

NETWORKING, BELONGING AND IDENTITY: HIGHLY SKILLED TURKISH  
IMMIGRANTS IN HALIFAX AND TORONTO

by

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for the degree of Master of Arts

at

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DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is an exploratory work into the migration and settlement experiences of highly skilled Turkish migrants who have settled in Canada. It is a qualitative study conducted with sixteen immigrant respondents living in Halifax and Toronto. The focus of this work is on the role of networks, specifically in shaping these migrants' migration routes, developing belongings and reworking identities. While it is the feminist theory that informs this study, I use the intersectional theory as the theoretical framework. It has been found that the social class not only arose as a central factor that influenced these migrants' experiences but it also affected the interplay between ethnicity and gender. The findings are analyzed with the help of current literature on globalization and international migration theories. The similarities and differences between the Halifax and Toronto respondents are also highlighted in order to inform provincial and national policies.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED**

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
CIC	Canadian Immigration Centre
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
EU	European Union
GCIM	Global Commission of International Migration
GNP	Gross National Product
HSM	Highly Skilled Migrant
ICT	Inter-Company transfers
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IT	Information Technology
ITU	Istanbul Technical University
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSERC	Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programs
SES	Socio-Economic Status
TUIK	Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)
UN	United Nations
USA	the United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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The respondents of this study; yakınlığınız hep aklımda kalacak

*Elçiye zeval olmazmış*

*Sürç-i lisan ettiysem affola*

*Thank you*

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## **CHAPTER 1      INTRODUCTION**

With a degree in psychology, I had always thought of migration on a personal level. Whether to migrate or not, how to choose where to migrate, planning the move, where to find a job or school or services and lately how to deal with homesickness and lack of family members? My starting point for this thesis is the realization that the act of migration changes the lives of the migrants just as much as it changes the lives of the populations in both receiving and sending countries. As a fresh student of International Development Studies I started to appreciate the global backdrop behind the act of migration. It became clear that, while migration movements have always shaped states and societies, recently, migration processes have become more global in scope and started to become central in domestic and international politics with their enormous economic social and economic consequences (Castles & Miller, 2009). Furthermore, cross-border flows of finance and trade, political and economic (read neoliberal) governing practices, cultural and media products as well as of people are key indicators of globalization (Castles & Miller, 2009) that is spreading around the world in an accelerated speed.

Globalization, a widely accepted paradigm for debates around international migration, drives migration and changes its directions and forms with mechanisms such as new information and communication technologies and cheap air travel (Castles & Miller, 2009). Moreover, although the political agenda of globalization is de-legitimated in explaining the contemporary world, at the economic level the dominance of an increasingly integrated capital world market and accompanying national privatizations, deregulations and liberalization continue, with devastating effects on equal

resource/wealth distribution within and between nations (ibid). On the other hand migration is an intrinsic part of globalization and is itself a major force reshaping communities and societies (ibid). As an immigrant myself, I live in a country which is usually seen as a major destination by aspiring immigrants. Which global movements had contributed to my and other immigrants' choices, experiences and expectations? In return, to what extent and in which ways have we contributed to the communities that we left behind and in which we live in now? What role do we play in reproducing the political discourses of globalization and global economic structures? How and in which ways do our transnational ties interrelate with global movements?

From the beginning on, I was interested in looking at highly skilled migrants' experiences. In my daily dealings and through media reports I was hearing the problems that highly skilled migrants in Canada were facing. I knew that many were leaving or were working in jobs that they were way overqualified for. On the flip side there were shortages of professionals in certain fields and fierce discussion between professional bodies, immigration officials and publics were being carried out. Furthermore, I had come to Canada as a highly skilled immigrant, maybe for different purposes than those of the respondents in this study but nevertheless skilled, and most of the people I was acquainted with were also highly skilled. I was hearing their stories, witnessing their daily lives; their connections, their dilemmas, multiple belongings, their successes, their fulfillments, their children's journeys, and the ways in which they were trying to create a comfort zone for themselves and their families. So, I wanted to investigate, analyze and report these in a more systematic manner. In my readings I started to focus more on the literature about the highly skilled migrants. From the literature, especially the feminist

literature on immigration, I could see that not many studies had been carried out on migration, settlement, and belonging experiences of the highly skilled migrants. Neither were there many studies on the networks of the highly skilled, their motivations for migration and identifications.

Within the immigration research, networks have been a topic that drew considerable attention of the researchers. It is established in the literature that the networks play a pivotal role in the migration and settlement processes (see for example Boyd, 1989; Wong and Salaff, 1998; Tastsoglou, 2006; Scott, 2007). These networks are also a platform where migrants' variety of social, cultural, professional, economic and professional relations is carried out, which impact the home and host communities (Vertovec, 2004). These relations and transformations both draw from and contribute to globalization (Vertovec, 2004). Thus, to look at the networks in which the migrants were involved with was imperative. I was able to locate more information on transnational networks and local ethnic networks (e.g. ethnic enclaves or ethnic migrant organizations) but less on professional and other types of local networks. There was even less on the transnational and local networks of the middle class migrants, who migrate on their own to the classic settlement countries, usually in the skilled worker class. In the networks context, I wanted to know more about what it is that brought the respondents of this study to Canada, to their specific cities and whether or not the networks played a crucial role. Which types of transnational or international connections that they cared about? What is the impact of these networks on their migration choices and outcomes? Were they locally involved in networks? More precisely, what kinds of networks and activities drew their interest? What did they expect from participating in these networks? How did they feel

about the networks that they were part of? How did their families and friends support their move and how did it matter?

I was so impressed by the work of the researchers such as Parrenas, Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pessar, Mahler, Sassen, to name just a few, that at first I had decided to only focus on women's identities and networks during the immigration process. I was certain I was going to find some ground breaking, women-specific immigration histories and results. Later I decided that I needed to include men in order to see the differences (or as I will find factor out later, commonalities) between the experiences. This was because in my literature reviews I was not able to find much information about men-specific experiences in the areas that I was interested in. Gender comparisons were made through studies that included women and their experiences, and these were presented against a whole body of literature that were deemed to be based on male experiences. Even then, once again, there was very little information on highly skilled-middle class migrants of the two genders who immigrated to the classic immigration countries. Thus, I needed to include men's stories for the sake of highlighting gender issues within the scope of this study. And wherever I went to present from my thesis I always had to expect the first question to be 'why did you include men?' Now seems the right time to mention that throughout each step of this thesis I tried to adhere to the feminist research principles and kept a very close eye on the feminist literature. Although I did not scrutinize gender relations by asking openly gender-related questions (such as the respondents' view or experiences of gender role in their family –which were not the scope of this study) I still went into the field armed with the feminist perspective and listened, analyzed and reported under the light of the feminist research methodology. I constantly kept in mind that gender was an

important, determining in many cases, element in shaping the various processes around migration. Likewise, the various and changing individual and collective identities were the other elements of importance that deserved attention. Finally at the analysis stage I have compiled and compared women's stories versus men's stories around each theme.

My daily experiences with migrants are localized in Halifax but I decided to include respondents from Toronto, in addition to those from Halifax, in order to reveal differences between the two cities in the eyes of the immigrants, and to gauge the effects of these differences on their migration and settlement experiences. I wanted to address, to some humble extent, the question of attraction and retention of immigrants that has occupied Nova Scotian immigration zeitgeist for a few years now. I knew, through personal connections and readings that most new-comers chose Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver to settle. But I also knew that there were –although to a much lesser extent, some who ended up or chose to come or to stay in Halifax. It was indicated in the literature that population density and concentration of specific, religious and linguistic identities in the settlement places facilitated the formation and activities of organizations, both service and advocacy-oriented (Ralston, 2006), and that participating in such organizations or networks facilitated the sense of belonging towards the place of settlement among immigrants (Tastsoglou, 2006). My aim was to tease out the differences between the two cities in direct terms; e.g. what were the advantages and disadvantages of living in these cities. Indirectly, as I found out, there were other characteristics to be discovered under other themes of the thesis, such as the professional life, belongings and networks that spoke to the importance of place –both in terms of country and in terms of city.

Why did I choose to look at the Turkish professionals' experiences? Clearly, personal reasons played into this choice. Although I was not predominantly connected to the Turkish community in Halifax, or anywhere else, at the start of the thesis I was closely following the events happening in Turkey, I was in regular communication with my family and friends in Turkey, I was talking to my children exclusively in Turkish, and at the back of my mind I was always entertaining the possibility of going back to Turkey to live although I was very happy to be living in Canada. And once again, I checked out the literature and was inundated with the number of studies involving Turks and the discourse that surrounded the Turkish migrants, but only in Europe. The representation of Euro-Turks in the media has been characterised by strong clichés and stereotypes which reiterated ethnic, cultural and religious boundaries between groups (Kaya & Kentel, 2004). Turkish immigrants have been constructed as the most distant ethnic group in both public discourses and social research (Erel & Kofman, 2003). The main themes that the discourse revolved around were: the uncivilized stranger, the victim of patriarchal honour and the experience of being 'twice rootless' (Erel & Kofman, 2003) and more recently the 'Milli Görüş' (i.e. the National Perspective) which is the new political Islamist school (e.g. see Timmerman, 2000). The history and context behind these studies were different than those which surrounded the Turkish migrants –highly skilled or not, living in Canada. The couple of studies conducted within the Turkish population living in Canada were of psychological in nature (see Ataca and Berry, 2002, Üskül and Greenglass, 2005) and one was the case study of Turkish immigrant associations in Montréal (Özçürümez, 2009). In the meantime I found out that there were some 50,000 individuals of Turkish origin living in Canada and I could sense the increasing presence

and visibility of such individuals in Halifax. In this different context, I wanted to find out how these Turkish professionals felt about their various identities living in Canada.

What was keeping them here and/or were they planning to stay until the end of their lives? How did they describe their home and where was it? As they were professionals, it was a given that their professional identities played a role in their migration; I wanted to weigh in their professional identities in their migration histories and how this played out in their decisions.

With all these questions in hand, and not much literature to fall back on, this study was bound to be a truly exploratory research. Coming from a very strong positivist and quantitative approach to research and data collection I was very much into effects, differences and comparisons. However, as I did not have specific variables to measure; I needed to collect individual stories for this research, to unearth the themes. Moreover, I needed to collect the stories by the help of semi-structured interviews in order to attain coherency and consistency across these stories. These questions revolved around their migratory paths, transnational and local network involvements, professional lives, the concept of home and belongings.

In a nutshell, this study is an exploratory work into the migration experiences of highly skilled migrants from Turkey against a backdrop of global events and movements. More specifically, the goal of my thesis is to map out the nature of the diverse local, national and transnational networks of highly skilled migrants from Turkey to Canada and assess the significance of such networks on their migration, settlement, retention and belonging. In addition, the interplay of networks and 'place' (large urban centre, with high densities of immigrant populations, versus a smaller city in a relatively low-density

immigrant receiving area) is being explored on settlement, retention and belonging by comparing the experiences of two cities; Halifax and Toronto. Another objective is to reveal the formations of identification and sense of belonging by exploring the concept of home. Literature review is the section that follows this introduction chapter. In it, I present from the current research topics and studies that involve the highly skilled migrants, their place in the global political economy and the issues surrounding their identities and belongings. I pay particular attention to the citizenship dimension of identification and belonging because not only that ‘national identities’ discussion is a key research focus but also that it has specific meaning for immigrants. Next chapter is about Turkey where I present some historical, global and national perspectives so as to present a background on where this study group is coming from (more or less). I continue with the Methodology section in which I outline the theoretical frameworks that informed this study as well as the methods of data collection and analysis. I also introduce the respondents in this section. The next chapters are titled ‘Immigrant Networks’ and ‘Constructing a Turkish Identity in Canada’, ‘Where is Home’ and ‘Pathways and Barriers to Belonging’ where the findings of this study, situated in more fine tuned literature, can be found. Networks chapter is further divided into two sections in order to cover both transnational and local networks. The final chapter includes both the conclusions and further recommendations.

Ultimately, with this study I aim to contribute to various gaps in the literature. I hope to add to the scarce literature on the experiences of the middle class highly skilled migrants of both genders, not only in Canadian context but also globally. Additionally I want to reiterate the importance of networks, local and transnational, formal and

informal, in the lives of migrants. Furthermore, I want to draw attention to the interplay of various social and collective identities in migration processes and in the formation of a sense of belonging. I would also like to supplement the literature on Turkish diaspora with a different perspective and make a place for the Turkish migrants in the literature. Last but not least, I aim to contribute to the discussion of more versus less appealing cities (in the eyes of Canadian migrants) within Canada.

## **CHAPTER 2      LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter starts with a brief introduction to historical and contemporary international migration theories. I then take a closer look at the literature about migration of highly skilled, its relation with global economic conditions and development. In order to introduce the middle class highly skilled migrants, more detailed description and characteristics pertaining to the motives and processes of their migration as well as their networks are presented. In this part there is a section where I only focus on women highly skilled migrants. The next main part is about the three interrelated concepts of identity, belonging and citizenship, which all are of special significance to migrants. This literature review's scope is limited to the issues pertaining to the characteristics of respondents in this study and to the themes of analysis.

### **2.1      INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION THEORIES**

The economic theories of migration have dominated the early theorization around international migration. The neoclassical theory is considered as one dominant theory among others. According to the neo-classical theory of migration, individuals are seen as making rational choices based on labour market mechanisms, in order to improve their livelihoods, therefore move from areas which have resource deficiencies, unemployment, low wages and marginal productivity to areas with abundant capital, resources and higher wages (Castles & Miller, 2009). Ultimately this move is beneficial not only for individuals but also because it will lead to a more balanced distribution of capital and labour which will further the economic development in the home country (ibid). This approach places the responsibility on migrants by assuming that they are rational decision

makers based on the comparisons of the relative costs and benefits of remaining at home or moving, exclusively on economic grounds –e.g. by comparing wage levels (ibid). But overall, this model is simply not able to offer explanation for continued migration when wage disparities between the home and host countries disappear or for migration that stops before such parity has been attained (Massey et al, 1998). There are migrants who do not always go to highest wage country and/or those do not migrate on economic grounds at all (Massey et al, 1998). Additionally, feminist and other researchers actually have proven that is not even the poorest of the poor who migrate (e.g. Parrenas, 2000).

The ‘new economics of migration theory’ has shifted the strict focus on individual as unit of analysis to family and social group while ‘segmented labour market theory’ has put the emphasis on institutional factors as well as race, gender and ethnicity in international labour migration (Castles & Miller, 2009). Massey et al (1998) argue that although the various economic theories shed important light on international migration, they still are not enough in explaining contemporary complex migration movements, especially under the light of the major roles played by states in initiating, shaping and controlling movements. Moreover nation building projects of classic immigration countries and policies on refugees and asylum seekers require a much broader inquiry into migration (Massey et al, 1998). The evidence, then, suggests that even though economic disparities may constitute a necessary condition they by no means are sufficient to trigger migration (Massey et al, 1998).

The Historical-Structural Approach, based on Dependency Theory, has advanced an alternative explanation for international migration. This approach links international migration to the macro-organization of socio-economic relations, the geographic division

of labour and the political mechanisms of power and domination (Massey et al, 1998). Later the approach developed into a more comprehensive World Systems Theory according to which the penetration of capitalist economic interests into non-capitalist or pre-capitalist societies creates mobile populations (whether internally or internationally) with its demands on land, raw materials, cheap labour and consumer markets (Massey et al, 1998). These economic processes simultaneously create an attraction for migrants by their demand for labour in the global cities and by material and ideological links to where this capital originates from (Massey et al, 1998). The special cultural, linguistic and transportation connections between past colonial powers and their former colonies were also highlighted in this approach (Massey et al, 1998). This approach is found to be inadequate in explaining the frequent breakdown of migration policies (Castles & Miller, 2009) and generally ignores micro-level decision making processes (Massey et al, 1998). In the meantime the roles of networks, both familial and professional, in initiating and sustaining migration chains have been unearthed (e.g. Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Salaff, 2000). Moreover, in the midst of all these rigid economic structures, policies and patriarchal systems women and men have been able to make choices thus showing their agency (e.g., Pedraza, 1991; Parrenas, 2000; Pessar, 1995).

Under the light of these criticisms and new research findings more comprehensive theories have been developed. Specifically the emphasis on migrants as active agents, coupled with the significance of macro-level factors has urged researchers to study the interplay of socio-economic structure, household strategies and individual decision making influenced by specific motivations and environment that consisted of geographic, social economic and political elements (Massey, et al, 1998). For example, The Migration

Systems Theory suggests that migratory movements generally overlap with the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries (Castles & Miller, 2009). Castles & Miller (2009) describe this approach as emphasizing the role of three interacting structures: macro, meso and micro-structures. Macro structures include the political economy of the world market, interstate relationships, and the laws, structures and practices of receiving and sending countries. Micro structures are the migrants' families and the informal social networks developed by the migrants themselves. Families are crucial not only in decision making but also in providing the financial, cultural and social capitals which make migration –and later settlement, possible. The social networks help migrants cope with the migration and settlement processes and may turn into a sustained migration channel (chain migration). The meso structures are certain individuals, groups or institutions (such as lawyers, recruitment organizations) that take on the role of mediating between migrants and political or economic institutions. These structures are all intertwined and no single cause is ever sufficient in explaining migration (Castles and Miller, 2009).

Finally, the transnational theory has become increasingly influential in explaining how migrants lead to new linkages between sending and receiving societies (Castles & Miller, 2009). This theory underlines the importance of human agency and suggests that transnational activities are a central part of a migrant's life (Castles & Miller, 2009). Portes and his colleagues (1999) distinguish between 'transnationalism from above' and 'transnationalism from below'. The former includes activities conducted by powerful institutional actors, such as multinational corporations while the latter involves activities initiated by immigrants and their home country counterparts (ibid). According to

Vertovec (2004) the latter recognizes the impact of transnational practices on individual's sense of self and collective belongings, patterns of consumptions and other modes of cultural reproduction, in addition to the political effects for nation states and citizenship policies. Another important component of the transnationalism from below, is the inclusion of transnational networks, consisting of either strong or weak ties connecting individuals across nation states (Levitt, 2005). Such transnational connections include but are not limited to the exchange and influence of ideas, transfer of material objects, monetary transfers and social remittances (Levitt, 2005). The transnational approach to migration contends that with migrant groups establishing themselves in host countries, gradually and cumulatively, combined with regular and occasional activities, transnational practices have the potential to modify the value systems and everyday social life of people across communities (ibid). The approach also identifies the developmental impact of such practices in home countries (Vertovec, 2004). What is still under debate is the extent and frequency of involvement that a migrant should possess before being considered as part of a transnational community (Castles & Miller, 2009). In her critique of transnationalism, Kofman (2004) also suggests that transnationalism has failed to take the class issues into account and that transnationalism has focused on the lesser skilled and disadvantaged, causing the transnationalism of the skilled to be confined to workplaces and professional networks. Abdelhady (2006) points out that transnationalism provides little understanding of the impact of globalization processes. While transnationalism is about connections grounded in and crossing nation states –usually two nation states- globalization is about much broader and simultaneous relationships transcending nation-states (Abdelhady, 2006). In other words at the level of immigrant

communities, it becomes inevitable to include the migrants' relationship with the host society, homeland and other globally related racial/ethnic communities around the world in order to fully comprehend the mutual impact of immigration and globalization on each other (Abdelhady, 2006).

## **2.2 MIGRATION OF THE HIGHLY SKILLED**

There has been burgeoning interest in studying the migration of highly-skilled over the last few decades. In this section I will highlight the significance of the highly skilled migrants for addressing the key question regarding the relationship between development and migration. This involves a discussion about economic and social remittances as well as the debate of 'brain drain'. I will then give an overview of literature on contemporary highly skilled migration. This section will end with a look at the transnational and local networks that the highly skilled migrants engage in. Throughout this section I will mostly focus on the middle class highly skilled migrants, to which the respondents of this thesis belong.

Neo-liberal political and economic globalization accompanied by structural changes in the world economy, mainly the shift from manufacturing to service (Sassen, 2000), and precariousness in labour markets stretching beyond the local-national scale (Beverstock, 2005) and the incessant growth and power of Multi-National Companies (MNCs) (Castles and Miller, 2009) new forms of employment flexibility have formed, with the help of new transportation and informational technologies. At the same time the preservation of the attained 'highly developed country' status became based on, or maybe dependent on, the attraction of the best brains. Due to the global competition to attract human capital many immigration countries have set up preferential entry systems which,

in turn, have almost created free movement for those with skills in management, engineering, IT, education and medical practice (Castles and Miller, 2009). The highly skilled, thus recruited, help developed countries to become cutting edge technologically and knowledge-wise. The low-skilled, such as temporary workers (agricultural and construction) help developed countries stay economically competitive in the global market (Sassen, 2000), while global care chains fill in for the lack of care services to the children, sick and elderly (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003).

### **2.2.1 Development and Migration of the Highly Skilled**

Historical-structural theorists were the first to highlight the importance of the highly skilled emigration on development, which they called ‘brain drain’ (Massey et al, 1998). They argued that the emigration of skilled and educated workers undermined the prospects for development in poor countries by depriving them of essential human capital (ibid). Although there has been evidence that development itself may trigger migration from underdeveloped parts of the world which leads scholars like Castles and Miller (2009) to argue that development and migration do not cause one another, the prominent view of the relationship between development and migration stays as it is nowadays: development is seen as necessary in order to reduce migration because, poverty, underdevelopment and unemployment are the root causes of migration (Castles and Miller, 2009). Within this context brain drain/circulation and remittances are the major topics in relation with the migration of the highly skilled.

### **2.2.1.1 Brain Drain to Brain Circulation**

The development agencies and international organizations point out to the negative aspects of the emigration of highly skilled individuals and the potential of making use of their skills to the advantage of the homeland (see for example, Global Commission of International Migration (GCIM), 2005). Indeed loss of qualified personnel can lead to economic stagnation, waste of the public funds invested in higher education, and depletion of tax income in home countries (Castles and Miller, 2009). The absence of highly skilled not only takes away human capital and thus lowers the chances of reform in the home country's institutions but also from the social capital by leaving these institutions function in the hands of the less qualified (Kapur, 2007). One way in which skilled migration might benefit receiving countries, migrants and source countries is to form a global circulation of talents. In other words, migration is transformed from a mechanism of brain drain to brain gain and 'brain rearticulation' (Bailey, 2009). Highly skilled migrants can have a say in the development direction and policies in addition to taking part in the global market related to technology transfer and directing and increasing Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) from Western companies (for more information see Kuznetsov (ed), 2006). There are various modalities that exist to make knowledge transmission possible and effective. These include transfer of technology; exchange of students; joint research projects; computer mediated activities; giving access to data, information, funding or any resources lacking in the home country; provision of business opportunities; holding of training sessions or consulting advice in specialised cutting edge areas (Meyer et al, 2001). More and more developing countries are exploring the ways in which they can tap into their diasporas in order to develop

(ibid). This may occur in ways of engagement with diaspora groups through formal policy means including dual citizenship provisions and tax breaks as well as by the use of active communication and discursive strategies to construct diaspora populations and idealize (some of) their norms of behavior (Bailey, 2009). There are many examples of success; China and India are the best known examples where developing countries made effective use of their highly skilled and talented diaspora members (Bailey, 2009).

On the individual level, non-recognition of foreign credentials and foreign work experience are two most current debates that dominate the literature about the highly skilled immigrants in Canada. It is quite frustrating indeed for the Economic Class Migrants to find out that their credentials and work experience are devalued after being selected (as immigrants) based on these same credentials and work experiences. This devaluation is a result of a combination of both institutional and demographic factors. For example Somerville and Walsworth (2009) report that due to compositional shifts in source immigrant countries in the recent years (i.e. from European to Asian and African) employers likely have imperfect information on the migrant's source country, the immigrants' language, educational institutions, curriculum and work experiences which leads them to adopt a risk-averse strategy, giving preference to Canadian experience and accreditations. Moreover, the institutional environment in Canada is found to be a sophisticated system designed for protecting the established professions and their local population from outside competition and a discriminator against immigrants (Bauder, 2003; Salaff & Greve, 2006). Foreign credentials of immigrants are racialized since the market value of foreign credentials varies depending on the racial background of the immigrants (Li, 2008). Li (2008) reports that substantial gross earnings disparities exist

among immigrant men and women of different origins, and that foreign credentials benefit majority immigrants but penalize visible minority immigrants. Furthermore, the magnitude of devaluation depends on many factors, including gender, race, country of origin, age at immigration and other factors (ibid). This situation not only affects individuals and their families, but also decreases the chances of transfer of skills/technology, as well as the amount of remittances, back to the country of origin.

### **2.2.1.2 Remittances –Financial and Social**

The economic relations of migrants with their homeland and their impact on the homeland development projects are the subject of the most published reports and studies of both the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and the UN. GCIM (2005), for example, after half-heartedly mentioning the contributions of the highly skilled to the host country in terms of labour, cultural and intellectual dynamism, goes on to reporting an extensive list of measures encouraging the transfer and investment of remittances that must be combined with macro-economic policies in countries of origin that are conducive to increase economic growth and competitiveness of the home countries. It is not without a reason that the UN attaches such importance on remittances. As reported by (GCIM) (2005) remittances to Jordan constitute the 23 percent, to Lesotho 27 percent and to Tonga 37 percent of their GDPs respectively. Governments, such as China (Kapur, 2007) and Mexico (Castles & Miller, 2009), El Salvador (Orozco, 2007), and Scotland (Mac Rae & Wright, 2006) have established organizations and schemes in order to fully and most effectively capitalize on these remittances which include financial as well other valuable assets such as business knowledge and time. While there are encouraging studies in mainstream development literature (e.g. Orrenius & Zavodny, 2009; Adam,

2009) suggesting that remittances have a positive effect on economic development of home countries, there are also studies cautioning about the effects of remittances, even on a strictly economical level (e.g. Castles & Miller, 2009; Delgado-Wise & Guarnizo, 2007) and equal redistribution (see Kapur, 2007).

The ideas, behaviours, and identities that flow from the host to home country communities are called social remittances (Levitt, 1998). According to Levitt (1998) these remittances also include values and beliefs in relation to interpersonal relationships, patterns of civil and political participation, and elevated or lessened social capital. These are found to transform the source country's social and political life thus influencing its development (Levitt, 1998). The impact of these social remittances depend on many factors such as the strength of national identities on the migrants' part, the distance between two countries and their value structures, cognitive values and cultures, and the power difference between the host and home countries (ibid). These remittances are dissimilar to global culture dissemination in the sense that the former are specifiable (i.e. can determine the ideas and pathways easily), and are usually systematic and between individuals (ibid).

### **2.2.2 The Composition of the Highly Skilled Movement**

In this section, a basic description of highly skilled migration and its subgroups within the current global context is provided. The focus first will be on the middle class migrants within this stream and then will turn to gender. The characteristics of the middle class highly skilled in relation to their migration and settlement motivations, and trajectories as well as to their networks will be detailed.

Within the highly skilled migrant populations the focus has been on the non-permanent moves and patterns of circulation, almost to the exclusion of the traditional ‘settler’ migrants (Beaverstock, 2005). These groups of migrants are Inter-Company Transfers (ICTs) (Beaverstock, 2002, 2005) and their family members (Yeoh & Khoo, 2000; Willis and Yeoh, 2000), and the members of globalized professions such as IT professionals (Iredale, 2001) and academics (Jon, 2009). Moreover, the temporary and precarious position of skilled Filipina workers all over the world has been scrutinized (Parrenas, 2000). This body of literature, whilst still relevant for some groups, has been shown to be inadequate to capture middle-class migration in its entirety. Relatively fewer studies have been recently conducted on middle class immigrants who do not fit in the above-mentioned groups, in regards to their intentions/aspirations, networks, professions, countries of origin and destination, and belongings. Scott (2006), for instance, found that in Paris, although there were diverse groups of highly skilled migrants who were there to appropriate social, economic, and cultural capital. Among 6 types of highly skilled migrants that Scott identified two were post-university life style migrants who were either leading an international professional career or who remained ‘in-situ’ by supplicating to cultural and lifestyle priorities, while others consisted of more traditional immigrants, bohemians or those who settled with a local partner (Scott, 2006). Scott’s (2006) and other researchers’ (e.g. Colic-Peisker, 2002; Conradson & Latham, 2005a, b) recent studies point to important characteristics of these middle class highly skilled migrants and suggest the presence of a ‘global middle class’ or ‘normal middle class’ (Scott, 2006).

### **2.2.3 Middle Class –Local to Global**

Here, I would like to briefly describe the perspective that I have taken on what ‘middle class’ means for the purposes of this study by touching on the theoretical roots of ‘class’. Both Allahar and Cote (1998) and Liechty (2003) define class beginning with Marx and by incorporating Weber’s contributions. In this approach classes only exist in relation to other classes, and property ownership and access to means of production are key feature of class identification (Allahar and Cote, 1998). Marx, as explained by Allahar and Cote (1998), argued that middle class (petty bourgeoisie), by virtue of the small scale of their ownership of property that led to self-sufficiency but also to little or no control over the economy, is situated between the capitalist (bourgeoisie) and working classes (proletariat). The bourgeoisie and the proletariat are viewed as principal class divisions in society due to their economic and political implications (ibid). While Marx saw that class privilege produced a privileged (and priveleging) ideology, it was Weber who pointed out that there were non-economic sources of power and that a culture of social privilege influenced the production and reproduction of economic power (Liechty, 2003, p.12). Furthermore, Weber described the class position both in relation to production processes and in terms of ability to consume goods and services in the market (ibid). He also distinguished the class position from social status (honor or prestige) while acknowledging that they were linked (ibid). Weber, according to Allahar and Cote (1998), argues that observing how occupational status and prestige are distributed in the modern society helps our understanding of contemporary middle class. Liechty (2003), similarly, following Weber, considers ‘intermediate’ groups not just as a series of stratified ‘classes’ but as middle class.

Following a Weberian approach, the modern middle class is defined as property owning to the extent that technical skill, specialized knowledge, and professional training are constructed as property to be bought and sold on the open market (Allahar and Cote, 1998). Weber envisages the ownership of these skills and know-hows to be the key determinants of income, power, control, status and occupational mobility (ibid). The members of this group are both self-employed and salaried; they are certified by institutions of higher learning, hold membership in professional associations and are usually subject to codes of conduct drawn up by their respective professional communities (ibid). Their jobs are constructed as careers; they earn salaries (as opposed to wages) and have more control over their own working conditions as well as over the labour of those who work beneath them (ibid). Social status is tied to a person or group's lifestyle, education, training and socialization, in addition to the inherited or occupational prestige (Liechty, 2003). In this context, the middle class social identities form around the goods that they own and the kind of work they do, which essentially causes an intraclass status competition (Liechty, 2003).

#### **2.2.4 What Moves the Middle Class Highly Skilled**

Below is a short summary of the more individual reasons for migrating as studies with middle class migrants, throughout the world, highlight. Specifically, a growing number of the urban middle classes appear to be making locational decisions based increasingly upon lifestyle as much as career-path priorities (Scott, 2006). They use agency based on their motives and place. What the place of choice offers in terms of opportunities, life style and culture, prospects for children, and the environment (Conradson and Latham, 2005b) as well as its rank in the world's hierarchical order

(Scott, 2006) are deliberated when making decisions. Structural conditions such as new migration regimes that value skills created differential possibilities of global circulation, immigration status, right of residence in the country of destination and eventual citizenship for the migrant and his/her family (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006). The perceived welcoming attitude of the target country of settlements is another consideration (Colic-Peisker, 2002). Some move for political or institutional reasons in the country of origin (Johnston et al, 2006). Sometimes an abrupt deterioration of the economic, social and political situation in the country of origin may slash the expectations of the highly skilled who are faced with shortages of consumer goods, huge inflation, unemployment, low salaries and increasingly unstable political situations where their education does not bring social mobility (Colic-Peisker, 2002). Self-realization, self-fashioning, or experimenting with the possibility of emigrating permanently, developing a career (ibid), gaining overseas experiences and working in a cosmopolitan culture (Kennedy, 2004) are among major factors as well. Highly skilled migrants, especially women, are equally likely to migrate as spouses of principal applicants, of students or of refugees in addition to applying as primary migrants or students (Kofman & Raghuram, 2005). Finally, undergraduate and graduate students who go to study abroad are also seen as part of the highly skilled migration, as it has historically been easier for students to switch visas and become immigrants (Erel & Kofman, 2003) especially considering that the necessary networks may be established for future immigration during these years (Meyer, 2001). Overall, leaving well-paying and secure jobs, promising careers and families (Conradson and Latham, 2005a), in short privileged statuses (Raj, 2003) in order to follow education and job opportunities, or a philosophical curiosity, to experience life and be successful

without relying on chain migration seem to be persistent common middle class migration drivers since after WWII (Raj, 2003).

### **2.2.5 Highly Skilled Women Migrants**

Research on highly skilled migrant women has been limited but growing. With the accumulation of new research findings pointing out the differences between men and women in terms of migration processes and migration results along with documentations of the extent of female migration both in numbers and categories, women and gender have become the main interests of several scholars (see Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Kofman, 2000). Kofman (2000) cites the reasons behind the scarcity of research done on skilled migrant women as the theoretical framework (namely World Systems theory), narrow emphasis on Inter-Company Transfers, methodological limitations (such as treating migrants as asexual categories etc) and the concerns of early feminist research with the migrant women who work in unskilled jobs. In addition, it is harder to keep track of highly skilled women migrants because they do not necessarily migrate through skilled migration streams as primary migrants or as students who then obtain a job abroad.

The literature on feminization of migration mostly focuses on women migrants who work in domestic, household reproduction or in caring professions where the 'caring ideology' confirms to oppressive notions of femininity have them work in both unskilled work (as domestics) or in professionalized occupations like nursing, social work and education (e.g. Parrenas, 2000; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003, Raghuram, 2004), or on women whose key mode of migration is family reunification, formation and sponsorship (Kofman & Raghuram, 2005), or on women who are deskilled and who turn to less

skilled jobs such as care giving (Kofman, 2000), and the global circuits operating in the world that serve the 'feminization of survival' (Sassen, 2000). The experiences of women who choose to focus on children's and partner's needs due to their conditioning of putting themselves last, thus deferring their career goals for those of the family breadwinner are also highlighted (Iredale, 2005).

Migrant women, whether highly skilled or not, are found to be the social-familial coordinators of the migrant families. For example, daily practices linking members of the community, either in particular localities, or across international borders are found to be roles that are fulfilled by women (Willis & Yeoh, 2002). The highly skilled women migrants in Purkayastha's (2005) study report that their extended global families expected that they, and not their husbands, would be the chief node of all family interactions. Women are also determined to play dominant roles in establishing informal networks, formal organizations, and social and cultural activities in the host societies (Gold, 2001).

Another body of research about highly skilled women is related to labour market and deskilling. Both economic and professional integration are especially important venues for women's successful integration and feeling 'at home' (in Canada; Miedema & Tastsoglou, 2000). There are various aspects, rooted in both country of origin and settlement, that factor in highly skilled migrant (HSM) women's immigration and employment process. To start with; the social inequalities in both sending and receiving countries simultaneously interact in determining the migrant woman's position (Parrenas, 2000). Gendered inequalities in the entry to the labour market and in progression in sending countries, for example, influence the decision to migrate (Iredale, 2005). Upon

arrival to the country of destination, both immigration policies and occupational entry (as defined by the occupational categories given the highest weightings in countries' selection points systems) are crucial for an understanding of gendered experiences of migration for skilled migrants (Iredale, 2005). There has been a report of women's education and credentials to be valued differently from those of men in the labour market and of women being squeezed into fewer available jobs due to the gendered job profile in Canada which differs from that of other countries (Salaff & Greve, 2006). Besides institutional barriers, gender and race hierarchies at the national level (e.g. within immigration laws) intersect with barriers within workplaces and households and affect highly skilled immigrant women negatively as they attempt to rebuild their careers (Kofman et al, 2000). For example, in the European context, the discrimination based on racialized assumptions about the sexual and domestic nature of migrant women from 'poor' countries lead to differential treatment of these women simply because for many Europeans this is a way of restoring what they see as 'proper' relations between genders and 'races'(Kofman, et al, 2000).

Alternatively, according to Raghuram (2004), presence of a skilled woman in the family may change the configuration of family migration, in the sense that women professionals may be lead immigrants followed by spouses and families. There is also evidence that skilled women may not see immigration as a disruption to their careers but as an opportunity to pick on other career paths or interests. In a study that turned the tables around, Yeoh and Khoo (2000), examined the situation of the spouses of highly skilled male expatriates in Singapore. Most of the wives were themselves professionals before going to Singapore and after experiencing a devalorization of their productive

functions and a relegation to the domestic sphere, they engaged in social and community activities which were of utmost importance and meaning to them.

### **2.2.6 Networks of Highly Skilled Migrants**

In this section a synopsis of the literature review on highly skilled middle class migrants' networks is presented. I will start with an account of transnational networks, especially of professional networks and family and friend ties, as these are the most important and discernible transnational connections for the study group of this thesis. I will then move to describe the local networks which, although grounded locally, are very much inspired by and connected to the transnational. Throughout this section, the role of these networks in relation to migration and settlement will be highlighted.

The importance of transnational networks has been well documented in starting, shaping and sustaining immigration chains (see for example Boyd, 1989; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Wong and Salaff, 1998). Once established, these networks link populations in both receiving and sending countries via regular flows of information, assistance and obligations, therefore also helping the mobilization and sustenance of regular migration flows (Boyd, 1989). Furthermore, there are more deep-seated structural transformations that take place around the issues of family and off-spring identities, dual citizenship and nation-states, and the direct effects of economic remittances in the development practices of communities of origin (Vertovec, 2004). On the other hand, it is also in local networks that immigrants ground their identities even though their lives are becoming more transnationally oriented (Scott, 2007). Migrants receive help from established local networks and engage in others (such as ethno-cultural organizations or local networks in relation to education and health) while settling in. Individually, upon settlement,

migrants need to reconfigure their family, kinship, social and political networks through local, national and transnational connections (Tastsoglou, 2006). The networks may be stratified along the lines of ethnicity, class, and religious outlook, reflecting the same social divisions that are present in the country of origin and in response to the conditions of the country of settlement (Gold, 2001).

### **2.2.6.1 Transnational Networks of Highly Skilled**

While chain migration still continues to play a role in migration of even highly skilled, relatively affluent migrants, it no longer plays the central role (Johnston et al, 2006). For example Wong and Salaff (1998) report that migrant candidates of the higher occupational groups of Hong Kong rely more on their extensive and diversified networks consisting of colleagues and fellow alumni than on kinship based networks on which their working class counterparts rely. The ‘middle class’ immigrants include various groups, each with their own distinctive strategies and network capacities (Wong & Salaff, 1998).

#### **2.2.6.1.a Participation in International Professional Networks**

For many middle class highly skilled migrants the professional identity is paramount enough even to the exclusion of ethnic identity (Colic-Peisker, 2002). Naturally then, the networks of skilled migrants are mainly centered on their professions and careers (Salaff & Greve, 2004). It is also important to recognize that specific configurations of network ties result in different migration flows and occupational outcomes (Meyer, 2001).

Today there are global networks of internationalized professions that are formed by highly mobile professionals such as IT professionals (Iredale, 2001). For example, Indian IT professionals have formed transnational networks that link several industrialized countries and India which facilitates global mobility of these professionals (Iredale, 2001). Kennedy (2004) reports that the transnational professional networks that the participants of certain skilled professional groups are involved are of distinctly 'post-national' character; they provide meanings for their members almost irrespective of the nationality of participants. In addition to helping the highly skilled professional experience, these networks offer opportunities for individuals to gain access to information and business contacts with respect to other employment prospects at later points in their careers (ibid). Furthermore these transnational professional activities are carried along both the international and local dimensions. For example the managerial elites create (corporate) global knowledge networks and invariably help embed a global-local practical and tacit knowledge accumulation and dissemination (Beaverstock, 2002).

Another global network is formed by international students and academics. The internationalization of education is a national policy that is mostly used by industrialized countries to attract the highly skilled (Iredale, 2001). General researchers tend to enter the migration stream through their own ad-hoc networks of colleagues and project collaborators (Meyer, 2001). Research findings suggest that brain circulation has many dimensions such as the international co-authorship of journal articles and subsequent flows of students and academics (Jons, 2009). The circular academic mobility of post-docs and professors contribute significantly to the constitution of transnational knowledge networks. When it comes to mobilization processes; those of scientists and

scholars are based on correspondence networks and the circulation of others as well as their own physical travel (Jons, 2009). Meyer (2001), for example, found that Columbian and South African highly skilled migrants demonstrated a high commitment to the host country as well as to their home country and showed the latter by being involved in diaspora knowledge networks rather than in attending national ceremonies or registering with organizations (NGOs) specific to their home country (ibid). These networks do not have to be organized like in the case of Somali academics establishing a University with the help of the UN in Somalia (Okome, 2007).

#### **2.2.6.1.b Transnational Family and Friend Ties**

The majority of the studies on skilled migration have left aside the familial relations and wider social networks, focusing on the workplace and career trajectories (Kofman & Raghuram, 2005). However as a result of a few studies which focus on the social networks of migrants it is discerned that following the migration process, the closest and most regular transnational contacts are maintained between spatially separated kin (Voigt-Graft, 2005). In fact, Beaverstock (2005) reports that even for British transnational elites who live in New York the most important aspect of their social life is the maintenance of regular contact with family in London. These expatriates in New York sustained a 'transnational' existence through almost daily socializing contact with work colleagues, friends and family outside of the USA, using email, telephone and video-conferencing in order to link up with London (or other financial centres) (ibid). Most surveyed migrant households in Australia made weekly phone-calls to close overseas relatives such as parents, children and siblings, with one phone-call per day during emergency situations (Voigt-Graf, 2005). Many migrants in Voigt-Graf's study

(2005) in Australia visited their kin at least once every two years, the majority travelling home at least once in five years. The frequency largely depended on individual circumstances such as income, number of days of annual leave, and, most important of all, the presence of close kin in the country of origin (ibid). Some children were sent there for extended stays to learn about their ancestral culture (ibid). Visiting family and friends, and holidays, were the main reasons cited for overseas trips for the Indian, Chinese and South African immigrants surveyed in New Zealand, though a small number indicated business reasons including, especially in the early years, completing the disposal of assets in their home countries (Johnston et al, 2006). These three groups were visited by their kin and friends but generally by fewer times than the visits made by them (ibid). Non-migrant families, on their part, regularly sent cultural products and provided information on cultural, social and other developments in the home region to their overseas kin (Voigt-Graf, 2005). Other studies reveal that ‘interpersonal connections’ directed the highly skilled middle class migrants (Conradson & Latham, 2005a & b) and students (Collins, 2008) to their destination and helped them negotiate the everyday life spaces and experiences.

#### **2.2.6.2 Local Networks**

Even though their lives are becoming more transnationally oriented, immigrants also ground their identities in local networks (Scott, 2007). These networks help migrants settle and feel at home by not only making them feel comfortable but also by offering various settlement services in addition to networking opportunities. For example, the social networking in proximity of to the place of residence is a vital mechanism by which British managerial elites and their dependents survive a posting to a

global city like New York (Beaverstock, 2005). The friend circles and associations that are tied to one's identity (especially ethnic migrant associations) carry a special importance for the study group, although as the literature review suggests, the number and nature of associations that middle class migrants participate in is a direct reflection of the diverse interests and lifestyles embraced within this group.

#### **2.2.6.2.a Associations**

As many migrants, highly skilled migrants are involved in associations, in different capacities. Robust involvement in the local professional networks has been detected in the literature (Harvey, 2008; Meyer et al, 2001). Scott (2007) for example, found that as the diversity within the middle class British migrants increased in Paris, there were more Voluntary Community Organizations (VCOs) that were formed in order to serve the specific needs of these diverse groups. Categories of British VCO in Ile-de France included: religious, educational, charitable, official representation, professional/business, umbrella, clubs and societies (political, sport, mothers/women, youth, cultural, alumni, theatre/art...).

Perhaps one most important and most scrutinized type of association is immigrants' associations. According to Moya (2005) the principal stimulus for associational activity is derived from the migration process itself. This process tends to intensify and sharpen collective identities based on national, ethnic or quasi-ethnic constructs (ibid). The establishment of formal immigrant associations depends on many factors. First, the political or institutional opportunities in the host and sending countries strongly influence immigrant organizations (Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). In Canada these organizations have benefited from state funding, which allowed immigrant groups

to found a larger number of organizations than similar non-funded groups in the US (Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). Second, the relationship between the immigrant groups in a host country and between immigrants and the host society are also determining factors (ibid). In addition, a variety of demographic, economic, social and spatial factors affect membership in immigrant organizations (Owusu, 2000). The larger, more complex and longer established an immigrant community is, the more it tends to resemble the demographic, socioeconomic, and thus institutional, diversity of the general population (ibid).

Over the short-term one of the most significant roles for an immigrant association is to provide new arrivals with an easily accessible network of social support: a ‘newcomer’ function (Scott, 2007). Over the longer-term these associations provide spaces for migrants to ‘bond’, as well as acting as ‘bridges’ between migrants and their hosts (Scott, 2007), and help recognizing and maintaining particular cultural practices (Cordero-Guzman, 2005). In addition, these organizations provide representation to the immigrant community whether through articulating the needs of the community to policy makers, serving as an advocate and network for their ethnic groups, or by activities such as cultural heritage programmes that can be categorized as ‘community building’, which involve the development of networks between residents and other organizations in the community with the purpose of building the physical, cultural and human resources of the community (ibid). More on the role of migrant associations can be found at the end of this chapter where I discuss the role of networks in settlement.

#### **2.2.6.2.b Friends**

The literature regarding the socializing habits and circumstances of highly skilled migrants is limited and inconclusive at the least. On the one hand there are the studies showing the limited interaction between the highly skilled and the local population. For example Beaverstock's (2002) research with British highly skilled inter-company transfers in Singapore shows that while they socialize (mostly professionally but also personally) with other expatriates as well as the Western educated/oriented Singaporean colleagues, when it comes to practicalities of everyday home or social life they avoid Singaporeans.

On the other hand, it is also found that highly skilled migrants' local socialization is not restricted to ethnic or expatriate groups. Scott (2007) found that among the highly skilled British living in Paris, while some were heavily involved with British migrant networks, some preferred to socialize in commercial rather than membership based spaces (such as pubs with British clientele) yet some others chose to socialize with like-minded international migrants and Parisians. Harvey (2008) found that most British and Indian scientists in Boston preferred building their professional and recreational social networks around the host population, rather than the expatriate social-professional networks, supporting the view that wider differences in social and cultural norms between the migrant group and dominant society do not necessarily lead to greater participation in expatriate social networks (Harvey, 2008). The extent to which local networks are ethnic-specific depends upon the ethnic make-up of the area as well (Ryan, 2007).

In conclusion, highly skilled migrants are quite selective when it comes to choosing their networks. Scott (2007), for example, underscores that just because they are from the same country, or speak the same language, or even without the presence of political cleavages, the different types of migrants do not like to socialize together. There are divisions between newcomers and established migrants, between older and younger generations, and between the professional expatriate family and the rest of the host community. These life-course divisions, along with the related gender and class cleavages and geographical nuances (spatial proximity) underline the intricate link between the social and communal morphology of skilled migration (Scott, 2007).

### **2.2.7 Networks and Settlement**

As evidenced in the literature, both transnational and local networks can be valuable resources for settlement (see Tastsoglou, 2006, who highlights the importance of not only the local networks but also of maintaining the transnational connections in the process of settling in Atlantic Canada). For example, the connections of the middle class migrants in Wong and Salaff's (1998) and Conradson and Latham's (2005b) studies, generally provided temporary shelter and guidance until the migrants learn their way around. These classmates may also offer job or may direct the new migrants to suitable jobs as the class mates know each other's skills and capacities the best (ibid, ibid).

As mentioned above, migrant associations may provide significant help in settlement too. For the women migrants of Atlantic Canada in Tastsoglou's study (2006) community involvement and organizing in addition to make the 'voice' of their ethno-cultural communities heard in Canada were the major means of building a home there. Furthermore, ethnic associations were helpful in breaking isolation and dealing with

culture shock by providing a safe space to explore, make friends, build networks, and learn how to navigate in a new society (Miedema & Tastsoglou, 2000). Overall, as venues of comfort, familiarity and sharing of cultural customs, and of social activism leading to social change, the migrant associations increase the likelihood of successful settlement, integration and retention (Miedema & Tastsoglou, 2000). On a more practical level, Owusu (2000) found that in Canada, Ghanaian immigrant associations assisted newcomers by locating housing, intervening with landlords, advancing a month's rent, in addition to assisting them in finding employment. This assistance included providing information about jobs members have learned about through informal networks and contacts and informing newcomers about employment opportunities in their workplaces (ibid).

Some groups, on the other hand, are mostly autonomous upon arrival. Most of the participants in Colic-Peisker's study (2002), for instance, although they knew someone before arrival, the practical assistance they received was minor, and usually limited to the first couple of days in the new country. These independent immigrants were of urban origin and mostly self-reliant after arrival to the new country (Colic-Peisker, 2002). They did not even participate in formal or informal ethnic networks (ibid). Along the same line, the migrants who participated in Johnston et al (2006)'s study had friends who provided them with a great deal of general information and encouragement but on whom the new migrants did not rely for migration assistance or finding employment or even housing. By and large, these migrants seemed to have an appropriate cultural 'tool kit' containing English language proficiency, professional

education and ‘urban skills’ that enabled them to function in the country of settlement immediately upon arrival (Colic-Peisker, 2002).

### **2.3 IDENTITY, BELONGING AND CITIZENSHIP**

In this section, I would like to discuss the identification and belonging of migrants as these constitute an intricate part of the lives of this study group and my thesis. I will do this by touching on some of the key debates in the literature, including ethnic identification and citizenship, and by presenting the perspectives I subscribed to among many others.

While the core individualistic characteristics and development of identity are dealt extensively in the field of psychology, the focus of sociological theorizing and research is related to the social construction processes and social expression of identity. Brah (1996) for example observes that what we call ‘me’ or ‘I’ is not the same in every situation and that we are changing from day to day. But there are connecting threads running through these ‘multi-realities’, which provide an individual with an on-going sense of self (ibid). As a social construct one’s identity is a result of one’s various and multiple positions within the society.

Migrants go through the processes of identity formation with added complexity of being simultaneously involved with social collectivities positioned in two or more nation states. Processes of diasporic identity formation are exemplars *par excellence* of the claim that identity is always plural, and in process (Brah, 1996). Migrants are embedded in, identify with, and hold multiple allegiances to territories, ethnic, religious communities, and families across national borders, and are not just, nor even primarily, anchored in one national collectivity (Ehrkamp, 2006). In order to address these various

references of identity and other constructions of difference outside the parameters of the old ethnicities, Anthias (2001) proposes the use of term 'translocational positionality' to reflect these different parameters (mainly gender, class and nationality). While cultural and gender politics play an important role, the identity formations are also strongly mediated by class, age, generation, marital status, and migrant status (Ehrkamp, 2006). Social fields that contain institutions, organizations, and experiences, and that generate categories of identity that are ascribed to or chosen by individuals or groups (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004) in addition to social practices of others in the stream of everyday life become the very mean by which self-other identities are refined (Yeoh & Willis, 2005). For migrants, cultural categorization, state discourses, institutional settings and the politics of citizenship and immigration also shape identities by helping the formation of 'other' (Yeoh & Willis, 2005). Furthermore immigrants 'other' each other but not equally and by drawing from memory, history and imagined geographies (Kaya, 2003).

While circumstances out of their control shape who they are, individuals and groups are also active agents in identity formations (Kaya, 2003). Individuals are found to not identify with or be involved with any collectivity automatically (Phan & Breton, 2009). People have a choice in the degree of importance they assign to different groups to which they belong or with which they are associated (ibid). Immigrants, particularly, could go through different processes of identity re-evaluation such as practices of adaptation (changing to be able to make local connections), or amplification (reiterating ethnic identity), and/or strategic mobility (the ability to use relationships to pragmatically fulfill needs and re-find comfort) (Butcher, 2009). Furthermore, since in Canada (like other societies) there are several levels of social organization like the locality, the

municipality, the province, the region and the country; different levels of attachment may be expected to the various levels (Phan & Breton, 2009). Lastly, individuals may attach more importance to other kinds of groups such as those supporting a social or a political cause, other than their ethnic group or a larger society (ibid).

### **2.3.1 Ethnic Identity**

Li (1999) argues that in Canada, ethnic groups are primarily seen as cultural entities. Culture, he describes, is ‘a way of life that a group of people develops in order to adapt to a set of external and pre-existing conditions’ (Li, 1999, p. 10). It contains language, religion, values and symbols that are learned through socialization (Li, 1999). However, culture is neither able to explain all behavioural aspects of the members of an ethnic group nor is shared by all the members (ibid). Li (1999) maintains that ethnicity – just as ‘race’, is socially constructed and maintained by differential power between a dominant and a subordinate group. This is done through an arbitrary selection of distinguishing cultural traits, just as races are created through an arbitrary selection of physical traits (ibid). In Canada, ‘ethnicity’ reflects a group whose typical behaviours and cultural traits are deemed different and originating from another country (Tastsoglou, 2001). Li (1999) asserts that these arbitrary ethnic groupings are carried out and enforced by state policies as well as academic discourse. Nevertheless, there are two important features regarding ethnicity. One is that; ethnicity is about drawing borders between groups, as a function of both external local and historical conditions and the contributions of the ethnic group members themselves (Tastsoglou, 2001). Second, due to changing external circumstances, culture and ethnicity are constantly changing thus cannot be assumed fixed (Li, 1999; Tastsoglou, 2001). Flowing from this discussion, forming an

ethnic identity is a dynamic social-psychological process that draws on constantly changing conditions in unequal relations of power (Tastsoglou, 2001). One definition of ethnic identity which recognizes its ever changing nature and its boundaries constructed both from within and without is that of Isajiw's (1993, p.412):

Ethnic identity can be defined as a manner in which persons, on account of their ethnic origin, locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems and in which they perceive others as locating them in relation to those systems.

Socially directly observable manifestations such as language and attending ethnic functions are ethnic identity's objective dimensions, while the subjective dimension consists of the underlying aspects of these observable manifestations, such as cognitive and moral contemplations (Isajiw, 1993, p. 413-414).

Ethnic identification is also influenced by 'race' and class and play into the power relations between different groups. Waters (1990), in her study with white ethnic minorities who were members of middle class and who lived in the suburbs of the US, found that the respondents subscribed to a 'symbolic ethnicity' through an exercise of personal choice to a community that did not interfere with their individuality. These individuals picked and chose one of the many ethnicities that their ancestors had even when they did not have to, and even when they were not ascribed one based on their physical appearances (e.g. as black or Hispanic). While they asserted their symbolic ethnic identity for pleasure and most of the time without noticing it, they were oblivious to the fact that for many others (such as racial minorities) ethnicity and race had real implications in terms of social and political inequalities (i.e. cost). More importantly, under the influence of individualism that marked their middle class identity, they were expecting other groups to achieve the same freedom to exercise ethnic selection, and

were constraining and denying this choice to others through the ways in which they were forming the concepts of ethnicity and their usage of these concepts (Waters, 1990).

### **2.3.2 Belonging**

With identification comes the question of belonging. Belonging is a complex concept which is of interest to many stakeholders especially within the context of nation-states. After migration, patterns of assimilation, acculturation, and integration vary depending on the country and context of departure, immigrant characteristics, immigrant enclave capacities, and the political, social, and economic context of the sending and receiving communities (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Levitt & Glick-Schiller (2004) explain the difference between ways of being in a social field as opposed to ways of belonging:

Ways of being refers to the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated within their actions. Individuals can be embedded in a social field but not identify with any label or cultural politics associated with that field. They have the potential to act or identify at a particular time because they live within the social field, but not all choose to do so. In contrast, ways of belonging refers to practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. These actions are not symbolic but concrete, visible actions that mark belonging such as flying a flag. Ways of belonging combine action and an awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies. Individuals within transnational social fields combine ways of being and ways of belonging differently in specific contexts.

As migrants cross 'borders' of people, cultures, capital and commodities, they create a 'diaspora space' where new forms of belonging and otherness are appropriated and contested with specific formations of power (Brah, 1996). The migrants use their agency and develop extended forms of identification and networking across multiple borders and thus foster various identifications and connections across borders

(Tastsoglou, 2006). Their transnational practices and ties catalyze a reconfiguration of the geographies of political identities and attachments (Ehrkamp, 2006). In addition to these with the ability of people to move between different frames of identity (such as being –but not limited to: ‘expat’ or ‘immigrant’ or ‘local’ or even ‘hybrid’) migrants use imaginative practices of reconceptualising home in the process. (Butcher, 2009).

Contrary to some conceptions about the threat that migrants’ ties to their communities of origin, migrants’ transnational practices are found to help create new places of belonging that allow them to engage the receiving society on their own terms (Ehrkamp, 2005). Indeed, migrants assert their belonging and show their commitment to the host polity through civic participation and actions at multiple geographic scales (Ehrkamp, 2006). For example the highly skilled migrants in Butcher’s study (2009) demonstrate different levels of belonging, which vary according to the strength of their insertion into the relationship networks that demarcate their own understanding of the key terms of identification. In this context, Tastasoglou (2006) makes a distinction between “translocational positionality” (Anthias, 2001) on the one hand and “multi-axial locationality” and the politics of belonging, on the other. She asserts that while the former is an intermediate term between structure and agency involving not just locations but also how individuals perform identification, the latter refers to what individuals do as a result of belonging and second to what they do in order to foster belonging.

### **2.3.3 Citizenship**

Citizenship is an important dimension, especially in migrants’ daily lives, identifications and the formation of belongings. Due to large scale and extremely diverse immigration along with globalization, the construct of ‘citizenship’ has been challenged

both conceptually and in practice. Faist, (2000) points out that the transnational social spaces that are inhabited by (im)migrants and non-migrants span across the borders of multiple states and defy the static notions of ties and positions. As a consequence there is a move from nation-state citizenship (which is shaped by belonging to a specific national community and the corresponding citizenship) to post-national citizenship where human, civil, and social rights are governed by universal discourses that are entrenched in international agreements, consensus and nation-state constitutions (also see Soysal, 1994). In the Canadian context there is a search for a shared Canadian civic identity that will reflect common affiliation, identification and/or allegiance to the distinct, geographically bound, relatively autonomous, sovereign and self governing polity of Canada (Rummens, 2003). In this vein, it is suggested that in order to form a basis for the merging sense of Canadian unity, identity and sense of belonging culture should be decoupled from nation and nation be defined in terms of common citizenship where Canadians are engaged in communal activities that will facilitate various expressions of Canadian identities (Rummens, 2003).

The question of commitment of immigrants to the host states in the context of citizenship has been scrutinized by policy makers. It turns out that holding citizenship rights of two countries does not necessarily decrease the degree of commitment an immigrant has to either of the states just as plain acquisition of citizenship rights automatically does not guarantee loyalty. Phan and Breton (2009), for example, found that a little over 80% of respondents of Ethnic Diversity Survey-2002 have the sense of belonging to Canada, province or city/town. This is a high proportion of the population and is seen across respondents who were categorized as 'mainstream' (Canadian only),

‘ethnic’ (belonged to one ethnic category) and ‘pluralist’ (belonged to one ethnic category as well as that of Canadian).

Tastsoglou (2006) explains that just like various contemporary citizenship models are based on ‘simultaneous situatedness’ of legal, civic, political and social rights and practices, there is a similar articulation of belonging, of the psychological dimension of citizenship, which derives from multi-axial locationality and ‘simultaneous situatedness’ within and across imagined and encountered communities. She further stipulates that migrants demonstrate multi-dimensional geographies of belonging and citizenship, involving political and cultural practices at the local, national and transnational levels. Differences in positionalities among immigrants, positionalities that intersect with one another in complex ways, produce varied dispositions toward acquiring citizenship in their place of residence as well as distinct citizenship practices (Ehrkamp, 2006). The intersection of gender and national identity, for example, led to conflicting decisions about naturalization: in Ehrkamp’s study (2006) Mexican and Turkish women did not see a contradiction between their Mexican and Turkish identities and acquiring formal citizenship of the host polity, whereas their male compatriots were more reluctant to naturalize because they felt naturalization would betray their national identity.

### **CHAPTER 3        THE SOURCE COUNTRY OF IMMIGRATION: A FOCUS ON TURKEY IN THE CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL SOCIETY**

In this chapter, I intend to contextualize and historicize the experiences of this study's group, specifically in Turkey and Canada but also generally in the global arena. In order to understand the political and economic context of Turkish outmigration with respect to professionals a thorough examination of these circumstances is needed. Naturally these circumstances, although under local influence and interpretations, do not develop in a vacuum within Turkish borders. The current Turkish economic, political and social state is daunted by its own political history, its historical relationships internationally, and with historic and current global economic, politic and social movements. In the following subsections, after a brief geographical and demographic introduction to Turkey, I present an overview of its current economic, political and social landscape in the light of its recent past. I later touch on the historical and current outmigration patterns in general and in relation to Canada. Lastly, I focus on Turkish women's experiences –immigrant and non immigrant, to provide a synopsis of gender relations.

Stretching across the Anatolian peninsula, Turkey geographically stands between Asia and Europe and as a start line to what constitutes in imaginary oriental of the cultural binaries. As one steps into Turkey at the border city of Edirne, bordering Greece and Bulgaria, one leaves the European cultural and Christian milieu to enter into a country where almost 99% of the population is Muslim. For those who are entering via other border crossing points, Turkey represents the only democratic and secular Muslim country and biggest economy in the region. To the east of the country, Turkey has been seen as an aspiration –in terms of economics and way of life, as well as a source of

anxiety for its democratic and secular practices. For its neighbours to the West, South and East Turkey is a reminder of the Ottoman Empire which ruled them for centuries. Turkey has become a regional power, especially during the last decade, with its strong military force, economic success, strategic role in the recent wars and unrests, and flamboyant leadership. As of the last day of 2010, the population count of Turkey stands at 73.722.988, of which 76.3% live in non-rural centres, 26% is under the age of 14, and around 10% are of different ethnic origins (other than Turk) (TUIK). The population growth rate is 1.23 %, and literacy rate is 88.1% (TUIK). It is a G-20 member, long time NATO ally and an applicant for full membership to EU. The modern Turkish Republic has been built on the memories of the long lasting Ottoman Empire which at the height of its power spread over 3 continents and governed many diverse ethnic and religious groups. Since 1923, Turkey has been officially a secular and unitary state run by democratic rules.

### **3.1 THE ECONOMIC TRAJECTORY**

Yılmaz and Şahin (2006) provide an account of the economic development in Turkey. According to them, in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the Ottoman economy was in a peripheral position from the European centre although it never experienced a direct colonization. With the effects of series of wars (Balkan, WWI and Independence from attempted colonization) the Empire had disintegrated and shrunk considerably in size and in the ethnic and religious diversity of its populations. Due to the lack of an aristocratic/feudal and an indigenous bourgeois class, it was the job of a strong central administration to transform the society from above by launching a discourse on the importance of creating a strong and productive national economy by individuals who

imagined themselves as part of the same unified nation with a reference point to modernity (modern nation). The Great Depression, rise of fascism and WWII intensified the need to be economically self sufficient in order to maintain political independence of the state and/or preserve the country from foreign domination, which in turn strengthened nationalism. This has continued, although endured changes around ethnic issues and in regards to economic strategies, until today where the basic character of Kemalist nationalism, which is based on civilization and citizenship, remains the dominant legal institutional framework in the midst of the modernization mission of the Republic via economic means (Yılmaz and Şahin, 2006).

The 1980 Military Coup constitutes a turning point for Turkey, at which time the neoliberal economic policies made their way to Turkey, under the tutelage of IMF. The suppression of the political left led the state to implement SAPs while at the same time trade unions and some political parties were shut down and the universities' autonomy was taken away (Arat-Koç, 2007). As a result, a market oriented approach to fiscal and monetary policies and export-led manufacturing were established (Patton, 2009). The Turkish Lira was devalued, trade was liberalized and the banking sector was deregulated. But with a lack of consistent effort, neo-liberalism lost momentum in the 1990s. This period was marked by a sharp fall in living standards while the labourers, salaried employees and farmers were hit the hardest by the decline in real wages, skyrocketing inflation and cuts in agricultural subsidies (Patton, 2009). There have been several serious economic crises during this period in 1994, in November 2000 and February 2001 being the most serious of them all where the GNP was contracted by 9.4% (Tansel & Güngör, 2003).

The last decade saw a renewed attempt. Especially since the last economic crises in 2001, the new Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) –Justice and Development Party (which is still in power), has been a strong supporter of neoliberal capitalist restructuring, which is not challenged by any left of centre political party either in terms of a credible social democratic platform or a plausible alternative to capitalism (Patton, 2009). GNP has risen fourfold from 2002 to 2010 (US\$ 2598 to US\$ 10, 079) (State Treasury), labour force participation is 24.9% for women and 71.5% for men. In 2009, while the highest earning 20% of the population enjoyed the 47.6%, the lowest earning 20 percent’s share was 5.6% of the total income (TUIK). The Turkish state continues to play a powerful role which can be observed in state-citizen relationship and the economy. For example, although privatization and international capital flows are on the increase, still foreign capital cannot flow in freely, foreign investment is still low compared to other ‘developing countries’, there is considerable resistance to IMF interventions, and the state intervenes by confiscating the bankrupt banks after economic crises (Ardıç, 2009).

### **3.2 MODERN SOCIETY AND IDENTITY**

Modernization or the aspiration for modernity has been determined to be a critical factor in the formation of the Turkish identity (Yılmaz & Şahin, 2006). According to Çınar, (2010) nationalist discourse produces, defines and projects images of the ‘global’ as the backdrop against which the ‘national’ can be located and localized. Nationalisms also call to mind the image of a global field in which countries are ranked according to certain standards (such as international influence, political and economic power, military might, historicity, or being modern or civilized) and where they can locate their own national standings and seek to get ahead of other nations (Çınar, 2010).

Çınar, (2010) explains that in Turkey, modernization that had actually started under the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a response to land losses and economic difficulties, was seen as a means to achieve a modern global status in which the globe was imagined as Western/European where affluent, advanced, civilized, rational, educated, secular, problem-free societies lived enjoying all the benefits and virtues of modernity and civilization, the latter primarily referring to a perfect life-style and culture. This, of course, was a reflection of the idea that the transfer of Western attitudes, forms of behaviour and development aspirations from developed countries to those less developed would bring the latter positive change (i.e. development), which is an upshot of the ‘civilizing mission’ of Europe in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Castles, 2009). While the political elite aspired to a new and Western type of society and economy, ethnic ‘Turk’ was constructed not as opposite of any ethnic group but as an antithesis of the Ottoman subject (i.e. Muslim identity), as an individual citizen connected with civilized order and state sovereignty (Yılmaz and Şahin, 2006). The imagined globe shifted over the years: from France during the founding years of the Republic where modernity was marked with a way of life, to the United States where modernity was associated with industrial development and capitalism in the 1950s and with economic policies toward opening to global markets in the 1980s (ibid).

### **3.3 CLASS FORMATIONS IN MODERN TURKEY**

According to Sedef Arat-Koç (2007) and other scholars (e.g. Emrence, 2008; Ardıç, 2009) there have been new class formations in Turkey, especially since 1980s, as a result of a combination of domestic and foreign influences. With the help of urbanization, rising enrolments in higher education and women’s increased participation in the labour

markets, there rose a new professional-well educated-managerial-middle class, who capitalizes on their unique human capital, who supports strong global attachments due to their technological literacy, cultural resources, language skills and institutional involvement (Emrence, 2008). The etatist trajectory of social and economic formation, which was tied to the independence and self-sufficiency of the state, changed under neo-liberal influences to individualism. While North American consumption patterns have gained importance and the display of material wealth which had been historically discouraged by the state reversed and conspicuous consumption became a marker of class distinctions (Emrence, 2008). Women, particularly, became the leaders in displaying family wealth to outsiders (through their homemaking and consumption practices) (Ayata, 2002). While the consumer culture by the new middle class manifested itself in lifestyle (Arat-Koç, 2007; Ardiç, 2009), social classes in Turkey can also easily be differentiated based on such things as clothing, personal upkeep, mannerisms revealing cultural essence, taste, choice of lifestyle, and culturalization reflecting the inequalities stemming from class, region, rural/urban divides (Arat-Koç, 2007). Although recent literature points to the emergence of another middle class fraction which is religious and Islamist, co-existing with the older secular and 'westernized' middle class, research raises questions about the similarities of the two fractions, such as using modernity as a class marker or strong support of capitalism, which far outweigh their differences. (Navaro-Yashin, 2002).

### **3.4 TURKISH WOMEN AT HOME**

In order to understand highly skilled migrant (HSM) Turkish women's experiences it is important to look at the contemporary Turkish culture and women's

representations and social positions in it in addition to their position in the Turkish political economy. Culturally, there are distinct cultural groups living side by side in Turkey. Tekeli (1995) roughly distinguishes between three main cultural groups. First is the traditional rural culture in which women's social status is usually low, and children are not accorded the right to determine their own future. Classic patriarchy is the dominant feature and social values keep both the family and the individual under strict control. The second cultural group is the urban, industrialized segments of society which have more or less internalized modern/Western values. Women are more relatively free, both in the family and as individuals and they have more autonomy and social mobility than the first group. The final cultural group, the 'new urban' as she labels it, are at the intersection of the two other groups. This group usually formed by domestic migrants from rural areas to big cities (and also the first and much more numerous migrants to Europe). Women and children are surrounded by social and familial pressures that are much more severe than those experienced in the rural culture as a result of vast differences between the rural and urban areas. Thus the value conflicts, contradictions and violent breaks are more dramatic in this culture (Tekeli, 1995). The cultural contours of these groups are naturally reflected in Turkish diasporas. Presently, in terms of family, material and emotional interdependence among individuals and between generations is characteristic of the traditional Turkish rural agrarian interaction pattern (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990, cited in Ataca, 1998, p.39). Social relationships are based on mutual support and loyalty among kinship groups. The closely knit human/family relations also characterize the modern urban pattern, where although material interdependencies weaken, emotional interdependencies continue (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990, cited in Ataca, 1998, p.39).

As mentioned earlier, after the foundation of modern Turkey in 1923, social, legal, cultural, and educational reforms designed to elevate young Turkey to the level of Western European civilizations were initiated. Turkey, thus, had become a republic that addressed the question of women's emancipation early, explicitly and extensively (Kandiyoti, 1987). The Turkish Civil Code which outlawed polygamy, gave equal rights of divorce to both partners and permitted child custody rights to both parents was accepted in 1926. In 1930 women were allowed to vote in local level elections and in 1934 in national level. These early reforms created an image of a modern Turkish woman who was honourable, chaste, enlightened and modest (Kadioğlu, 1994b) and serving the higher cause of modernization in Turkey (Müftüler-Bac, 1999). Women, actually, became the prime symbol of Turkey's modernity by establishing themselves in public places in modern clothing, engaged in modern activities and in modern positions as politicians, academics or high calibre professions such as lawyers, medical doctors, engineers etc. (Çınar, 2010). The state-feminism was under the influence of Orientalism and saw the public presentation of women as emblems of civilization, although in the context of Turkey women were still expected to be calm, clean, nurturing and asexual companions to their men as opposed to acting loose and promiscuous, like Western women (Kadioğlu, 1994b). Thus, this state-imposed feminism inhibited the evolution of a feminist consciousness on the part of Turkish women (Kadioğlu, 1994b; Kandiyoti, 1987).

Although the Kemalist reforms mostly benefited the women of the urban bourgeoisie in terms of gaining access to higher education and prestigious professions (Kandiyoti, 1987) still people (both men and women) from small towns and lower-middle

class families took advantage of available higher education possibilities. Education is a factor in changing views regarding certain gender roles and relations, although still leaving some related to those of the traditional patterns. The professional Turkish women, whom we could call seculars, in Toktaş' study (2002) for example, emphasized the fact that their families encouraged them to get an education in the Girls' Institutes. Some of the women specified that their mothers were more encouraging than their fathers. The mothers' emphasis on their daughters' education seemed to have resulted from the mothers' own experiences of oppression by their nuclear or extended families. The mothers did not have the means of escaping from oppression because they were economically and socially dependent on familial relations (Toktaş, 2002).

### **3.5 EMIGRATION FROM TURKEY**

As reported on the official website of Turkish Republic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there are approximately 5 million Turkish citizens who are living abroad, of which around 4 million are in the EU member countries, 300.000 in Northern America, 150.000 in Australia and 200.000 in the Middle East. The earliest migratory movements commenced with the gradual contraction of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of new states which led to millions of Christians and Muslims being uprooted from their Ottoman homelands from the late 19th to early 20th century (Kirişçi, 2003).

Contemporary Turkish immigration history can be divided into four distinct periods, with different characteristics (İçduygu et al, 2001): The first period is characterized (1961-1974) by massive labour migration to Western Europe. The second period began (1974-1980) with the oil crisis and saw the labour migration to Western Europe decline and the migration to Arab countries start (although at this time migration

to Western Europe still continued under family reunification and asylum categories); and the third period (1980s) was dominated by labour flows to Arab countries. Since the early 1990s there was a turn of labour flows from Arab countries to the former USSR republics (Içduygu et al, 2001). In a final aspect of emigration, the last few years have witnessed an increase in the number of highly qualified professionals and university graduates moving to Europe or the CIS countries (Kirişçi, 2003). Over the years, Turkey has developed several incentives for its émigrés; it adopted a new dual citizenship regime in (1981) (pink card for those residing in Germany who are not allowed to hold dual citizenship from Germany, Faist, 2000); permitted Turkish men residing abroad to shorten their compulsory military service by paying a fee in foreign currency (Içduygu, 2004); and recently started arrangements for Turkish citizens to vote at the elections while still residing abroad.

### **3.5.1 Emigration of the Highly Skilled**

It is very hard to determine the number of emigrants from Turkey, let alone the number of highly skilled migrants, because information on migration statistics in Turkey is scarce (Sopemi, 2010). There is no direct and reliable source on immigration and emigration numbers (Sopemi, 2010); therefore I will rely on what has been reported by individual researchers. Historically, there had been flows of people from Ottoman Empire to Western Europe in order to receive education and professional training (Akçapar, 2006). Today, the United States is the major destination for the Turkish skilled migrants (OECD Statistics). Highly skilled movement from Turkey to the US was a part of the general trend which started in 1950s (after WWII) in small numbers with doctors and engineers (Tansel & Güngör, 2003) and marked a change in the immigrant

characteristics and numbers of flows from the earlier reports of migrants from the Ottoman Empire to the USA (who were Ottoman subjects, and mostly minorities) (Kaya, 2003). The post WWII Turkish immigrants were also different than those in Germany, in the sense that they were highly educated and their purpose of coming to the US was primarily further education and training (ibid).

Today, among the most important push factors for the highly skilled in Turkey are lack of a national research and development strategy, distortion in the education system and instruction in foreign language in schools which impact the labour market (Kaya, 2002, cited in Tansel and Güngör, 2003, p.53). In addition, economic instability and uncertainty, bureaucratic obstacles, little possibility for advancing in career, corruption and lack of value given to science and academics are counted (Tansel & Güngör, 2003). Moreover, despite high growth rates compared to OECD levels the labour force participation rates have been found to decline (Tansel and Güngör, 2003). Due to the slow absorption of young graduates into the Turkish labour force (Akçapar, 2006) the well educated section of the Turkish labour force is also struggling with unemployment rates comparable to or higher than the national average so it is still seeking better career opportunities in a flexible market environment (Emrence, 2008). These are highlights of the internal factors contributing to emigration. They are compounded by external factors such as the stiff competition between western countries to attract the highly skilled and other factors as elaborated in the previous section about the highly skilled migrants and their immigration.

There have been several sensational stories about the successful Turks abroad in the media, which in turn generated interest in the academics as well. The studies

indicated a relationship between the economic (recent major economic crises) and political instability (rise of AKP, rise of terrorist activities) in Turkey and the ‘brain drain’ (Akçapar, 2006). There is also an emphasis on how to capitalize on these immigrant ‘brains’ since they were found to preserve their ties with Turkey through information and technology transfer; and to wish to act as a ‘cultural bridge’ between Turkey and the country of destination (Tansel and Güngör, 2003). In fact, Turkey is reported to be one of the first countries where a ‘transfer of knowledge network through expatriate nationals’, in 1971, called TOKTEN, was launched by international and global organizations, which was followed by other networks in the light of the emphasis put on home states to engage with diaspora groups in order to benefit from them (Bailey, 2009).

### **3.5.2 Students Going Abroad**

In 2004, 52,000 Turkish students were studying abroad, mainly in the USA, Germany, France and Britain, which made Turkey the 7<sup>th</sup> highest ranking country in terms of gross outflow of students that year (UNESCO, 2006). According to Turkish Foreign Ministry in 2009 there were 130,000 students studying abroad, in addition to 838,000 primary and secondary school pupils living abroad. There have been a couple of major investigations that were conducted with Turkish students, with the majority of respondents studying in the USA (Akçapar, 2006; Güngör and Tansel, 2006). Most of the students in these two studies came from educated and middle or upper-middle class families in Turkey. They had more educated parents relative to average education levels in Turkey. Female students, in particular, had more educated parents, compared to the male counterparts (Güngör and Tansel, 2006). Akçapar (2006) reports that there is a trend

among the Turkish students to switch visa status, from temporary to permanent, thus suggesting that globalization of higher education is a first step in a skilled migration path. Both Akçapar (2006) and Güngör and Tansel (2006) state the reasons among students, of not returning to Turkey as professional reasons (better R&D in the US), political reasons, economic (higher wages in the US), and personal reasons (anxiety about their children's future). In fact, anxiety over one's educational perspectives as well as those of children is a considerable push factor. The education system, especially University placement exams have become increasingly competitive with only a third of all candidates taking the exam being placed in a higher education (some long distance) institution, despite the rapid increase in numbers of both state and private universities (Tansel and Güngör, 2003). Tansel and Güngör (2003) also underline the adverse results of the 2001 economic crisis which caused halving the value of the academic salaries at the state universities as well as having a negative impact on research-related activities.

### **3.5.3 Turkish Women Migrants**

Turkish women have been migrating, in substantial numbers, from 1970s on, particularly to Europe, under the family reunification allowances of the first wave temporary workers. Accordingly, more literature is available about Turkish women in Europe, especially in Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, France and Sweden. In contrast, however, they have been largely unnoticed in Britain as they were positioned as a 'white' ethnic minority within the predominant race relations paradigm (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2007). In general there is not much documented about women immigrants, especially in the 1960 and 1970s. Turkish women consisted about 20% to 40% of the migrant workers, depending on the locality (Abadan-Unat, 1985, as cited in Inowlocki &

Lutz, 2000, p.306). Some of these women were from middle-class backgrounds, who wanted to save money in order to pursue higher education once back in Turkey (ibid), and others migrated as part of a family migration strategy (Inowlocki & Lutz, 2000). Many Turkish women, similar to other skilled women migrants who came to Europe around mid 1970s, sought emancipation, however did not get professional jobs but were forced to take up factory work (Erel & Kofman, 2003).

The lack of published literature on Turkish women –or the Turkish community in Canada made me look into the European publications. I would like to remind that the Turkish migration to Europe can easily be characterized as chain migration, and one that is rural to urban. The Turkish first generation migrant groups in Europe are mostly of rural origin and uneducated, thus by ways of analogy we can say that they resemble the new ‘urban class’ in Turkey, as described by Tekeli (1995). In the overwhelming majority of the studies, Turkish women were depicted as subordinate wives and mothers and unable to act on their own, therefore not able to raise children for the modern German society (Inowlocki & Lutz, 2000). The honour killings are of particular importance as they are highly publicized and scrutinized. Lately, there emerged a new, parallel focus: The new political Islamist school and its subscribers in Europe. Milli Gorus (i.e. National Point of View), as it is called, came with alternative solutions to the integration of Turkish immigrants and women’s rights. Although Turkish nationalism still takes precedence over a religious identity, in this movement pure (cleaned of the cultural elements) Islam organizes the lives of the followers and women enjoy a public life as long as they respect the principles of Islamic conduct, such as wearing hijab, observing Islamic diet and valuing family as the foundation of a just society

(Timmerman, 2000). It is clear that European literature, so far, has been blind to HSM Turkish women as a result of assimilationistic views that polarized Turkish culture and women, in addition to an overall systemic ignorance of the presence and issues of female HSM in Europe.

Educational background seems to influence the gender relations and immigration experiences of Turkish women, although not in an uncomplicated manner. While education seems to change certain gender related expectations and practices, some others are kept (Kadioğlu, 1994a; Timmerman, 2000). Kadioğlu (1994a) for example, studied four distinct categories of Turkish immigrant women –who were currently living either in a big urban city or its villages in Turkey, who were touched my migration to Europe. These women had migrated to Germany in the 1960s and 70s and had returned to Turkey in the 1980s. These categories were not only formed due to their immigration patterns (pioneer, follower with work experience, follower without work experience and those who were left behind by their emigrating husbands) therefore signifying different exposure styles to immigration, but also as a result of their background characteristics and gender relations. Pioneer women were more likely to be involved in romantic marriages (as opposed to the arranged kind), they had higher levels of education (compared with the other groups, but only some can be considered as highly skilled in today's standards) and a greater likelihood of having had wage work experience. In terms of gender structure; indicators included the ability to visit friends and family outside the household, voting for the political party of their own choice even if this was not their husbands' choice and access to individual bank accounts and the pioneer women seemed to have attained more freedom in these. In addition, these women adopted a

more questioning attitude towards the patriarchal nature of gender roles. While all the women involved in the study viewed themselves as responsible for housework and childcare it also became clear that immigration in and by itself did not alter gender roles, neither did it bring any relief from patriarchal control. It was the pre-migration characteristics (education, work experience and modern marriage patterns) that made the difference (Kadioğlu, 1994a).

### **3.6 TURKS IN CANADA**

According to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is estimated that the number of Turks in Canada has reached 50,000. A large number of these Turkish citizens are university graduates and have been integrated into the Canadian society. The total number of associations is 49. The Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations (based on CIC statistics) reports that the number of Turkish Republic citizens living in Canada jumped from 24,910 in 2001 to 43,685 in 2006. Half of these individuals (54%) live in Ontario while the number of Turks in Nova Scotia more than doubled from 2001 to 2006 (124%).

The migration patterns of Turks to North America seem not to resemble to those of Europe. Turkish immigration to Europe is mostly a chain migration. For example, whereas the Turkish immigrants in Sweden are mainly from Kulu –a town in Central Anatolia, many of the Turkish immigrants in Belgium are from Afyon, Emirdag –another town in Central Anatolia (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2007). In addition, almost half of the Turkish immigrants surveyed by Kaya and Kentel in Germany and France had come to their country of destination for family reunification purposes (including marriage) as opposed to 20 % and 30% of the respondents who came for work to the respective

countries (2004). The middle- and upper-class Euro-Turks in Kaya and Kentel's study (2004) were either more affiliated with Germany/France or equally affiliated with Turkey and the country of settlement while the immigrants from lower classes were more affiliated with Turkey. The former group also engaged in dynamic construction of transnational spaces and had hyphenated identities mostly without essentialising any political, ethnic, religious or racial definition (Kaya & Kentel, 2004). Culturally also the lower class Turkish immigrants across France, Germany and the Netherlands seemed to be 'segregated', where the ethnic culture is retained without adoption of the national culture (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2007).

When we look at the higher class Turks in North America we see the same pattern. All the first generation (higher relative class) respondents in Akçapar's (2006) study stated that they were well integrated into the American society, partly due to the host country's attitudes and partly due to the respondents' socio-economic status and high educational levels. 80% of the respondents felt belonging to both countries (USA and Turkey), 8% to USA and 8% to Turkey while the rest to none. Kaya (2003) found that in US, the majority of Turkish immigrants are well educated and have positioned themselves as middle and upper class citizens, and are integrated. They have greater flexibility of movement and choice of housing, and therefore are less segregated. Also, this group of immigrants has less geographic concentration in their occupations and less interaction with other members of their ethnic group (Kaya, 2003).

The Encyclopaedia of Canada's People's identifies 3 distinct waves of Turkish immigrants to Canada between the WWII to 2000. The first wave consisted of students and professionals who were encouraged by the Turkish government, between the WWII

and 1960s and who are still influential in Turkish Canadian communities today. The second wave was larger in numbers and involved skilled workers and students who came to Canada after a stop, usually in Germany. The third wave was a result of the military coup and the subsequent civil unrest and conflicts (with the Kurdish separatist groups). It included many skilled workers and students as well as asylum seekers and refugees. However, the CIC statistics show that there has been yet another wave after the financial crisis of 2001 and the rise of AKP to political power. This last wave, which consists of more than 10,000 immigrants, seems to include mostly skilled workers and entrepreneurs (CIC, 2006).

At the present, the relations between Canada and Turkey seem to be slightly strained. There is more information that can be found on the website of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, a summary is as follows: The first Turkish Embassy opened in Canada in 1944 and the first Canadian Embassy in 1947 in Turkey. Both Canada and Turkey are allies of NATO and have taken part in cooperating in various international peacekeeping operations within the UN. They are also members of G20 where they discuss issues of global economy and finance in conjunction with the G-7 activities. On the other hand, while still cooperating for the mission in Afghanistan, there has started a sour and tense period in the bilateral relations with the adoption of the “Armenian Genocide” Resolution (M-380) by the Canadian House of Commons on April 21, 2004 and the continuation of full support since 2006 to the Resolution. This has been compounded by the memories of 1982 attacks on Turkish diplomatic missions in Canada by Armenian terrorists who are still at large. As a result there have not yet been any ‘high level’ visits between the two countries.

### **3.6.1 Turkish Ethno-Cultural Associations in Canada**

The relative class, education level, religious convictions, migration status, and even professional identity are influential in membership to migrant organizations. When it comes to the Turkish migrants, in more general terms, we see two distinct groups of Turkish migrants, the differences mostly stemming from an interaction of relative class markers, and centering on the adherence to Islam or secularism divide. These distinct groups are detectable in Europe (Kaya & Kentel, 2004); in Canada (Ataca & Berry (2002) and the United States (Akçapar, 2009). In Canada, Ataca and Berry (2002) found that these two distinct social groups within the Turkish Canadians do not interact with each other and belong to different associations. Both in Europe and North America then two distinct groups of organizations can be identified which are constructed in alignment with higher class versus lower class immigrants corresponding to secular versus political Islamic views, respectively (Akçapar, 2006; Yurdakul, 2006). But Turks are no exception as religion is reported to cause the formation of separate associations within the same national group (Moya, 2005).

Özçürümez (2009) reports that the Turkish Cultural Associations in Canada are more numerous and attract more participants than those which are political. One of the reasons for this is that the Turkish community in Canada experiences few challenges that are particularly directed to them as a group, unlike the Turkish Nationals in Europe (Özçürümez, 2009). In North America, instead of organizing in response to hostile segments of the host society (like the Turkish immigrants in Europe) Turks are more inclined to organize defensively against other ethnic minorities and diasporas (Akçapar, 2009). Since the political asylum seekers, or refugee claimants from Turkey usually aim

for Europe instead of North America, there are no political associations focussing on Turkey either (Özçürümez, 2009). Furthermore it is argued that, the Canadian institutional context promotes associational activity for cultural as opposed to for political ends (ibid). Özçürümez, (2009) also observed that although the objective of maintaining heritage ties is one that cuts across socioeconomic sectors, political inclinations, and secular-religious tensions, for the Turkish migrant associations still the most important unification occurs when it comes to political subject matters (such as the protests from across Canada to the debate of the Armenian issue in the various legislations).

### **3.6.2 Turkish Communities in Halifax and Toronto**

According to the CIC data (2006, retrieved from the Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations) there are about 425 individuals of Turkish origin living in Nova Scotia. Out of this population only a handful live outside of Halifax. In Halifax, there are two core groups of Turkish immigrants who had been in Halifax for an average of 40 or more years. One group consists of highly educated professionals –now many are retired and still living in Halifax. The other group consists of artisans, shopkeepers and tradespersons, among which some are related to each other. While these two groups for the most part did not socialize with each other, they are still living in Halifax and their children are integral parts of Halifax and other Canadian cities through their jobs and the majority through marriages with the locals. There had been a substantial increase in the number of Turkish nationals during the last decade. The number of students, especially at Saint Mary’s University has increased, while provincial nominees and professionals (mostly from other parts of Canada) preferred to come to Halifax. Until recently, despite repeated attempts there has been no long-lived Turkish Association in Halifax. Since

2008, mostly due to the influx of recent immigrants, the Turkish Nationals in Halifax have a young association whose mandate is to promote Turkish culture in Halifax, to mark the national days and to build relations with other Turkish Associations across Canada. House visits –based on own circles of friends- seem to be the main socializing tool. Moreover, the students have their own vibrant associations and social life which may sometimes intersect with the above mentioned activities.

The Turkish community in Toronto, on the other hand, is the oldest and largest in Canada. Most of the almost 30,000 Turkish nationals live in the greater Toronto area. It seems to have witnessed all four waves of the above mentioned Turkish immigrants since mid 1950s. As a result, they have more visibility, associations, resources, and services. For example, they not only take part in various festivals but also organize a Turkish Festival with extensive connections to Turkey for support. They have assorted language schools and programmes, a library, a local TV channel, a Turkish Consulate and a direct flight to Istanbul via Turkish Airlines. Many internet based groups as well as a directory of Turkish service providers are available. Due to the high number, the cultural groups that are present in Turkey are largely represented. Consequently, there seems to be more internal tension between groups, as well as with other ethnic communities. This results in a more polarized and more politically involved community than that of Halifax.

## **CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This query into the immigration narratives, settlement experiences and belongings of the Turkish highly skilled immigrants is informed by the interpretive paradigm and feminist theory; and analyzed through the intersectional theory lens. This chapter discusses the epistemological grounds and the research method through which the research data have been collected and analyzed. It explains the rationale behind the methodology chosen as well as the recruitment process and data collection strategies. A brief profile of the respondents is included. Finally, reflections and concerns about the process and about my position as a researcher and insider are incorporated throughout the chapter.

### **4.1 EPISTEMOLOGY**

#### **4.1.1 Social Constructivism**

The basic tenet of this theoretical paradigm is that reality is socially constructed (Mertens, 1998). It is accepted that particular actors, in particular places, at particular times construct meaning out of events and phenomena (Schwandt, 1998). These constructions are shaped by prolonged and complex processes of social interaction involving history, language, and action (ibid). The researcher's objective is to understand the multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge by understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it (Schwandt, 1998). The goal of research then, is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation (Creswell, 2007). The implication here is that the researcher, rather than beginning with a theory, s/he starts with the respondents' social constructions and inductively analyses the data. The researcher hence, offers a construction of the

constructions of the participants as part of the preparation of interpretation (Schwandt, 1998). This should be done bearing in mind that multiple constructions can be apprehended during the research process out of which some may be in conflict with each other and that the perceptions of reality may change during the process of the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Throughout the researcher acknowledges that s/he stands behind the research process as a gendered researcher, who speaks from a particular class, racial, cultural and ethnic community perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

#### **4.1.2 Feminist Theory**

The feminist perspective also shaped the methodology (as conceptualized and applied) in this research project. In essence, feminist theory challenges the ‘implicit male perspective of the dominant paradigms’ (Reinharz, 1992, p.3). This approach, despite the existence of different schools within it, does advance a unified perspective. The common thread of the feminist approach is that gender is a basic organizing principle that shapes individual lives and experiences. Throughout this study, I adhered to these basic tenets and kept a close eye on gender differences under the light of feminist literature around migration related issues and national contexts. At the data collection stage, although I did not ask about gender roles or what they thought about gender, I paid close attention and asked for further information on the topics about which the feminist literature had highlighted. For example, I asked each respondent not only how and on what visa they came to Canada but also who the principal applicant was. Another topic of interest was the transnational family connections where feminist literature had ascertained differences between men and women. I spent extra time and effort during the interviews to obtain a full account of these activities and their nature. During the analyses, I compared and

contrasted men and women's experiences under every theme, and extensively used feminist literature in interpretations.

In research that is informed by the interpretative paradigm, researchers recognize that their own background shapes their interpretation and they 'position themselves' in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their own personal, cultural, and historical experiences (Creswell, 2007). Furthermore, in feminist research, the researchers need to intentionally and systematically incorporate their own roles or positions and assess their impact in understanding the lives of the respondents (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, before I discuss any further theory I would like to situate myself in this quest into the Turkish professional immigrants in Canada.

## **4.2 RESEARCHER'S POSITION**

As an immigrant to Canada, I, too, grew up in Turkey in a middle class environment (of the time) and obtained my BSc from there. Over the years that I have lived abroad I have experienced the various sides of being a foreigner and a Turkish woman in different countries holding various visa statuses. Although I have always been engrossed in the experiences of migrants of different ethnic and class backgrounds in all these countries, with the increasing sense of being categorized as 'Turk' before anything else everywhere I went, I have decided to turn my attention to the Turkish immigrants living in Canada for the purposes of this research. This decision was compounded with my discovery of the lack of adequate literature on highly skilled immigrants who are not visible minority, and of relatively higher class, in addition to the lack of adequate literature on Turkish migrants in North America.

Being a researcher of the similar ethnic, class and historical background to those of the respondents was a double edge sword throughout data collection and analyses. For example, on the one hand I was able to access people and activities without difficulty, and establish rapport easily with the respondents. On the other hand, this may have excluded my access to respondents who may have thought of me as subscribing to a particular political view. While using the same language made connecting, bonding, expressing and understanding easy, the fact that I am of Turkish origin may have caused the respondents to answer from a heavy Turkish standpoint. Moreover, due to my knowledge about Turkey and Turkish history the politically charged topics may not have been explored and reported in a way that would have been by a researcher who was not aware of these. Finally, being a graduate student struck a cord with the informants; as a student I deserved to be helped and as a part of a scientific project I deserved the upmost quality of information and respect. On the other hand there were several respondents who were disquieted by the last name of my supervisor (whose name is identifiable as of Greek origin) which may have affected my position in their eyes, and which produced red flags by the respondents to the extent to which I was warned that some of the information provided by them may not have been 'politically correct'. I do not think that this questioning affected the validity or reliability of the data. In my opinion, it showed the heightened sensitivity towards ethnic tensions that these particular respondents may have witnessed in Canada or carried over from Turkey. The fact that they have provided information that was not 'politically correct' during the interviews is an evidence that this was a reality lived by them.

The Halifax leg of this study may be qualified as a ‘backyard’ research to an extent. It may have constricted the respondents’ answers not only because I live in Halifax but also because of my contacts within the community. In addition, due to the low number of Turkish professionals in Halifax, the possibility of being recognized as a respondent in Halifax is higher. This led me not to provide as much information about the Halifax respondents in this paper. However, especially at the time of the interviews I really was not well connected to the Turkish community and I had never met more than half of the respondents before the interview. With many of the respondents my contact is at a minimum even today. Furthermore, despite my attempts to recruit among individuals who were not known to me in Halifax many did not agree to such an interview. Finally and most pleasantly; on more than one occasion I took advantage of the traditional Turkish hospitality; I was treated like a guest, was fed, taken around, invited home, and offered rides (especially in Toronto) in addition to be given the benefit of the doubt.

### **4.3 INTERSECTIONALITY THEORY**

This study is conducted and analysed with the ‘intersectionality theory’ lens. In search of placing my findings in a theoretical framework I was dismayed by not being able to explain them with recent focus of feminist theory, i.e. the overlapping effects of race and gender, even class. The overwhelming majority also only researched women’s lives. Particularly in the context of immigration and settlement I could see that there were more variables and intersections that needed to be taken into account simply because the historical and current social structures of Turkey are different than those in Canada in addition to the respondents’ positions in them. In Stasiulis’ (2005) words:

Intersectional theorizing understood the social reality of women and men, and the dynamics of their social, cultural, economic, and political contexts to be multiply, simultaneously, and interactively determined by various significant axes of social organization.

In the application of this theory, there is recognition that other forms social divisions –other than or in addition to race, such as ethnicity, nationalism, religion and culture may be included by the researcher, based on historically and geopolitically specific contexts (Stasiulis, 2005). According to Bradley and Healy (2008), intersectional approach is where neither gender, nor ethnicity/race nor other above mentioned variables are prioritized over another. Rather, the respondents are situated in their context and thereby the researcher aims at understanding how at a moment in time (for example) ethnicity may be the dominant form of explanation, whereas at other times and in other contexts it might be (for example) gender (ibid). In addition, class relations and processes are ever present in analyses (ibid). Intersectionality theory also provides room for analyzing the different social divisions and individuals' status (e.g. citizenship) that migrants face when they move to new national and local contexts (Stasiulis, 2005). Furthermore, this approach takes into account the interrelationship of agency and structure, whether it be in the realm of the reproduction of inequalities (Bradley and Healy, 2008), or responses to social transformations and political resistances/struggles (Johnson, 2005). For the purposes of this study the weight has been on the intersections of class, ethnicity/race, gender, and education/occupation. Another dimension was the location of the respondents; Toronto versus Halifax, and in general Canada, as well as the source country. As the point of intersectional analysis is to see whether or not the experiences of those located at the intersections can provide insights crucial to

understanding their situation through the construction of better theories (Johnson, 2005), this particular study presents indications to make their way to the betterment of general migration theories.

#### **4.4 RECRUITMENT OF RESPONDENTS**

After having obtained the Ethics' approval from the Dalhousie Ethics Board and secured funding from the Atlantic Metropolis Centre, I turned my attention to the recruitment of respondents. First I set the criterion; I was going to interview individuals who obtained their (first) University degrees from Turkey and who had been living in Canada (in Toronto and/or Halifax) for at least 5 years, which I thought was an adequate time to have settled. I wanted to tease out (any) gender differences and implications, therefore my aim was to keep the ratio of male versus female respondents as close as possible. In order to compare the implications of circumstances offered by two cities (Toronto versus Halifax) I wanted to include the same number of respondents from each city. According to Creswell (2007) this type of sampling may be called 'stratified purposeful' where the subgroups are illustrated and comparisons are facilitated.

Since I had never been to Toronto before and did not know anybody living there, I had to find a starting point in order to find names. I was given one contact name who led me to a very well connected professional Turkish woman whom I contacted before going to Toronto. She was eager to be a respondent and also to lead me to others. Having grown up in big urban cities I was able to find my way around Toronto, but still I was off in terms of scheduling appointments and finding places. Quite a few respondents had to wait for me, had to guide me on the phone to the next coffee shop (did not guess that there would have been two Starbucks just a few blocks apart from one another) or drive

me around. I had contacted some of the Turkish Associations and was able to recruit from at least one of them as well. Furthermore, since Toronto hosts the largest Turkish community in Canada and since I was looking for professionals I was able to benefit from University web sites (in which I looked for Turkish names) and from an online business directory and contact a few potential respondents (some of whom I was able to interview). I sent blind e-mails to random individuals, and was able to interview a few. Unknown to me, some of these individuals actually knew each other. Once in Toronto, I have attended two events organized by Turkish ethno-cultural associations and I was able to talk to many people as well as to recruit more respondents. Furthermore, upon arrival I coincidentally met an individual who was of a different generation and had no connections to the ethno-cultural organizations. Two sampling strategies can be identified here; 1. Snowball or chain 2. Opportunistic (Creswell, 2007). Originally I had set out to include eight professionals from Toronto and eight from Halifax but with the sheer number of respondents and volume of excitement in Toronto pitted against to the potential difficulties in recruiting in Halifax I have decided to interview ten professionals in Toronto, in ten days.

While I was able to reach out to 10 professionals in Toronto (and many more potentials) in ten days, it took me four months to enlist six professionals in Halifax. Despite the fact that I had been living in Halifax for 8 years and the fact that there has been an increase in the numbers of Turkish immigrants in Halifax, it was difficult to enlist them partly because I was not very well connected to the Turkish community and partly because the professionals who had recently moved to Halifax had not already lived in Canada for five years. In the meantime I had to relax the time constraints.

Nevertheless, with the help of the young Turkish Association and some of my contacts I was able to interview six professionals in Halifax. In Halifax, it was the snowball technique that I relied on when contacting my respondents. Throughout the recruitment process I reevaluated the criteria for being a respondent and included professionals who were living in Canada for less than five years (but not by much). In addition, I was able to keep the ratio of women to men equal, both in Toronto and Halifax. Overall then, a combination of several sampling practices have been used in order to reach the desired number of respondents who lived in two different cities.

#### **4.5 INTERVIEWS**

Interviewing is a core strategy in social research in which the researcher attempt to gain information from respondents. Since the nature of this research study is exploratory; semi-structured interviewing, where the goal is to explore a topic openly and to allow the respondents to express their opinions and ideas in their own words (Esterberg, 2002), was the most suitable tool. Reinharz (1992) asserts that the feminist perspective can be used on an existing method, in a given field of inquiry or used to develop an innovative method. In line with feminist interviewing techniques (Reinharz, 1992), I avoided control and direction over the respondents and therefore tried to ascertain a sense of connectedness.

The interviews were semi-structured and lasted between 45 minutes to one hour and a half. The questions focused on their immigration and professional histories, family ties, network participations, and identities and belongings (the questions, the background sheet and consent form can be found in Appendices A, B, and C). During the interviews I was particularly interested in finding out why they had come to Canada and their

respective cities, what was keeping them there, and how they evaluated the advantages and disadvantages of being in Canada and their respective cities. These issues were particularly relevant in the context of identifying the differences between Toronto and Halifax in terms of attracting and retaining migrants. While talking about professional histories I was very much interested in hearing how they found their first (and consecutive) jobs, whether or not they were content with their professional careers, and discrimination in the labour market and work places. All these are the major issues being dealt in the literature, in regards to highly skilled immigrants' settlement experiences in Canada. In relation with discrimination, I was most intrigued with how the respondents felt about being immigrants, and of a specific gender (male or female) and about being a 'Turkish' immigrant in Canada. In this latter issue, I was informed by the vast literature about the Turkish migrants in Europe and kept a close eye on the particular effects of Canadian immigration and settlement policies, and the Canadian society at large. The questions around the family ties and participation in networks aimed at exploring the relevance of these in immigration and settlement processes, along with exploring their impact on the respondents' daily lives and their transnational identities. Finally, I asked the respondents about their home(s) in search of a definition of it and in search of identifying the factors that led to the formation of their belonging(s). The interviews took place either at the respondents' work places, homes or public places (Coffee Shops). They were mostly in Turkish, some in both Turkish and English and a couple exclusively in English. I believe the open ended questions did serve their purpose of finding out new information, in making the respondents speak and leading to common themes. All the respondents have agreed to have the interviews recorded and they were all done so with

digital voice-recorder. In addition, after every interview and ethno-cultural event I noted my thoughts, observations and remarks, which included details about how rapport was built, interview processes and events, down in my field notebook with detail as recommended by Esterberg (2002).

As is the case in semi-structured interviews where interviews can be tailored to the respondent (Esterberg, 2002), there were instances where I asked further questions, or worded the questions differently, or skipped some questions according to the responses. The question of how much of one's self to present in an interview as a researcher, is one issue that is under debate (Esterberg, 2002). Stemming from the nature of this study I believe that I and the respondents had rather personal and cheerful relationship during, before and after the interviews. On the other hand, as someone who had solid training in the quantitative paradigm and who was influenced by the 'objective' methods, I also took care not to ask leading questions or expressing opinions, at least before and during the interviews. On many occasions I answered their questions regarding my background in Turkey and in Canada, but these were usually limited to before interviews (when I introduced myself) or after interviews and usually did not involve long discussions about study topics. There were no problems in terms of interview procedures, both in terms of taping or the questions. However, the process of transcribing was lengthy (and educational) since most of the interviews were done in Turkish and I had to translate them. I also learned the hard way that I could not interview a husband and wife together a few days after the interview (which cost me two interviews). One of the common occurrences was the change of tone and content of the after-interview talks. With many respondents there was a striking relaxation which led to the revealing of events or issues

that were not recounted in the ‘official’ interview but were relevant to the themes of this thesis, which I tried to include in the analysis as well.

#### **4.6 DATA ANALYSIS**

In qualitative research, data analysis is inductive and conducive to establishing patterns or themes (Creswell, 2007). After transcribing and translating (where required) the interviews, I made use of the software program ‘Nudist’ to start analyzing the data. Firstly, the program enabled for the organization and handy storage of the interviews and themes. In addition, it was instrumental in coding data thematically and helped me especially in looking at intersectional data, such as what women from Halifax told about one particular issue. As I had already had formulated the questions around exploring specific themes, coding was not particularly strenuous. However, throughout the analysis and reporting I kept going back and reading the individual interviews, sometimes followed by others, in order to follow through some themes that might have over spilled in other parts of interviews, or to look at the general tone of the interview and interviewee or just to reformulate themes. In the end I was able to master the programme, but with hindsight I don’t think it was worth the time and energy. I had to read the interviews many times in order to fine tune the themes and put the information under the correct trees. So many times that I could not reach the findings that I was looking for through Nudist, that I drew my own tables and looked at the information from different perspectives. During this process I also kept a close eye on my field notes. I took several rounds of notes and worked through themes again. This way I feel I stayed true to the qualitative research ‘spirit’ where the data analysis is inductive. Through such detailed documentation I tried to achieve dependability and confirmability in this study, as

recommended by Mertens (1998). I also feel that I was able to overcome one important disadvantage of using computer programmes (Creswell, 2007): the distance between the researcher and the actual data, created by a computer. My biggest regret is the time it took me to write these findings all down. In the meantime I am aware that many things in the respondents' lives have changed, as well as the world. But this is another story.

#### **4.7 RESPONDENT PROFILES**

First it is important to situate this study group among the Turkish immigrant communities. As mentioned earlier the Turkish immigrant communities across the world seem to be divided along the secular and Islamic political views line which roughly also corresponds to a line dividing two economically, educationally and culturally different groups. In all these terms there is no doubt that this study group belong to the higher class Turkish diasporas. Due to the qualitative nature of my study, I hereby make no claim that this study group is in any sense representative of some theoretically homogeneous entity: 'Turkish middle class' or 'global middle class'.

Out of 16 professionals who were interviewed, ten were living in Toronto and six in Halifax at the time of the interview. Eight of them are women while eight are men. At the time of the interview eleven of them were married. Their ages ranged from 28 to 60. They had been living in Canada ranging from four years to 38 years. All respondents were either Canadian citizens or permanent residents. Out of 16 respondents nine came as skilled workers and five came as students (most as graduate students but one to do another undergraduate degree) to Canada while one of them came after securing her job directly from Turkey and one of them came as Provincial Nominee. If they were married at the time of immigration, they all came together with their spouses and children (if they

had any). They were all born in Turkey –one in Cyprus, and had lived there until they received their (at least first) University degrees from prominent Universities. All of them had lived (albeit with varying lengths) in the biggest cities of Turkey and almost all of them come from middle class backgrounds. Most of them had also worked in Turkey before immigrating to Canada. Four respondents (apart from those who came as graduate students) had some further schooling in Canada. Browsing the data, I noticed that two groups, roughly, appeared: one was a general highly skilled migrant category which included respondents with degrees in Arts, Engineering and Economics and derivatives but one which excluded any health professionals. The other group consisted of academics, which included graduate students. The majority of the respondents held full time jobs at either educational or financial institutions or hospitals. One held a part time job as research assistant since he was a PhD student. A female respondent worked from home and a male respondent was retired. Two respondents ran their own businesses and one was between jobs.

There were noticeable differences between the Halifax and Toronto respondents. For example, half of the Halifax respondents' first stop in Canada was Toronto. From there they hunted and obtained jobs and came to Halifax. Actually, all Halifax respondents –but one who was a provincial nominee- came to Halifax with a secured appointment as a job or graduate student whereas eight out of ten Torontonians respondents directly came to Toronto without any such appointment.

Below is a table where a brief overview of the respondents is presented. The respondents are ordered alphabetically and categorized by the city.

Table 1 Respondent Profiles

<b>Halifax/Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age/Number of Years in Canada</b>	<b>Marital Status/ Number of Children</b>	<b>Profession/ Job</b>
Alaturka	M	50/4	Married/2	BBA/ Business Owner
Gunes	M	30/8	Single	PhD in Computer Science/ RA
Lassie	F	35/10	Married/1	PhD in Social Sciences/Professor
Seaport	M	61/38	Married/2	BSc in Mining Engineering/ Retired
Siyah	F	39/9	Married/1	PhD in Science field/Professor
Yasemin	F	36/4	Married/1	BEd/ Educator

<b>Toronto/Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age/Number of Years in Canada</b>	<b>Marital Status/ Number of Children</b>	<b>Profession/ Job</b>
Ankara Kedisi	F	56/27	Married/2	BSc in Mathematics + Computer and Business Management Systems/Project Manager at a Bank
Bacus	F	29/7	Living with Partner	BA in Foreign Language + Film / Career Consultant
Gurbetci	M	50/12	Married/2	Applied Sciences/IT Sector
Insan Kaynaklari	F	46/15	Married/1	BSc in Economy + MBA/ Human Resources at a Bank
Jale	F	48/8	Married/1	BA in Fine Arts/Works from home
Kibrisli	M	42/16	Single	PhD in Biology/Scientist

<b>Toronto/Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age/Number of Years in Canada</b>	<b>Marital Status/ Number of Children</b>	<b>Profession/ Job</b>
Leibkorper	M	32/7	Living with Partner	MArch/ Business Owner + Paralegaling
Matt	M	42/5	Married	MS in Management Engineering/ Between jobs
Romy	F	49/13	Married/1	PhD in Biology/Research Scientist
Turkish Canadian 001	M	38/10	Single	MSc in Industrial Engineering/ he works in Computer Engineering

## **CHAPTER 5      IMMIGRANT NETWORKS**

As mentioned in the earlier, networks not only channel the immigrants to new destinations and jobs, but also aid settlement and facilitate belonging (Boyd, 1989; Wong and Salaff, 1998; Tastsoglou, 2006). The respondents, like other immigrants (see Tastsoglou, 2006), were engaged in network practices that were transnational and local, and such practices themselves were inspired and informed by transnational, national and local ethnic and professional identifications. In the first part of this chapter, the transnational networks which were instrumental during the migration and settlement processes of the respondents will be described. In addition, the transnational networks that the respondents have become part of, some as a result of migration and some not, will be mapped out. In the second part, the national and local networks and their functions that are of importance to this study group will be explored.

### **5.1      TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS**

#### **5.1.1    Moving to Canada**

The transnational networks that the respondents took part in can be considered scant, loosely woven and mostly informal. The transnational professional networks were more defined, concrete and institutional for the respondents who were academics (including graduate students). Nevertheless, in general, whether they are of social or professional nature, these networks were more instrumental in directing the respondents to Toronto than to Halifax. For the Halifax respondents, it was either professional connections (national or international) or simply jobs or the Provincial Nominee Programme that directed them.

The respondents of this study were not part of heavily woven transnational family or kin networks directing them to Canada. There was only one respondent who had a family member living in Canada with his own family and the respondent was not sponsored by them. None of the respondents (except one) had initiated immigration for their relatives. The relatives of the majority only lived in Turkey and/or the respondents were not in regular close contact with the relatives who lived in other countries, if they had any. A few respondents knew no one, while the majority Toronto respondents had friends –or family friends- in Canada (one in US). A few women had very close friends, and/or had met colleagues who lived in Toronto. In addition, some of the Toronto respondents had contact names acquired through family, friends and acquaintances from Turkey. Some of the Toronto respondents actually had already been to Toronto due to these mostly loose connections on various occasions, and had built on them with their visits. Those who were not scientists came to Toronto either for skill improving purposes (taking courses) or for the purposes of professional improvement coupled with personal reasons.

Jale recounted her frequent visits to Toronto before she moved out of Turkey to go to the US and then to Toronto:

We used to come to and from Toronto very frequently. A very close friend of mine lives here. Before even I got pregnant with my son, even before I married my husband, we came to them many times to visit. I don't know if you remember; those days there was Mac World here. Long time ago. We used to come to Toronto for its expositions and so on. After that, I came to give birth to my son.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All quotes have been minimally edited for readability.

Among the respondents who reside in Halifax, only one knew his supervisor who lived in Halifax while moving to this city as a student. Other respondents knew no one living in Halifax. Although one of them had a few names of Turkish individuals who lived in Halifax through Torontonians friends, she did not get in touch with them until after she moved to the city. Lastly, the only reason the respondents of Halifax visited the city before moving in was to come for interview or as a partial requirement of the Provincial Nominee Programme.

Yasemin spoke of her migration to and within Canada:

When we were living in America, we knew a lady who was from Albania. She encouraged us quite a bit, like 'go to Canada. Definitely, firstly, work in Canada, it is really a nice place'. (...) She had come to Canada before she had returned again to America. She gave the number of the first apartments that she had stayed at. Through her, with her encouragement that we came to Toronto. (...) The apartments that we rented, she knew the manager of that. We knew him indirectly. Through the internet actually. (...) In Halifax... There wasn't. We knew nobody. Nobody (laughs).

The respondents who were of academic background and/or profession seem to have followed two routes that are described by Meyer (2001) 1. As students or 2. Through ad-hoc networks. As Master's students or post-docs their chances of staying in Canada increased. Academics had made their first connections with Canadian academic colleagues before, either in Turkey or in Canada in the process of collaborative activities. Furthermore, the academic who successfully applied for a job in Halifax, from Turkey, also had some credentials from a western country (along with a husband who had his credentials from the same developed country). Iredale points out that indeed the employers of developed countries assess western qualifications more highly than others (2001).

Lassie was an academic in her mid-thirties. Although she could have come to Toronto as a student and immigrant, she chose to go the other way around:

When I was going to University, I was at my third year at that time. At the University, in our department, a professor from University of Toronto had come to give a summer course. It was during her sabbatical. I took a class with her. I really liked that course... I always wanted to go abroad anyways, for Masters, Doctorate, in order to become an academic and so on. After that, I took their address, their contact information. At the end of fourth year I applied there and got accepted. I was accepted but I did not want to come as an international student because it was too expensive. We could not have afforded it. Because they were not giving bursary at the Master's level. (...)After that, we froze the registration for one year. We applied for immigration.

Upon arrival, the Turkish professionals in this study have reported different experiences ranging from not receiving any help to receiving substantial help in finding accommodation and employment. The Toronto respondents received considerably more help than those in Halifax. The Halifax respondents who came by accepting jobs received some help in settling through these institutions (e.g. connecting them to faculty members, arranging the move from Turkey, handling visa issues etc). The respondents who first arrived and lived in Toronto received such help: being received at the landing points (airport and train station), being housed by these people in their home (ranging from a few days to a month), or being directed to suitable accommodation (one helper had already even rented and filled up the place by utensils etc and furnished it) by being driven around while looking for a place across suitable neighbourhoods of Toronto. They were also given tips about the general culture and daily living (such as where to find certain shops etc). They were introduced to other people and thus forming a circle of friends (including children). Some of the respondents are still in touch with these acquaintances/friends, and their friendships extended to their off-springs even though

they may be living in different cities. Moral support was mentioned as the most important help. Furthermore, few respondents and/or their spouses found their first jobs through friends while a couple of other respondents received advice and tips about the job market and job searching strategies such as cold calls and/or following up with applications.

Gunes was a graduate student who was 30 years old. His supervisor had moved to Halifax before he did. He recounted the guidance that he received from his professional connection:

The most important thing was the advice over the e-mails; where to stay, what to do... At first, I was going to stay in the dormitory. But there was some confusion in the procedures. When I came, there was no dormitory room. At that time, they also helped me in finding a Bed and Breakfast for temporary accommodation. If we look at it as a longer process, again, of course, the teachers helped a lot. The most important thing; when somebody moves to a new country, is to learn how to go about things, everything. Everything changes. That's why even the smallest advices, the smallest information are really very useful. That's why I benefited a lot from them.

Insan Kaynaklari spoke about her friends' help when moving to Canada:

Friends from R (company name). They too, used to work in R (in Turkey). And both of them, they had come before me, with their families. I had already contacted them before coming here. From that respect, of course it was a big comfort that they came and received us in the airport, that they showed us around, that they introduced us to their own friends. This was a good advantage.

The migration and settlement stories of this study group are similar to those of middle class migrants' in the literature, as outlined by Wong and Salaff (1998). On the other hand, the highly skilled also make use of appropriate cultural 'tool kit' and 'urban

skills', especially when they have no one to rely on in the country of settlement (Colic-Peisker, 2002).

### **5.1.2 Transnational Connections After the Move**

The one prominent type of transnational network that this study group committed to was the overseas family members, closely followed by overseas friends which also overlapped with professional connections to a large extent. These transnational networks served the purpose of feeling more comfortable and settled in Canada by creating a sense of continuity, preserving culture, and by fulfilling obligations at various levels to family, profession, and home country.

#### **5.1.2.1 Staying Connected Transnationally -Family**

This study group, without exception, carried on close-knit ties with their families. They were able to keep their emotional connection, with the support of frequent physical visitations. It seemed like there were no serious financial remittances (apart from gifts and visits) for the non-migrant family members. The reason behind this could be that the respondents' families in Turkey were mostly of middle class background, therefore they may not have been in need of financial support. Furthermore, although Turkey may still be considered as 'developing country', the basic developmental needs, reported in the literature as access to clean water, or dam construction, or free education and health care, may be met effectively by the Turkish state in the cities where the families lived.

These findings point out that, just like some migrants in Australia, the most important reason for the transnational family ties to be preserved was kinship solidarity rather than some economic or other motives (Voigt-Graf, 2005). This holds true for all

the various highly skilled immigrant groups (see Voigt-Graft, 2005; Beaverstock, 2005; Johnston et al, 2006). The respondents were also adhering to cultural norms therefore reiterating their identity while at the same time trying to pass these norms to their children (if they had any). When the migrants move as a family unit, non-migrant kin provide a link to the homeland and its culture (Voigt-Graf, 2005). Remaining in close contact with them lessens for the migrants the negative implications of dislocation and helps maintain the culture (Voigt-Graf, 2005). Keeping tight connections with family members are also found to make immigrant women feel 'at home' in Canada; to make them restore continuity between their old and new homes, and their old and new selves (Tastsoglou, 2006).

Of the respondents of this study, whose close family members were alive, almost all of them resided in Turkey (including extended family members such as siblings, parents and parents in law, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews and nieces,). Having said this, all their nuclear families resided in Canada. Some exceptions are: one daughter in Switzerland, one set of siblings (and their spouses) in Canada, one mother in Canada, one set of sibling in laws in Canada, one brother in Germany, one sibling and set of in-laws in Great Britain, some relatives in Cyprus, second degree cousins in Germany, cousins in the US. As mentioned earlier, with a couple of exceptions, the majority of the respondents had not initiated sponsorship arrangements for their relatives.

Leibkorper explained the communication pattern with his parents who were in Turkey:

My mother sends me almost every day text messages. She's is just sometimes sending poems. Constantly (laughs). You know, when you watch TV, there is sort of subtitles going like 'dow jones do this' (both laugh). Sort of constant informing. (...) About family, or her life, those sorts of things. My father calls me once a month to ask about business. What's going on... Other than that, I don't talk to anybody else. Just my parents.

Due to technological advancements in communication and transportation it is possible more than ever to stay in contact with relatives. All respondents of this study talked to their family members on the phone and communicated over the internet (Skype, gmail, send pictures, webcam chats and video conferencing etc). The frequency of communication over the phone ranged from once in every one to two days to once in two to three weeks, with a communication time of between half an hour to more than an hour. In fact, one respondent summarized his communication pattern as the same level/frequency of communication as they were all in Turkey. Some talked to their siblings and/or important figures such as uncles as often, as well. A slight pattern of more talks taking place between mothers and daughters was detected. These communication patterns were similar to those of other immigrants who keep in touch through regular use of telephone, email and internet (Beaverstock, 2005) and who make weekly phone-calls to close overseas relatives such as parents, children and siblings, with one phone-call per day during emergency situations (Voigt-Graf, 2005).

Insan Kaynaklari described the content of communication between her and her parents:

If my social life here continued from where I left there or is it any better? In terms of career, they, as a mom and dad, (want to know) if, as a result of going abroad, I experienced a scale back in my life. Do I have any difficulties, any financial difficulties? These are generally parts of Turkish culture, family culture. They always ask as parents. (...) (I ask) of course, constantly their health, whether they need anything. We skipped one or two summers but we constantly go ever since we came. Our daughter is there, with them. We never gave up on her Turkish. Because of this we did not have any disconnection. The only problem is to be with them for a short time. And of course, their old age, and not to be able to directly support them during the difficulties of the old age.

The transnational phone calls and communications are not restricted to discussing important events but may revolve around very mundane and day-to-day issues such as the preparation of dinner (Voigt-Graf, 2005). In fact, some migrants even act as one household unit with their dispersed families (ibid). Most of the Turkish highly skilled migrants in this study talked with their families, especially with their parents, about health, physical and financial well being and care. In addition, they talked about daily events, jobs, daily life, relationships, emotions, happiness and comfort, and tomorrow's plans as though they are living in the same city. Among other topics of discussion were: moral support, comparing life experiences and social relations at many levels between Turkey and Canada, Turkish and Canadian politics and social/political system, the acquaintances' or other relatives' news (such as their weddings or gossip), soccer, weather, future plans, positive sides of life, and recipes. Most of the respondents with children talked about their children's milestones and school achievements. Some respondents and their parents didn't reflect small health problems to each other in order not to worry the other party. The contents of communication changed with life stages of both parties.

Seaport explained how his connection patterns fluctuated with time and circumstances:

During the initial years, we did not go to Turkey very often, because of financial reasons. My first trip to Turkey was after 5 years. And after we had the kids etc, we used to go to Turkey maybe every 3 years or 4 years. Sometimes I used to go alone to visit with my mother and father. During the recent years, I went quite frequently. Because of my mother's illness. (...) My mother passed away. (...) Now I think, it will become longer again. It will be good if we can go once a year. And that's because I have two aunts. They are both like mothers to me. Now I can't abandon them all of a sudden because I don't have my mother anymore.

In terms of visiting, the majority of this study group had had family members (particularly mothers) visit several times. With most of the respondents there was also mutual visiting for general or holiday purposes or situational purposes (e.g. graduation, illness). Most of them went to Turkey (or try to go) every year, and the others travelled with varying frequencies but not less than once in 4-5 years. In case of illness there were more travels (3-4 times a year) and more phone calls. Presence of close kin and friends in the country of origin and holidays are the main reasons for migrants all over the world who travel with a frequency of every two to five years in average (see Voigt-Graf, 2005; Johnston et al, 2006). The family and friends in the country of origin also pay the migrants visits, but less frequently (Johnston et al, 2006).

#### **5.1.2.2 Staying Connected Transnationally -Friends**

The friends were greatly important to this study group. For some, friend circles included those who resided anywhere in the world, but who were of common background (e.g. from same high school, university, old neighbourhood etc). According to Conradson & Latham (2005b) these networks of friendship are remarkably resilient temporally and spatially because they are a key element of self-identification and development. Furthermore, what is at the core of these relationships are affections that come from a sense of connection that are derived from shared values and times (Conradson & Latham, 2005b). These friend networks double served as professional ones in the sense that it included individuals with similar skills, identities and careers. They were used for professional development opportunities. For many respondents, staying connected with friends no matter how weak the connection was, meant staying

connected to the homeland thus alleviate homesickness and boost moral while facing the challenges of living in the new home-country.

Yasemin talked about the meaning of being on facebook for her:

What is the meaning for me? Some kind of a connection. Because, I was there before isn't it? That friend is a person who is there and a person that I used to talk to before. You somehow dispel the longing. You know they say a connection; it relieves you psychologically. Possibly you feel yourself closer to Turkey. Like, it makes you relaxed psychologically, it pleases you.

As mentioned before, the highly skilled migrants keep in close contact with their friends, class mates and colleagues regardless of whichever party migrates. Indeed, the most transnational bodies (apart from kin networks) that the respondents of this study took part in were the University Alumni and/or High School Alumni Associations or their Yahoo groups. Most of the time, the members of these groups were spread all over the world. Through these groups many respondents provided help to newcomers, provided guidance through e-mails, organized events in Turkey (dinners, outings when they are in Turkey), and followed activities and took part in them when they were in Turkey. In Yahoo groups they shared information about their lives, they posted and saw each others' pictures, they learned about each others' whereabouts, achievements and personal lives. This way they stayed connected with their friends from the previous stages of life and compared their current life stages to be used in self-evaluation in regards to their own development and in regards to their current position in their cohort groups. Joy and comfort was also found in staying connected with the people who they knew and from where they belonged to. Finally, these associations served to increase the number of people that one knew and increased knowledge thereby leading to the creation of

opportunities –such as new jobs or even new destinations to be considered, that were not there before.

On the other hand, some friendships did not survive the personal life stages.

Bacus talked about how having less in common with her friends over the years caused her not to stay in touch with them:

I don't have too many friends in Turkey. From high school times, it was the period of credit system. Because we changed classes every term we could not make a real friend. From there I don't know where everybody went, what happened. There was no internet those days (laughs). My two closest friends at the University also came here, afterwards. But I don't see either of them here (laughs). In Turkey, maybe I have 2-3 friends. They got married, they have children anyways. Even when I go to Turkey we don't have much of a common denominator.

### **5.1.2.3 Transnational Professional Connections and Others**

The professional connections that this study group subscribed to could be divided into two types. The first type was the formal associations of international nature where the respondents sought to professionally develop themselves and contribute to the profession. Within this type the Toronto respondents enjoyed more opportunities that came with being a member of such associations. The second type was more informal connections and it more or less overlapped with friends networks. In addition to the social and psychological dimensions as described above, these networks helped form professional vision and connections. Furthermore, these connections helped the respondents serve their country of origin at levels of development, knowledge and professional circulation, and representation.

For some migrants the professional identity is paramount enough even to the exclusion of ethnic identity (Colic-Peisker, 2002) and for some others it serves as a

means to realise ‘individual creativity’ and attain certain lifestyle opportunities (Conradson & Latham, 2005a). For this study group, serving the profession and their own professional career purposes seem to have enmeshed with the purposes of realising the individual creativity and attaining a certain lifestyle.

13 out of 16 respondents were members of international professional organizations because they liked to stay connected to the general professional community, and improve themselves professionally. Improving professionally included enlarging professional vision and boosting self-confidence. The professionals in this study group did so by organizing and attending seminars and following training programmes conducted by their corresponding professional organizations. Academics took part in planning of international conferences by preparing announcements and programmes, and by acting as referees for papers to be published in addition to participating in them. Most of the transnational professional activities are carried along both the international and local dimensions, i.e. even though these were international organizations much of the training and related events were conducted in town. This was especially the case for the respondents who lived in Toronto and who were not of academic/scientist background. This stems from the nature of jobs that are held in Toronto; there were more variety of professionals in Toronto as opposed to Halifax where there were more academics and non-corporate employees. There also seemed to be more professional training opportunities provided to employees in Toronto as opposed to Halifax by the international associations.

Lassie attended conferences as a member of international professional organization in her field:

For example, in the conference of this international organization, it was in Toronto last year, I presented two papers. In one of them, it was a very international round table; Israel, Italy, America, Japan, everybody was there. You get surprised when you hear the things that happen there. They also live such similar things. To support each other. (...) And I too, I try to give support to them. I share my own knowledge. For example, I will give a talk on the 28th. To give information to the colleagues. I like this kind of information sharing.

Meyer (2001) argues that the content of the migrants' skills are tied to the social, technical, and economic environments in which the migrants have been and in which the migrants are still associated. In relation to this, his findings suggest that, the content of supply and demand is shaped by the networks, by their actors and intermediaries, rather than the actual market needs (Meyer, 2001). Indeed, the respondents felt that these organizations and their functions acted as a means of showing their professional strength and efficacy, and at the local sphere it increased their career prospects. The academics, especially, valued receiving and providing help/contributions to other professionals in their field through knowledge sharing (also compare notes from across the globe). As Kennedy (2004) stated the transnational professional networks are usually of 'post-national' character; they provide meanings for their members almost irrespective of the nationality of participants.

Staying professionally connected to Turkey was more of an informal nature and contributed more indirectly to its development. This study group did not report sending remittances to Turkey, however, many, especially the academics, were part of informal knowledge networks. The academics were also more able to combine efforts with the institutional opportunities.

Kibrisli, who is both scientist and academic, told about meaning of the health-care based organization that he was founding in his home town:

For me, in order to pay back my debt. Only that is important. To hold your place in those people's eyes. To be able to give back on your mother's, father's and the environment's expectations, on all the investments that they put in you. (...) Because of that reason I'd like to have one leg in Canada, and one leg in Turkish part of the world. If I go there, I can't help them anymore. I have to be here and suffer. So that I can bring the power, I can transfer it.

For the respondents of academic background, transfer of knowledge from Canada to Turkey came in various modalities; teaching summer classes or seminars, writing joint proposals with departments in Turkish universities, and drawing memorandum of understandings between their current Canadian institution and a Turkish institution. Unofficially, there was much more; channelling knowledge, technology and 'how to' to Turkish colleagues or communities through continuous communication, facilitating the admittance of summer and/or permanent students, and providing professional guidance, and spearheading a research and application center on science in hometown. They also helped their friends and colleagues who are in Turkey by nominating them within professional associations and/or by improving their standing within the departments in Turkey.

Romy described her informal professional connections:

I can help people who are doing their PhDs or Postdocs in our field. Every day I receive e-mails. I am not much into associations... To help everybody, not only within the framework of association. The other day, my friend wrote to me that there is this medical student who wants to be a summer student. I told her to send her/him to me, to talk to me. Maybe s/he could also work in our lab. I guided a lot of people like this.

Apart from academics, there were a couple of individuals who were still members of professional organizations in Turkey. The activities ranged from exchanging information, perspectives, evaluations and problem solving to just receiving e-mails in the distribution list. By these activities they still benefited professionally, helped the organization, stayed connected to Turkey's professional field and preserved ties.

In general, preserving ties with Turkey and paying back to the community that raised them weighed heavily on these respondents' transnational professional engagements. Because they saw Turkey as their motherland and because it was Turkey that brought them to this point (in their careers) they wanted to be aware of social and professional developments in Turkey and contribute to them. Moreover, they would like to advance science in Turkey and Turkey's position within the scientific world. This finding is parallel to that found in Meyer et al's paper; the academics being inserted into effective local and national networks in the country of settlement- in many cases with important responsibilities, but also catering to double allegiance and identification for both the host and home countries (Meyer et al, 2001). In many occasions these professional connections also served ethno-cultural purposes through activities such as funding Turkish student-interns, or participating in knowledge dissemination activities in Turkey.

There were two other transnational organizations that a couple of respondents took part in; an International Turkish Music Association and the Rotary Club, the former in Toronto the latter in Halifax. Although the former association is local it gave concerts all over North America. In both of these organizations the global-local dimension of the

inspirations and activities can be discerned. In addition, the socialization and networking through these associations helped settling in Canada.

Alaturka told about the activities that he participated at the Rotary Club which had transnational effects:

At this moment, an association of 67 people. We go out for dinner, we go to their houses, they come to our place. Last year, we did something; Rotary is an international organization, an international solidarity and mutual aid organization. We donated \$15,000 to a school for the deaf and (dumb, mute), in Istanbul, Göztepe. Under my organization.

## **5.2 LOCAL-NATIONAL NETWORKS**

In this subsection the local networks in which this study group is involved will be presented. These networks, again, may be formal and informal or immigrant and/or non-immigrant. On the formal side, we can define voluntary associations as secondary organisations that exist between the primary links of kinship and the equally non-voluntary arrangements of tertiary institutions like the state (Moya, 2005). The associations that are presented in this chapter are mostly ethno-cultural ones along with professional organizations. Other networks are dealt with at the end of this section. The degree to which each respondent was involved in organizations and networks was influenced by how much importance they attached to their identities –whether they are locally or transnationally inspired. These networks facilitated adaptation and integration; brought acceptance by the general community members, fostered solidarity among members of specific groups by facilitating the respondents’ professional development, served community formation and development, improved career opportunities and fulfilled spiritual needs. Being involved in these social processes enforced the respondents’ sense of belonging to their localities and Canada.

### **5.2.1 Ethno-Cultural Associations**

The main roles that Ethno-Cultural Associations played in the lives of the respondents could be summarized as to keep ties with ethno-cultural identity, become visible in the larger society and represent Turkey, to expose children to Turkish ethno-cultural identity, facilitate cohesion, integration and belonging to the society at large, and ultimately move towards a better society. Participation in these associations is the prime example of identity politics and citizenship practices at work. Naturally, the number of associations and consequently the activities were more diversified in Toronto. Furthermore, the presence of other rival ethnic groups (e.g. Armenians and Greeks among others) and unremitting flaring of controversial subjects (e.g. the Canadian government's stand on the 'Armenian genocide') compounded the rigor with which some of the Toronto associations took action. Overlapping functions of these associations with other networks (such as with friends or professional networks) are detectable here also. Although it is suggested that there is no correlation between the number of organizations and that of immigrants (Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005) it is also evident from the literature that more established migrant communities may fund more and better established organizations (Moya, 2005) and that ethnically (Owusu, 2000) and professionally more diverse migrant populations establish more diverse organizations (Scott,2007). In addition, the pre-migratory background, the timing and rhythm of the flow and the mechanisms of migration are also factors in the formation of different migrant organizations (Moya, 2005). The reported findings, below, support these arguments.

In this study, 12 out of 16 respondents were members of Turkish Ethno Cultural Associations (and one who is not a member herself has her spouse as member). Another three respondents were involved in other informal networks or professional networks where they kept their connection to their Turkish ethnic identities. While several respondents in Toronto were members of more than one Turkish Association (Turkish Culture and Folklore Society of Canada, Istanbul Technical University Alumni Association of Canada, Turkish Society of Canada, The Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations, Canada Bosphorous University Alumni Association, Toronto Film Society), there was only one option in Halifax; The Turkish Society of Nova Scotia. This is mostly due to the large number, diversity and the longer presence of the Turkish migrants in Toronto.

The Toronto group participated in many activities with the Turkish organizations (sometimes these were joint efforts with several Turkish organizations): choirs, Turkish classes, concerts, poetry nights, celebrating national and religious holidays, broadcasting, marking Canada Day, picnics, taking part in multicultural festivals, seminars (e.g. about settlement or job search or home improvement), commemorating national mourning day, children's activities, and community lunches and dinners. There was also a library that had a Turkish book collection and that arranged seminars along with children's programmes. In addition they published immigrant Turks' stories and sold them. Turkish Associations invited speakers. They also had a phone book of Turkish businesses and professional services, in addition to several newspapers and/or publications. By no means these activities were limited to those reported, for, surely there were other organizations catering to the different needs of other groups of Turkish immigrants.

In Halifax the respondents celebrated national and some religious holidays with The Turkish Society of Nova Scotia. They also attended the multicultural festival, carried out Turkish classes (sporadic), donated Turkish books to public libraries and organized Turkish Night annually. Many of these activities are reported to take place in Turkish ethno-cultural Associations in Montreal as well (Özçürümez, 2009). Other immigrant groups too in Canada, such as Ghanaians in Toronto, pursue the objective of unity among themselves through activities that enhance social interaction, including meetings, parties, picnics and other recreational activities (Owusu, 2000). Siyah saw the ethno-cultural association as a connection to the Turkish culture, both for herself and her child:

What I want, by attending the Association's activities, is for my child to see that there are Turkish Canadians other than me. And for her to live a part of our culture, however small, in the Canadian environment. Plus, for me too. This is a need too. To meet other Turkish friends and to speak in Turkish, to remember Turkey, to commemorate our past lives. I don't know, from music to books to movies, it is very important to me. Thus there is also a little egoism in there.

Immigrant associations seem to be characteristic of almost all first-generation migrant communities mostly because of the desire amongst migrants to bond for cultural and language-based reasons (Scott, 2007). This held true for the respondents of this study who wanted to keep a connection to their past and Turkish identity. Among the functions of the immigrant associations is the facilitating and managing of the flow of news and information and preparation of cultural, religious or patriotic activities of importance to the country of origin (Cordero-Guzman, 2005). Indeed, the Turkish organizations that the respondents of this study were involved with were mostly geared to cultural, artistic and home-country bound activities while others were also involved in

some politics. Culturally, respondents were involved in order to enjoy themselves, represent/promote Turkey/Turkish culture within the Canadian society and to have their children and youth raised with familiarity to the Turkish culture and art. This finding is in line with what is reported in Özçürümez's (2009) article; that the Turkish community unites and organizes mainly around the maintenance of ties with the country of origin and the cultural and linguistic heritage. Also, Tastsoglou and Miedema (2003) found that many immigrant women in Atlantic Canada used the ethnic-specific organizations to affirm their ethnic identity and that these groups played a large role in the ethnic retention process for their children.

Insan Kaynaklari explained the cultural mandate of a Turkish ethno-cultural Association that she was a member of:

This Turkish Society of Canada is a set of cultural, artistic activities. It's not political. We came here as skilled people, with our education. I am always proud of that. To prove ourselves in Canada, to correct some misconceptions about Turks, via activities to represent the modern Turkey in Canada. At the same time to be in a social community, support, cooperation, exchange. Cultural exchange with other Canadians, with other ethnic groups that are here. For example, two years ago, we participated in a festival called Carassauga, in Mississauga. 25 countries participated. Turkey was participating for the first time. We got a prize, both in the field of entertainment, and in the field of food, in the field of cultural display. We represented Turkey in the best way in a place where 25 countries were participating. These, I think, are important.

Furthermore, these activities serve to migrants in their quest to embed within the host country and act as a 'beacon' to draw the host society into their activities (Scott, 2007). Certainly for the respondents of this study, behind these activities were the motives to introduce and represent Turkey and the Turkish culture in Canada. Many respondents thought that they were cultural ambassadors of modern Turkey especially via

correcting the prejudices or misconceptions that are present in the Canadian society about Turkey. The respondents of Halifax and Toronto were on the same page on this issue.

For Matt the importance of ethno-cultural associations was many fold:

And in fact the purpose is to keep the ITU graduates who came here or who live here within a network. To communicate, to improve professionally, to increase job opportunities. Or to be able to address any of their humanly questions, problems, or a need or demand for help. I mean, you don't know who will need help when, and who is able to help when.

Some respondents saw the ethnic associations as a way to build a network in order to help the newcomers settle, socialize and find jobs. These networks were designed to communicate and improve professionally as well. This is also one of the most common roles for immigrant organizations; to provide new arrivals with an easily accessible network of social support (Cordero-Guzman, 2005; Scott, 2007).

There, however, seemed to be more of an increased focus on the interactions between Turkish nationals and the (other) migrant groups in Toronto. This does not come as a surprise as according to Moya (2005) since host societies rarely receive immigrants from only one source, and the collective identities of arrivals become heightened not only by contrast to those of the native population but also by contrast to those of other newcomers. The presence of other ethnic groups in Toronto, against which the Turkish identity is pitted (such as strong Greek and Armenian ethnic communities) may be a contributing factor to burgeoning and strengthening of the various Turkish ethno-cultural associations. We can pinpoint this by the extent to which the Torontonians carried their cultural responsibilities and the more political nature of their activities. For example, Torontonians put the accent on the importance of being unified in order to defend/promote their rights.

But even if there is not much of a large scale political mobilization observed in the Turkish immigrant groups across Canada (Özçürümez, 2009) a few of the respondents in Toronto were interested in Canadian politics and engaged in local and federal elections. They organized around supporting Turkish candidates in the elections and/or interviewed the candidates about the issues that were of interest to the Turkish community and broadcasted these interviews with Turkish subtitles. Finally, on the individual level, even if it is just to correct to the misconceptions about Turkey, almost every respondent can be considered politically active, in relation to the country of origin. Gurbetci was one respondent from Toronto who was politically active:

Politically, Canada consists of a variety of communities. And, on the paper, it is supposed have a structure so that it keeps an equal distance from each of them. But this is not so in practicality. There are some immigrant communities who came here earlier. Turks are not a community that came so early. That's why they have a disadvantage. Of course, when there are issues that do not fit well with ourselves, with our children, or with our past, we protest those, we oppose to those. In order to be more active in the Canadian political life we are making connections. We are trying to educate our children, their generation in such a way that they can participate in the Canadian politics.

Immigrant associations play a central role in all aspects of community formation and development (Cordero-Guzman, 2005). Moreover, the ethno-cultural and community development practices at the local or national levels are clearly inspired and informed by the transnational (Tastsoglou, 2006). Overall, many respondents liked the fact that they were giving something to society and helping in general. Several respondents saw their membership in Turkish organizations as a way to integrate into Canadian society or actually even to feel present within it in addition to create a better Canadian society. They exercised their citizenship rights and wanted to influence decision making processes. Furthermore, they invested in the future of Canadian politics

by showing the younger generation of Turkish Canadians how to participate in Canadian politics. Matt gave an account of how transnationally inspired ethno-cultural associations serve general community development:

Turkish Society of Canada. I don't see this as ethnic, cultural... It is an Association that is geared to facilitate civil community solidarity and communication. There is a nuance there. It is not like I only want to be with Turks. But, in respect to gather Turks together, to unify power I think that civil community activism is important. Turkish Society of Canada can produce services for a bigger mass.(...) I think that we can also be present in this society by emphasizing positive values in the Canadian society instead of making our presence dissociated.

Turkish Canadian 001 gave an account of how transnationally inspired associations serve general community development:

Number one is giving back to community or the culture we are coming from. Because I believe, we have taken too much from the culture, Turkish culture. And we never appreciate or we never had a chance to show that we appreciated. For example, we have education free back home, health services free, everything is free. I actually took so many other social activities free in Turkey, like flying or scuba diving etc. Here, using those skills that I learned over there I try to help others here. I came ten years ago, now I have some kind of experience, so I try to pass this information or the experience to whoever can get help. And the second thing is in a more universal terms... It's just a volunteering service. You are helping somebody, that's a good satisfaction sometimes.

These findings show that the Turkish ethno cultural associations serve their purposes as identified by Ralston (2006) to provide a forum for recreational, social cultural and religious exchanges and celebrations, in addition to empowering members by creating a self-conscious awareness of ethnic identity, solidarity and a sense of belonging to the community. In addition, immigrants, by participating in the ethno-cultural and

ethno-religious associations they reconstruct their identities in positive terms and practice their multidimensional citizenship (Ralston, 2006).

### **5.2.2 Professional Associations**

To advance in professionally, as well as to advance the profession itself, were in minds of the respondents who participated in local-national professional associations. Furthermore, the underlying themes of integration with the society at large and to form a better society for everyone were detectable.

13 out of 16 respondents were members of professional organizations. Most of these respondents were members of several professional organizations; international, local, national, and provincial chapters. The functions that were carried out by professional organizations included: professional meetings, training programmes, professional development seminars, talks (by invited professionals), conferences, publications, information exchange and even borrowing books (the latter four for Academics).

Seaport has been member of local professional associations during all his working years.

He explained the reasons behind his membership:

I did this willingly even though it was difficult. Because I guessed that if I only went to work, go back and forth to work, without opening up (to outside) I would not be adapted any quickly. Or even if I did, maybe I would not be accepted by them. (...) Whether it's professional related or voluntary work. Get exposure and the people will recognize the face, they'll know the name. To know someone is the first key to open the door in Canada. It is the same for an immigrant or non-immigrant. But it is more important for an immigrant. This, the issue of us, you, them is not there but if it happens this prevents it.

The meaning in participating in professional associations' activities was many fold. For one, it was a way to be accepted both within the professional and general community and to adapt. Several respondents felt that it was a way to boost both personal and professional self-confidence and also looked to benefit professionally and increase their career prospects. It was also a way to build networks among professionals in order to increase solidarity. In addition, the associations served to promote the particular sector in the province, lobby and develop standards. For some respondents it was a way to stay connected with the professional group, a way to learn about the field, to share information and to make professional development easy and accessible. Once again, for many respondents it was a way to give back to the community, to fulfill the duty to share knowledge and experience, to feel like part of the (general) community, and to help. It has been found that immigrants aim to achieve a progressive society through community building activities by participating in immigrant associations as well as in others (Tastsoglou and Miedema, 2003).

### **5.2.3 Religious and Other Organizations**

It is important to note that none of the respondents, whether they came from Toronto or Halifax, were members of any religious organizations; although one respondent in Toronto has volunteered for United Church (not out of religious feelings) and one respondent in Halifax cooperated with a local charity out of religious feelings. In Halifax the local Mosques serve various immigrant communities whereas there is a Turkish Mosque in Toronto that is geared for Turkish immigrants. The religious centres are reported to be important focus points of ethnic and social organizations for many different groups of migrants; like the Muslim, South and North Indian, and Sikh groups

in Atlantic Canada and British Columbia (Ralston, 2006), or immigrant women in Atlantic Canada (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003) as well as many of the Turkish migrants in Europe (Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005). The absence of religious affiliation is an indication that the members of this study group may be adhering to a culture-specific, middle class understanding of secularism. Finally, one respondent mentioned that he was a member of a Social Organization (related to scuba diving in Halifax).

Leibkorpor explained the meaning of his volunteering experiences:

I am very connected to the Blue Street United Church. I have friends there, I help them to settle issues. But I am not involved in a religious way. I'm not going to pray (...) To remember the past. For instance, the Eid dinner, it's in a way, good to observe (...) Loneliness was the major thing. Because, when you go back to your house it's so hard. There is nobody to support you for tomorrow. So that's why I tried to volunteer, in several places. Because I couldn't find a job. So I was like full time volunteer, everywhere. But it helped to me a lot. Because, basically I found all my jobs through the people of my volunteer places. I know so many people in Toronto through those sorts of organizations.

In this quote we see the various functions that local associations to be intertwined.

Although the respondent started volunteering for 'personal' reasons he also ended up having access to job opportunities. In addition he remedied his loneliness and commemorated Turkish culture. Tastsoglou and Miedema (2003) reported similar findings with immigrant women who ended up with paid employment after having participated in volunteer organizations. In addition, many migrants, although they become involved with multicultural organizations for personal motives or out of personal needs, they start to work for social change as becoming part of advocacy groups (Ralston, 2006).

Alaturka carried out some volunteer activities related to the mosques. He also co-operated with a charity on several occasions throughout the year. He explained the meaning of such activities for him:

Now, we are coming from the Anatolian Islamic culture. In our faith, there is sister/brotherhood. I love you because of the Creator, God. Your language, you religion, your race, your sex, your colour don't concern me at all. What is important is that you are a human being. Because of this, it is not possible for me to go to bed with full stomach when you are hungry. This would bother me. Because of this, I as an individual, as a family, how can I give back what I get to the society? What can I do for the society?

Faith based migrant organizations have been reported to be of great importance for many migrants all over the world (see, Tastsoglou and Miedema, 2003; Ralston, 2006). However, religion may also come in the form of spirituality and faith sustained by ritual and symbol as well as in the form of community of people (Tastsoglou, 2006).

#### **5.2.4 Friends**

The respondents of this study did not have many family members in Canada but they were not short on friends. Indeed, friendships are very important to migrants. For example, most of the Irish nurses who migrated to Great Britain in Ryan's (2007) study, quickly established new circles of friends upon arrival, despite having relatives in Britain. While a few women said that their strongest ties were within their immediate families, most had established close friendships with other women and these were a major source of emotional and tangible support (Ryan, 2007). There are several factors that affect friendship formations and maintenance such as participation in the same generational, age and life cycle cohort and orientation towards the same lifestyle (Kennedy, 2007).

Specifically for the Turkish immigrants; the two distinct groups of low and high SES background in Ataca and Berry's (1998) study showed that in addition to not socializing with each other, these two groups' socialization patterns with the wider society was different. The higher SES group being more educated, more urban and more proficient in English, was twice more likely to be employed and was in more contact with the members of the host society (Ataca & Berry, 1998).

Kibrisli talked about the composition of his friend circles in Toronto:

I have some Turkish close friends, coming from (the same) school. They in fact helped me to stay here more, to adapt my mind here. In the case that they had not been here, I am sure; it would have weakened my connection to here. Because they are like family. Apart from this, I have many foreign friends. I don't differentiate between Turk and other. It depends on the good(ness of) people, on the individual. I choose them based on their involvement, exchange with me. There are many people, those who come to my house or to whom I can go out for dinner, it's mixed, not Turk. Foreign, Canadian, of Portuguese origin. I have the most number of Greek friends. Arab. (...) They are all my friends. These people can be in (my) the workplace or maybe in other jobs but we've met around here. It is a mixed and large circle. The life in Toronto is like this a little.

This study group had Canadian friends/acquaintances (some of them being really close) of different origins and of different generations of immigrants. Even though all respondents built relationships with Canadians, these relationships varied in terms of closeness and in terms of numbers (ranging from a few friends seen with little frequency to a large group of friends seen frequently). These findings are similar to what Kennedy (2007) found in Manchester with the European origin highly skilled migrants. He found that most of them were involved with mixed networks, mixed with foreign and locals and/or cosmopolitan locals, or foreign plus expatriates and/or locals, or only locals (Kennedy, 2007). Most of the respondents of this study met their Canadian friends

through work/school, but one also through the Rotary Club. Other venues of finding Canadian friends are professional organizations and the children's friends and families. These last findings are in line with what is reported in the literature (Ryan, 2007; Gold, 2001; Willis & Yeoh, 2002).

All respondents also had Turkish friends with varying degrees of closeness. These were mostly circles of friends and could consist of families and/or individuals. Some respondents stated that they had tighter relationship with their Turkish friends therefore they mostly socialized with their Turkish friends. A few of Torontonians respondents had friends that they knew from Turkey. On the other hand the Halifax respondents who came from Toronto kept their relationships alive with their friends from Toronto. For example one respondent thought that, in general, she had better and more frequent relations with her friends before she had a child and another (with a spouse of different national origin) was looking to socialize more with mixed couples with children. Beaverstock (2005) pointed out to the differences between the married with children and single/married without children; for the families with children the leisure times centered around family and involved with socializing with same nationality couples who had children with whom they usually met through the children's schools and activities while most of the highly skilled without children socialized around downtown eateries and pubs along with museums, galleries and events. In addition, the extent to which local networks are ethnic-specific depends upon the ethnic make-up of the area (Ryan, 2007). For example, one respondent from Halifax had exclusively Canadian friends until 4-5 years ago at which time more Turks came to Nova Scotia. Gurbetci and his family usually socialized with Turks in Toronto: 'Yes, usually we socialize with Turks. (...) There may

be people from work with whom we have relations. But if you look, scrutinize a week end as to who we saw, it is 95% Turks.’

The respondents went out for dinners, lunches, tea and coffee with their friends. They also did house gatherings, and if there was a group of families then they took turns going into each others’ houses. There was extensive food preparation and indulging. If there were children, they were taken around these gatherings too (until they reached a certain age). In addition they watch some Turkish series while visiting at homes. Some respondents attended cultural events with their friends, such as operas and concerts, movies, and cultural festivals that take place in summer. Families went to vacations and/or for road trips and/or did summer and winter sports activities (e.g. swimming, hiking, skiing, biking) together. Single respondents go partying on Saturday nights.

Ankara Kedisi gave a snapshot of the socializing patterns with her friends:

We get together, during that time, we go to various activities, concerts, we go to operas. We have subscription for Rodheim, we go to different things (...) Roy Thompson Hall. There are concerts there, violin concertos, piano concertos etc. In Opera House, there are opera kinds of activities. We go out for dinners with friends, we get together, we go to each other taking turns, we do it too often. We constantly make good food.

Many respondents both in Toronto and Halifax thought that there were differences between the quality and nature of activities that they did with their Turkish versus Canadian friends. These differences might be a change in topics of discussions or jokes (talking about Turkey, old music etc) in the way the house gatherings are conducted, in the nature and origin of the TV shows, or in the outing spaces that they go to (with Canadians pubs, with Turks tea/coffee shops).

Frequency of communication depended on many variables. Distance was one determining factor in Toronto. Lifestyle and having spare time were other determinants. Some respondents slowed down and/or changed socialization programmes after having children and some gave priority to other undertakings in their lives (work related, or associations etc). Some respondents had regular communication with their close friends; up to 2-3 times a week (sometimes on the phone) and some once a week on a pre-determined day (Friday or Saturday). Holidays were also a factor in how often people saw each other; for some groups summer was slow because most of the group members went to Turkey, or some groups took advantage of statutory holidays to get together and/or go on vacation together.

Bacus talked about the frequency with which she socializes with her friends:

Among foreigners; there is my boyfriend's family. We've been together for 5 years. I can call them like mom, dad and his sister as my sister. We always see each other with them. Plus, I have many friends from school. I mean, the ones that I call my closest friends are them. Plus, from the places that I worked. With some of them we don't see each other very often; once a month, once in two months. With others, if we can't see each other once a week we definitely call each other. With my Turkish friends, with one of them, we definitely see each other every Wednesday because we watch 'lost' together (both laugh).

Several respondents in this study group thought that human beings are created in such a way that one of their basic needs is to socialize (in order to be healthy, happily functioning individuals). Socializing included sharing feelings, thoughts, problems and plans, sharing joy and sadness, and acquiring different perspectives about oneself and all that are shared. Furthermore, due to these sharing activities many respondents felt that their friends were like their second family and that they were receiving support and warmth from them during their hard times.

Immigrants find comfort in meeting other immigrants like themselves and enjoy learning about other cultures from diverse backgrounds (Tastsoglou, 2006). Many in this study group appreciated the fact that they encountered different cultures/worlds and learned about these. In addition, they enjoyed sharing similar experiences with immigrants, whether they be Turk or from other ethnic origins. Talking and understanding each other was one of the basic elements that gave meaning to friendships (particularly in the context of Canadian or other immigrant friends). Several respondents thought that the entertainment/fun/happiness that comes with being with friends helped them live their lives fully. They valued their friendships with Turks specifically because of the cultural, linguistic and historical bondage (in regards to their own past/childhood/youth and Turkey's close –cultural and political past etc). Finally some respondents felt relaxed when they were with their friends and also felt like they were satisfying the longing they felt towards Turkey. Most of these attributes to the meaning of friendship are reported in Kennedy's (2007) work as well: to satisfy a curiosity about comparing tastes and customs in their respective countries; to share reflections on life abroad and its tensions and opportunities as well as to observe and gossip about host social practices; and to explore common interests in order to construct mutual relations where there is communication and negotiation of meanings along with commitments and rules, underpinned with affectivity.

One common strategy of survival and key to making Canada into a new home is to create networks with individuals from every environment of attendance as well as with other immigrants, for the Atlantic Canadian migrant women (Tastsoglou, 2006). For many respondents of this study friends acquired either through language schools, or

clubs, or among colleagues helped them live their lives fully therefore helping them adapt; settle psychologically or helped them feel like they were part of the society. Especially, sharing experiences not only provided psychological comfort but also tips about navigating the different systems in Canada (such as mortgages or social exchanges or information about the city and its neighbourhoods). Toronto respondents received help during the settlement process (temporary housing, driving around). Even the loose connections were of help; a few of the respondents received help (such as being picked up from airport, or being driven around) from people that they only saw once. With friends, the respondents started to be part of the cultural scene in the city. The friendship connections help migrants –whether they are students or immigrants, negotiate everyday life spaces in the host country through making them overcome challenges that they may face such as finding accommodation, navigating systems or through simply engaging in familiar social and cultural practices (Collins, 2008).

Turkish Canadian 001 spoke of the role of new found friends in his settling experience in Toronto:

I think when you just settled to a new town or a new country, new culture, it's somewhat difficult... Because you don't know where to start from and you don't know where you can end up to. So it was good to have different friends with different experiences so that you can see what are your possibilities. Actually I met almost the first day I came to Toronto, with a guy who was working in computer business. Although I didn't want to work for computer business, it gave me some ideas about what I can do. And he was a kind of very joyful friend. So I hooked up with him and I was eating his barbeques and going swimming with him every weekend so it was a good time while looking for job or getting used to the city. The mood is important when you are trying to achieve something. It can be work or getting used to the city. .

On the other hand Bacus provided evidence that even random or temporary help was appreciated:

Of course, we met with a set of people but these are people who I don't see at this moment. This suddenly appears in front of a person, some people come into your life, they stay there for 2-3 months. Certainly many people must have helped. You learn so much even from a 5 minute conversation but, completely taking me by hand and telling me this is this etc. No, there was no such person.

It is important to point out to the fact that quite a few of the respondents got their first jobs (and sometimes the subsequent ones) through their loose connections or friends. In fact, in Canada both immigrant and Canadian born individuals who are looking for jobs rely on their friends and family as a first method and on their personal initiatives as a second method (Shields, 2010). Two respondents who came from Toronto to Halifax found their jobs by the suggestion and help of their supervisors while living in Toronto. One respondent got a job offer (and several more after that) through his networks that he joined after coming to Halifax with a 2 year contract. One respondent had his friends co-sign with him for funding from the bank to start his own business. Several others and/or their spouses found their first jobs through Turkish friends that they had known while living in Turkey or through people that they have been introduced to by their friends upon arrival to Canada. Many in this study group had one or two colleagues who welcomed them warmly, with whom they became close friends and from whom they received support in various forms (e.g. childcare, work place adaptation) in the process of starting and continuing their jobs.

### 5.3 THE GENDER DYNAMIC

Within the limited scope of this study there were not many gender based differences detected among the respondents, particularly in the areas of building of and involvement with local networks; sustaining transnational family ties; and ethnic identity preservation and its transfer to the younger generations which are usually found to be the job of migrant women (see Willis & Yeoh, 2002, Gold, 2001, Purkayastha, 2005; Tastsoglou, 2006). This lack of difference may be attributed to the facts that the women and families in this study group were of middle class, and that the women have all been working (almost non-stop and full time, even if their jobs were not commensurate to their qualifications) since migrating to Canada. For example Scott (2006) has also noticed a change involving the traditional link between gender and community over the recent years with professions feminising, and numbers of dual-career households, astronaut families and autonomous female migrants rising. In this study group five out of eight women were either the lead applicants, or came to Canada by securing a job independently, or just by themselves. In addition, in Turkey education is a factor in changing views regarding certain gender roles and relations (Toktaş, 2002).

On the other hand, several women in this study group were aware of gender related problems at their work places and/or in their specific fields. A few of the female respondents in Toronto partook in organizational activities ranging from going to exclusively-for-women activities to inviting the most successful women in the field for talks to building women's networks for remedying the 'glass ceiling'. In other words we see these women taking part in raising their collective consciousness of sexism (Ralston, 2006).

Ankara Kedisi took part in a women's network in banking sector:

We get together once a month. In these meetings, the problems that women face in their way up (in the corporate world), how can we do away with these, what do we do in order to overcome these. Tips I mean. It's very nice.

## **CHAPTER 6      CONSTRUCTING A TURKISH ETHNIC IDENTITY IN CANADA**

In this study my starting point was the ethnic identification. Naturally, the two major ethnic identities that were mentioned were Turkish and Canadian identities. The respondents' Turkish identity was rooted in the Turkish culture, in which they had grown up and had been educated. As a result, they felt that many cultural characteristics were engraved in them. On the other hand there were characteristics which were subject to change, and these were constantly negotiated with the mainstream Canadian culture. Multicultural Canada and citizenship, feelings of affection towards Canada, feelings of being able to contribute to social and economic development of Canada, and sheer time spent living here were the highlights of these respondents' Canadian identity. Although most of the respondents did answer according to the context of ethnicity still some of them included other aspects of their identities as these seemed more important than any national and/or ethnic identity.

### **6.1      NEGOTIATING AN ETHNIC IDENTITY**

The majority of the respondents identified themselves ethnically as Turkish-Canadians or as Canadian (citizen) with Turkish descent or with Turkish background and heritage, Arab-Turk-Canadian, or Canadian Turkish. Some assigned their ethnicity at a continuum ranging from 'nothing' to 'mostly Turk a little Canadian' while some others put ethnicity at the bottom of identity scale by describing themselves as Muslim-Turk-Social Democrat-Canadian, or human-scientist-Turk-Canadian. A couple of respondents mentioned that they identified themselves as Middle Eastern, Asian or Mediterranean

depending on the circumstances. Many of them highlighted the importance of presenting themselves under better-known identification categories so that other Canadians feel more familiar with them.

Bacus from Toronto talked about how she negotiated her ethnic identity:

I hadn't gone (to Turkey) for a long time and my friend was telling me this the other day; 'when I met you the first time there was less Turkishness in you, but now it's like there is more.' I said 'because I spent four months in Turkey'. At this moment, because I feel longing constantly, whenever I spend time with Turks, or when we speak in Turkish I feel very good. But, I am absolutely still taking the pains to keep it at a certain level. It's nice every two months, three months these Turkish days. But I don't want them to become more frequent, still.

As the respondents believe that Turkish culture has good parts that deserve to be preserved and that they are trying to do this they are also carefully scanning and analysing the Canadian mainstream culture. This process involves continuous critical reflection on Turkish culture and on one's cultural identity as to how strong or weak they want their Turkish identity to be. On the Canadian side they pick and choose which aspects to adopt and which aspects to resist thus keeping in constant negotiation. Migrants are known to get involved in comparative cultural research as a result of being involved in two cultures and being able to think and feel between spaces (Aksoy & Robins, 2000). In addition they are able to keep their distance and develop a critical detachment from both cultures which in turn results in the experience of a freedom that leads to critical thinking (freedom to deconstruct both cultures) (ibid). Particularly the middle class migrants have the power and resources to use the home and host country cultural elements to create new identities and to create boundaries (Levitt, 2005).

## 6.2 TURKISH IDENTITY THROUGH ITS CANADIAN MANIFESTATION

According to Brah (1996) culture, in broad terms, may be viewed as the symbolic construction of the vast array of a social group's life experiences. Identity is simultaneously subjective and social, and is constituted in and through culture (ibid). Thus, culture and identity are inextricably linked concepts. For some respondents the degree to which they are –or not- adhering to cultural traditions determined the relational potency of their ethnic and/or national identities.

Siyah from Halifax summed up what being Turkish meant, both independently and in a foreign country:

Because, I was born in Turkish culture, I grew up in Turkish culture and I matured in Turkish culture. I came here after (I reached) a certain age. I think that all the attributes that makes me me (myself), is moulded by the Turkish culture, by that society. This will not change. I am sure that this is reflected in my talking, thinking, behaviour, everything. When one sees me they may not go 'Ah, this is Turk' but they will know that I am different, that I was not born in Canada. I think to best reflect the fact that why I am different is to call myself a Canadian with Turkish origin. This way at least people will reach some kind of conclusion even if it is prejudiced.

When asked the reasons behind the Turkish part of their hyphenated identities many respondents reported some core characteristics. These characteristics included the objective (such as language) and subjective dimensions (such as cognitive) as identified by Isajiw (1993, p.413-414). Specifically they mentioned that they felt Turkish (usually part of Turkish-Canadian) because they believed that they were born and raised in that culture and that Turkish society, history and culture contributed immensely to their personality development and background. This could be seen in their thinking patterns, food preferences, mother tongue, and behaviour, in addition to their education. The past

could not disappear and that Turkishness would always be there. This upbringing and its consequences would also set them apart from the ‘Canadians’. In addition some thought that it was healthy-ier for an individual to include his/her past in his/her life (instead of denying it). More than half of the respondents mentioned that they were proud of being Turkish. Inman and colleagues (2007) found that Indian immigrants of USA described their ethnic identity as their ‘inner core’ being Indian and as their ‘self’ being bicultural. Having an inner core was often associated with being born into the Indian culture and having pride in being Indian. It was also represented through ascribing cultural values and adhering to cultural activities. So even though cultures are not static thus cannot be essentialized and identities are subject to constant change for the respondents of this study there were some core elements of their selves which they knew were formed as a consequence of growing up and being educated in Turkey.

Ankara Kedisi from Toronto felt the double duty while at work; one her job as inspector and one as a person who represented Turkey:

Because, I was born as a Turk and those nice/good things that I brought, I am trying to preserve them here. I am trying to give them to my children too. In the future, if I have grandchildren, I will try to give them too. I believe that I possess both the capability and the luck to have the best of the both sides (Canada and Turkey). That’s why I try to do whatever I can. It can be either towards the Canadians, or towards my children.’

Representing Turkey, the modern face of Turkey, could be considered as a manifest of nationalist influences –especially those from the middle class. Nationalism today is one assured means of maintaining the loyalty of immigrants to nation states. Many countries with significant immigrant populations abroad actively propagate regional and national identities and encourage transnational identity formations and

connections through diverse undertakings such as supporting the formation of home town associations (Mexico), allowing dual citizenship and/or special statuses (India), allowing political participation in the home country (Philippines) or sending religious leaders for their émigrés (Turkey). For example, the Turkish immigrants who went to US before the foundation of the Republic lacked a clear-cut national identity that distinguished them from other Ottoman subjects and non-Ottoman groups who defined themselves in ethnic terms which was established on a religious identity that served as an ideological cultural base (Akçapar, 2006). However, as time passed, the immigrants of modern Turkey came abroad with manifold but nevertheless strong core Turkish identities (for example see Timmerman, 2003) which are transnationally shaped by the efforts of the Turkish government as well as by the context of receiving country (see for example Akçapar, 2009; Kaya & Kentel, 2004).

Several respondents were proud of their Turkish culture and not only wanted to represent it in Canada as ambassadors but also convey it to their children and other Canadians. Being ambassador included: representing Turkey in Science within Canada or within the world via in the international conferences (Canadian participation), showing Turkish hospitality when dealing with foreigners and pointing out to the positive values present in the Turkish culture, teaching one's own children about the tolerance within the Turkish culture (particularly in the context of Toronto), and even being exemplary citizens. About half of the respondents (in Toronto, also a couple in Halifax) saw themselves as ambassadors of (modern) Turkey and Turkish culture because they thought that Turkey and Turkish culture, geography, and history were not known in Canada or were known in a wrong way. In this capacity they showed Turkey's strengths and

achievements (as a modern state) and they corrected perceptions of Turkey in Canada about Turkish culture, language and contemporary politics; particularly when Turkey was confused with Iran (where women have no rights or freedom of dress or about the language and script). The hierarchically ranked status of sending nations is often reflected in the status of its diaspora (Patterson 2006). At the same time as a country's rank within the world's geopolitical order can strongly influence how its emigrants are received, doing well in the host country can favourably affect the status of transnational communities within both the receiving society and the broader global system (Patterson 2006).

As a final word on Turkish ethnic experiences among this study group, I would like to highlight the gender dimension. Women generally, are seen as the biological and cultural reproducers of the 'nation'. As such they have been provided with some rights regarding protection of their socially approved roles as mothers and educated gendered subjects who will be called upon to educate their children in the national project. (Anthias, 2000, p.32-33; cited in Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou, 2006, p. 13). Within Canadian immigrant population women are found to have stronger ethnic attachments, whether this is in the "ethnic" (adhering to one ethnic identity only –excluding the Canadian) or "pluralist" (both Canadian and another ethnic identity) classes, (Phan & Breton, 2009). As a result of my observations and analyses I concluded that men and women in this study did not feel more or less Turkish than each other, nor did they attach any more or less importance to ethnicity or the transmission of cultural values in the process of raising their children. The three men who had children were in accord with their wives in determining the importance of ethnicity in their children's lives. Among

the women respondents there was more emphasis on spending time with children (engaging in teaching Turkish etc when children are young or staying out of more responsibilities –such as taking more responsibility at professional associations, because of young children). However this was not very accentuated nor did take a toll on these women’s career related achievements.

### **6.3 CANADIAN IDENTITY THROUGH A TURKISH INTERPRETATION**

An emerging ‘Canadian’ identity was signalled by the inclusion of ‘Canadian’ as a response option on the ethnic identity question first time in 1996 Canadian Census (Walters, Phythian & Anisef, 2006). Walters, Phythian and Anisef (2006); in a study based on the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Study, found that almost a quarter of immigrants reported possessing two or more ethnic identities, of which one is Canadian. Among the rest, 16% reported only Canadian identity while 61% one ethnic identity other than that of Canadian (or none at all). Although they don’t have a clear cut definition of what a Canadian ethnic identity means, these researchers argue that the respondents who report their ethnicity to be Canadian have surpassed an identifiable threshold, whereby they clearly feel a sense of belonging and attachment to their host country (ibid). We can say that this group of respondents did have a feel of what ‘Canadian’ was and felt a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada. Although I did not ask the respondents of this study directly what ‘Canadian’ meant they (almost all except one) explained the reasons behind considering themselves as such in addition to what about themselves they did not consider Canadian. The answers pointed toward multidimensional descriptions of a Canadian identity. Love towards Canada and the Canadian society (people) came out as an important factor in feeling Canadian as many respondents stated. The elements that

cultivated this love were also among the critical threads that formed the basis of what feeling Canadian meant for the respondents: the culture, the general naïveté of Canadians, friends and networks, the Canadian life style, and being proud of Canada's achievements (Olympics etc) and sad for its losses (Afghanistan). They valued the Canadian citizenship and their ability/right to participate in Canadian politics and economics in addition to be accepted into the general Canadian society.

Seaport from Halifax, explained why he felt more Canadian than Turkish:

We have Canadian style life here. If you try to look at it from outside, what kind of a life are we living here; we don't have a typical Turkish life, house. I also look to what extent we are connected to Turkish traditions here; very little. Our children don't know Turkish. We speak English at home, it is a habit. We were in a Turkish entourage very little here. And the years that we've spent here are more than those in Turkey. From these regards, I, we are Canadian first then we are Turks. Maybe Canadian Turkish, or Canadian with Turkish background, or Turkish origin, whatever the words are. But our first is Canada. (...) I see myself as Canadian here. It is not like I came here from Turkey and I inhabit in here.

We should not forget the effect of the respondents' class status both in Turkey as the starting point and in Canada as contributing factors in the formation of identity and belonging. Phan and Breton (2009), for example, found that having higher household income and a university degree are positively associated with "mainstream" or "pluralist" attachment (over none) in Canada (with the exception of Quebec). The middle- and upper-class Euro-Turks in Kaya and Kentel's study (2004) and Turkish Americans in Akçapar's study (2006) were either more affiliated with their country of residence or equally affiliated with Turkey and the country of settlement while the immigrants from lower class were more affiliated with Turkey.

Finally, time was a major component in the development of Canadian identity.

While Seaport (above) highlighted the importance of years spent in Canada in forming a Canadian identity, Turkish Canadian 001 pointed to the importance of the years that will be spent:

Being Turkish is something that even if I want to I cannot leave behind. Because everybody else who will see you will say you are Turkish. So being Turkish is already done, you can't do anything about it. Canadian is also same thing with the Turkish. You feel like in your future this country will be there. Like you'll be in this country, or you'll be always attached to this country. So that's why I feel like I am Turkish Canadian. I also feel like; I'm happy here, I want to be here.

Time has been identified as a component in reinforcing Canadian identity and belonging, by other respondents as well. Similarly, the analyses conducted on 2002 Ethnic Diversity Study showed that time since migration has the strongest impact on (Canadian) identity formation (Walters, Phyhian & Anisef, 2006) and that with each year of age the probability of having some attachment to Canada increased (Phan & Breton, 2009). Many respondents of this study mentioned that they had been in Canada for a long time, or that they were planning to be here for a long time. With every year of stay they started taking in the Canadian culture, the intricacies of English language and got used to Canada. As they saw their future in Canada, they committed more to the formation and maintenance of an environment, society and country which they can call home.

## **CHAPTER 7      WHERE IS ‘HOME’**

To further the understanding of identification and belongings I asked the respondents about what they thought of ‘home’. The answers not only described home but also provided further insight to attraction to and settlement and remaining in a particular location. The respondents pointed out to the importance of personal feelings and personal development while at the same time acknowledging the dualities between feelings and responsibilities, and between here (Canada) and there (Turkey).

### **7.1 WHAT IS HOME**

Gurbetci from Toronto echoes what I heard from many respondents: how, among other factors, being able to gain livelihood relates to feeling of home:

My house is here. There is a saying: it is not where you were born but where your stomach is filled is your home. If you take this saying, my home is here. Because my address is here. My children are here, they are going to school here. My life is going on in this neighbourhood. Technically my home is here.

Although it points to material gains and living standards, making a living was also a concept with deeper philosophical/religious roots for the Turkish migrants. As such it was seen as sacred and incorporated the feelings of respect and gratitude. It also suggests, on the other hand, that ‘home’ is portable and is conceptually detached not only from a ‘homeland’ –usually a nation state but also from tight and loose affiliations. In fact a few of the respondents stated that if they were to move to another country (for new job prospects), ‘home’ would be there. Nevertheless, all of the respondents were in the process of actively making a home in Canada, in their respective cities, through many means in addition to the economic integration. Across the descriptions of the respondents I was able to discern common characteristics attributed to ‘home’. Home, consisted of

both quantifiable and non-quantifiable elements. This is how Matt from Toronto described 'home', with several of the many aspects other respondents highlighted:

.... we can say that where ever my spouse is, my family is, wherever we can find our food is our home. I mean, not only Turkey, not Turkish motherland. Of course there are things that we like there, things that we don't like either. (...) If we go somewhere else, if we can continue there, if we can live there, there will be our home too. I mean home, is not only a physical location, it is also formed with the construction of a set of feelings, values on it.

Brah (1996) defines home as where our networks of family, kin, friends, colleagues and various other 'significant others' are connoted; a place where the mundane and the unexpected daily practices make individuals grow roots. In fact Matt and other respondents who felt that Canada was their home did so because they had their nuclear family here (i.e., spouse and children) and friends. And the foundation of the mundane activities were sprouting from the houses that they here (either rented or bought, one for which they are paying), the schools that their children attended, the ways in which they earned their sustenance and the ways in which they exercised their cultural –and professional identities which were transnationally inspired.

## **7.2 LOCATING HOME: WITH LOVED ONES**

The first and foremost dimension which the respondents identified in calling a place 'home' was the presence of their family members, particularly their spouses and children, rather than their parents. To the respondents, where one was able to sustain family, not only in terms of economics but also in terms of values and opportunities in the society, was where home was.

The married respondents all came to Canada together with their spouses, in agreement. To have their (future) children go to school and build a better future in Canada was one of the most important initial reasons to immigrate to Canada. For many, to be around their (grown) children was another reason for staying in Canada. In the absence of nuclear family, which was the case for several respondents, friends were put in its place, although friends were still important for these professionals even if they had their own nuclear families in Canada. Single or married, the first step in building a home was developing and maintaining affiliations. As I outlined in the networks chapter; most of the (Toronto) respondents received substantial help from their contacts and friends during their settlement in Canada. But most importantly they received morale support which smoothed the initial settlement chaos and through various phases of life.

Leibkorper is an architect in his early thirties who lived in Toronto. He spoke about what happened after being in an accident:

So they brought me to the Emergency. And somehow people saw me here and found my friends. Twenty, twenty-five people were in the hospital from different nations, different religions. (...) They helped me a lot through those bad days. Because you are so vulnerable and weak. You need some sort of intimacy and care, warmth. Because you are so down, your family is not there. I feel so connected to those people. So, it's like your friends is your family basically. I was 27 or 28. And first thing I thought was 'I don't want to die here'. Because you don't feel like connected to the place. If you died in Turkey it's sort of I understand. But to think about dying in a foreign land, it's so disturbing.

The friend circles mostly consisted of Turkish immigrants, other immigrants and mainstream Canadians with whom they were assured that they were not alone, that they shared their immigration experiences, they had fun, were connected to their past and culture, and they got to know one another. Their friends provided the respondents with a

gateway to the social processes with which the respondents quickly started to build their homes; accommodation, circle of friends and jobs. Most of the respondents kept in close touch with their overseas friends with whom they shared the highlights for their lives and exchanged information, help and support. Through the communications and negotiations with friends, migrants form the ground on which a home is re-created for its inhabitants: immigrant and non-immigrant.

### **7.3 LOCATING HOME: CANADA AND/OR TURKEY**

As discussed above, the presence of loved ones, the feelings of attachment, and the ability to negotiate ethno-cultural identity fostered a sense of home, even if these were spread over time and space, crossing national boundaries. In addition, the maintenance of transnational ties did not hinder the formation of a complete sense of a 'new home' in the country of settlement. This study group resembled their relatively higher class Turkish immigrant counterparts in the United States who were found to have double attachments and loyalties as the country of origin and the host country have and offer different things that they wanted and were a part of (Kaya, 2003). These attachments came from the presence of family and friends, and satisfactions and dissatisfactions in both homes (ibid).

Gunes was a 30 year old graduate student who lived in Halifax. He stated:

According to me, my home is both in Canada and in Turkey. Unfortunately it is not possible for me to choose one. I am familiar with, I am used to both cultures. When I am in Turkey, sometimes, they make fun of me saying that 'you have become a Canadian'. Here too, sometimes they joke around with me, because of my use of English. Therefore, although it may not be possible to feel in harmony with both the homes a hundred percent I still see both of them as my home.

Making oneself at home in Canada not only means living comfortably but also negotiating cultural values by making connections across cultures and borders thus constructing a multi-local home (Tastsoglou, 2006). The majority of the respondents thought that Canada is their home; while some like Seaport saw it as the only ‘home’ that they had, others like Matt and Gunes considered both Turkey and Canada as their homes. While some of them found themselves in between –not feeling a full belonging to either country, some have come to terms with having two homes and accepted it as a fact of life. In either of these cases the extent to which ethno-cultural attachments the respondent had was one of the most important factors that helped the respondents feel at home.

#### **7.4 HALIFAX VERSUS TORONTO IN CANADA**

In terms of calling home there was no difference between Halifax and Toronto respondents. There also was an element of an overarching Canadian identity, i.e. if they were to move they would move somewhere else in Canada or come back to Canada ultimately after an extended period of living abroad (although a few exceptions).

As mentioned in the Networks Chapter, the Torontonians chose Toronto because most had friends and that Toronto was seen as financial hub of Canada thus making more and diverse jobs available. On the other hand, 5 out of 6 Halifax respondents (1 came as part of the provincial nominee program) had found their jobs before coming to Halifax. Both groups of respondents liked the fact that their respective cities offered a relaxed and less crowded environment (as opposed to the big cities in Turkey). Halifax respondents found the beauty of the city and nature along with the laid back and pleasant human relations particularly favourable.

Siyah explains why they chose Halifax (over Calgary) to settle, in terms of city

characteristics although she was offered a very similar job in Calgary:

And Halifax is at the most East point of Canada therefore closest city to Europe, in this regard, it is very convenient. I am someone who loves small cities. Even though the city that I've lived for the most part of my life is a city of approximately three and a half million this does not mean that I like living in that crowd. For me, a city of half a million is the right place. I am someone who likes large, open spaces. Whenever I really miss that crowd or people's noise; hey I go to Turkey for a month. (laughs). I live that enough there. I come back here have peace of mind for 11 months (laughs).

Alaturka came to Halifax via the Nominee Programme after having decided that his children needed to attend North American Universities. As part of the Nominee Programme process he and his wife came to Halifax and decided that it was the place for them to live. He explained how their plans took an unexpected turn as result of global events:

Together with my spouse, we had the intention of settling in the United States, from before. We wanted to settle in San Francisco. But after the heavy terrorist attack in New York, because the American society has treated the new immigrants like us in an unpleasant way, we gave up on this intention. We heard (about) Halifax through a friend who had taught at Dalhousie before. We decided to apply to Canada.

On a more general level, the respondents chose to come to Canada partly based on Canada's reputation; because it was easy to immigrate and obtain citizenship, there was less discrimination, there was a social welfare state (these three compared to United States), and it was closer to Turkey (than Australia and New Zealand). Push factors can be identified as competitive education system (affecting their children) in Turkey, professional opportunities and development, to attain a particular life style and living standards, long term desire to leave Turkey, and on-off political, economic and social instabilities in Turkey. Many came just to try out for a few years with a possibility to go

back to Turkey, while others were determined to stay. Among those who may have gone back, the international work experience, especially in Canada, would have been to their advantage in Turkey.

In the Networks Chapter I explained how connections, especially among friends and colleagues, tight or random, affect middle class highly skilled migrants' mobility. Throughout the study, many reasons behind migrating to Canada were identified. As discussed above, these reasons are quite middle class and highly skilled individual specific. According to Scott (2007); the choices reflect the middle class migrants' identity (both present and envisaged) and can help to confer status by distinguishing them in a socio-geographical sense from other middle-class groups. Specifically, in a hierarchical order consisting of middle class groups; to be middle class is good, to be middle class in your national capital is better, while to be middle class in a foreign world city –or country, is better still. Scott (2007) also found that world cities were at the apex of the urban hierarchy and that place was very important in this respect. There is no reason to not think that this can be extended to countries in the world hierarchy where Canada was highly ranked in the minds of this study group.

### **7.5 LOCATING HOME: IN LIFE**

Individuals go through milestones such as transitioning from being a student to becoming economically self-sufficient and acquiring or changing professional identities. My observation was that the concept of 'home' was also related to that of 'self'. While there are certain common characteristics that make up the concept of 'home' such as the presence of loved ones and security, certain other characteristics are quite uniquely personal, developmental (human) and individual.

For many respondents 'home' was a reflection of their life-stages such as when they left their parents' home or started their married lives. Bacus had been living in Toronto for more than eight years. She explained the difference between her two homes in these terms:

When I go to Turkey my home is there, but when I went to Turkey this year I missed it here. I said I want to go to my home. Because, maybe I thought that the house that I own, by means of paying a rent, is here. In the literal meaning. That house there, is my mom's and dad's house. Maybe that's why I feel the one here as my real home. And the one there, is a place that I have to go and visit always and towards which I always feel longing.

For some respondents' identification with Canada coincided with these life-stages; thus identification strengthened and became part of the personal development.

Lassie came to Halifax after having lived in several other Turkish and Canadian cities:

Here is not home, yet. I think home is still Toronto for me, at this moment. I mean, (a Turkish city) is in way past. And we did not stay there very long, only five years. T (another Turkish city) I am very much different than what I was there. Many of my views are very much different. I find that environment closed, like either the fundamentalists or nationalists, or the like. Here (Halifax) is new yet. For that reason I see Toronto as home (laughs).

As individuals went through the life stages they constantly questioned their personal development and identified with places that are more reflective of these changes and stages. There were respondents, like Lassie, who delved more into their roots and appreciated the opportunity to evaluate the place of these in their current life circumstances and their 'selves'. At this juncture the 'home' was tied to the 'self' for these individuals.

## **CHAPTER 8      PATHWAYS AND BARRIERS TO BELONGING**

This study revealed that belonging was affected by factors that were inherent in the respondents' individual and collective statuses, particularly class, profession, and gender which, especially in the context of Canada, interacted with the possession of citizenship rights, Canadian immigration and integration policies, membership in a particular ethnic group, Turkey's geopolitical position and history, and economic and professional integration. In this chapter, I outline the three important pathways to belonging, as identified by the respondents. These are citizenship, multiculturalism, and economic and professional integration. In the last three subsections the two barriers that hinder the formation of belonging, for these individuals, defined as economic and professional exclusion, and ethnic exclusion, followed by a discussion on the gender dimension are presented.

### **8.1      CITIZENSHIP –MORE THAN PASSPORT**

The first of the threads that shaped Canadian identity was the formal citizenship. Migrants' narratives suggest that they continue to perceive the acquisition of formal citizenship of the state of residence as a prerequisite for achieving a much-desired security in both the place of settlement and abroad; for facilitating transnational practices such as visiting or returning to their home country; for allowing them to reunite with and extend this security to their loved ones; and, last but not least, as a prerequisite for equal access to social and political rights in the country of residence (Ehrkamp, 2006). Migrants thus value national citizenship, even though they are fully aware of the

discrepancies between the promises of equity and fairness associated with liberal democratic citizenship and the reality in which even naturalized migrants experience discrimination (Ehrkamp, 2006).

Ersanilli and Koopmans (2007) investigated the degree of integration of Turkish immigrants in three different countries with different citizenship and acculturation policies, where half of their participants were women. There were differences observed in case of national identification with the country of residency, where Turks in France and the Netherlands identified more strongly with their respective countries than Turks in Germany. This was attributed to the former two countries' state policies, allowing more access to citizenship rights. The same held true for the Turkish immigrants who lived in the USA who were more integrated to the larger society as compared with their German counterparts due to the German government's reluctance to grant full citizenship and other rights (Kaya, 2003).

Gurbetci explains the reasons why he and his nuclear family came to Canada in terms of both personal and western citizenship points of view:

We are a little stratified community (in Turkey). In order to get rid of these we wanted to go to another country, 'let's start all over again' 'can we do it?' 'can we succeed?' We decided that this will be a life experience... and an adventure for us. We said that 'if we don't like it, we will take the passport after three years and return.' Canada: It was easy to become an immigrant, Plus, there is no other western country that gives citizenship in three years.

Despite the fact that almost none of the respondents of this study (except one) had brought their immediate/extended family members permanently to Canada, they too valued the possession of Canadian passport while traveling, along with the ability to participate in the civic and political life. As citizens they officially qualified to be a

member of the Canadian society and started feeling accepted, included and comfortable in the country. They were also able to separate the rights and responsibilities from the emotional side of belonging on several accounts: some thought that they are Canadians only because they have the Canadian passport and were living here, they (only) paid taxes and received services in return and/or they benefited from Canada and Canada benefited from them. The respondents thought that this was a country where there is respect for people and where people could look for their rights easily. Trust in economic and political institutions (i.e., the perception to which Canadian institutions are fair and just) is found to be an important factor in feeling included for Canadian immigrants (Reitz & Banerjee, 2009).

Citizenship entails more than possessing rights. It signifies membership in a community encompassing social, symbolic, and even emotional/psychological dimensions (Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou, 2006) which includes feelings of belonging, values, principles, stories, myths, real and imagined communities, as well as personal and state-societal connections (Tastsoglou, 2006). In fact, often it was in these terms that the respondents referred to their Canadian citizenship.

Lassie from Halifax described how culture, institutions, her employment and emotions factored in altogether into her Canadian identity:

I really got to know the Canadian culture very well due to my profession. I worked in various schools, I am really aware of the Canadian reality. The problems in African Canadian population, the poverty, the hunger, the relationship problems, the mental health problems. Whatever is happening in the hospitals. Because of this, when a Canadian comes, I know where s/he is coming from, when s/he talks about her/his problems, I can understand them. I see myself as a real Canadian in that sense. They feel comfortable, they talk (...) I love it too.

Respondents with jobs in cornerstone institutions (such as education or health) felt that due to their job they were part of this system that they valued. They not only benefited from these institutions but also contributed to the institutions' positive qualities which spoke to institutional/structural belonging. The feelings of being included and comfortable in addition to contributing to a country that they valued helped develop a sense of belonging and thus fostered Canada as home.

## **8.2 MULTICULTURALISM**

Multiculturalism, both as an immigration and citizenship policy and a fabric of society, was one of the main components in the formation of the Canadian identity. To be able to live in a multicultural society which allowed the presence and expression of ethnic identity also contributed to the affections and sense of belonging of these respondents towards Canada.

Leibkorper, from Toronto, explained the way in which the multicultural landscape of Canada was appealing to him although he did not feel any particular attachment to any ethnicity/religion:

Turkey, it is like combined, it's natural Canadian. This is sort of imitation though, of Turkey. Putting people together. People are coming here, financial needs or whatever. Our neighbour in Turkey, was Kurdish, the other one was Bosnian, the other one was Pomak. We, I don't know, we were something else. But, apart from that, we happened to be there.

He and a few other respondents, both from Toronto and Halifax, mentioned the multiculturalism and tolerance in the same breath and drew examples from Turkish culture. When we apply this to the citizenship dimension, the respondents of this study not only they asserted their cultural identity, but also nurtured and enjoy the exercise of

multiculturalist citizenship practices. This is in line with what Kymlicka (2010), based on a vast literature review, argues: Canadians (immigrants and native-born Canadians) view demographic diversity and immigrants as key parts of their own Canadian identity. Thus, identification with a multicultural conception of Canadian nationhood provides a link between the Canadian born and immigrant, and creates a medium where solidarity formed and integration (on many levels including political and economic) is facilitated (Kymlicka, 2010).

Insan Kaynaklari explained why she felt more belonging to Canada and Canadian society:

I live in Canada, at this moment as a Turk. But, as a Canadian citizen, I also integrated myself into the Canadian society. Because I work in Canada, I am with groups that are in Canada. Canada is an immigrant country (as it is). In this country you can see yourself comfortably as a Turkish Canadian. And I'd never want to lose my Turkish background. The same way with my daughter too, we've always instilled this in her. Because we belong to this society.

Although multiculturalism has been criticized because it solidifies cultural differences by overemphasizing culture as a fixed and essential phenomenon, and it treats the dominant culture as the natural culture (Anthias, 2001) many respondents liked what multiculturalism as defined by Faist (2000) offered: assurance of a secure cultural background and freedom and equality as preconditions for participating in public life. They valued the Canadian political and civic life in which different ethnic groups are living and working together as well as their ability to participate in this system. For many respondents feeling integrated but not assimilated helped them feel more Canadian. The context in which they, along with other immigrants, were able to keep their transnationally inspired belonging strengthened the respondents' sense of Canada as

home. The easier and more fruitfully they were able to exercise their ethno-cultural identities the more Canadian they felt, which again enhanced their sense of home.

For Jale the multicultural side of the Canadian life was a main attraction in moving to Toronto:

The fact that there were a lot of Turks was good. I was thinking that there was a nice community here. That was really appealing to me. And another thing is multiculturalism. One can feel it in a real way in Toronto. That was very appealing. There are all sorts of cuisines, and there are all sorts of people on the streets. For example in Boston, the fact that we had an accent was creating difficulties for us. There was not too much of a problem related to this, here. Because everybody talks with an accent, like us.

The respondents valued the opportunity to meet with people of different origins and exposure to diverse cultures (e.g. through festivals, restaurants, etc). They recognized that these encounters enriched their lives and contributed to their personal/professional development and identity.

The immersion in a new culture, getting to know new people and experiencing new situations particularly by engaging in various cultural expressions and practices is one of the main reasons in not hesitating to repeat the decision to come to Canada for the immigrant women of the Maritimes (Tastsoglou, 2006). Along the same line, although for some of the highly skilled migrant participants in Conradson and Latham's study (2005a) in London career was a primary and influential concern, for most London was seen as a dynamic labour market that simultaneously offered a spectrum of cultural experiences (ibid).

### 8.3 ECONOMIC AND PROFESSIONAL INTEGRATION

Bearing in mind that while economic integration does not guarantee social integration (Reitz & Banerjee, 2009), economic integration into the Canadian labour market or, at the very least, making a decent living financially in Canada, is still among the most important social processes by which immigrants make a 'new home' for themselves (Tastsoglou, 2006). Whereas the objective dimensions of economic integration (such as personal/family income, employment status etc. ) have been measured and used in analyses of immigrant integration, the subjective dimensions of such integration, particularly those relating to the links between employment and the feeling of belonging in Canadian society, have not been adequately addressed (Tastsoglou & Preston, 2005).

Many of the respondents, (like Siyah below), saw and valued this other measure of economic integration: Not only being able to make enough to live comfortably but being able to feel part of the society through work and to draw satisfaction from their professional achievements, and to achieve decent lifestyle and contributing to the advancement of the society through practicing their professions. In fact, these latter three were cited by the majority of Halifax respondents while explaining the reasons behind their residence in Halifax. For the respondents from both cities, these were central to their migration and settlement stories.

Siyah is an academic in her late thirties who lived in Halifax with her nuclear family. She explained how she felt more Canadian:

I am quite happy to be here and to be a part of this system. For example, lastly, in 2008, I was selected to the NSERC grant committee. I am really a part of this

society, if it was not so I would not be here, I would not be selected for this. NSERC selects this people (by) itself. It is not only an indicator of the point that I have reached in my career. At the same time, it is a proof that I have become a part of this society. Thus, in this sense, I also feel Canadian.

#### **8.4 ECONOMIC AND PROFESSIONAL EXCLUSION**

Conceptualising migrants' identities as constantly negotiated in relation to multiple societies and places enables us to think beyond dichotomies and mutually exclusive notions of local and transnational ties, and to recognise immigrants as agents who are able to forge their belonging and multiple attachments (Ehrkamp, 2006). Actually, it is not the multiple attachments but the feelings of exclusion that hinders belonging. Social exclusion and racialization, for one, have been found to interfere and mediate the sense of belonging and home (Tastsoglou, 2006). The impact of unfair treatment and/or disrespectful behavior from others based on group membership are also found to negatively contribute to a sense of being part of one's society and may be related to less confidence in, and connection with, others in one's society (Dion, Dion & Banerjee, 2009). Reported discrimination hinders an individual's feelings of trust in his/her immediate environment who are not family or friends in addition to decreasing the level of contentment with his/her current ongoing life thus negatively affecting one's wellbeing and sense of feeling at home (Dion, Dion & Banerjee, 2009).

This study group, by virtue of being a non-visible minority group, did not share some of the experiences of visible minorities, who are reported to have reduced attachments to Canada, show slower social integration into Canadian society and attribute less importance to their Canadian identity than their white minority counterparts, due to

discrimination (Reitz & Banerjee, 2009). Nevertheless, past the skin colour and physical features, the respondents had reports of discrimination that stemmed from their immigrant status, accents, looks and different credentials. On the other hand, they were rational enough to be able to identify the root causes behind these discriminations and were able to develop strategies to work their ways around this by using their multiple identities and connections at the right times.

Bacus was in her late twenties and had been living in Toronto for more than 8 years. She has a Canadian degree. At the time she was working in a job that was not related to her profession. She explained the reasons behind her not being able to find a job in her profession for almost a year:

In general, towards me, there was a positive prejudgment. People thought that it was exotic. Or, they ask you questions, they find it more interesting etc. I think that it was absolutely helpful to me. The issue of me not being able to find a job at this moment, I think one of the biggest factors; but, it is not a complete excuse; is my name, my last name. The fact that people cannot pronounce it, they don't know what it is. If I had a name like 'Alice Smith', according to me, I would receive more phone calls (for interviews), in my job search process. I mean, there is such a disadvantage, but, apart from this after I meet people face to face, I absolutely don't think that there is anything. (...) Because, I am in a very competitive field. Here they look at it 2 seconds, he's not going to push himself. In order to pronounce it, or is that a girl or a boy, what, what kind of thing?

Many respondents quoted anecdotes that showed that they were not well accepted in Canada. They have concluded that Canadians did not trust them much because they were immigrants. This reflected in their difficulty finding jobs or in climbing the corporate ladder or holding key positions in Canada. This was especially the case for the respondents from Toronto since, unlike the majority of respondents in Halifax, many had come to Toronto without having secured a job beforehand. In addition, once they secured

jobs, although none of the respondents had experienced blatant racism or discrimination, they worked extra hard to prove themselves at their work places. They sensed that some individuals were not particularly secure with diversity and/or immigrants. They felt underused as well. Many came as highly skilled immigrants and experienced downward mobility. Furthermore, they felt that they had to be more flexible (than the domestic employees) and that they were constantly being monitored. According to a Toronto respondent there were many Turkish migrants who had left Canada because they could not find what they were looking for in terms of jobs/careers. Life satisfaction that indicates a general sense of contentment with one's current ongoing life and the measure of trust in one's immediate environment who are not family or friends –including the institutions is indeed found to help foster feelings of social inclusion which in turn reflects in fostering feelings of home in place of residence both locally and nationally (Dion, Dion & Banerjee, 2009). The respondents seem to not have crossed the threshold of discrimination that would lead them to lose the trust towards Canadian society and institutions (as we also from the Canadian identity section).

The respondents also looked at the other side of the coin. Several of them sympathized with the employers and acknowledge that if they were in the employers' shoes they would also look for familiar names, backgrounds and work experiences during the hiring process. Several respondents found Canadians less discriminative than Europeans or Americans (who are more afraid of foreigners –in their words) although still feeling more comfortable with immigrants of West European origin. Moreover, they acknowledged that the response to various ethnic origins may differ from region to region

(e.g. the way Ukrainians are treated maybe different in Alberta and in Ontario and in Nova Scotia).

There are many dimensions to the discrimination –as outlined in the literature review chapter that is faced by highly skilled migrants in the labour market. This study group may be considered as one of the least affected by the Canadian discrimination mechanisms since there were no medical practitioners, or dentists or such upper segment occupations, which are stringently regulated by professional organizations (Bauder, 2003). In addition, some engineers were able to get jobs in different fields of engineering through their connections, or due to their ethnicity. This is parallel to Bauder's (2003) findings where it was easier for some immigrant groups to maintain their occupational status through informal credentials recognition, as opposed to other immigrant groups (mostly visible minorities) even though their institutional capital was assessed by similar accreditation criteria. Indeed several respondents found no discrimination in Academia and/or technical jobs (once they got the jobs). In addition, there were instances where their ethnic origin was of benefit: being valued in the work environment because of the attributes that come with being Turkish (e.g. hard worker, smart etc –reported by the respondents as supervisors' impressions), and finding a job. This is to a certain extent, also a manifest of migrants calling on different identities at different moments, depending on the politics in play under given sets of circumstances (Tastsoglou, 2006). Finally many respondents acknowledged the difference between what is being a Turk in Europe (in their words; particularly in Germany – where most Turks experience blatant racism and discrimination with little access to rights –in their words again) and in Canada. They clearly appreciated Canada even though they may experience difficulties.

## 8.5 ETHNIC EXCLUSION

The respondents lived through conflicting, contradictory experiences regarding their ethnic identities. On the one hand they enjoyed causing curiosity and drawing positive attention in relation to Turkey –which also helped them in their mission to represent Turkey. On the other hand being Turkish brought about well-known, historically established prejudices and ignited animosity. Finally, not feeling Caucasian and/or European and feeling discomfort by being categorized were among some other factors that obstructed the formation of Canadian identity. Indeed several respondents thought that they did not look Canadian, that they would always have an accent or that they would always feel different (in terms of schooling and in terms of culture/food preferences). All these may be influenced by the mainstream multiculturalism where the dominant culture is taken as natural and where the cultures become essentialized –thus bringing categorization.

Turkish Canadian 001 from Toronto explained the implications of the geopolitical position and history of Turkey in his life:

In Toronto especially, you continuously have problems with the Greek community, and the Armenian community and with their help Kurdish community. I don't know if you've seen the Reader's Digest article about Turks. Reader's Digest is the most circulated journal in Canada. And there was this article, with the title "Why I hate Turks". The writer's niece had a temporary tattoo "I kill all Turks". Or you hear; one of my friends attends the University of Toronto. One of her teachers asked her what origin she is from. And she says Turkish. And the professor says "Oh, I usually don't give A to a Turkish person". That's why it's day to day. You see some people, and the first question they ask is "What's this Armenian problem?" So I just keep passing this kind of questions. I try to tell them to go and read from the books or something. So it's continuously bringing back old problems to here. And I have to deal with that. This is diaspora problem by the way. It is not a back home problem.

A recurrent feeling among the respondents was that they could not leave their Turkish identity behind even if they wanted to or even if one did not feel Turkish anymore, because others would see them as Turkish anyway. This is a pivotal role played by the place of settlement on transnational identity of the migrant by the place of settlement (Ghosh & Wong, 2003). Indeed, the host society often thrusts upon individuals highly homogenised collective identities, particularly of ‘class’ and ‘ethnicity’, which may only remotely relate to their self-perceived (pre-migration) identities (ibid). In the Canadian context, some respondents felt that they were attributed Turkishness by other ethnic community members even more often than by main stream Canadians. This was particularly the case for the respondents living in Toronto where there are other ethnic communities of notable size. On several occasions some respondents either experienced or witnessed being held accountable with prejudice, particularly around historical events, such as the ‘Armenian genocide’, the assassination attempt against the Pope (John Paul II on May 13, 1981) and general Ottoman Empire history. On a different level, the Canadian government’s decision to recognize ‘Armenian genocide’, its inclusion in the school curriculum and the inability in finding the assassins of the Turkish Ambassador who was killed on duty while in Canada left many respondents in an uncomfortable situation and constituted challenges while raising their children. This also fuelled many organizations and actions in order to remedy this situation faced by Turkish migrants in Canada. In other words the transnational geographical and historical connections formed a basis for a reconfiguration of the geographies of political identities and even inspired local civic participation (see Ehrkamp, 2006). To finish; overall, many respondents enjoyed positive conversations with their colleagues or acquaintances about Turkey

which facilitated cultural exchange and made the respondents comfortable. They met individuals who knew about Turkey's touristic spots, some cultural aspects (such as food and dance) and general political stand in the world (such as the relationship between Turkey and the European Union).

## **8.6 THE GENDER DIMENSION**

One important difference between the male and female respondents was the extent to which they were aware of gender discrimination and to which they actively participated in related associations and activities. The women of this study group knew that gender discrimination existed and that it affected them in various ways in combination with other determinants. They actively searched for means by which they raised their understanding of the situation and its remedies.

Insan Kaynaklari from Toronto shared her observations and experiences to highlight the compounding effects of gender and immigrant status at work, but did not rule out ethnicity from the equation:

When you look at it, at this moment, companies' executive level profile it's usually Anglo-Saxons. Or else we don't see much of an ethnic group. It is the most at the director level. Maybe at some place it goes up to the level of VP, but not much in proportions.

SS: Do you think that it is more of your ethnic origin than you being a woman?

It's more of an ethnic origin. I mean, to be a woman too, of course. Actually to be a woman is a disadvantage even for Canadians. They say that. There is constant striving against it. But in my opinion, to have an ethnic background, it stops the advancement at somewhere, somehow.

It is true that despite the increasing numbers of women in professional occupations; senior management positions, financial and producing sectors are still male dominated (Kofman, 2000). When it comes to highly skilled immigrant women, as

reviewed in the literature review chapter, most focus has been on women migrants who work in the caring professions (e.g. Parrenas, 2001; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003, Raghuram, 2004; Kofman et al, 2000). The importance of gendered job profile (Salaff & Greve, 2006) and gender and race hierarchies (Kofman et al, 2000) has been highlighted. Still, at any given time in an individual's working lifetime, class, ethnicity and gender may in fact take on positive or negative roles, depending on the socio-spatial context and on the type of occupation that the immigrant is striving to obtain (Riano & Baghdadi, 2007). Moreover, the constellation of advantages and disadvantages posed by an individual's class, ethnicity and gender may change with time in response to evolving personal variables (e.g. educational advancement, job experience, language skills and family situation) or external constraints (e.g. state policies, job opportunities) (ibid).

Among the women respondents who were not in academia, two were in art related fields, two worked in corporations and one was a teacher. None of these respondents identified gender, by itself, as a discrimination factor, although almost all of the Toronto's woman residents were part of women's groups whose mandate was to tackle sexism and to promote successful women in their respective fields. None of the female respondents overall, attributed their settlement or professional problems (if they had) to gender alone, or even as their first item on the list.

## CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSIONS

With studies involving the highly skilled women and (non-elite) men, we can recognize the specific circuits through which women and men migrate and the complex stratification or articulation between class, gender and race that migration produces and reproduces (Kofman and Raghuram, 2005).

The main goal of this project was to explore and document migration and settlement experiences of a particular migrant group which fell through the cracks of existing research literature. The migration and settlement related stories that I have been hearing or witnessing around me were not included in what was being reported in the media or literature. This group was an outlier because as highly skilled migrants they were not part of the globally accepted circulating professional movements, such as IT professionals. In Canada, they were not marginalized enough, both racially/ethnically and professionally, to take their place in the literature. The women were far from being ‘trailing wives’ and did not seem to allow their transnational or local care-giving responsibilities cast shadow over their careers. As a group of professionals forming a Turkish ethnic minority in Canada, there was not much documentation about them. Furthermore, they did not resemble their Turkish counterparts in Europe, based on their immigration histories and experiences. Since they belonged to such an understudied migrant group in many ways I wanted to look at the networks that marked the migration and settlement stories of these individuals. As an insider, as someone who had part of her educational background in Turkey, and with an experiential insight into Turkish identity formation processes as a result of it, I wanted to examine the ways in which national and/or ethnic identities of these individuals manifested themselves in the migration and settlement processes. In particular, I wanted to unearth the specific interplays and

intersections of professional identities and ethnicity in the case of the highly skilled. The focus on gender and location –Halifax versus Toronto was crosscutting all these aims.

Based on the collected data, their analysis and the literature relating to the findings, I argue that social class, in the case of Turkish immigrant professionals in Halifax and Toronto, manifests itself at the local, national and transnational levels, through a number of choices and practices in the process of migration, settlement and integration. Although various intersections (e.g. with gender) mark the diverse stages of migration and networking, social class and class identity comes as the primary influence on choices and practices in the process of migration, settlement and integration. In other words, the middle class membership and identity informs and shapes the way these respondents experience their ethnicity and gender in Canada.

The economic class membership is only determined in relation to property ownership and access to means of production. In the case of middle class these take form of the possession of education and skills, i.e. professionalism. It is through their professionalism that their access to income, power and control within the economy is determined. Thus, at the centre of this study group's middle class identity is the professional identity and related aspirations which form the most prominent common denominator of middle classes over the world. As the literature suggests and the findings of this study indicate, there seems to be a "global middle class" (Scott, 2006). This group seems to act on certain basic similar attributes and characteristics, although nuanced by local and historical contexts in the process of securing their middle class positions. It is important to reiterate here that, although this study group belonged to the middle class, they should not be considered as a representative sample. Such an argument would not only defy the

objectives of qualitative research, but also those of this research project. Below, I will present the central findings supporting these arguments by following the migration and settlement stories of this study group and by analyzing their reconfigured identities and belongings within the framework of intersectionality theory.

At the commencement of their migration story, we see the impact of their middle class status, both as inherited and acquired (by means of education), in the expression of agency. A salary increase, although it was appealing to some respondents, was not the main or sufficient motive behind migration. They used their agency for aspirations that were based on middle class values such as following/developing education/careers, entertaining professional adventures thus increasing access to more prestigious jobs; attaining a certain lifestyle for themselves and their children, which also included a western passport. Their agency was also informed by their individualistic beliefs, which may be a cultural characteristic of this study group, which also included valuing the privacy within and without their nuclear families (See Ayata, 2002). Thus the majority were the first –and at the moment it looks like the last ones also, members of their immediate families who undertook such a move. This is not surprising under the light of new class formations in Turkey where the etatist trajectory of social and economic formation, which was tied to the independence and self-sufficiency of the state, has been radically changed and individualism and North American consumption patterns with the influence of global neoliberalism (Emrence, 2008).

In terms of global, we can see the effect of class locally and transnationally in the attraction and migration process. They, for example, particularly avoided Europe where there was a big lower class Turkish migrant population which drew a discriminatory

discourse on them and made settlement look more difficult in this study group's eyes. They also wanted to draw clear class boundary against this lower class. Furthermore, among the structural components, easy access to citizenship rights was important when compared with other countries, especially those in Europe whose state policies allowed only restricted access to citizenship rights. Parallel to these, the global spread of neoliberalism has negatively affected labour markets and the education system in Turkey in addition to recurrent economic crises, which caused a push factor for these immigrants. Canada, with its deliberate immigration policy to attract the highly skilled drew these migrants to market their skills. As well, the living standards which included social state policies and multiculturalist citizenship policies impressed these migrants as a welcoming place (compared to the US, Australia and Europe) especially after 9/11. When they chose the cities that they settled in, the professional opportunities as well as the lifestyle related considerations weighed in. Ayata (2002), for example, listed the desire for escape from pollution, i.e. inadequate infrastructure, excessive noise, traffic congestion and aggression, air pollution and the exhausting pace of urban life as one of the middle class cultural characteristics in Turkey within the context of space, which all were identified by the respondents as well. The key factor here is that these migrants were able to make a choice and act on it because they had the power and resources to do so due to their middle class backgrounds.

A very important feature of social class is the character of the networks and networking of Turkish immigrant professionals at local, national and transnational levels. The transnational and local networks that the majority of the respondents participated were overwhelmingly professional. Transnationally, their preserved connections to their

friends consisting of their ex-school mates, members of alumni and ex-colleagues aided contextualizing and expressing their professional identity. The transnational activities with regards to the development of the source country were geared towards knowledge and know-how transfers. In this context, as far as I could determine that there were no financial remittances, there were no social remittances either. Financially, there might not have been a need on the part of the families, because of their middle class background as well. They may simply not need financial support. This may also be related to the fact that the social and financial remittances in the literature are always discussed in the context of immigration from countries which are not as developed (economically and democratically) as Turkey. These countries also had well established, large transnational populations who lived in a close-by developed country which, more often than not, had colonized them. Alternatively, this may be an indication that Turkey has not been able to tap into the highly skilled emigrants in an effective manner. A compounding factor could be tied to a possible middle class characteristic i.e. individualism, overshadowing their ethnic identity. This study group was able to take care of themselves and their children, they had attained their goals around their professions and life style –more or less, and they had no regrets about not being in Turkey in its quest for development.

Class intersected with ethnicity in the use of transnational networks to start and direct migration. When migrating to Canada, many –but not all of the respondents had friends or acquaintances of similar class backgrounds in Canada. The majority of these acquaintances were of Turkish origin (although some were Canadian) and they were either class mates or ex-colleagues. After migration the most important transnational ties were kept with family and friends. Family ties (in Turkey) and the approval of families at

home were of utmost importance this study group. Preserving family ties were also a cultural reflection of Turkish family structure and its continuation. Through these ties, the respondents reiterated their own cultural identity and that of their children's.

Class and ethnicity interaction also manifested itself in the selective participation in local networks of these migrants. Among the local and national associations that the respondents were involved in, ethnic associations and professional associations (local chapters of international associations) were at the lead. Here, the respondents expressed this intersectional identity by the desire to 'pay back' the debt to the country of origin by promoting or representing Turkey in Canada. By selective participation in networks, this study group also kept its boundaries between them and the lower class.

Both at transnational and local levels, friends struck out as the most important type of network. Locally, regardless of the presence of old friends, this study group was apt at forming a local friend circle which consisted of individuals from mostly similar backgrounds –not only necessarily ethnically but more of class, educational and life perspectives wise. Friends and acquaintances, close by and far away, even if they may not have been of big help in settling physically, were most instrumental in directing them to jobs; navigate through the first settlement hassles and most importantly in boosting morale. Friends helped the respondents make sense of their experiences and help create a more comfortable place to live in. The importance of these friends was compounded with the lack of family members in Canada.

Networks, both local and transnational, were crucial in shaping the nature of migration and settlement practices in addition to forging a sense of belonging to Canada. The social class intersected with ethnicity in determining the site of access and the sought

after functions of these networks. Overall, all the networks were used by these migrants to increase the sense of continuity, to foster solidarity and fulfill obligations.

Concurrently, they served the purpose of contributing to the general social, economic and political development of their communities in Canada, and represent Turkey. The ability to be able to maintain their transnational connections and to be able to express their identities, not only ethnic but especially professional, were the essential factors facilitating belonging. In short, these networks served as forums for the respondents of this study to manifest their multi-axial locationality, i.e. forum not only for the actions that they took as a result of their belongings but also for the actions that fostered their belonging (see Tastsoglou, 2006).

The identities of the respondents became reconfigured after migration. In Canada, the Turkish culture, perceived, interpreted and performed through middle-class eyes and practices, formed the basis of their ethnic identities. The cultural traits included language, food (preparation and sharing), house visits (the main form of socialization), followed by family connections and respecting and valuing elders and specific perception and thought processes. As such, the respondents believed in modern Turkey, in modern gender relations and roles. I found that this Turkish identity sharpened and took a political turn in Toronto, due to the higher number of Turks and other ethnic –rival minorities. Thus upon arriving to Canada, this group had to redraw boundaries according to the composition of the new society in which they lived in and engaged in activities to secure power in the new societal structure.

The study group's ethnic identity, transnationally and locally, brought about one of the biggest obstacles that they faced in Canada. However, this is not an ethnic identity as

conceptualized by Li (1999) where it is constructed by attributing arbitrary cultural traits to groups. Rather, ethnicity here takes a new form, one that is geo-politically and historically constructed. This obstacle extended to many realms of their lives (such as education, hiring processes, second generation identity formation). Coming from Turkey, they found themselves in a situation where they had to deal with different issues than those of their counterparts in Europe who had to deal with denial of citizenship rights (Germany), prevalent categorization, hate crimes, issues around women rights (e.g. honour killings) and ghettoization . This study group appreciated the lack of these problems and took advantage of not swimming against the current popular and literature categorizations and distancings. Nevertheless, they felt that they were put on the spot not only by other ethnic minorities but also by the policies of federal and provincial governments regarding to the ‘Armenian genocide’ and other geo-political/historical events attributed to their native country.

The Canadian identity was mostly perceived as the formal citizenship, and valuing and adhering to multiculturalist policies which enabled them to foster their Turkish ethnic identity. It also had an affection dimension; they loved Canada and its people, took pride of her achievements. Furthermore, they felt gratification and belonging that resulted from being able to exercise citizenship both in terms of possessing rights and feeling membership in a community (i.e. having a say in the society, contributing to its development, progress, political life etc.). Although they were valuing multiculturalism, they found that their accents, looks (not possessing Caucasian or European features) and not having a common past or historical tie, or certain cultural objective traits such as food preferences stood on the way to feel completely Canadian. On a more technical level,

time –either already spent or planned to span, also contributed to the formation of a Canadian identity. For some individuals, the timing of the move coincided in curious ways with their personal development and enhanced the feelings of belonging to Canada.

There were no noticeable differences in terms of Canadian identity and sense of belongings and the ways in which these were formed, between Toronto and Halifax. The members of this study group felt double attachments, and were living cognizant of their two ethnic identities and two homes and saw the presence of loved ones was a crucial contributor to feel at home. They were active respondents in cultivating attachments, in building their homes and forming their identities. It was the presence of pre-migration transnational professional and friends networks that was the most noticeable difference between the Toronto and Halifax respondents. The social/ethnic pre-migration connections provided more substantial and voluminous help for migrants in Toronto. Halifax respondents received significantly less variety and smaller help, and what they received was through either new colleagues or institutions. Moreover, there were more international professional associations which were locally active in Toronto (by providing professional services, seminars and opportunities) and more local ethno-cultural associations. Thus Toronto, is not only is in a position to attract more people, but it also offers more and diverse local networks, which may or may not be transnationally inspired, in which the respondents can ground their identities. Paradoxically, while diversity in Toronto was facilitating belonging, it was also helping create and sustain the biggest obstacle in belonging, the formation of a diasporic geo-political and historical ethnic identity.

Not surprisingly, for these middle class Turkish immigrant professionals, professional fulfillment and acceptance were the cornerstones on the way to feel integrated. For Halifax, especially, professional fulfillment was of utmost importance for many and constituted one of the main reasons to be staying in Halifax. The fact that their careers took a hit and that they could never make it to the most advanced levels –especially in the corporate world, due to mistrust in their immigrant names and credentials caused sentiments of exclusion. This also points out to the paramount effect of middle class professional identity and related aspirations which overrode the influence of other intersections with ethnicity, gender. While the ethnic identity, culturally and/or geographically defined, informed the formation of belonging to Canada, it was still the expression of a professional identity that was most influential.

The most frustrating aspect of this study was to come to terms with what seemed the –lack of- gender dynamic. This is where I have come to see the genuine effect of class on gender and ethnicity, and their intersections. True, the female respondents who lived in Toronto were more involved with activities to ward off gender discrimination (these kinds of activities seemed to be happening more in Toronto also). Also true that there were many female lead applicants in the process of migration and as far as I could tell, others had an equal –if not more- voice in decision making. The women of this study did not have a harder time in finding jobs as compared to the men. They were, more or less, able to pick up their career as well as the men did. They reported ethnic discrimination and talked about gender discrimination but did not experience the overlapping impact (like the Chinese or subcontinent migrants). Their professional identities were very important to them. One contributing factor could be that these

women fit in the gendered job profile in Canada and that they fared well within the gender and race hierarchies of Canada (see Salaff and Greve, 2006). Once I turned the tables around, I saw that the men were –again more or less- equally involved in ethnic identity promotion, preservation and transfer. The male respondents were equally eager and invested in keeping their transnational family ties and living up to the obligations. These are the areas that I was expecting differences to surface. So, the class backgrounds and secondarily ethnicity and/or racialised features, affected the ways in which gender was experienced by this study group (inspired by Parrenas, 2000, who has shown that women are related by gender and differentiated by class and race). If I were to redo the interviews, I would definitely ask questions about the house chores, household finances and raising children. I would also ask more about what the respondents understood of their gender roles and how they related these expectations to the standards of Turkish and Canadian identities and societies.

There are striking similarities, as I tried to show throughout the thesis, between this group of migrants and many other middle class migrants studied in the literature. They have been migrating for a long time (coinciding with the migration policy changes of the traditional migrant countries), they came from different countries –developed or developing, they had various racial (read physical) features, they sojourned to various host countries (western countries) but they acted autonomously with their skills and for their professional –and nuclear family, futures (see Colic-Peisker, 2002; Conradson & Latham, 2005a,b; Kennedy, 2004; Scott, 2006; for earlier migrants see Raj, 2003; for earlier Turkish migrants, indirectly, see Akçapar, 2006; Kaya, 2003). They carefully drew their individual and collective identity boundaries, against other classes (including

other migrants from same or other ethnicities) while eyeing for a modern life style (or cosmopolitan, if coming from already developed countries) (see for example, Liechty, 2003 for middle class identity in Kathmandu, see Murphy, 2011 in India, Scott, 2006; and Kennedy (2004) for migrants from developed countries; just to cite a few diverse examples). They appeared to be making locational decisions, they did not rely on chain migration and mostly preferred independent migration, and made use of an appropriate cultural 'tool kit' (Colic-Peisker, 2002) containing language proficiency, professional education and 'urban skills' that enabled them to function in the host country immediately upon arrival. They quite valued their friendship networks which might be used as conduits for mobility (to and between host and home countries), and which might also shape their migration and settlement experiences (Conradson & Latham, 2005b). Many also engaged in transnational networks which aimed to contribute the home country's advancement and development as well as local networks which aimed to achieve the same for the host country (Meyer et al, 2001). Lastly, they seemed to be well settled and integrated. For future I would propose a more careful look at the middle class formations around the globe in order to better understand the world social class systems under the influence of globalism discourses. The formation of this class, its approach to race, gender and ethnicity issues, and its influence in their home and host countries, in the midst of the current neo-liberal global economic policies should be scrutinized. Its power and resources and the way these are utilized in keeping the status quo, both in terms of economic policies and societal power dynamics warrants further attention. This class could be the key point of start in social activism and change, if they were to appreciate and to develop a will in deploying their power.

More suggestions for future research would include migrants who have moved within Canada. Especially under the light of the fact that the majority of the Halifax respondents in this study had chosen to move to Halifax after having lived in other parts of Canada. Another group that is worth attention consists of those migrants who came to Canada in order to settle but could not. The reasons behind their move back to other countries will give us a balanced understanding of the importance and validity of the information presented in this paper, and much more.

As for Nova Scotia which is trying to attract and retain immigrants, I would like to suggest paying close attention to professional associations and national networks. To increase the visibility and effectiveness of professional associations would foster the professional satisfaction that middle class migrants are looking for. As per national networks: most of the respondents had come to Halifax via national networks. It is also true that the respondents were still entertaining the thought of moving away from Toronto, or Halifax, either within Canada or less probably to some other country. These professionals were monitoring their networks to this end. Rigorous national job advertisements may be the best way to bring them here. These new migrants will use both their national and transnational networks in order to attract more migrants. At the same time, they will form the local networks which will enforce the sense of belonging for themselves and newcomers. Therefore, Halifax should tap into the strong professional identities and networks of the newcomers to Canada. In other words, as much as Canada has a reputation internationally as a migrant destination, Halifax, Nova Scotia should look into building a national reputation, while efforts and investments are being made for job creation at the federal and provincial levels.

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## APPENDIX A

### Interview Schedule

#### 1. Immigration History:

- How did you come to Canada?
- Did you come alone or were you accompanied by family? Please elaborate
- What made you choose Canada? What made you come to Halifax/Toronto?
- How long have you been in Canada?
- Have you lived in other cities/towns before you came to Halifax/Toronto?
- Are you planning on staying in this city?
- What were the biggest challenges that you have experienced when you came to Halifax/Toronto?
- What were the biggest attractions or advantages for you when you came to Halifax/Toronto?

#### 2. Transnational Networks:

- Did you know people who lived in Canada (Halifax / Toronto) before you came here?
- How did these people help you in moving and settling in Canada (Halifax / Toronto)?
- Do you have family members who live in Turkey, or in other countries? Please elaborate on your relationship to them (e.g. siblings, in-laws, cousins).
- What is the nature of communication between you and your overseas family members (e.g. calling on the phone on special days, arranging family gatherings in one part of the world, polling opinions before taking any major decisions) Please elaborate.
- What is the frequency of communication?

- Are you part of other networks (e.g., friends, colleagues, professional associations) which connect you to other countries, particularly to Turkey?
- What do these networks do for you?
- How do you think these networks were important in moving and settling in Halifax/Toronto?

### **3. Local and National Networks:**

- Are you a member of any local or national professional organizations?
- Are you a member of any local or national (Canadian) ethno-cultural/religious, or volunteer organizations?
- Do you attend any events (conferences, festivities etc) with these organizations?
- What does taking part in these organizations mean to you?
- Do you have any family members living in Halifax / Toronto or anywhere else in Canada (e.g., siblings, in-laws)? Please elaborate.
- Do you have close friends in your city (of any ethnic origin)? How often do you see each other? Please elaborate.
- What kinds of activities do you carry out with your friends?
- What do these relationships and activities mean to you?
- How do you think these networks were important while you were moving and settling in Halifax/Toronto?

### **4. Professional History:**

- What is your highest level of education? What kind of degree and in what field did you obtain your degree in Turkey?
- Have you ever worked in Turkey? If yes, for how long and as what?
- Were you satisfied with your professional life in Turkey, and in what ways?
- Did you do any further schooling in Canada?
- Are you presently working? If yes, what do you do? Is this a line of work that you wanted? Is this a line of work that is related to your degree and/or job in Turkey?

- Are you satisfied with your professional life in Halifax/Toronto? In what ways?

**5. Identity and Sense of Belonging:**

- How do you identify yourself, ethno-culturally, in Canada?
- Why do you choose to identify this way?
- What does being 'of Turkish origin' mean to you in Canada?
- Where do you feel your home is and why?

## APPENDIX B

### Background Information Sheet

You may have already answered some of these questions during the interview, but we would like to have confirmation on these points:

CHOSEN PSEUDONYM: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Year of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

3. How do you identify yourself in terms of ethno-cultural background?

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Where were you born? Rural Area \_\_\_\_\_ Small Town \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

5. For how long have you been living in Halifax / Toronto?

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Have you lived anywhere else in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, where and for how long? \_\_\_\_\_

7. Are you married? \_\_\_\_\_ Since? \_\_\_\_\_

8. What is the ethno-cultural background of your partner?

\_\_\_\_\_

9. How many members in your household, including siblings?

\_\_\_\_\_

How are they related? \_\_\_\_\_

10. Do you have other family members living in places other than your city of residence?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, where?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

11. Are you currently attending any graduate school, or professional development program?

\_\_\_\_\_

12. What is the level of education of your Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Father \_\_\_\_\_

13. Are you working for pay outside your home? Yes (full time) \_\_\_\_\_

Yes (part time) \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, what do you do? \_\_\_\_\_

14. Are you self-supporting? \_\_\_\_\_ Supported by family? \_\_\_\_\_

15. How do you characterize your or your family's financial resources?

Family: Low \_\_\_\_\_ Medium \_\_\_\_\_ High \_\_\_\_\_

Yourself: Low \_\_\_\_\_ Medium \_\_\_\_\_ High \_\_\_\_\_

**THANK YOU**

## APPENDIX C

### CONSENT FORM

Networking, Belonging and Identity: Highly Skilled Turkish Immigrants  
in Halifax and Toronto

Contact Information: Serperi Sevgur (the researcher): 1-902-406 6777  
e-mail: [serperi.sevgur@dal.ca](mailto:serperi.sevgur@dal.ca)

Supervisor: Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou (Professor at the Department of Sociology and Criminology, Saint Mary's University and Adjunct Professor at the Department of International Development Studies, Dalhousie University: 1-902-420-5884

Introduction: We invite you to take part in a research study being conducted by Serperi Sevgur who is a graduate student at Dalhousie University, as part of her Master's degree in the Department of International Development Studies. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. The study is described below. This description tells you about the risks, inconvenience, or discomfort which you might experience. Participating in the study might not benefit you, but we might learn things that will benefit others. You should discuss any questions you have about this study with Serperi Sevgur.

Purpose of the Study: This research is about the networks that highly skilled immigrants engage in during their immigration and settlement in Canada. We aim to understand how your involvement with these networks helped you when immigrating to Canada and how do they affect your sense of belonging in relation to Canada and Turkey.

Study Design: This is an exploratory research where you will be asked about your experiences of immigration and everyday lives. There will be approximately another 15 participants who will be interviewed.

Who can Participate in the Study: You may participate in this study if you were born and raised in Turkey, have obtained one of your university degrees in Turkey and have been living in Canada for at least five years.

**Who Will be Conducting the Research:** This study is being conducted by myself, Serperi Sevgur, under the supervision of Evangelia Tastsoglou at Saint Mary's University and Dalhousie University.

**What Will You be Asked to Do:** The interview will be conducted at a place of your choice. During the interview you will be asked about your immigration stories, sense of belonging, everyday lives and your involvements with various networks. This interview will be approximately one hour long. After the interview you will be asked to fill out a 'background information sheet'. You will also be asked about your consent to be anonymously quoted in my thesis and mark it on the consent form. If you agree to this, and if you will be quoted in my thesis you will be contacted to review the accuracy of the quotation and its interpretation.

**Possible Risks and Discomforts:** There are minimal risks and discomforts expected during the interviews. Although the interview questions are not specifically about unpleasant occurrences, still some personal discomfort from remembering unpleasant memories may happen. If this were the case, please contact me and I will be able to refer you to an immigrant agency with qualified counselors (see the contact information below).

**Possible Benefits:** You will not experience any personal benefit from the results of this study. However, this project will contribute to the generation of new knowledge about the highly skilled immigrant men and women, who are of Turkish origin and who live in considerably different centres.

**Compensation/Reimbursement:** You will be presented \$15, in cash, as a payment for your participation in this study. The receipt that you will initial as signature will be kept by the researcher adhering with the confidentiality and anonymity rules as described below.

**Confidentiality and Anonymity:** You will be asked to pick a pseudonym at the beginning of the interview process and this name will also be used on your 'background information sheet'. Only this pseudonym will be used in the transcripts of the interviews, analyses, reports and publications. The interview will be ideally audio recorded and transcribed by me. If you do not wish to be audio recorded, I will keep notes in handwriting during the interview. After the interview you will be asked about the use of direct quotations from your interview which may be used in the thesis anonymously. If you agree and if there is a quotation from your interview to be used in the thesis you will be contacted to examine

the text for accuracy and interpretation. Dr. Tastsoglou will also have access to the data as she is my supervisor.

Dalhousie University Policy on Research Integrity requires that data be securely maintained by the institution for 5 years after the publication. Therefore the recorded and transcribed interviews copied on a CD-Rom, the background information sheets and transcriptions, with all identifying information removed from them, will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in Dr. Evie Tastsoglou's office for five years after the completion of my thesis. In addition, the transcriptions, analyses and reports will be kept in a computer that is password locked. Only Dr. Tastsoglou and myself will have access to these places.

Questions: If you have any questions during and/or after the interview please contact me at 1-902- 406 6777 or you can send me an e-mail: [serperi.sevgur@dal.ca](mailto:serperi.sevgur@dal.ca).

You will be given a copy of your consent form to keep for your records. You will also be contacted with the results of my research if you so wish.

Problems or Concerns: If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you may contact Patricia Lindley, Director of Dalhousie University's Office of Human Research Ethics Administration, for assistance at (902) 494-1462, [patricia.lindley@dal.ca](mailto:patricia.lindley@dal.ca). If you live in Toronto, it is possible to call Patricia collect at that number.

**Networking, Belonging and Identity: Highly Skilled Turkish Immigrants  
in Halifax and Toronto**

*“I have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to take part in this study. However I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time.”*

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

*“I agree to have this interview audiotaped”*: \_\_\_\_\_yes \_\_\_\_\_no

*“I agree to the use of direct quotations from interview”*: \_\_\_\_\_yes \_\_\_\_\_no

If yes, please provide contact information on a separate sheet of paper and hand it to Serperi Sevgur

*“I wish to receive a summary of the results”*: \_\_\_\_\_yes \_\_\_\_\_no

If yes, please write your e-mail address or civic address on a separate sheet of paper and hand it to Serperi Sevgur.

Serperi Sevgur (researcher): \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_