

3rd Annual Conference of INTEGRIM Network

CITIZENSHIP IN MOTION: RESPONSES TO INCREASING TRANSNATIONALITY

20 November 2015

Venue: Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University
İstiklal Caddesi No:181, Beyoğlu, İstanbul

- 8:30 – 9:00 **Registration**
- 9:00 – 9:15 **Introductory remarks: İlke Şanlıer Yüksel**, Migration Research Center at Koç University, İstanbul
- 9:15 – 10:30 **Keynote lecture by Engin Isin**, The Open University
Conventional Approaches to Citizenship Studies and their Critics
Introduction and Facilitation: İlke Şanlıer Yüksel, Koç University
- 10:30 – 10:45 **Break**
- 10:45 – 13:00 **Morning session:**
Chair: Prem Kumar Rajaram, Central European University
Costica Dumbrava, Maastricht University
The Politics of Citizenship and Ethno-Demographic Survival
Margit Fauser, Bielefeld University
Lifestyle Migration and Transnational Privilege: German Retirees on the Turkish Coast
Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas, Pompeu Fabra University
Deservingness Frames on Citizenship: Residence, Performance and Vulnerability
- 13:00 – 14:00 **Lunch**
- 14:00 – 15:15 **Keynote lecture by Yasemin Soysal**, University of Essex
Immigration, Citizenship, and Human Rights: What is New?
Introduction and Facilitation: Ahmet İçduygu, Koç University
- 15:15 – 15:30 **Break**
- 15:30 – 17:45 **Afternoon session:**
Chair: Ahmet İçduygu, Koç University
Peo Hansen, Linköping University
EUropean Citizenship in Crisis
Evren Balta, Yıldız Technical University and **Ozlem Altan**, Koç University
Transnational Values of Citizenship: The Case of the American Passport
Marlou Schrover, Leiden University
Gender and Citizenship from a Historical Perspective
- 17:45 – 18:30 **Reflections on the meeting**

Conference Theme

The world population is on the move. Along currently highly problematized asylum seeker and irregular migrant flows, a significant share of migrants are moving within confines of legal migration regulations for settlement, work, and education. Moreover, regular migration more often includes transnational activity, which challenges the current state-citizen relations as taking place in a strictly defined territorial space. Citizenship policy is becoming increasingly politicized. Changes in citizenship policy interact with state's migration policy, internal policy and foreign policy, and introduce dilemmas when trying to accommodate interests in relations with, inter alia, diaspora, minority communities and their kin-states, and international organizations.

The aim of this conference is to address the nature of changes in perceptions and policies of citizenship, and on how these changes reflect on immigrant interaction. Issues as the centrality of the notion of nation in the understanding of citizenship, the expansion of citizenship rights across geographical space, as well as economic, cultural, and social dimensions of citizenship will be addressed at the conference to provide a comprehensive outlook on the challenges and opportunities for citizenship provided by increase in transnationality. Perceptions of citizenship must be discussed across various levels of analysis, from the individual to the society, the state, and the international community.

The conference expects presenters and participants from political science, sociology, anthropology, history, economics, law, human geography and others, encouraging interdisciplinary debates and exchange of ideas.

Abstracts in the Order of Talks

Engin Isin

Conventional Approaches to Citizenship Studies and their Critics

Between 1949 and 1989 T.H. Marshall's interpretation of citizenship as a group of civil, political, and social rights more or less held sway in Euro-American social sciences. Since 1989 however critique of Marshall coincided with rapid transformations in not only Euro-American states but also in Africa, Asia, Latin and South America and the Middle East developed. It is very difficult to say whether this critique was witnessing or performing pivotal changes in how we understand citizenship. The critique overturned several of Marshall's assumptions: that civil, political, and social rights developed in sequence, that the British experience was applicable to European and American let alone African, Asian, Middle Eastern experiences, that rights were only civil, political, and social, and that citizenship was essentially about amelioration of social class conflict. By overturning these conventional assumptions what is now considered as 'critical citizenship studies' began documenting that civil, political and social rights can be synchronous as well as asynchronous, dispersed as well as concentrated, and social and political struggles could involve new rights such as sexual rights, women's rights, environmental rights, animal rights and digital rights. Moreover, critical citizenship studies documented the convergence between citizenship and human rights and how claiming rights could cross borders. Finally, critical citizenship studies also warned against taking the existing citizenship rights taken for granted as neoliberal regimes have variously eroded them. Now, after almost thirty years of this critique, we not only have a radically dynamic understanding of citizenship but also radically dynamic ways of studying it.

Panel 1

Costica Dumbrava

The politics of citizenship and ethno-demographic survival

Many countries in Europe grant preferential access to citizenship on ethno-cultural grounds. This trend overlaps with several demographic changes (low fertility rates and increased immigration/emigration) that pose serious challenges to the economic, social and cultural survival of nation states. This presentation explores the politics of ethnic citizenship in Europe through the lens of demographic changes. What is the real or expected demographic impact of preferential citizenship based on ethno-cultural grounds? To what extent have citizenship policies been used as tools for ethno-demographic survival?

Margit Fauser

Lifestyle Migration and Transnational Privilege: German Retirees on the Turkish Coast

While the classic version of modern citizenship refers to membership in a national political community and state most research on migrants' citizenship concentrates on their situation as immigrants within their country of residence. In focus are access to formal legal citizenship as well as the social and political rights and other substantial aspects that exist for non-status citizens in many immigration countries. In this research the implications of migrants'

transnational attachments and the various expressions of dual and transnational citizenship have also started to receive attention. However, when it comes to the external dimension of membership, or transnational citizenship, research is less abundant, and existing studies center around dual citizenship allowance on part of emigration states and cross-border voting rights from abroad. Other dimensions of emigrants' transnational membership have hardly been considered.

In this contribution I propose the study of transnational membership of emigrants, considering both formal and substantial aspects. Furthermore, rather than engaging with the more marginalized groups, I consider a relatively privileged group, notably the lifestyle migrants, that constitute a crucial case to explore contemporary reconfigurations of membership in the age of global mobilities. This type of mobility constitutes part of 'reverse migrations', broadly speaking moving from richer to poorer countries. In empirical terms I use a case study on German senior citizen retirees who settle temporarily but also often permanently in the Turkish coastal town of Alanya. It is the aim here to explore their transnational membership that informs their privilege in cross-border as well as local perspective.

Blanca Garces Mascareñas

Deservingness frames on citizenship: residence, performance and vulnerability

In this presentation I will discuss how the boundary between citizens and non-citizens is constantly negotiated at the formal policy and discursive level. By analysing immigration and integration policies as well as current political debates on immigrants and refugees in Europe, I will consider what makes a foreigner a more or less deserving citizen. I will show how the chances to deserve depend on frames based on residence, performance and vulnerability and how these are used differently at different administrative levels and depending on different categories of immigrants.

Yasemin Soysal

Immigration, Citizenship, and Human Rights: What is New?

Panel 2

Peo Hansen

European Citizenship in Crisis

The debate over migration in the EU is no longer confined to the EU's external asylum and migration policy. Rather—and certainly much propelled by the growing crisis-induced disparities between member states and the increasing anti-immigrant tendencies in the EU—the eroding commitment to migrants' social incorporation can now also be seen to be catching up with the very institution of free movement in the EU itself. More and more, a formerly commended *free movement* of EU citizens is being recast as a detrimental *immigration* of "welfare tourists". Accordingly, many EU members at the centre are now calling for restrictions on free movement from the peripheral members, requesting, above all, a curtailment of the social provisions that until now have formed an integral part of the EU's

citizenship and free movement regime. This could be seen as calling into question the whole edifice and hence the whole future of EU citizenship as we know it. As with the current refugee crisis, it could also be taken as a sign that many of the features of the EU's external migration policy are about to be internalized—reflecting a larger core-periphery dynamic currently being internalized within the EU—with a socially embedded free movement increasingly metamorphosing into a no-frills circular migration.

Evren Balta and Ozlem Altan-Olcay

Transnational Values of Citizenship: The Case of the American Passport

Passport is the regulatory instrument of residence, travel, and belonging; thus it represents the contours of citizenship. This paper aims to explore transnational values of citizenship, by approaching the American passport as an idea and practice among its holders outside of the United States. The literature on citizenship has discussed how having political membership in well-off polities plays a crucial role in the distribution of basic social conditions and life opportunities on a global scale. It has also debated whether the value and meaning of national citizenship regimes are on the decline in an age of globalization. These findings lead to conclusions about place-specific nature of citizenship regimes, which play a fundamental role in life-chances of individuals. We move a step further and explore the meanings and values membership to well-off-polities has outside of the borders of that specific polity. The paper is based on interviews with three groups of people, all with permanent residence in Turkey, at the time of the interviews: US citizens born and raised in the US, Turkish citizens who have been naturalized also as US citizens and Turkish citizens who gave birth to their children in the US for purposes of acquiring US citizenship for them. Based on their experiences with and perceptions of US citizenship outside of the US, this paper aims to open up a new discussion of inequalities, emerging around the transnational values of citizenship. We suggest that citizenship can be experienced as a global resource, whose value outside the country of birth is determined at the intersection of geopolitical circumstances and histories of local classification struggles.

Marlou Schrover

Gender and Citizenship from a Historical Perspective

Citizenship is seen as a key element of integration. Citizenship regimes are indicative for the openness of societies to newcomers, and determine integration policies. In popular discourse, citizenship is presented as the crown on a successful integration trajectory. In current political and public discourse, citizenship is equated with integration, civil society and active societal participation. This conflation results from the definition of citizenship at two levels: the juridical and the discursive level (membership of the nation-state and membership of society). People with juridical citizenship can be denied discursive citizenship. At the juridical (or formal) level citizens have rights that non-citizens do not have (voting rights for instance). At the juridical level a sharp distinction is made between citizens and non-citizens. Discursive (or moral) citizenship relates to being (seen as) part of a community or society, and being a virtuous citizen. In recent decades, the sovereignty of nation states has eroded, because of

globalisation and the creation of larger political units such as the EU. Yet, this has not decreased the discursive or moral importance attached to citizenship. Discursive citizenship is a vague and flexible notion.

Citizenship regimes are – or were in the past – not the same for men and women. Men could lose their juridical citizenship when they joined a foreign army, and thus morally betrayed the nation. It also meant they moved. Women could lose both discursive and juridical citizenship without ever moving. Between 1850 and 1950, citizenship laws in most countries distinguished between men and women: wives derived their citizenship from their husbands. Women who married foreign men lost their citizenship, acquired the nationality of their husbands, and became foreigners in their country of birth and abode. In several Western European countries women could reclaim their citizenship within one year after the end of their marriage (because of divorce or death of their husbands), but women were frequently not aware of this possibility. The widely used concept of derivative citizenship shows how ideas about juridical and discursive citizenship intertwine, and are gendered. Women are seen as the biological reproducers of ethnic collectivities, and the reproducers of the boundaries of national groups. Women are carriers of national identities. Men monopolize the political and military representation of the nation, while women ‘embody’ the nation as such. Precisely because they embody discursive citizenship, women who out-marry are deprived of juridical citizenship. Over a century, authorities have alienated part of its citizens not because they were foreigners, but because they married foreigners. The acts of women were framed in terms of betrayal, sleeping with the enemy and horizontal collaboration. Through the single act of marriage – with marriage being the choice rather than the loss of citizenship – women were alienated from a society they mostly continued to live in. Integration was a long and winding road, while dissimilation was a walk down the aisle. It seriously questions the idea that citizenship is the crown on the integration trajectory.

In my presentation I look when and why gendered ideas regarding citizenship changed.

Presenters' Profiles in Alphabetical Order

Özlem Altan-Olcay
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Özlem Altan-Olcay is Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations at Koç University since 2007. She holds Ph.D. in Politics, New York University, 2006; M.A. in Political Science, New York University, 2001; B.A. in Economics, Boğaziçi University, 1996. Her teaching and research interests are comparative politics, political economy, politics of the Middle East, societies and cultures in the Middle East, globalization, political sociology, gender. Also, Dr. Altan-Olcay is member of Middle East Studies Association and International Studies Association.

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Evren Balta is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Yıldız Technical University since 2013. She holds a Ph.D in Political Science, City University of New York; MIA in International Relations, Columbia University; MA in Sociology, Middle East Technical University. Her teaching and research interests are comparative politics, internal war, security studies, military and politics, territorial politics. Also, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Balta is member of the Association for Slavik, Eastern European and Asian Studies, the American Political Science Association, the International Studies Association and the Middle Eastern Studies Association.

Costica Dumbrava
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Costica Dumbrava is postdoctoral researcher in the Department of Political Science of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and the Executive Coordinator of the Maastricht Centre for Citizenship, Migration, and Development (MACIMIDE). He is also citizenship expert for the European Union Democracy Observatory on Citizenship of the European University Institute (Florence, IT). Dumbrava has a PhD in Political and Social Sciences from the European University Institute. He also studied at Leiden University (MA in European Union Studies), Central European University (MA degree in Nationalism Studies) and the University of Iasi (BA in Political Sciences).

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Margit Fauser is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Sociology of Bielefeld University. She holds a PhD, summa culaude, Bielefeld University; International Graduate School in Sociology, Bielefeld University; Magister Artium, University of Hamburg, Studies in Political Sciences, Sociology and Spanish Philology, Ruprecht-Karls University of Heidelberg, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and University of Hamburg. Her teaching and research interests are sociology of migration, political sociology, urban studies, transnationalization and globalization, local development and social change, qualitative, mixed-methods and comparative methodologies.

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Peo Hansen is Professor of Political Science at REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science at Umeå University in 2000. He was awarded a Postdoctoral Fellowship as a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for the Study of Europe at Columbia University, in 2002-03, and a Senior Fellowship at the Remarque Institute at New York University, during the spring semester of 2006. Peo's main research interest lies in the contemporary as well as historical development of European integration. His research also explores the significance of colonialism and decolonization for both the historical development of European integration and for the EU's current politics of European identity.

Engin Isin
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Engin Isin holds a Chair in Citizenship and is Professor of Politics in Politics and International Studies (POLIS) at the Faculty of Social Sciences, The Open University. He is also a past director (2007-2009) of the Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance (CCIG). Prof Engin Isin joined The Open University in 2007 after fifteen years of teaching and research at York University, Toronto, Canada. He was professor of social science (1993-2001) and Canada Research Chair (2002-2007) in social sciences. He gained his first degree in the Faculty of Architecture at Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey (1982) and his PhD in geography at University of Toronto, Canada (1990).

Blanca Garcés - Mascareñas

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Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas is visiting professor at the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona. She graduated with degrees in History and Anthropology in the University of Barcelona and holds a master cum laude and a PhD cum laude in Social Sciences (2010) from the University of Amsterdam. Her PhD thesis analysed immigration policies in Malaysia and Spain. Blanca has also worked on immigration and integration policies in the Netherlands, local integration policies and political discourses on immigration in Spain. In the present she is working on an edited book on the concept of integration, together with Rinus Penninx (UvA), and on local integration policies in different EU cities.

Marlou Schrover

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Marlou Schrover is full time professor in Economic and Social History at Leiden University, with a special interest in migration history. In 2013 she concluded a large NWO-vici project on differences between men and women in migration to the Netherlands after 1945. Schrover graduated in journalism in 1979 and in economic and social history in 1986 (both in Utrecht). She received her PhD at Utrecht University in 1991 for her research on labour relations in the food industry. She continued to work at Utrecht University until 2001, when she moved to the ING (Instituut Nederlandse Geschiedenis) in The Hague. From January 2002 she also worked at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam.

Yasemin Soysal
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Yasemin Soysal is Professor at the Department of Sociology at University of Essex. She was previously John L. Loeb Associate Professor of Sociology and Faculty Associate of the Centre for European Studies and the Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University. She has been German Marshall Fund Research Fellow, National Academy of Education Spencer Fellow, National Endowment of Humanities Research Fellow, Jean Monnet Fellow, Wissenschaftskolleg Fellow, visiting scholar at Max Planck Institute, Berlin, and visiting professor at Juan March Institute, Madrid, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Willy Brandt Guest Professor at the Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare, Malmo, and the Niklas Luhmann distinguished visiting chair at Bielefeld University.