issue on the political agenda. The new policy action what is called as 'ethnic minorities (EM)' is mentioned by Penninx, Garcés-Masareñas and Scholten (2005) as the intention of integration of the immigrants and the new policy which is called as 'ethnic minorities (EM)' aimed to give a clear voice of the immigrants in the country and society by the rights of passive voting, extending *ius soli* and becoming easier to acquire citizenship if you are a child of the immigrants (p.13)

As a result, all of these developments also affected the changes in the number of naturalized immigrants. Van Oers et al. (2006) refer to Heijs' (1995, p.208) study and say that Turkish immigrants who are naturalized increased from 50.000 to 155.000 between 1975 and 1984. (p. 394)

Though, crucial and serious changes had been started in the Dutch policy for the immigrants. There was still remaining one point that makes difficult for the decision of the naturalization which was renouncing of the original citizenship. Van Oers et al. (2006) indicate that though there was requirement to give up original nationality in the Act of 1984 that was also abolished by 1991 with completion of the discussions in the parliament. (p. 426) After abolishment of the renouncing original citizenship, the Netherlands became one of the main and crucial actors in the arena of immigration countries by creation and preparation all of the essential conditions that make easier to be Dutch citizen for their immigrants under the name of *for their integration*.

The role as a dream country of the Netherlands for their immigrants was going to the end point. To finalize the first step of this dream was initiated by the year of 1997. The reason to put an end and starting to restrict naturalization policy was explained by Van Oers et al. (2006) because of interpretation of the Conservative Liberals and Christian Democrats who evaluated the enormous increase in the numbers of naturalized immigrants as unexpected and they claimed that most of the immigrants who are naturalized have weak attachment to the Dutch state and society so renouncing

original citizenship should be acted again. (p. 426) Again and again the main key word was regarded with the loyalty. Those parties were emphasizing the importance of loyalty for the Netherlands and they believed that considerable increased numbers of naturalized immigrants also a symbol of disloyalty. Van Oers et al. (2006, p. 426). Indeed, the definition of the citizenship had been started to change which highlights not only rights but also the duties of the ones who want to acquire Dutch citizenship. Penninx, Garcés-Masareñas and Scholten (2005) indicate the policy document of 1994 (Ministerie, 1994) what is called as 'Countourenota' and this document was emphasizing the importance of 'good citizenship' and 'self-responsibility' and it argues that citizenship is not constrained of only rights but also duties should be included. (p.16) As a result, the last decision after the arguments of the parties in the parliament was not surprising "In 1997, renunciation requirement was reintroduced again." (Van Oers et al., 2006, p.426). Between the years of 1992 and 1997 the most easily acquiring citizenship procedures in the history of the Netherlands had become ended. Like 1952, 1997 also became a milestone that commencing the changes in the naturalization policies but different from 1952, the new changes would not be liberalization of the naturalization policies but restriction of it.

The second restriction was started in the Netherlands but the reason of it was not very similar like the abolishment of the protecting the original citizenship in 1997 which such a decision was taken by the internal political outcomes and arguments. The new restriction had been influenced also because of the political changes in the international realm. At this point, Van Oers et al. (2006) state that 'The Multicultural tragedy' which was written by Scheffer and mentioning the events of 9/11, the rise of populist politician Pim Fortuyn and the murder of Theo van Gogh caused increasing of the apprehension between the immigrants who are mostly called Muslims and native society (p. 427). All those developments also prove that effect of international politics can directly influence the immigrant policies and internal policies as well. Therefore; breakdown of the immigration policy became pronounced often. Penninx, Garcés-Masareñas and Scholten (2005) explain those developments as the starting movement for assimilationist policy that would renew history, norms and values of the Dutch people. (p.17)

Furthermore, these developments also led to the other new changes in the naturalization policies. As Van Oers et al. (2006) stated long residency is not enough to be naturalized but also one of the most essential requirements became the high loyalty for the Dutch society, strict naturalization exam started to apply to measure the knowledge how the immigrants integrated and know about the Netherlands so naturalization is now not a process of integration but crowning or completing of the integration process. (p. 426). With those the last changes Penninx (2005) ask whether the Dutch policy is 'disarray' or not and he answers with both yes and no. He says yes because he believes that because of focusing on populist politics and altering of the policies in the tone of more controlling, obligatory

and authoritarian which also do not have sufficient elements to implement those politics. (p.11). Moreover, he adds that the new changes caused "laying the burden of integration unequally on the shoulders of immigrants. Many of the new measures, such as the requirements of command of the Dutch language and knowledge of Dutch society before admission to the Netherlands is given, are furthermore implicitly or explicitly meant to restrict immigration." (p.11). On the other hand, he does not fully observe it as disarray because of the many of the earlier developments in the last twenty years and local level integration politics. (p. 11)

The last changes in the policy of the naturalization also symbolize how the policies of a country can change just in a couple of years when the problems and/or policies are not discussed explicitly and deeply in the past. Though, that is not clear to predict the future policy changes either to make more flexible or restrictive of the naturalization requirements, the last changes have already reflected to the naturalization numbers of the immigrants as it is showed in the Table 1.

Table 1- Naturalization Numbers of the Turks and Moroccans, 1980-2002

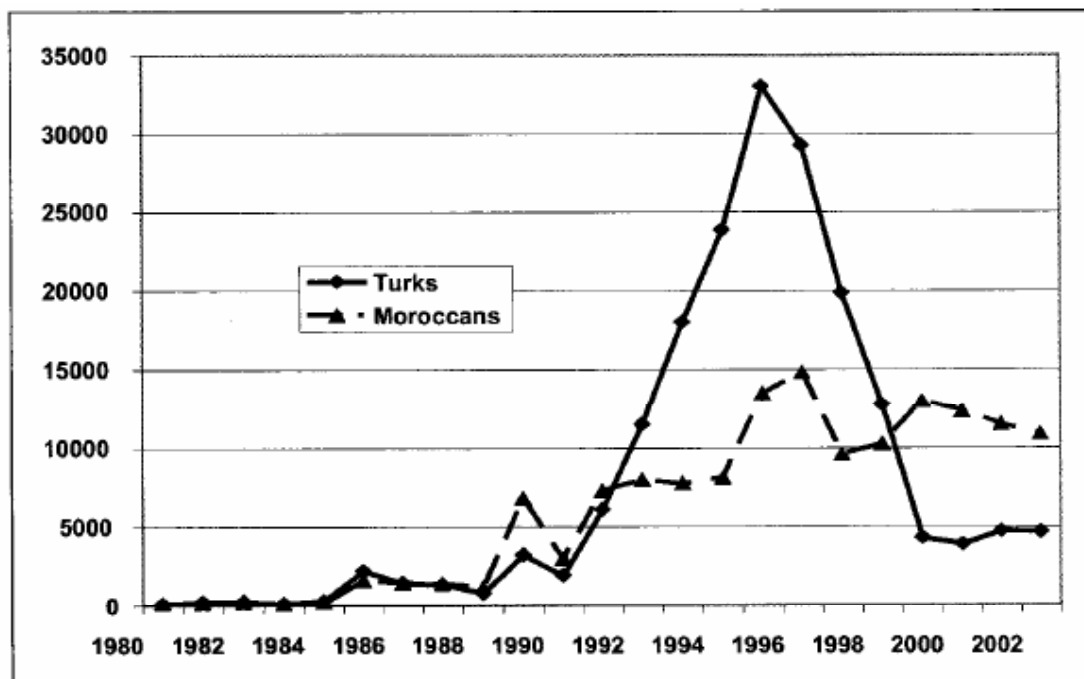


Figure 2. *Number of naturalizations, Turks and Moroccans, 1980–2002.*

Source: Statline, Statistics Netherlands.

(Bevelander and Veenman 2006, p.13)

As it is seen on the Table 1 (Bevelander and Veenman 2006, p.13), between 1980 and 1988 there was not so much difference for the naturalization numbers of the Turks but after, 1988 the

acceleration had been started with a slightly decrease in 1990 it commenced with a considerable increase between 1992 and 1997. This huge increase reached its peak level in 1997 and naturalized Turkish immigrants became seven times bigger than its acceleration point which was in 1992. On the other hand, after 1997, there was interesting movement on the table like 1992, but different from 1990s this movement was not upward but downward. From 1997 to 2000 this decrease of the naturalized Turks had been gone on decreasing with an enormous but constant declining. After 2000, the numbers of the naturalized Turks have become constant level and have turned back to the years with a slightly higher than 1980's.

That is also clear in this table the two very important changes in the numbers of the naturalized Turks have been noted by 1992 and 1997 which are the dates that has already mentioned above the easiest procedures to be naturalized were applicable between these dates in the Netherlands. After implementing of the renouncing original citizenship by 1997, the decrease has been started for naturalization. The numbers can be adequate to make implications about the policies but there is urgently need the perceptions of the immigrants why do they or do not they apply to acquire Dutch citizenship. For this reason, there is a qualitative analysis and in depth interviews with 23 Turkish immigrants which you will find in the next chapter.

SOCIO ECONOMICAL FACTORS AND APPROACH OF THE DUTCH POLICY BELIEFS ON NATURALIZATION

The close relationship between naturalizing of the immigrants and their integration has already been mentioned above. As Michalowski states that (2005) "the integration of immigrants into the labor market is one important aspect of integration." (¶ 13). When we look for the socio economic policies of the Netherlands in a detailed way that can be observed as well. Dutch policies have not put the socio economic part of the immigration policies as priority on their political agenda until 1990s. Especially with the increasing unemployment of the immigrant backgrounds when comparing to Dutch people and most of those Turkish and non Western immigrants' low skilled backgrounds have structured also the Dutch policies in the last decade.

In the years of 1980s the Dutch political understanding was almost based on the importance of the multicultural politics so supporting the immigrants in most of the aspects was the reason of this approach. This support had also been observed in the labor market during 1980s. For those years as Euwals, Dagevos, Gijsberts and Roodenburg (2007) state that "low skilled members of ethnic groups were an explicit target group in job creation plans." (p.13). In contrast to 1980s, the years of 1990s started alarming about increasing unemployment among the immigrants. As Joppke (2008) refers "due to a preponderance of unskilled family and asylum migration, unemployment and welfare dependency were very high among immigrants in the Netherlands in the 1990s: immigrant unemployment was four

times higher than the native Dutch rate, and close to half of all recipients of public assistance were non-Western immigrants." (p. 5)

After these developments in 1990s, the report which was published by the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment by 2006 with the title of '*Exploratory policy memorandum on labor migration in the Netherlands*' has essential indications to understand the beliefs of the Dutch policies on the link between naturalization of the immigrants and labor market in the last decade. The report mentions that "Immigration policy to combat short term scarcity can be useful, but the benefits to Dutch society as a whole have been limited. This can be avoided by linking immigration to (mandatory) citizenship/integration." (§ 5). Therefore, what has been preferred by the Dutch politicians today is not low skilled immigrants like 1960s and 1970s when most of the Turkish and non western immigrants had been migrated but the ones who are highly skilled immigrants with increasing globalization and need of skilled people for the labor market are more essential priorities for the Dutch labor market. This is also another explanation why a new immigration policy has been implemented for the highly skilled immigrants in the Netherlands just a few years ago to attract those people to the Netherlands.

The other face of the coin also establishes the linkage between the last policy changes on family reunification and labor market because majority of the second generation immigrants choose their partners from Turkey whose partners are low skilled immigrants is the other factor to establish such a bond between the labor market and integration policies. Again, the report of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment (2006) explain that "the arrival of foreign workers between 1960 and 1973 resulted in substantial socio-economic and socio-cultural problems. This highlights the fact that policy on labor migration, including the resultant family forming migration cannot be separated from integration policy." (§ 6).

As a result, socio economic conditions of the Netherlands are quite different than the years of 1980s and 1990s when most of the first generation Turkish immigrants have been migrated to the Netherlands. Integration policies of the Netherlands by 1980s were on the lines of multicultural policies so supporting and integrating the immigrants' backgrounds also to the labor market was another urgent policy target as well. In contrast, the migration policies of the Netherlands are mostly different in most of the aspects than twenty years ago. Economical benefits of the country has become much more important so their need of the highly skilled immigrants can not be resolved by coming new low skilled Turkish immigrants from Turkey or elsewhere is the most common policy belief which dominates the migration politics today. This belief also affects the integration policies at the first instance and naturalization policies indirectly as well by restricting the new Turkish immigrants to the Netherlands.

CULTURAL FACTORS AND APPROACH OF THE DUTCH POLICY BELIEFS ON NATURALIZATION

The changes on the approach of cultural spectrum for the Dutch policies can be observed clearly from the years 1980s to today. Those politics especially because of cultural differences between the immigrants' countries which are mostly between non-western countries like Turkey and Morocco and the Dutch society pushed the Dutch politicians to create such a society by encouraging the immigrants to preserve their cultures. As a result, their struggle to integrate them could create such a feeling on the immigrants to feel themselves as the real parts of the Dutch society. On the other hand, with the shocking murder in the Netherlands which was resulted with killing of film director Van Gogh by a Moroccan immigrant and rising anti-migration politics in the country with reference to cultural differences have affected both migration and naturalization policies in the Netherlands.

The migration policies of the Netherlands during 1980s were focusing on integration and supporting of the immigrants in most of the areas. Cultural support was also one of those areas and cultural approach of the Dutch policies were in the lines of supporting the cultural lives of the immigrants. For instance, Euwals (et. al. 2007) state that "schools hosting children from ethnic minorities received additional funds, the children received lessons in their own language and culture during school hours, organizations of ethnic minorities received subsidies. Cultural diversity was highly valued, and while immigrants should integrate their own cultural identity should be preserved at the same time." (p. 13)

In addition to this, the role of the last changes in the internal politics especially the murders of Van Gogh by a Moroccan immigrant background turned the direction of the migration and integration approach on the lines of the cultural differences. Especially anti-immigration politics have become more popular in the Netherlands. Doornik (2005) comments in the article of Michalowski (2005) and he says that "since the year 2002, and in particular following the events surrounding the politician Pim Fortuyn, the integration of immigrants and their children has been the focus of the Dutch policy agenda." (p. 3) Joppke (2008) adds that "a May 2003 cabinet agreement promptly announced a restrictive revision of the civic integration law, one that would ensure that newcomers "be aware of Dutch values and keep to the country's norms"." (p. 2).

The last changes of the migration policies especially cultural fragmentation in the Netherlands draw a clear distinction between the past and present. Doornik (2005) states that "the focus on cultural assimilation is all the more astonishing when one considers that the Netherlands has for many centuries been successful in respecting religious pluralism and in the worst case, becoming a self-

fulfilling prophecy. "Multicultural co-existence" has been reinterpreted as "assimilation", and recent immigration policies would be best described by the word "inhospitable." (Michalowski, 2005, p.3)

Finally, the role of having different cultures between the immigrants and the Dutch people and its outcomes in the politics and social life also one of the significant reasons in the last changes of migration and naturalization politics. As Euwals (et. al. 2007) mention that "for those who want to acquire Dutch nationality, a test that implies comparable requirements was introduced earlier. So while the old Dutch approach could be characterized as 'support-oriented', the new approach may be characterized as 'incentive-oriented'" (p.13) All these developments have also created a new profile that has been desired by the Dutch policy for the ones who want to be naturalized. These immigrants should be integrated to the Dutch system, culture and values on the one hand and they should feel full loyalty and attachment to the Dutch citizenship on the other.

SOCIO DEMOGRAPHICAL FACTORS AND APPROACH OF THE DUTCH POLICY BELIEFS ON NATURALIZATION

There are two key important points for the socio demographical approach of the Dutch policy beliefs. Firstly, extending to acquire Dutch citizenship by *uis soli* factor but also requiring having one nationality while naturalizing. Secondly, restricting of the family reunifications of the immigrants who have certain backgrounds like Turkish and Moroccan immigrants have become another important outcome of the Dutch policies in socio demographical context.

The opportunity to have Dutch citizenship has been made more flexible with the double *uis soli* and principle of *uis soli* through declaration. "Since, 1953 complementing the principle of *uis sanguinis*, there is a form of double *uis soli*, in practice, this means that the immigrants of the third generation automatically become Dutch citizen." (Jacobs, 2003, p.5). In addition to this "since 1984, there is in the Netherlands also a system based on the principle of *uis soli* to acquire state citizenship through declaration. One can do this between the age of 18 and 25. This option has increased significantly by 1990s." (Jacobs, 2003, p.6). All these policy flexibilities to acquire Dutch citizenship for the third generation can be evaluated as increasing possibility to obtain Dutch citizenship but that is remarkable to mention that double nationality has been abolished so the third generation immigrants have to make a choice either choosing Dutch nationality or their home countries nationality when they are between 18 and 25 years old.

As Joppke (2008) states that there is a strong correlation between the socio demographic context and civic integration courses in the Netherlands which has restrictive features. (p. 2). Joppke (2008) evaluates the reason of negative focusing on family immigrants has to be founded because of

more than %50 of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation immigrants in the Netherlands are searching partners for marriage from their country of origin. (p.2). In addition to this, he adds that "paradoxically, the Dutch state has simultaneously withdrawn from, and increased its presence in, the integration process. In terms of state withdrawal, the philosophy of "autonomy" and "self-sufficiency" (*zelfredzaamheid*)" (p.2).

The goal of the new changes in family reunification summarizes the statue of the Dutch policies about migration which is to decrease the number of the immigrants coming to the Netherlands by family reunification. Moreover, the new requirements like to have residence permits, to have Dutch knowledge to survive in the country and integrations tests before coming to the Netherlands have important results for coming of the new immigrants to the Netherlands. As, Joppke (2008) indicates that one can say with certainty that the Dutch policy of 'integration from abroad' has been very successful, as it led immediately to a sharp reduction in applicants for family unification (p.5). For the ones whose spouses are Dutch citizens can be naturalized just in 3 years. As a result, this is not surprising that one of the reasons of the decreased naturalization numbers can be found moving of decreased numbers of Turkish immigrants to the Netherlands by marriage link.

POLITICAL FACTORS AND APPROACH OF THE DUTCH POLICY BELIEFS ON NATURALIZATION

One of the essential factors that determine the relationship between the policy makers and the residents of the countries is the right of voting. The election of the politicians by the citizens and residents of the country is one of the basic elements for the modern democracies. On the other hand, though there is need to be a citizen of the country to vote in the national elections. There has not to be such a requirement for the local election but this situation has been recognized in the Netherlands by 1985 mainly because of integrating and promoting the position of the immigrants like in most aspects from socio economic to cultural aspects, general integration and multicultural understanding of 1980s has important role about recognizing the right of voting for the immigrants.

Jacobs (1998) mentioned the reason of giving the right of voting to the immigrants in the Netherlands. He states that the democratic deficit in the Netherlands has been attempted by make easier the legal transitions of aliens to nationals and by local enfranchisement of the non nationals with incorporation to promote the social status of the immigrants in the country. (p.351). As a result, "the right to vote and to stand in the local elections was granted to foreign nationals in 1985 who are living in the Netherlands at least 5 years." (Joppke, 2008, p.6)

Therefore, the right of voting can be an important factor both to have voice of the immigrants about the policies of the towns where they live and to make the immigrants more integrate to the society but there can be other immigrants who may feel that they deserve the right of voting also in the national elections. There is no country in the world that recognizing the right of voting also for their immigrants so there is only one option which is being naturalized for the immigrants who are interested in national politics and want to have voice about the international politics of the country.

EMPRICAL ANALYSIS FOR THE NETHERLANDS

During my interviews in the Netherlands, the impact of the reasons to acquire the citizenship of the Netherlands and the changes on the psychological and attitudinal approach of the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants to the Dutch citizenship and the meanings they attach to this concept has been analyzed. After giving the facts about the respondents, the main question during the interviews asked to the first second and third generation immigrants were firstly about the reasons to apply or not to apply for the Dutch citizenship and secondly the effect of administrative factors to gain Dutch citizenship. After evaluation of these two parts there will be comparison of the first second and third generation immigrants' attachment, reflection and beliefs about acquiring Dutch citizenship. Finally, the main central question of my research will be discussed which is the effects of policy beliefs on the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants and either approval of those policies or not by the immigrants.

Facts about the Respondents

I interviewed with 11 Turkish women and 12 Turkish men. Each interview was between 30 minutes to 45 minutes. 14 of the respondents are living in Enschede; Eastern part of the Netherlands; 6 of the respondents are living in Utrecht; at the center of the Netherlands and 3 of the respondents are living in Haarlem; Western part of the Netherlands. The age of the respondents change from 18 years old to 64 years old. For the job positions of the interviewees only 1 of the respondents is unemployed and the others are employed. 6 of the respondents are students. 1 of the respondents was retired. When we look for the marital status; 6 of the respondents are single and 17 of the respondents are married. Education level of the respondents has different backgrounds. 1 of the respondents has PhD degree, 6 of the respondents have Masters' degree, 2 of the respondents have Bachelor degree, 11 of the respondents have secondary education and 3 of the respondents have primary education. The time when they first came to the Netherlands varies like the other features. 4 of the respondents were born in the Netherlands. One of the respondents moved to the Netherlands by 1968 and one the respondents who moved to the Netherlands just 5 years ago, in 2003. The other respondents who moved to the

Netherlands change between these two years (1968-2003). Majority of the respondents hold Dutch citizenship. Only 4 of the respondents do not have the citizenship of the Netherlands. They are planning to apply in the short-run but they do not have the necessary information for the application procedure and necessary documents for it. 19 of the respondents hold Dutch citizenship and Turkish citizenship together. The last time acquiring of the Dutch citizenship among the interviews was 5 months ago. Finally, the legal ways of moving to the Netherlands of the respondents are family reunifications, marriage or studying in the Netherlands.

Table 1 - The facts about the age, education level, marital, employment status and Dutch citizenship among the Turkish first, second and third generations

	First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age						
18-25	-	-	-	-	2	2
25-40	5	4	2	2	-	-
40-65	1	2	2	1	-	-
Education Level						
Primary	1	1	1	-	-	-
Secondary	4	-	2	2	1	2
Bachelor	-	1	-	1	-	-
Master	-	5	-	-	1	-
PhD	-	-	1	-	-	-
Marital Status						
Single	-	-	-	2	2	2
Married	6	6	4	1	-	-
Employment Status						
Employed	5	5	4	1	-	-
Unemployed	1	1	-	-	-	-
Student	-	-	-	2	2	2
Dutch Citizenship						
Yes	5	4	4	2	2	2
No	1	2	-	1	-	-

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

II-A-SOCIO ECONOMIC FACTORS AND NATURALIZATION OF THE FIRST, SECOND AND THE THIRD GENERATION OF THE TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

The influence of socio economic factors have been observed in all of the generations; first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants. Although their background and reasons can be different, socio economical benefits and outcomes by naturalization have become important for their lives. For example, the first generation Turkish immigrants' reason of migration to the Netherlands in late 1960s and young Turkish males who also came to the Netherlands by marrying with the daughters of the first generation was firstly based on socio economical benefits, their unemployed position in

Turkey and willingness to have better life standards in the Netherlands. As a result, this affected their decision of naturalization a proof of improving social and economical position by holding Dutch citizenship. On the other hand, though education level of the first generation Turkish women affected their dependency to their husbands and make them ineffective to take the decision of naturalization by their own decision, the education level has not been crucial role that affect finding jobs for the first generation because both 5 of the highly educated respondents and 6 of the respondents who have primary and secondary education think that Dutch citizenship is an advantage in the job applications. Finally, despite the fact that there was not such an observation in the second and third generation because they were born in the Netherlands and have not been resided in Turkey for such a long time, the duration of their stay in the Netherlands have been influential for the first generation Turkish immigrants, 2 of the respondents directly mentioned that how long you stay more in the Netherlands you also make the Netherlands your home like Turkey. Therefore, this situation for the first generation Turkish immigrants verifies the arguments of Janoski and DeMichele (2007) who say that "more immigrants that enter the country and the longer they stay, the more immigrants will naturalize to full citizen status." (p .2).

First generation immigrants who migrated to the Netherlands in late 1960s because of labour shortage at that time, they have already employed immediately when they came to the Netherlands so to find connection between finding a job and Dutch citizenship loses meaning for them but for the second generation the importance of gaining admission from job applications have been more essential. They believe that to have Dutch citizenship increase their chances in the job market. As a result this confirms for the second generation findings of Bevelander and Veenman (2006) when they mention that "citizenship acquisition has a positive and significant effect on job chances." (p.21). Secondly, the ones from the second generation who are owners of the restaurants, cafes and deal with business, the advantage of opening branches in other European countries and developing their business by using bank credits have been other significant motivations that push them for naturalization. The level of education also can not be observed as an important variable that affect their naturalization because 4 of the respondents have primary and secondary level education and naturalized. On the other hand, one of the naturalized respondents holds PhD degree and only one of the respondents who hold BA degree is planning to naturalize in the short run because of socio economical benefits like using bank credits.

When we look for the third generation who are going on their education, though there are similar observations have been noted like the first and second generation, different from the first and second generation their anxiousness is to have jobs after their graduation and structuring their lives as soon as possible because of their young ages they see these reasons a big advantage of Dutch citizenship like looking for job in any EU country or working in the ministries as well.

Finally, though that was difficult to consider the role of education and to find job easily for the first comers to the Netherlands. Both highly skilled immigrants from second generation and young immigrant who are going on their education from the third generation think that Dutch passport provides advantage finding job easily and increasing the opportunities to find jobs so education level does not change the fact that Dutch passport is an advantage for employment. At this point when we back to the findings of the Bevelander and Veenman (2006), they indicate that "a higher educational level as well as having obtained their education in the Netherlands increases the log odds of obtaining employment." (p. 21). However, one of the highly educated respondents who received their education in the Netherlands thinks that it is still not enough if you do not have Dutch passport for highly skilled positions so what kind of job the immigrants are looking for also has become more important to determine the link between naturalization and socio economic motivations for it.

First Generation Turkish Immigrants

The reasons of moving of the first generation Turkish immigrants who migrated in late 1960's because of labour shortage in the Netherlands were mainly based on socio economic reasons. Their focusing on economical gaining also affected their decision of naturalization by having Dutch citizenship as a symbol of upgrading their position in the society. 7 respondents out of 11 from the first generation who hold Dutch passport mention the role of economical benefits like finding jobs easily or more job opportunities. One of the respondents coming to the Netherlands with the first Turkish immigration flow evaluates his coming as a 'big chance' because of his bad economic position in Turkey. He states:

I am one of the first comers to the Netherlands.
 The reason of our coming to this country is mainly because of economic reasons. The situation of Turkey was not good at those times and Turkish government announced that Netherlands want Turkish people to work there. I do not have job and my family was poor so coming to here was like a lottery for me. I gained Dutch passport also to have better social statuary in the society because that is also a proof that you are not an immigrant anymore.

Education level is also one of the essential elements that determine the level of the socio economic position in the society. At this point, the lack of enough education has mostly damaged the first generation Turkish women who came to the Netherlands with their husbands. When we look for

the females of the first generation, they have different perspectives than the males. 65 years old female respondent who has primary education states the importance of education for the Turkish women and proudly tells her daughter is a teacher in Den Haag and she says:

We were dependent on our husbands in those times. If he decides we can apply or not but after all of those years and experiences I faced, the most important thing that I learned is the importance of the education. If I had enough education, I would learn Dutch better and integrate easily in the first years when I moved to the Netherlands. For this reason, I wanted my daughter to have the university education and now she is secondary school teacher in Den Haag and she is my proud.

The approach of the first generation Turkish women immigrants who came with family reunification to the Netherlands when their husbands migrated in late 1960s, are interestingly focusing on the values of independency and education. Because of their backwardness in the socio economic level directed them to have more interest in the education of their children. Though this woman is less integrated than her husband and identifies her duty as housewife and waiting his husband at home, she is aware of the essential elements; like education for their sons or daughters not to face those troubles like she faced in the past. Finally, during the interview, a few times she proudly gave the name of her daughter who is a secondary school teacher. Because of the less inclusion of the Turkish women in the society make them more exclusion about the citizenship issues as a result they mostly shared the views of their husbands. On the other hand, this situation created to be aware of the importance of education and independence which put those Turkish women backward in the past.

In the first generation, there are also essential group of male respondents who moved to the Netherlands marrying the daughters of the first generation. There were 4 respondents in my research coming to the Netherlands by this way. Those grooms are mostly relatives or the neighbors in their home town of the first generation immigrants. The reasons of this group to move to the Netherlands are mostly because of socio-economical causes as well. They have secondary or primary education level and they define themselves as the 'imported grooms'. Finally, these group members were born and received their education in Turkey and they are more attached to Turkey rather than the Netherlands. One of the respondents from this group, He says:

Please mention this in your thesis; we are '*imported grooms*'. I came from Turkey 16

years ago just to marry. The main reason for coming was economic. There was no job in Turkey. My mother talked with my uncle and I married with my cousin. To have Dutch citizenship works to find job easily so I applied for it.

Maybe one of the most interesting outcomes of this interview are hiding in the words of this male respondent above because their aim with a marriage is not simply and firstly because of love but because of socio economic gaining. Thus, they prefer to be employed and have better life standards in the Netherlands rather than to be unemployed in Turkey so with the help of their social connection like neighborhood or relative kinship in Turkey, they are marrying with the daughters of those first immigrants and define themselves as 'imported grooms'. Not surprisingly, this kind of background still protects their attachment to Turkey and Dutch citizenship is perceived as a way of making their lives easier at the first glance economically.

Another respondent who has Bachelor degree found a direct relationship between acquiring Dutch citizenship and finding job easily:

My main reason to acquire Dutch citizenship is mainly socioeconomic. I think if you have Dutch citizenship that is easier to find a job and working conditions.

As a result, for the first generation, not only the ones who are not highly skilled Turkish immigrants but also the ones who have Bachelor degrees think that Dutch citizenship works in the job applications.

In addition to this, the duration of their staying in the Netherlands and the habits that they have in time affect their attachment to the Netherlands and this attachment can be influential to apply for Dutch citizenship. One of the respondents says:

I feel myself as Turkish but after you have lived here for some time, here also started to become your country as well.

Another respondent mention the same point about the importance of the duration and the place where the people want to settle their lives permanently are the essential factors that determine their reasons of naturalization. One of the respondent states:

I never think to apply for the Dutch citizenship because I have never planned to live here permanently. I and my husband are planning to live in Turkey. I am attached to Turkey rather than the Netherlands

Second Generation Turkish Immigrants

For the second generation Turkish immigrants focusing point is the advantage to find jobs easily and increased job opportunities with the help of Dutch passport. For instance, 19 years old female respondent acquired the Dutch citizenship last year. She was showing her passport with proud during the interview. She was the only one who has the Dutch passport and she strongly believes that Dutch passport is her insurance; a way of guarantying to make her socio economic position better in the future. She states:

. I invested thousands of euros and time but finally I got it and always carry with me. This passport symbolizes my future now. I believe that I will find job after graduation easily with this passport and have travel in Europe easier.

The statements of this respondent is important because different from other respondents of the second generation, she is very young and how she defines Dutch citizenship is the most robust one which likes a door that is opening to her future with the explanation of socio economical benefits in the society. Though, other members have not Dutch passport but permanent residents, the members of her family encouraged her while she was trying to get Dutch citizenship so her family also supported their daughter to be a full member of the Dutch society.

Similar to the first generation, another respondent explains his reason to be naturalized because of socio-economical motives like to make his life easier in job and to find any job easier. He mentions the advantage of the Dutch passport in the job applications. He says:

For the job applications if you have the equal background with another candidate who has Dutch passport then that can be preference reason of him when you do not have Dutch passport.

The other female respondent who has not Dutch passport but planning to apply in the short run. She emphasizes the importance of integration and for her the advantages of citizenship are to use credits of the banks and to find job easily. She states:

I do not have Dutch citizenship but I want to apply for it in the short run because it has a lot of advantages; it will help me to receive credit from the bank. . I think it is beneficial also in the job applications.

Another male respondent, who is owner of a restaurant and came to the Netherlands by marriage and acquired Dutch citizenship just five years ago explain his naturalization with two main factors which one of them is to open new branches in other countries and developing his business.

If I want, I can move to another European country and open a new restaurant there. For instance, I am planning to open new one in Münster. To have Dutch citizenship does not make me Dutch but makes my life easier.

For the second generation Turkish immigrants who have more deal with business naturalization became more important with the benefits they will use by obtaining Dutch passport like free traveling and working in Europe and using bank credits as well.

Third Generation Turkish Immigrants

All of the respondents from the third generation also remarked the importance of job finding for them and traveling in Europe and looking for a job also other EU countries. They are mostly in their 20s and this makes to give their priority to structure their lives and focusing to economical benefits of acquiring Dutch citizenship.

23 years old third generation Turkish immigrant thinks that Dutch passport will help him not only to find jobs in the Netherlands but also to find jobs and work in the EU countries. He says:

With the help of Dutch passport I can look for job anywhere in the EU

Furthermore, to be citizen of the Netherlands is necessary and obligatory for the jobs in the Ministries or strategic institutions like to be a soldier. For instance, 18 years old male respondent who has Dutch citizenship, have a passion wishes to be a soldier and to serve for the Queen of the Netherlands and he states:

I want to be the soldier of the Queen of the Netherlands. That is my only dream.

CULTURAL, ASSOCIATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS; NATURALIZATION OF THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

There are three main sub categories has already mentioned in the theoretical framework which are also mentioned by Watsula (2005) which is called 'cultural assimilation factors', such as "language skills, kinship ties, and a strong ethnic community are all significant determinants of the propensity of an immigrant to naturalize." (p.3). Firstly the language capacity of the immigrants, kinship ties and strong ethnic community with the study of Barkan and Khokhlov (1980), secondly, the role of the relationship between native society and immigrants will be the issue which has already been mentioned by with the study of Barkan and Khokhlov (1980) for Switzerland case and finally Bevelander and Veenman, (2006) study for the Dutch case will help to emphasize the importance of requirement for the loss of nationality of the home country are the factors that structure cultural, associational and psychological factors for naturalization.

Barkan and Khokhlov (1980), indicates that knowledge of the language of the host country can be an important variable as a cultural attitude.(p.160-161) Firstly, the first generation are the ones who are have the most attachment to Turkey culturally and the least attachment to the Netherlands and when we look for the language capacity and kinship ties, what I observed for the first generation Turkish immigrants that their knowledge of Dutch helps them to have communication in the society, 10 of the respondents out of 12 have at least intermediate level of Dutch knowledge but for the old aged Turkish women immigrants have quite difficulties to speak in Dutch and this makes them quite backward socially in the society and not to put interest like the issue of naturalization. On the other hand, that is important to mention that they have fluency in Turkish because they lived certain years in Turkey. Secondly, for the second generation they have both knowledge of Dutch and Turkish. All of the second generation respondents' Dutch is better than the first generation and they have almost better in Turkish language. Though, they are more flexible than the first generation in respect to cultural terms, they are still strongly attached to Turkey so knowledge of Dutch is not influential for the second generation Turkish immigrants. For the third generation Turkish immigrants, their Dutch becomes

alter native language and I have serious difficulties while communicating with them because of their poor Turkish knowledge. At this point, what study of Barkan and Khokhlov (1980) has not been confirmed though, the knowledge of the host society help to integrate culturally and increase the interaction with the native society what becomes clear and gives more clue that not the knowledge of Dutch or knowledge of the host country's language but the knowledge of the immigrants' country's language have become the determinant role for the Turkish immigrants. The most losing the knowledge of Turkish knowledge became more attachment to Dutch language, culture and society and resulted with increased Dutch people contacts.

The interaction between native society and host society, in other terms between the Dutch people and Turkish immigrants is the other essential variable that can have influence on naturalization. For instance, when we look for the study of Wanner and Etienne (2000) for Switzerland, there has been observed such an implication about the importance of the bond between the relationship of the host society and the immigrants. Wanner and Etienne (2000) say that "It is also an indicator of the degree of openness and of reciprocal contact between the host society and its immigrants." (p.917). First generation immigrants are mostly living in certain parts of the cities together and that explains also neighborhood relationship when they explain their naturalization reasons as a popular event of the years between 1992 and 1997 because most of their neighbors were going on naturalization. As a result, they have minimum interaction with Dutch people. For the second generation, they have more Dutch contacts than the first generation but Turkish people are still clearly majority as their contacts in social life. Finally, for the third generation the increasing contacts with Dutch people in each generation became more apparent and third generation immigrants. All of the respondents mentioned the Netherlands as their homes and they have mostly Dutch friends rather than Turkish. As a result, not surprisingly, different from the first generation, the third generation has the most attachment to the Dutch citizenship, society and culture. Thus, there is a clear confirmation that with each next generation the contacts between Dutch people increased and have also been important determinant in the relationship of the two societies and affect the attachment of the immigrants to the Dutch society and citizenship as well.

Finally, when we consider renouncing Turkish citizenship, Bevelander and Veenman, (2006) "losing the original nationality often can be considered as the most important disadvantage." (p.7). That statement has been verified especially for the first generation and later on second generation. Though, third generation is more eagerly to renounce Turkish citizenship, they prefer to have both Turkish and Dutch citizenships together. On the other hand, the effect also challenges respondents who have multiple identities both Dutch and Turkish. The first generation Turkish immigrants are the most attached ones to the Turkish citizenship and renouncing Turkish citizenship is quite impossible for them to acquire Dutch citizenship. Only 2 of the respondents declared to renounce Turkish

citizenship and she is not the one from the comers in late 1960s but came to the Netherlands for studying. The other first generation immigrants see it contradictory to their backgrounds and their Turkish roots. Similar to the first generation, the second generation immigrants are quite reluctant to renounce Turkish citizenship but they have more flexible than the first generation and for instance, 2 of the respondents out of 7 mention that just to have benefits of Dutch citizenship, they would renounce Turkish citizenship but they do not believe that it would lessen their attachment to Turkey and Turkish citizenship. Finally, the immigrants from the third generation have already identified their homes as the Netherlands and to renounce Turkish citizenship is not a big matter for them but they also prefer to have both Turkish and Dutch citizenship together.

First Generation Turkish Immigrants

First generation Turkish immigrants who migrated in late 1960s are the ones who are the most attached to Turkish identity and culture. One of these respondents mention:

I acquired Dutch citizenship because that time it was popular to acquire citizenship and that is also better to show my passport when someone tries to blame me because of not being Dutch but Turkish.

As it is clear from this statement, these the first generation Turkish male immigrants who are the first comers to the Netherlands have the most attachment to Turkey. Moreover, they are the ones who have the most complaining to be isolated by the other segments of the society. As a result, to have Dutch citizenship is not only such an approval of the popular attitude of those times but also a way to get rid of facing any troubles because of his immigrant status. These reasons also lead to the explanations of changing his status by acquiring Dutch passport to have more equal statue in the society for the first comers Turkish male immigrants after 1960's in the Netherlands.

One of the main challenges for the first generation Turkish immigrants is renouncing Turkish citizenship to acquire Dutch citizenship. This situation makes one of the main pushing factors not to apply for Dutch citizenship for the ones who migrated in late 1960s and whose background are constructed mostly in Turkey with Turkish education system and culture and came to the Netherlands with the linkage of marriage. 6 respondents out of 12 strictly rejected to renounce Turkish citizenship to acquire Dutch citizenship. One of the respondents states:

I have dual citizenship but if they wanted to renounce Turkish citizenship to get Dutch citizenship, I would never apply for it!

Different from this statement, and different from the old aged people who migrated to the Netherlands in late 1960s, the male respondents who came to the Netherlands by marrying with the daughters of these old aged people and have business owners, have different thoughts about when acquiring Dutch passport and losing their Turkishness. Especially the ones who are deal with business do not bother about to have only Dutch passport because they believe that what makes the one Turkish or Dutch is not a piece of paper but what they feel and to which country they attach. As a result, they are more pragmatists and their naturalization can not be explained because of cultural attachment to the Netherlands but to have benefits of Dutch citizenship. One of this respondents states:

I do not believe that to have Dutch citizenship makes you Dutch. I am still Turkish but if Dutch citizenship makes our lives easier, there is no need not to apply for it because it has many advantages.

When you hold the passport of the two countries, one of the most crucial questions comes to you about your identity. Who are you; either Turkish or Dutch? Or is it possible to be both? The highly educated Turkish immigrants who came to the Netherlands and married a Dutch man are more flexible and open to identify themselves not only Turkish but also Dutch in terms of their cultural attachment to the Netherlands. Though only one of the respondents have intention to go back Turkey and settle there because of cultural attachment to Turkey and 3 of the respondents still define themselves Turkish but not as extreme as the other first generation immigrants. 3 of the respondents define themselves both Turkish and Dutch from these first generation immigrants. For instance, 42 years old female respondent attach to both Turkey and the Netherlands.

I asked to myself. My child has Dutch citizenship but why I do not have it so I decided to apply for it and got it a few months ago. . I like the Netherlands and the Dutch people they are nice and easy-going so I define myself both Turkish and Dutch.

In addition to this, sometimes their multiple identities enforce them to make a black or white choice in some certain situations. For instance, one of the respondents states:

I am very glad when the Netherlands wins a match
but I do not know what I can do if these two
countries declare a war to each other.

The difference what makes their attachment to Dutch culture and way of life can be explained with two factors; firstly they are more educated and secondly, they share their whole lives with a Dutch person who are their spouses. In addition to this, one of the respondents developed an identity definition for herself. She defines her self Turkish in regard to her ethnical and cultural background but on the other hand she defines herself as Dutch with her life settlement in the Netherlands and socio economic attachment to the Netherlands so she says:

.I am Turkish ethnically but socio
economically I am Dutch!

Second Generation Turkish Immigrants

The second generation people still attach to Turkey but this attachment is less than their parents and they also feel attach to the Dutch society especially the educated ones. For instance, one of the respondents who holds PhD degree states that ‘Turkey is my motherland and the Netherlands is my fatherland.’ Three of the respondents have suspects whether to succeed to live in Turkey permanently because of different bureaucratic systems and daily habits they get used to practice in the Netherlands.

38 years old male respondent who is Assistant Prof. in University of Twente and he is from second generation. He will move to Turkey permanently next year to work in one of the leading universities of the country. He mentions that nothing should be either only black or white. His perspective for the immigrants is not such a situation like an identity crisis but the people who live with double identities; He says that ‘Turkey is my motherland but the Netherlands is my fatherland.’ Furthermore, He adds that Turkish immigrants here should receive the benefits of this country in terms of science and development and obey the rules on the one hand but should not neglect their own Turkish cultural identity on the other. As a result, though he is completely brought up in the Netherlands, the influence of Turkish culture and the willingness to bring up his children in Turkey are explained because of cultural terms. His suggestion also for the next generations not to neglect Turkish culture shows how he finds his own culture a reason to go back and live there permanently. Though, this is not an influential factor in his naturalization, which is apparent that he is not attached to the Dutch culture even he holds Dutch citizenship and appreciates the Netherlands as a developed country.

Another respondent from the second generation has similar thoughts. He says:

I want to move to Turkey permanently; firstly I miss my country and my friends there. Secondly, my sons ought to receive their education in Turkey with socio cultural atmosphere of my country.

Like the first respondent, this interviewee also wants to move permanently to Turkey because he believes and wants that is better for their sons to bring up in the educational system and culture of their home country. He never feels himself as Dutch and acquired Dutch citizenship not to face barriers in the socio economic life as a business owner. Both of the two respondents' preferences to live in Turkey permanently and their cultural attachment to Turkey explain their naturalization reasons with not strong effect of attachment to Dutch culture or the Netherlands but to have practical benefits by Dutch passport.

Moreover, the role of renouncing Turkish citizenship is still influential on the second generation Turkish immigrants. 5 of the respondents out of 7 rejected renouncing Turkish citizenship if there was such an obligation while they were acquiring Dutch citizenship. One of the respondents says that 'I would never think to apply for Dutch citizenship if they required renouncing Turkish citizenship from me.' On the other hand, only one of the respondent do not disagree to renounce Turkish citizenship but her reason to renouncing not based on because she is more attached to Dutch culture or the Netherlands but her practical benefits with Dutch passport and she believes that just a passport can not change someone's ethnic and cultural backgrounds. She says:

I have both Turkish and Dutch passport but if it is necessary I can renounce my Turkish citizenship. To give up Turkish citizenship does not lessen your Turkishness or if I acquire Dutch passport, it does not mean that I am purely Dutch.

The response of this interviewee is remarkable because she has different statement unlike the other second generation immigrants; Firstly, her approach for Dutch citizenship is not structural; she believes that what makes one Turkish or Dutch can not be what kind of passport he or she holds. As a result to renounce Turkish citizenship to get Dutch citizenship does not make her completely a Dutch.

Another significant outcome of the second generation is complains about some of the Turkish immigrants integration problem and too much focusing their Turkish culture in the Netherlands. One of the female respondents states:

Some Turkish people here cause to bad image of the Turks in the Netherlands. Sometimes, I see the problem in the Turkish society when they have difficulties in the adaptation. If they want to apply Dutch citizenship they should be more flexible.

Another respondent also states similar things about integration process and culture. She states:

Physically, you are still not Dutch but Turkish. I never feel as Dutch but If we are living here, integrations is important that's why I applied for Dutch citizenship. We should try to integrate and not try to live here like in Turkey as a closed society.

Third Generation Turkish Immigrants

The respondents from the third generation have the most attachment to Dutch citizenship in terms of cultural reasons. The reasons to acquire Dutch citizenship is not just because of practical matters or socio economic like the first generation and the second generation but also the feeling to be a full member of the society where they live and want to live in the future. One of the respondents from the third generation explains this situation by identifying his home as the Netherlands but not Turkey. He states:

I was not born here but here is my home and yes, I can renounce my Turkish citizenship for the Dutch passport because I feel belong to here and will live here permanently.

Another respondent also have similar approaches 18 years old male respondent who has Dutch citizenship, have a passion wishes to be a soldier and to serve for the Queen of the Netherlands and he states:

I want to be the soldier of the Queen of the Netherlands. That is my only dream if it is

necessary I can renounce my Turkish passport because I am living in the Netherlands and I am not planning to move to Turkey permanently. It is nice for the vacations to go to Turkey and too see my relatives.

What can be the best way to show your loyalty to your country? Most probably, to protect the Queen of a country is one of the best ways to prove it and when a person who has an immigrant background dream to be a soldier of the Queen, that makes the story more interesting. This youngest male respondent's approach to Turkey is just a place to go in the vacations and to see some relatives but not more and the Netherlands is not simply a country where he lives but that's his home where he dreams.

Secondly, all of the respondents have mostly Dutch friends rather than the Turkish friends so that is also another factor that makes easier their attachment to Dutch society and culture when compare to the first and second generation Turkish immigrants whose social environment are mostly from Turkish people but not Dutch.

When I go to Turkey for vacation I miss the Netherlands and my friends who are mostly Dutch.

Thirdly, that is interesting to note that all of the respondents have poor Turkish language knowledge and during the interviews they asked for help from their friends for the meanings of some of the Dutch words in Turkish. Their language capacity to have communication in Dutch easily but to have serious difficulties with Turkish language can be noted another reason why those young third generation Turkish immigrants feel that their home is the Netherlands.

Finally, though these young Turkish immigrants are more attached to Dutch culture, they are not completely alien to Turkish culture. This situation creates them more heavily than the first and second generation to be quietly in an identity crisis. For instance, one of the respondents state:

I also think most of the time the questions you are asking to me now. Sometimes, I found myself in a challenge with the most difficult questions 'Where am I from?' Later on, I decided that I am Turkish but I am from the Netherlands. I do not want to live in Turkey. My home is the Netherlands but I

love both of the countries very much. How can I sacrifice the one for the other? It is impossible for me!

In conclusion, the third generation young Turkish immigrants have the most attached group to the Netherlands and Dutch citizenship. With the third generation, the increasing attachment to the Dutch society and culture is still going on with acceleration after the increasing attachment of the second generation than the first generation. 4 of the respondents of the third generation defines their home as the Netherlands and in some respects like their poor Turkish language proficiency, having the majority of friends from the Dutch people and the jobs they prefer like to be a soldier also proves their emotional attachment to the Dutch society and culture. Finally, the third generation is the most opportunistic group about their future when comparing to the first and second generation. As a result, though 4 of the respondents ages change around 20's the reasons of naturalization differently from the first and second generations not based on purely socio economic or practical benefits but also to define themselves as one of the real parts of the society with their emotional bond to the Dutch society and culture.

SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND NATURALIZATION OF THE FIRST SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

There are also three significant variables of the socio demographic reasons that push or affect the decisions of the immigrants which are the age, gender and marital status of the immigrants. The scholars like Carroll and Vollhardt (2002), Yang (1994), Bevelander and Veenman (2006), Nicolas and Sprangers (2001) also try to show the importance of socio demographic features; age, sex and marital status on the decision of naturalization. For instance, Firstly Bevelander and Veenman (2006) indicates the importance of age at migration and education influence in The Netherlands. Finally, he found that the most modernized women are more eagerly to be naturalized than the male immigrants in the Netherlands. Secondly, like Bevelander and Veenman, Nicolas and Sprangers (2001) try to prove the significance effect of sex and age but different from Bevelander and Veenman (2006), he also mentions the role of marital status on the decision of naturalization.

When we look for the importance of age in the decision of naturalization for the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants it is observed that Bevelander and Veenman, (2006) found that "age, age at migration and education influences the propensity of naturalization among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. In addition, gender affects the likelihood of obtaining Dutch citizenship." (p.9) Their arguments for the Dutch case also confirmed in my research but this confirmation is valid for the first generation significantly and quietly on second generation but for the third generation there

can be other factors rather than the age affects their reasons of naturalization. Among the first generation Turkish immigrants, the first comers to the Netherlands in late 1960s are the significant ones who are young at those times but completely received their primary education in Turkey and till that age they have never leaved from Turkey and Netherlands had become the only country they would see except Turkey. This situation made these people the ones who attached the most to Turkey and Turkish culture though they have been more than 40 years in the Netherlands. In addition to this, the ones who came to the Netherlands my marriage of the daughters of the second generation also received their education in Turkey and they are attached to mostly Turkish culture rather than Dutch but when we look for the highly educated Turkish women who have also migrated around 20s to receive education in the Netherlands but stayed permanently draw a different picture and they are not completely attached to Turkey but also they have at certain level attached to Dutch citizenship and culture. As a result, though the age when they migrated is influential on the decision of the migration, education level also affects the attachment to Dutch society and citizenship. Secondly, for the *second generation* it is observed that the age when they migrated has not completely affect their attachment to Dutch citizenship because though they were born in the Netherlands there is still clear attachment to Turkish citizenship than Dutch citizenship. On the other hand, it is important to note that their attachment to Dutch citizenship is more than their parents who are the first generation. As a result, the place where they were born still affects the attachment level but that is not purely influential. After the second generation, the third generation have the most attached group for the Dutch citizenship, values and culture but though, like the second generation they were also born in the Netherlands but different from second generation they have more attachment to Dutch passport caused to look for this reason not only on the factor of age for the third generation.

The importance of the role of gender also observed for the first generation remarkably especially highly educated women from the first generation are the ones who have most attachment for Dutch citizenship so this confirms Bevelander and Veenman (2006) study when they found similar results in their studies. They state that the ones who identify themselves as 'Dutch' are the most modernized women in their scale of the research (Bevelander and Veenman, 2006 p.9). The second generation women are more eagerly to be naturalized and for the third generation, the role of gender becomes insignificant for the decision of naturalization. Both male and females respondents are ready to be naturalized among the third generation. For the first immigrants, it is observed that the women who received primary education have not any interest for naturalization but the women who hold Bachelor or Masters Degree are more enthusiastically to be naturalized. As a result, not only gender but the level of education also has significant results for the naturalization of the first generation. For the second generation, the women also have more attachment to Dutch citizenship than the second generation males. They see also less problematic to renounce Turkish citizenship. 2 of the respondents have Dutch citizenship and one of the respondents is planning to apply in the short

run. For the third generation, the role of gender has not any role because both males and females are completely assimilated to Dutch society and role of gender is not important to consider as one of the reasons of naturalization for the third generation.

Nicolas and Sprangers (2001) in their Dutch study explored that "Variables that are strongly connected with the migration motive (sex, age, and marital status, year of most recent arrival and country of birth. " (p.6). After the evaluation of gender and age on the effect of naturalization, the influence of marital status can be analyzed. Firstly, that is important to note that the role marital status, either the immigrants are single or not have not directly affect their decision of naturalization but more remarkably the nationality of their spouses they are married becomes more essential on the decision of naturalization. For instance, for the highly educated Turkish women, there are 5 respondents who moved to the Netherlands and married a Dutch citizen affect their attachment to the Netherlands more than the other whose spouses are Turkish. For the second generation, 5 respondents are married and 2 respondents are single and the effect of their marriage has been directly affected the lives of their spouses. For instance, for the husbands of the female respondents who have Dutch citizenship married a Turkish guy from Turkey and when he came to the Netherlands with family reunification that was easier for him to be naturalized. For the third generation, the role of marital status could not be observed because all of the respondents are single especially because of their young ages which are between 18 and 23.

First Generation Turkish Immigrants

First generation Turkish immigrants are the ones who are not born in Turkey but migrated to the Netherlands after such a period they lived in Turkey and received part or full of their education in Turkey. Moreover, after their migration they tried to bring their spouses and children or they are married in the Netherlands. As a result all of these factors at certain level have been influential in the decision of the first generation Turkish immigrants.

If we look the age of the immigrants when they migrated and when they have the decision of naturalization, I observed that the first immigrants who came to the Netherlands in late 1960s have important outcomes to have clue about the influence of age they migrated. They are between 20 and 30 years old when they migrated and they have been in the Netherlands more than 40 years now. Thus, the age they migrated can be effective about their experiences and the power they can cope with the difficulties. For instance, one of the respondents states:

I am 64 years old now, when I came to the Netherlands I was 25 years old and young and full of hope. When I was coming to the

Netherlands, I have lots of dreams and the first 10 years I worked very hard. We were young that time so we were more motivated to work and to earn money.

The age of migration have affected their toleration limits for the difficulties and the years they stayed in the Netherlands caused not to be isolated by the native society so their perception becomes to have Dutch passport and to show it to anyone when blamed that they are not belonged to here. Those immigrants completely attached to Turkey but that is significant to mention that their education level that have mostly primary education and their age when they migrated caused to be linked to Turkey with strong bonds. In addition to this, they found a link between the years they served for the Netherlands and the right to deserve Dutch passport mostly not to be in the parts of loser and to save their proud when someone mentions that they are not Dutch. One of the respondents clarifies and says:

It is also better to show my passport when someone tries to blame me because of not being Dutch but Turkish.

Furthermore, both the gender and education level has important outcomes. For example, the wives of this generation who have primary education and housewives are mostly under the influence of their husbands on the issues of naturalization or any political or social issue that will affect their lives. One of the respondents confirms with these words:

I do not have enough information what are the benefits to have Dutch passport or not. We were dependent on our husbands in those times about these issues.

In contrary to the above statement, though the role of gender and education level is important determinant for the ones who have not received high level education and women of this kind of background have also more free choices and not influence of their husbands. As a result, only the role of gender is not a powerful statement as a determinant of naturalization but also education level can shift those decisions. For instance, 5 of the women respondents from the first generation have their free own choices for naturalization though they are married. One of the woman respondents who holds MA degree states:

Though, my husband who is Dutch wanted me to be naturalized, I never apply for it

because I am Turkish and planning to live in Turkey permanently.

Marital status also has influential role for the first generation especially for the male respondents who migrated to the Netherlands by the help of marriage link with the daughters of the first generation. As a result, 5 of the respondents obtained Dutch citizenship with this way whose wives are Dutch citizenship so they used the benefit of marital status as a way of both coming to the Netherlands and naturalization. One of the respondents says:

Please mention this in your thesis; we are '*imported grooms*'. I came from Turkey 16 years ago just to marry. Later on, I obtained Dutch citizenship so my life changed completely with this marriage.

Furthermore, first generation Turkish women who are married Dutch citizen are more ready to be naturalized because of the difficulties when they want to travel with their husbands to another country for a holiday. Most of the states do not require visa for Dutch citizens but that is more difficult to travel with Turkish passport. To obtain visa means both money and time consuming. As a result, because of their marriage link, the differences between two passports affect their decision of naturalization. 4 of the respondents out of 5 mentioned this reason as an important motivation for naturalization. One of the female respondents who is married a Dutch man says:

I and my husband like to travel around the world so to travel freely with the help of Dutch citizenship was my second important reason to acquire Dutch citizenship.

Second Generation Turkish Immigrants

Second generation immigrants are the sons or daughters of the first generation immigrants and they show quite different profile than their parents. Firstly, different from their parents they were born in the Netherlands, though there is still clear attachment to Turkey, this attachment is not as strong as their parents and one of the respondents declare that she could renounce Turkish citizenship if that was required. As a result, the country where they were born have quietly role for the attachment of Dutch system and culture so on naturalization. The male respondent from the second generation says:

I am Turkish not Dutch but we are also get used to live in the Netherlands and make here our home. I was born here but if we came from Turkey like our parents that could be more difficult to live here.

Second generation immigrants are mostly chosen their spouses from Turkish people and their marital status especially for the Turkish women help their husbands naturalization process because of holding Dutch passport by the second generation Turkish women immigrants. One of the female respondents state:

I married with my husband and brought him from Turkey to here, because I hold Dutch citizenship that was easier for him to be naturalized after 3 years.

As a result, the places where they were born and marital status and with whom they are married are the essential factors for second generation Turkish immigrants which increase their motivation to be naturalized.

Third Generation Turkish Immigrants

Though there was limitation to test the influence of the marital status on the decision of naturalization for the third generation immigrants whose age are between 18 and 23 and all of them are single. There is clear influence on both naturalization and attachment to the Netherlands because of their socio demographical background. Firstly the increased of the attachment to Turkey after the first generation Turkish immigrants have been observed in the second generation. That is not surprising that third generation immigrants have also more attachment than their parents who are the second generation and they are brought up quite flexible and tolerant way of life than their parents' childhood where a closed Turkish cultural environment exists. The young third generation naturalization reasons affected this socio demographic background. Finally it is observed that both men and women third generation immigrants have similar responses and their attachment to Dutch society, culture and citizenship which different from first and second generation based on also to be a part of this society culturally as well so there was no role of gender for the third generation Turkish immigrants for the decision of naturalization.

POLITICAL FACTORS AND NATURALIZATION OF THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

To be influential in the politics of the country, one of the main requirements for the modern democracies is the right of voting and to be effective in the national politics of the country. Mazzolari explains that (2007) "perceived anti-immigrant sentiment encouraged immigrants to naturalize to protect their rights and vote against anti-immigrant legislation." (p.14). This reason of Mazzolari has not been seen as an important indicator for the Turkish immigrants. Though, there are respondents especially from the first generation immigrants who are not pleased with the immigrants politics of the Netherlands, they never considered political factor as an essential motivation to be naturalized. As a result, to be naturalized mainly became insignificant for the first, second and third generation immigrants. Only 3 of the respondents from the first generation considered the right of voting in the national elections one of the important reasons to be naturalized. For the second generation only one of the respondents also counted to be influential in the politics of the country by the help of voting right but interestingly he believes that if he pays taxes and a good citizenship it should be he deserves the right of voting as well. The third generation immigrants are never interested in neither politics nor voting rights as well. Finally, one of the crucial points for the ones who considered the right of voting as an important reason of naturalization is the background of the second generation immigrants. They are all highly educated either holds Masters or PhD degrees. That causes to make a linkage with increased education level and the most possibility to be naturalized and those immigrants have more interested in both national and international politics and more eagerly for political participation so their profile supports the argument of De Sipio (2007) who state that "immigrants who naturalized for political reasons are more likely to participate than those who naturalized for other reasons and immigrants who naturalized in order to obtain or maintain access to government services would be less likely to vote." (p. 4).

First Generation Turkish Immigrants

Mainly the role of political factors has not a strong motivation for the first generation. Only three of the respondents from the first generation stated directly their willingness to have voice in the national elections of the Netherlands. That is also remarkable to mention that the backgrounds of those immigrants are the ones who have highly educated either hold Masters or Bachelor degrees. On the other hand, the other first generation immigrants who have primary or secondary education never mention political factors as an important reason to be naturalized. One of the female respondents explains the influence of political motivation as a willingness to affect the politics of the country where the policy implications affect her life. She says:

If I live here I want to have voice in the politics too so Dutch citizenship helped me to vote in the country where I am living.

Another female respondent who holds Masters Degree also clearly defines that though she is not attached to the Netherlands; to have Dutch citizenship is important where she lives and pays taxes so she sees the right of voting as a power. She adds:

I do not define myself as Dutch but to have citizenship has an important advantage politically as well. I have the right to say something in the politics of the country where I am living and paying taxes.

Second Generation Turkish Immigrants

Similar to the first generation immigrants, the education level becomes an important variable for the second generation, There is only one respondent has highly educated who holds PhD degree and he is the one put his interest to politics and counted this factor as one of the essential reason to be naturalized. He states

If I pay my tax, I want to use my political rights as well

That is also essential to note that his mentioning to deserve the right of voting if he pays his taxes so he found a connection with paying taxes and the right of voting.

Third Generation Turkish Immigrants

None of the third generation Turkish immigrants mentioned or care the importance of the voting rights or to affect the political decisions during the process of naturalization. Their young ages and their future targets which are mostly deal with the building their careers have become more essential factors and secondly the reason they do not have interested in politics can be noted another factor why there is not special influence of political motivation on naturalization for the third generation Turkish immigrants. For instance, one of the respondents says.

I never think voting rights or to influence national politics. I voted last time local election but I voted for the party which my

family voted as well but I do not know a lot about that party too.

II-B- POLICY REGULATIONS AND ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS AND THE FIRST, SECOND, THIRD GENERATION TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

After analyzing the external factors that affect the decision of naturalization of the first second and third generation Turkish immigrants, that is essential to note that the internal factors that have required by the policy regulation by the states can have special role for pushing to be naturalized or not. Those factors have been mentioned earlier are firstly to get rid of paper works and visa. Secondly, the time and money they have to allocate for naturalization and thirdly to be eligible for naturalization on the basis of requirements that have been demanded by the state.

When we look for the first variable, all of the respondents from the first second and third generation immigrants have mentioned with a clear way that Dutch citizenship has special advantage not being in trouble with the papers that have required by the immigrants like their job positions, marital status and information about their families have to be submitted to the IND offices and municipalities. In addition to this Moreover, all of the 23 respondents both 4 of the respondents who are not naturalized agree the advantage of not submitting papers to the state institutions every year and traveling easily with Dutch passport and 2 of the respondents who are planning to apply Dutch citizenship in the next few years stated the reason to be naturalized as get rid of paper work and having easy visa procedures for traveling.

Secondly, the immigrants have to gather all of the required documents and they should allocate both their time and money for the application fees and the difficulties during those procedures can be noted as one of the variables not to be naturalized for the immigrants. As Tjebbes (2000) indicates that "naturalization process, in most cases, brings with it few problems (but takes a long time, currently about 8 to 10 months)" (§ 11). Though, the first claim of the Tjebbes is true for the Turkish immigrants who faced few problems but for his second claim about taking long time of the procedures, except one of the immigrants were not confirmed for the Turkish immigrants and 4 of the respondents from the first generation mentioned that they acquired Dutch citizenship just in 2 months. For the first, second and third generation immigrants 19 of them were naturalized and except one of the respondents, all of the immigrants both from the first, second and third generation immigrants stated that they have never faced difficulties. Finally, except one of the immigrants, none of the immigrants from the first, second and third generation were complaining about the high application fees nor the time they were allocated to gather the necessary required documents for naturalization and Sterling (2008) state that "immigrants face visa fees amounting to hundreds of

dollars per year, and permanent residency or naturalization fees that cost nearly \$1,500" (¶ 7). As a result, Sterling (2008) arguments about high application fees are not observed a big problem for the Turkish immigrants.

First Generation Turkish Immigrants

None of the first generation immigrants were complaining neither about the application fees nor the difficulties that they have faced during the application procedures. Moreover, both all of the first generation immigrants who were naturalized between 1992 and 1997 and 4 of the respondents from the first generation who are highly educated and married a Dutch person have mentioned that they have never faced any difficulties after submitting the necessary required documents for naturalization. In addition to this, 4 of the respondents who are married a Dutch man stated that they got Dutch citizenship earlier than their expectations. For instance, one of the respondents mentioned that 'I acquired Dutch citizenship just in two months. That was earlier than I thought.'

What is more essential for the first generation immigrants are getting rid of paper works that are required by the state administration and having easy visa procedures by acquiring Dutch citizenship. One of the female respondents who acquired Dutch citizenship in 2005 by marrying a Dutch man explain her naturalization reasons because of the important factors to travel with his husband together and not to have any paper work that are required by IND.. She says:

The main reason to acquire Dutch citizenship is basically bureaucratic; renewing residence permits every year and gathering all of the information of my baby and my husband and appointments with IND to extend my residence permit was taking too much time. Finally, most of the country in the world do not implement visa requirement for Dutch passport so you can be free to travel anywhere in the world.

The other respondent also considers not having visa requirements for traveling and not bothering for application to extend her residence permit as remarkable points for naturalization. She states:

For Turkish passport most of the countries in the world have visa requirements but with Dutch passport that is easier to go anywhere and finally I do not need to apply every year for the

residence permit that is a very big advantage for my family.

In addition to this, one of the respondents in this group who does not have Dutch citizenship but he is also planning to apply in the short run and counts disposing of paper work one of the essential reasons. She says:

I do not have Dutch citizenship but I want to apply and acquire Dutch citizenship. That is not to be in trouble to prepare papers in every certain year.

Second Generation Turkish Immigrants

Similar to the first generation, except one of the female immigrants, they have never faced any difficulties while obtaining Dutch citizenship and not complaining about the application fees. This female second generation immigrant tell that her application rejected two times and in the third time she succeeded to have Dutch citizenship. That is also remarkable to note that only this immigrants has acquired Dutch passport last year and the others acquired in the years 1990s. Moreover, the second generation Turkish immigrants are more focused on the practical advantages of Dutch citizenship as disposing of paper work and not having visa requirements while traveling. Like the first generation, all off the second generation immigrants told the advantages of not having troubles with paper and no visa requirements while traveling. Additionally, there are 3 respondents from the second generation who are deal with business; they all mentioned that Dutch citizenship helps not bothering with lots of papers. For instance, one of the respondents says:

Having Dutch citizenship decreases the numbers of the papers that you have to submit to the municipality so it helps us when we are doing business.

In addition to this, one of the respondents who is owner of the *Ali Baba* Patisserie in the center of Enschede was also complaining about the bureaucratic barriers and paper works when you do not have Dutch citizenship especially for business owners.

The other respondent explain his coming to the Netherlands because of socio economic reasons but his naturalization is because of not being in trouble wit papers and the more volubility of Dutch passport than Turkish passport because most of the countries in the world do not require visa for Dutch citizens. He states:

The main reason for coming was economic and the reason to acquire Dutch citizenship is to get rid of all of the paper works which were demanded by the Dutch state. Furthermore, that is more valuable than the Turkish citizenship because most of the countries in the world do not want any visa from you.

Third Generation Turkish Immigrants

Similar to the first and second generation immigrants, the third generation immigrants stated they have never faced any difficulties while obtaining Dutch citizenship and they also mentioned more often to travel in Europe and around the world than the first and second generation immigrants. For example, one of the respondents says:

I am Dutch and no one asks to me for visa while traveling around the world. I just show my passport and in Europe, there are two places to enter the country in the airports; first is for EU citizens and the second is for non-EU citizens. The second one has always been crowded.

DUTCH CITIZENSHIP AND COMPARISON OF THE FIRST, SECOND AND THE THIRD GENERATION TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

The common points that shared by first, second and third generations to acquire Dutch citizenship

Three essential points are shared by all of the respondents from the first, second and third generations which are variables of policy regulations and administrative factors; firstly to dispose of paper works, secondly to travel around the world without difficult visa requirements, thirdly to get benefits of the European Union; to work in any country of the European Union members and free movement in the EU

Firstly, during the interviews all of the 23 respondents even the ones who do not have Dutch citizenship share the same advantage of the Dutch passport which is to get rid of paper work; The necessary papers which are required from the municipalities and IND office to extend the visa make the lives of the Turkish immigrants difficult in terms of allocating time and secondly money. This was one of the important reasons to naturalize.

Secondly, all of the 23 respondents from the first, second and third generations agree that the value of the Dutch passport has better position than the Turkish passport. Dutch passport provides them to travel around the world without long procedures of visa requirements unlike Turkish passport. Especially, for the ones who have economically better position among the Turkish immigrants, like traveling around the world can be important pushing factor to acquire Dutch citizenship. This motivation is also emphasized more harshly by the third group of the first generation; all of the respondents from highly educated Turkish who are married a Dutch man stated the difficulties when there was no visa requirement for their husbands but demanding of visa for themselves make quite impossible to travel together any time they wish.

Thirdly, Dutch passport have positive outcomes for the owners of the businesses. For instance, 3 of the respondents; one from first and two from second generations who are the owners of the restaurants and patisserie mention the benefits of Dutch citizenship either to develop or start a new business. For those respondents Dutch citizenship symbolizes to open new branches in the European Union or to establish new businesses in the European Union borders. For instance, two of the respondents aim to open new branches to Münster in Germany which is nearby to their boarder city of Enschede so they are more enthusiastic while applying to acquire Dutch citizenship.

Different reflections from the first, second and third generations to acquire Dutch citizenship

Firstly, there is an increasing attachment to Dutch society and Dutch citizenship in every next generation. While all of the respondents from the third generation whose ages are between 18 and 23 have the most attachment for Dutch citizenship and they want to get not just because of practical, socio-economic or cultural reasons but also they feel the Netherlands as their home. Like the third generation, second generation has more attachment to Dutch citizenship than their parents who are from the first generation but different from third generation, the reasons for naturalization of the second generation based on practical matters, socio-economic benefits and finally political reasons for the highly educated ones. Lastly, the first generation attachment to Dutch society depends on mostly their backgrounds. For the ones, who came to the Netherlands as a guest worker late 1960's are the

ones who have more attachment to Turkey and less to Dutch citizenship. For instance, 2 of the respondents prefer to stay 6 months in Turkey and 6 months in the Netherlands to have benefits of the Netherlands.³ The respondents of the first generation, who are highly educated whose husbands are Dutch, prefer to naturalize because of practical matters like getting rid of paper works and difficult visa requirements. Moreover, 3 of the respondents from this group mention of their naturalization reasons attachment to Dutch society and citizenship because of sympathy and appreciation of the Netherlands as a country.

Secondly, during the interviews one of the most interesting points that I found is the striking differences between the opinions of the men and women, in other words role of gender as a variable. Turkish women from both the first, second and third generations who have different educational backgrounds, age and marital status are more desirous to acquire Dutch citizenship than the Turkish men. For instance, 6 of the Turkish immigrants out of 8 who hold Dutch citizenship are ready to renounce their Turkish citizenship. On the other hand, Turkish men are more stick to their national background and some of them were proud while emphasizing their Turkish roots. Only third generation Turkish men are more attached to the Netherlands. In addition to this, one of the Turkish women was trying to show to me her passport during the interviews with proud. The main reasons of the Turkish women to have more liberal opinions in the attachment of the Dutch citizenship can be explained as socio economical independency, emotional sensitivity and integration to the Dutch society more than the Turkish men.

Thirdly, I found that there is a correlation between different generations for the attachment to the Dutch citizenship and the social contacts they have who are Dutch people. As a result, the variable of social contacts with Dutch people can affect their decision for the attachment to the Dutch citizenship. Respondents from the first generation who came to the Netherlands in late 1960's have the least Dutch contact and have the least attachment to Dutch citizenship Like this group of first generation, the other respondents of the first generation who moved to the Netherlands for marriage with the daughters or sons of the first generation have mostly Turkish contacts rather than Dutch contacts and their naturalization reasons are not because of attachment to the Dutch society but administrative, socio-economic and cultural attachment to Turkey. 5 of the female respondents of the first generations whose husbands are Dutch, they are more willingly to acquire Dutch citizenship and attachment to Dutch society. Second generation have better positions to have Dutch contacts than their parents but their naturalization reasons is still not just because of attachment to Dutch society completely but other factors still play role which are socio-economic and administrative reasons. On the other hand, the first and the third generation have strictly different approaches for Dutch

³ This is a requirement to stay in the Netherlands at least 6 months to have benefits of retirement and social rights.

citizenship. The third generation is different from the first generation respondents who have less attachment to Dutch citizenship, the third generations are the ones who have the most Dutch contacts and more eagerly to naturalize. For instance, 23 years old respondent from the third generation whose friends are almost Dutch define himself half Dutch and half Turkish and perceives the Netherlands as his own home and missing his friends too much when he was in Turkey.

Fourthly, it is observed that different educational backgrounds affect the attachment to the Dutch citizenship. The effect of education level also provides to be more integrated to the Dutch society and system for both first, second and third generation. The respondents who have PhD or Master's degree have more attachment to the Dutch society and the Netherlands. When comparing to the respondents who have secondary and primary education level from first and second generations groups. The attachment to the Dutch citizenship of the woman respondents from the first generation that are highly educated can be also explained with the persons they are married who are Dutch as well.

Fifthly, the socio-economic reasons for naturalization can have different effects among the respondents of the first, second and third generation. Except one of the respondents who have highly skilled and holds BA or Masters' degree from the first generation believe that can be beneficial to show your Dutch passport rather than Turkish passport in the job applications.

The respondents from the first and second generation who have primary and secondary education also have different responses for job applications. First generation immigrants who came to the Netherlands in late 1960s and have worked in ordinary jobs naturally do not see Dutch citizenship can affect finding jobs. For the second generation especially for the ones whose numbers are 4 and they are deal with business think that Dutch citizenship is effective to develop their businesses. On the other hand, the ones who are highly skilled immigrants mentioned that their rivals for the job can be French, German or Dutch in the international market so employer can prefer French, German or a Dutch rather than a Turkish citizen who needs visa or work permit for the EU countries. As a result, the immigrants who have primary or secondary education may not see benefit to naturalize for the job market but this may be important factor for some of the highly skilled Turkish immigrants and business owners. Moreover, the third young generation is quite worried about their future after their graduation so Dutch citizenship also important for their live to look for job in any EU countries. Therefore, rather than the differences in generations the level of education and what kind of job the immigrants are looking for either highly skilled or ordinary can be important criteria for the job applications. On the one hand, Dutch passport may work better for the highly skilled immigrants because of international competition, business owners to develop their commerce and the third generation to have more chances to find a better job after graduation on the other hand, it does not as

much as effective for the respondents who have first and secondary level education and looking for ordinary jobs.

Finally, like in job applications, political reasons for naturalization can be an important factor for the respondents who hold Masters or PhD degree and number of these respondents are 5. Other respondents, who have secondary and primary education, did not mention to vote in the national elections as the reasons of naturalizations. In addition to this, none of the Turkish immigrants from the third generation are interested in politics. Politics is something boring for them so voting in the national elections is not such a preferential topic for their lives. Thus, I could not find different generations as a variable for the political reasons but the level of the education and age can be the main reason for the Turkish immigrants which make the respondents to have voice for their demands in the political spectrum. For instance, second generation PhD holders or first generation Masters holders are more sensitive to vote in the national elections than the other respondents who have primary and secondary education from first, second and third generation.

Turkish Immigrants Who Are Not Naturalized

As it is explained in the earlier chapters, there is need to summarize the situations of the ones who have not Dutch citizenship. 70% of the Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands have already been naturalized so to find those 4 respondent in my sample was not quite easy. The factors that push those immigrants not to be naturalized can be explained because of the duration about how long they have been living in the Netherlands, strong cultural attachment to the home country and future plans about the place where they want to live.

The most striking result about 2 of the respondents is their willingness to be naturalized in the short run because of the effects of policy regulations like to get paper work and to upgrade their socio economical statue in the society. In addition to this, although they wanted to be naturalized they have lack of enough information about the procedures and they do not know where to go to get information. As a result, the effects of having knowledge about the procedures to be naturalized have been observed as an essential indicator that may affect the decision of naturalization which has not been mentioned in the theoretical framework.

The other important factor is observed about the time they have been living in the Netherlands and their plans either to live in the Netherlands permanently or not. For instance, 3 of the respondents have been living in the Netherlands for 5 years and one of them from the first generation is planning to

go back to Turkey so she does not think to be naturalized because of her preference not to be settled in the Netherlands in the long run.

Finally, it is found that the role of strong cultural attachment to Turkey and not participating and integrating to the Dutch social life have been the significant factors for one of the 64 years old female respondent from the first generation, who has already been 6 months in Turkey and she did not show any interest to be naturalized because of her cultural attachment to Turkey and has not seen any extra benefit for by naturalization because of her old age.

CHAPTER V

EFFECTS OF THE POLICY BELIEFS ON THE FIRST, SECOND, THIRD GENERATION TURKISH IMMIGRANTS TOWARDS NATURALIZATION

The aim of this chapter is showing the effects of policy beliefs and changes on the Turkish immigrants. How those different approaches in the naturalization policies have influential role for the decision of the Turkish immigrant can be observed in this chapter clearly. Especially, from 1980 to 1997 and the last policy beliefs by 2000 have significant differences and effects for the decision of naturalization on the Turkish immigrants.

There is a need to go back late 1980's to understand those changes in naturalization policies and policy beliefs in the Netherlands on Turkish immigrants when their numbers are also started to increase and most of them have not gone back to Turkey. The acceptance of the immigrants to stay in the Netherlands permanently started in 1983. In 1983, the national government acknowledged that the settlement of the ethnic minorities will become permanently in the Netherlands (De Wit and Koopmans, 2005, p. 58) and recognized that 'Dutch society will permanently have a multicultural character'.⁴ The future government's policy approach would be based on the 'the vision that minority groups are not just in 'our society' but that this 'society' is also their society, and that 'ours' includes the members of minority groups'.⁵ Most strikingly reminiscent of the pillarized line of thought the Cabinet stated 'that minorities should have the same chances to decide on the forms and contents of the ways in which they live their identities as other existing identity groups (sic) in Dutch society'.⁶ These policy beliefs to see the immigrants as a part of the host society and also one of the real partners of it were the first significant steps for the multicultural naturalization policy understanding of the

⁴ De Wit and Koopmans (2005) refer to Tweede Kamer der Staten General, 1982, pp. 12 in their article.

⁵ Ibid, 14

⁶ Ibid, 107

Netherlands in the mid 80's. Therefore, after the extending rights for the ethnic minorities, the policy beliefs aimed to come over the present and potential future problems by ensuring the rights and try to create such an image by including them to the native society as one of the real instruments

Penninx, Garcés-Mascareñas and Scholten (2005) explain the recognizing of the immigrants who have been long term residents in the Netherlands as a target to integrate those people into Dutch society (p.3) This recognition also leads to multicultural policy and an essential increased number of the Turkish immigrants during five years (1992-1997), multiple citizenship was accepted for all immigrants applying for Dutch citizenship as a result the Netherlands became a real heaven for the immigrants who want to acquire Dutch citizenship. As it was indicated table 1 huge numbers of immigrants were naturalized in those years with accelerated upward movement in the graphic.

In the interviews, I found that 10 of the respondents out of 11 who moved to the Netherlands before 1992 both from first generation and second generation were naturalized between the years 1992 and 1997. This number also symbolizes the approval and appreciation of the naturalization policy in those years. The second essential analysis is 10 of the respondents who were naturalized in those years mentioned that they have not faced any difficulties in the process of acquiring citizenship. For instance, 64 years old male respondent who was naturalized by 1996 and he stated that 'it was popular and easy to naturalize at that time and we did not face any difficulties in the process of naturalization but I read from the newspapers that now it is much more difficult and they should change it.' On the one hand, the respondent appreciates the multicultural policy of the Netherlands in those years. Furthermore, they criticize and want from the state to change the new policies. Though, all of the respondents who were naturalized between 1992 and 1997, were glad because of the multicultural policy of the Netherlands. One of the female respondents who have Masters degree and married with a Dutch, naturalized in 2005 mentioned that 'the previous naturalization policy was too tolerable and now it is more logical and I support it.' The different approaches for the policies in those years explain that the backgrounds of the respondents and the years when they naturalized have the essential factors in matching the policy beliefs and the immigrants' perceptions towards it. The respondents who were naturalized in the years between 1992 and 1997 support and appreciated the naturalization policy of the Netherlands. For instance, 38 years old male respondent state that 'The policies of 90's created the image that the Netherlands completely accepted us as their real part and when we acquired our Dutch passport we became more attached to the Dutch state and society.' As a result, both the naturalization policies have motivated Turkish immigrants to be naturalized the years between 1992 and 1997. This also proves that the role of policy beliefs have clear role about the decision of naturalization.

The naturalization numbers of the Turkish immigrants commenced to increase in the first half of the 1990's, the procedures to short the process also has effect on this. In the age of tolerance, when

it reached its peak level in 1996 just in one year 20% of the immigrants have acquired Dutch citizenship. After 1997, when the renunciation was reinstated, the rate of the Turkish immigrants has started to fall down to the level of 5%. This also indicates the importance of the protection of Turkish citizenship while acquiring Dutch citizenship for the Turkish immigrants. (Thränhardt, 2006, p. 18)

Statistics that already mentioned in the table 1 prove the decrease of the naturalized Turkish immigrants after the policy changes by 2000. Respondents both from the first and second generations share the same view that they prefer dual citizenship. The obligatory decision to renounce Turkish citizenship is not approved by any of the respondents. On the other hand, if there was such an obligation to renounce Turkish citizenship to acquire the Dutch citizenship Only 3 of the respondents from the third generations and 1 of the respondent from the second generation state that they can renounce Turkish citizenship to acquire Dutch citizenship so the third generation respondents are ready to renounce Turkish citizenship easier than the first and second generation. One of the respondents from second generation state that 'to renounce Turkish citizenship will not lessen my Turkishness so if it was obligatory in the 1990's to renounce it I would do. Not because of emotional reasons but simply practical.' Different from this response, other respondents from the first and second generation are more reluctant to renounce their Turkish citizenship because of emotional reasons. For example, one of 40 years old male respondent state that 'that was the turning point for me to apply for the citizenship but if they wanted from me to renounce my Turkish citizenship I would not apply to get Dutch passport.' Furthermore, one of 39 years old male respondent says that 'I am Turkish, how can I change it? It is in my genes. Though, I renounce my Turkish citizenship, nothing will change about my loyalty and attachment to Turkey. Turkey is my motherland but the Netherlands is my fatherland. I do not understand that why I must choose one of them.' Thus, firstly respondents both from the first and second generation prefer to have dual citizenship and they do not approve to choose only one of the citizenships as an obligation to be naturalized. Secondly, different from the first and second generation, young third generation respondents 3 out of 4 respondents who have less attachment to Turkey are much more ready to renounce Turkish citizenship and the other one respondent from the third generation implicitly state that he can renounce Turkish citizenship but prefer to hold both of them.

Increased number of the naturalized Turkish immigrants after the policy changes caused that to be perceived of the naturalization so easy by 1996. This evaluation also made by the parties in the Netherlands. (Thränhardt, 2006, p. 13)

Van Oers et al. (eds. Bauböck et al., 2006) mention that because of interpretation of the Conservative Liberals and Christian Democrats who evaluated the enormous increase in the numbers of naturalized immigrants as unexpected and they claimed that most of the immigrants who are

naturalized have weak attachment to the Dutch state and society so renouncing original citizenship should be acted again. (p. 426). The new definition of gaining Dutch citizenship started to bring new perspective and not only the state but also the ones who want to naturalize should have some duties commenced to declare by the politicians. Penninx, Garcés-Masareñas and Scholten (2005) indicate the policy document of 1994 (Ministerie 1994) what is called as 'Countourenota' and this document was emphasizing the importance of 'good citizenship' and 'self-responsibility' and it argues that citizenship is not constrained of only rights but also duties should be included. (p.16). All these developments lead to new understanding and requirements for the ones who want to naturalize Thränhardt (2006) explains those amendments as making naturalization more difficult. A written naturalization test, in which their knowledge of the Dutch language and Dutch society is determined have required from the applicants since the introduction of the test, in April 2003.(p.13) In addition to this, Thränhardt (2006) also mentions that the important emergence of the populist and xenophobic Fortuyn party which also tried to cause a broad consensus that the Dutch integration policy has been a failure and the new interpretation of naturalization process named as the crowning of the successful integration. (p.13). With this new understanding the meaning of naturalization has also been changed. It symbolized acquiring Dutch citizenship not a key that to be owned easily and open all of the doors to make the immigrants lives easier but it is a such a crown that is acquired only for the ones who deserve it after completion the necessary steps and attached to Dutch citizenship not only because of practical motivations to make their lives easier but also emotionally attachment to the Dutch state, society and culture started to be demanded explicitly.

The new policy changes on naturalization by 2000 have different implications and reflections among the first, second and third generations. Except one of the female respondents from the first generation whose husband is Dutch, all of the respondents accept that the new policy changes on citizenship regulations will make acquiring of the Dutch citizenship by the newcomers Turkish immigrants to the Netherlands more difficult. For instance, 64 years old male respondent from first generation states that. 'I follow the newspapers and learned that to bring your spouse from Turkey is now more difficult. They should have basic Dutch knowledge but how can those people learn Dutch in Turkey and they should invest a lot of money for it! Is it true? If it is they should change it.' Different from this, 34 years old highly educated female respondent from the third group of the first generation whose husband is Dutch and she was naturalized in 2005. She finds the new policy changes more pragmatic and logical than the previous one. She states that 'new policy changes are much more logical. The previous one was too tolerant and I support the new policy changes on naturalization.' Moreover, one of the 39 years old female respondents found the problem not only in the policies of the Netherlands but also blame some of the Turkish immigrants who are more closed and reluctant to integrate to the Dutch society. She indicates that 'some Turkish people here cause to bad image of the Turks in the Netherlands. Sometimes, I see the problem in the Turkish society when they have

difficulties in the adaptation. As a result, the state increases the barriers for the citizenship and entrance to the country.' Thus, the new policy changes in the Netherlands decreased motivation of the Turkish immigrants to be naturalized except one of the respondents who supports the new policy changes. One of the female respondents though does not support the last policy changes on citizenship regulations, she indicates that some of the Turkish immigrants who face difficulties in the integration and creates bad image of the whole Turkish immigrants is one of the reasons in the changes of the policies on naturalization which makes those changes legitimate according to this perception.

Therefore, there are two major points about effects of the policy beliefs on the Turkish immigrants for naturalization. Firstly, one of the essential sample in the interviews are the ones who were naturalized in those years between 1992 and 1997 when the multicultural policy was enhanced and the politicians started to mention the immigrants as part of the society. Therefore, politicians started to accept that immigrants will stay in the Netherlands permanently. Though the aim of the Dutch politicians and immigrants were different from each other about acquiring Dutch citizenship, the policies in those years affected Turkish immigrants with popular demand to be naturalized. Turkish immigrants wanted to have Dutch passport to make their lives easier and Dutch policy makers wanted from the immigrants to feel themselves like at their home and to be a part of the Dutch society so they started to new policy changes and this led to acquiring Dutch passport by the thousands of the Turkish immigrants especially during between 1992 and 1997. Secondly, with the changes of the law of 2000, different approaches to naturalization between policy makers and the first (except the highly educated Turkish women) and second generation Turkish immigrants have started to crystallize and caused to decreased numbers for naturalization. Although except the third generation, one of the respondents supports the new policies, she still opposes the prevention of the dual citizenship. Again if we exclude the third generation, the policy beliefs could not change attachment level of the immigrants. There is still more attachment to Turkey among the immigrants and the most flexible ones also wants to have dual identities as both Dutch and Turkish rather than have to choose only one.

Finally, there is a need to look for with a special focus on the third generation because both their backgrounds', perceptions' and attachment to the Dutch citizenship, society and culture tell an interesting story about the effects of policy beliefs on the third generation. These young immigrants are the ones who have the most attachment to the Dutch society and culture, as a result Dutch citizenship as well. As it is indicated earlier; their poor Turkish language capacity and excellent Dutch proficiency, defining the Netherlands as their home, not to make a big deal renouncing of the Turkish citizenship and finally constraining majority of their contacts from the Dutch people put them to a special region where the last policy changes and naturalization intersects. The profile of those immigrants also indicate that for the certain groups like the third generation are the most suitable

example in the way to alter of the last policy changes to a success story on behalf of the policy makers' beliefs.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, firstly it will be looked for the results about testing of the theories. In addition to this, what kind of outcomes has been reached which have not been looked for in the theoretical framework but influential on the decision of naturalization will be discussed. After that, the hypotheses have been examined and the answers of the central and sub questions will be given with significant outcomes.

When we look back for the statements of the theories and what has been approved or not at the end of the research, it is clearly found that not all of the theoretical arguments are true. There are the theories which are true for our sample and research but there are also theories which have not been supported with the outcomes of this study. Firstly, for the *socio economical factors*; the increased number of years that the immigrants stay in the Netherlands increases their naturalization ratio. Secondly, the relationship between citizen acquisition and its positive effect on job chances have also been confirmed with this study. On the other hand, it is not found the role of education as significant criteria that affects job chances to be naturalized for highly skilled Turkish immigrants. When we focus on *cultural, associational and psychological factors*, the capacity of language of the host country affects their naturalization with a positive correlation. Increased capacity and knowledge of Dutch language resulted with increased numbers of naturalization by each generation but what is more essential is also the knowledge of the language of the host country affects the loyalty and attachment level to the host country and home country as well. For instance, the third generation has nearly perfect Dutch language capacity but lack of Turkish language pushes them stating their home as the Netherlands. Secondly, strong ethnic community among the Turkish immigrants also created more attachment to Turkey and less attachment to Dutch citizenship. Thirdly, increased number of Dutch contacts is resulted with increase attachment to Dutch citizenship and naturalization. Finally, loss of Turkish citizenship as a requirement to be naturalized significantly affect decrease numbers of naturalization for the first and second generation Turkish immigrants. When we go back for the role of *socio demographical factors*, firstly the role of age has been influential for the first and quietly on second generation but insignificant for the third generation. Secondly, in the role of gender, expect the old aged low educated Turkish women; all of the Turkish women are more ready to be naturalized rather than the Turkish men. Final the role of marital status loses its meaning for all of the first and

second generation but it has not been tested for the third generation who are all so young and single. Finally, the role of *political factors*; voting rights and to have influence on the policies of the country are only influential for the ones who are highly educated so not the role of different generations but the level of education became an important criteria for the highly educated Turkish immigrants both from the first and second generation. The third generation Turkish immigrants are not interested in politics as well.

Finally, for the role of the *policy regulations and administrative factors*, Not to be in trouble with the papers which are required from the state institutions and to travel around the world without visa requirements have been agreed as an essential motivation to be naturalized by the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants. On the other hand, policy requirements have not been noted as an important indicator because of they have already taken such a decision and the policy changes after all the immigrants have been naturalized loses the interest of the Turkish immigrants.

After mentioning all these theoretical framework approval or not by this research that is also significant to mention existence of the other factors which have not been issue in the theoretical framework but influential on the decision of the naturalization of the first, second and the third generation Turkish immigrants. There are two factors that influence whether naturalization or not of the immigrants which are having knowledge about the advantages and disadvantages of Dutch citizenship and the procedures what the immigrants should follow. For instance, though one of the respondents wanted to be naturalized he is unaware of the requirements and the process that he has to follow. The other 64 years old female respondent from the first generation was also unaware of the benefits of naturalization and try to be neutral and on the influence of her husband decision on this issue. Secondly, the factor of trust between the immigrants and Dutch state affect their reasons of naturalization and attachment to Dutch citizenship especially about their loyalty to the Netherlands and Dutch citizenship.

To turn back for the seven hypotheses which have been mentioned in the third chapter will be helpful not only to answer those hypotheses but also to summarize the heart of the whole discussion of the research. The first four hypotheses are about the reasons of naturalization of the first, second and third generation immigrants, the fifth one raises the point about the effects of policy beliefs and regulation on the decision of naturalization or not. The sixth one is deal with the ones who are not naturalized and the last one is related with attachment of the Dutch citizenship of the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants.

Hypothesis 1-: For the decision of naturalization socio economical factors may be effective more for the first generation and then second generation and less for the third generation Turkish immigrants.

This hypothesis becomes true at the end of the entire qualitative and policy analysis because the reason coming of the first generation immigrants to the Netherlands was upgrading their social positions. On the other hand, the effects of economical benefits become essential for the second generation immigrants to be naturalized but not as much as the first generation. Finally, though socio economical position is also important for the third generation it is difficult to declare that it is as much as effective as a reason of naturalization for the third generation.

Hypothesis 2: Cultural, associational and psychological factors may have the most influence for the first generation but the least for the third generation.

The hypothesis becomes completely true, that is also one of the interesting outcomes of the research. The first generation brought their 'small Turkey' to the Netherlands while they were coming to the Netherlands to work. They are the most attached generation to Turkish citizenship. They have strong kinship ties with the Turkish immigrants, absolute attachment to Turkey and less contact with Dutch people but with the emergence of the second generation this attachment has started to decrease. Though, the second generation shows clear attachment to Turkey that is not as strong as the first generation's attachment. Finally, the third generation, different from the first generation, with their poor Turkish language knowledge, more Dutch people contacts and more loyalty to the Dutch citizenship and culture make them the most integrated/assimilated generation who are fully ready to be naturalized.

Hypothesis 3: Three variables of socio demographical factors; gender, age and marital status may affect the reason of naturalization for all of the first, second and third generation immigrants

This hypothesis is partially true because though gender, age and marital status are influential that is not true for the entire first, second and third generation immigrants. For instance, firstly gender is essential variable for the first and second generation, the women are more eagerly to be naturalized but that is not valid for the third generation. Secondly, not the age of the immigrants but the time how long they have been living in the Netherlands is more influential. Finally, either spouses' of the immigrants have Dutch passport or not can be influential for the decision of naturalization but this could not be observed for the third generation who are not married yet because of their young age.

Hypothesis 4: The right of voting as one of the political variables may be indicated as a motivation to be naturalized by the entire first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants.

This hypothesis is not true because the right of voting has become an important variable for the ones who are highly educated immigrants. As a result, it is found that the right of voting is not directly related with the generations but political interest and educational background of the immigrants. Therefore, there are only three persons from the first generation who have bachelor and Masters Degrees and one person from the second generation who has PhD degree. The third generation is not interested in politics as well.

Hypothesis 5: Policy beliefs and regulations affect the decision of naturalization for the entire Turkish immigrants from the first, second and third generations.

This hypothesis is partially true because not only all of the policy regulations and policy beliefs but only two variables of the policy regulations when the immigrants are not naturalized have been approved by all of the respondents as an essential factor that push them to be naturalized. The two variables are important motivations on the decision to be naturalized. First, to get rid of paper work which has been demanded by the immigrants to extend their resident and work permits in every year. Second, to travel around the world without difficult visa requirements have been noted as an important indicator that plays role for the decision of naturalization for the entire Turkish immigrants.

Hypothesis 6: The reasons for the ones who are not naturalized can be explained because of their top level attachment to Turkey.

This hypothesis is not correct completely. Though, there is one respondent who is not preferred to be naturalized because of her top level attachment to Turkey. There are also respondents who have been naturalized but still having strong attachment to Turkey. In addition to this, the variables like preferences about the place where the immigrants want to live permanently in the future and the duration of their residence like how long have been living in the Netherlands have become important factor for the reasons not to be naturalized like it is observed on the other three respondents' answers.

Hypothesis 7: Attachment to Dutch citizenship increases by each next generation of the Turkish immigrants respectively

Finally, one of the most significant outcomes of the research can be found in the claim of this hypothesis. The hypothesis is true that, there is clear increasing to Dutch citizenship for every next

generation. Though, the first generation shows the least attachment to Dutch culture and citizenship, the second generation has more close to the Dutch culture and citizenship than the first generation. Finally, the third generation immigrants have the profiles that are also suggested by the Dutch policy beliefs to be naturalized because they show complete attachment and loyalty to Dutch society, culture and citizenship.

At this point, we can return to the first sub question of the research. It is about immigrants' approach to Dutch citizenship. Do they see it either very valuable or honorable owning and proud to be Dutch or the other reasons are influential on their decision? This question triggers the second question which is about the role of other factors. Those factors have been mentioned as socio economical; cultural, associational and psychological; socio demographical and political.

When we try to look for the first sub question, it is found that the attachment to Dutch society, culture and Dutch citizenship has been at the top level for the third generation of the Turkish immigrants and they are very proud to have Dutch citizenship and to live in the Netherlands. Though, this attachment has been quietly observed on the second generation Turkish immigrants, they have still a certain attachment and preference for Turkish citizenship. The first generation, as naturally has the most attachment to Turkish citizenship but the ones who have received high education and married with a Dutch person distinguish them than the other first generation immigrants because they show more flexible attitude for naturalization.

For the second sub question, it is observed that all those reasons have both similarities and differences among the first, second and the third generation. The same factors that have been shared by all those immigrants have already been discussed above like practical reasons, to travel easily without visa, to get rid of paper works. Furthermore, it is important to note that although those results with each variable have already been examined for each generation in the earlier chapters, that is important to mention that, importance of their priorities in the lives of the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants. Those priorities and preferences have been shaped by specifically their backgrounds, education level, and ages, genders, way of thinking, life choices and future targets. For instance, what is more essential for the first generation Turkish immigrants can firstly cultural, associational and psychological factors but socio economic gaining preferred as the first reason for the second generation and emotional attachment determines the naturalization reasons of the third generation as a first essential reason to be naturalized.

That is remarkable to notify the last sub question of the research. Firstly, what is the role of policy regulations and policy requirements on naturalization? There are also two important results of the research for the part of the Dutch state migration politics, administrative policies and regulations.

Firstly, the history and culture of the Netherlands are essential while determining the politics of migration independent from the external factors that mentioned above as socio economic; cultural, associational and psychological, socio demographical and political factors. The politics of pillarization affected also the politics of migration and naturalization in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the administrative policies and regulations have been influential in the decision of the naturalization especially the laws and regulations that implemented by the state affect those external factors. For instance, the abolishment of the dual citizenship after 2001 led to considerable decrease of the Turkish immigrants' naturalization decision.

For the third sub question, the effect of the policy regulations have been observed and shared as an important reason of naturalization both for the first, second and third generation Turkish immigrants. These are getting rid of the paper works which are demanded by the state institutions in regular times and traveling easily without the difficult visa requirements. On the other hand, final variables which are the policy requirements have not considered as an essential factor which affects naturalization of the entire immigrants from the first, second and third generation.. The reason behind this factor can be explained when they are completely ready to be naturalized, they are more enthusiastic to fill those requirements and papers. Furthermore, that is also essential to note that 12 of the immigrants' naturalization are in the years between 1992 and 1997 when the process was easier and naturalization was popular among the Turks.

Therefore, the reasons of the naturalization of the Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands strongly related with first the backgrounds of the immigrants and second Dutch policy beliefs and regulations. In other words, socio economical, educational, demographical, cultural and political backgrounds of the immigrants determine their reasons of naturalization and attachment to Dutch citizenship but the priorities of those reasons to be naturalized can change according to their generations, the reason being in the Netherlands and future plans. First generation immigrants' reason of naturalization firstly aimed to upgrade their social position in the society. Second generation priority was based on socio economical benefits and finally attachment to the Dutch society and culture determined firstly naturalization of the third generation. Secondly, the role of the policy regulations and administrative factors can not be neglected for their decision of naturalization. Getting rid of bureaucratic barriers like papers or visa requirements are significant factors that push the entire Turkish immigrants from the first, second and third generation to be naturalized. On the other hand, policy beliefs significantly affect the decision of naturalization. Abolishing dual citizenship and restrictive migration politics caused huge decrease of naturalization applications especially among the first and second generation. With the last policy changes, Dutch citizenship has been suggested only for the ones who have complete attachment to Dutch way of life, culture and citizenship which has clearly suitable for the third generation Turkish immigrants. As a result, all those consequences imply

that naturalization of the different generations should have more places in the political arena both to understand naturalization of those immigrants for their parts and to have more clear and focused approach about the role of policy beliefs and regulations on naturalization for the benefits of both the state and the whole society.

APPENDIX

Questions that have been asked about the facts and backgrounds of the respondents

- 1-What is your name?
- 2-How old are you?
- 3-Are you married or single? If you are married, do you have any children?
- 4-What is the level of your educational background?
- 5-Do you have job? If yes, what is your job?
- 6-Are you from the first, second or third generation?
- 7-Do you have Dutch or Turkish passport, or do you have both of them?

Questions that have been asked about the reasons of acquiring Dutch citizenship

- 1-When did you acquire Dutch citizenship?
- 2- How did you decide to get Dutch passport?
- 3-What were the advantages or motivations that pushed you to apply for Dutch citizenship?
- 4-Were there also any disadvantages of acquiring Dutch citizenship? If yes, what are those disadvantages?
- 5-How do you define yourself; Turkish, Dutch or both of them or do you have another answer?
- 6- How do you define your home country; Turkey, the Netherlands or both of them, or do you have another answer?

Questions that have been asked about the reasons of not acquiring Dutch citizenship

- 1- Have you ever thought to acquire Dutch citizenship?
- 2- If yes, what are the reasons that pushed you not to acquire it? If no, why have you never thought such an option?
- 3- Do you also find that is there any advantage of Dutch passport and citizenship? If yes, what are those advantages?
- 4-How do you define yourself; Turkish, Dutch or both of them or do you have another answer?
- 5- How do you define your home country; Turkey, the Netherlands or both of them, or do you have another answer?

Questions that have been asked about the effects of Dutch policies and regulations on naturalization

- 1- How did you find conditions of the requirements for naturalization before the application; easier, difficult or do you have another answer?
- 2- Did the requirements of naturalization affect your decision to be naturalized or not? How do you explain it?
- 3- Is there any advantage or not if you are naturalized, when you consider the regulations of the state organization which are demanded by you?
- 4- Have you ever faced any difficulties during the application process? If yes, what are those difficulties?

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