

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER
ANABİLİM DALI

**INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS IN EUROPE: ROLE OF LOCAL
AUTHORITIES AND MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Ebru DALĞAKIRAN

İstanbul - 2014

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER
ANABİLİM DALI

**INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS IN EUROPE: ROLE OF LOCAL
AUTHORITIES AND MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Ebru DALĞAKIRAN

Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Nedime Aslı Şirin ÖNER

İstanbul - 2014



T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

ONAY SAYFASI

Enstitümüz AB Siyaseti ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Türkçe / İngilizce Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi Ebru DALGAKIRAN'ın "INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS IN EUROPE: ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS" konulu tez çalışması. 04/07/2014 tarihinde yapılan tez savunma sınavında aşağıda isimleri yazılı jüri üyeleri tarafından OYBİRLİĞİ / OYÇOKLUĞU ile BAŞARILI bulunmuştur.

Onaylayan:

Yrd. Doç. Dr. N. Ash ŞİRİN ÖNER

Danışman

Doç. Dr. Nurcan ÖZGÜR BAKLACIOĞLU

Jüri Üyesi

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Suna Gülfer IHLAMUR ÖNER

Jüri Üyesi

Prof. Dr. Muzaffer DARTAN

Müdür

17.07.2014... tarih ve 2014/19... Sayılı Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararı ile onaylanmıştır.

ÖZET

Çağlar boyu insanlar daha iyi yaşam koşullarına sahip olabilmek için göç etme gereksinimi duymuşlardır. Özellikle küreselleşen dünyamızda, sunduğu fırsatlardan ötürü şehirler, göçmenler için birer çekim merkezi haline gelmiştir. Her ne kadar göçmenlerin yaşadıkları ülkelere uyumu konusundaki entegrasyon politikaları hükümetler tarafından ele alınsa da, bu politikaların asıl uygulamaya koyulduğu ve etkilerinin hissedildiği şehirlerde yerel yönetimlere önemli görevler düşmektedir. Aynı derecede göçmenlerin uyumunu kolaylaştırma konusunda göçmen derneklerinin önemi göz ardı edilemez. Bu nedenlerden ötürü, bu çalışma göçmen entegrasyonunda yerel yönetimlerin ve göçmen derneklerinin rolünü anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada, göçmen entegrasyonunda yerel yönetimlerin ve göçmen derneklerinin rolü Belçika'nın Ghent şehrine odaklanarak ve orada 1960larda misafir işçi olarak giden ve daha sonra etnik azınlık haline gelen Türklerin kurdukları dernekler üzerinden incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu çerçevede öncelikli olarak entegrasyon kavramı ve modelleri incelenmiş, daha sonra genel olarak yerel yönetimlerin göçmen entegrasyonu konusundaki politikalarına bakılmış, göçmen derneklerinin kuruluş amaçları ve faaliyetlerine bakılmıştır. Avrupa Birliği'nin göçmen entegrasyonu konusunda ortak bir çerçeve oluşturmak için attığı adımlar ve bu konudaki girişimleri ayrıca incelenmiştir. Çalışma sonucunda, göçmenlerin uyumu ve sosyal uyumun sağlanmasının yerel yönetimler ve göçmen derneklerinin birbiriyle etkileşiminden, ortak proje üretmelerinden ve bunu sadece göçmen gruplar üzerinden değil toplumun tamamını kucaklayarak yapması gereği ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: göç, entegrasyon, yerel yönetimler, göçmen dernekleri

ABSTRACT

Throughout the ages, people have been in need of immigration in order to have better living conditions. Most particularly, in our globalised world, the cities have become the centre of attraction of migrants in regard to a range of opportunities that they have. Even though integration policies are formed by the governments, local authorities have importance in case of implementation of these policies in the cities where their effects are felt mostly. Equally, significance of migrant associations cannot be ignored in case of mitigation of integration of immigrants. Therefore, this study aims to find out the role of local authorities and migrant associations in case integration of immigrants. In this study, the role of local authorities and migrant associations has been tried to be examined by focusing on specifically local authority of Ghent, Belgium and migrant associations founded by the Turks who went as guest workers in the 1960s and then became ethnic minorities of Belgium. Within this framework, first of all, the concepts of integration and integration models have been scrutinized. Thereafter, policies of local authorities in terms of immigrant integration and objectives and activities of the migrant associations have been reviewed. Initiatives of the European Union in order to form a frame for immigrant integration have been also examined. The result of the study has revealed that integration of immigrants and ensuring social cohesion are based on interaction and producing joint projects of local authorities and migrant associations. Besides that, these initiatives should not only embracing of migrants, but also of the whole society. Thus, local authorities and migrant associations play significant role in the integration of migrants and ensuring social cohesion as a whole.

Keywords: migration, integration, local authorities, migrant associations

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing and completing this thesis was a great but also a painful experience for me, but I could not have achieved without the support of many people. Therefore I am grateful to numerous people for their generous help. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. N. Aslı Şirin ÖNER for her endless support and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis. Her invaluable suggestions and feedbacks have stimulated me to develop my research.

I would also like to express my sincere thanks to Assist. Prof. Dr. Suna Gülfer Ihlamur ÖNER and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nurcan Özgür BAKLACIOĞLU, not only for their constructive criticisms, but also for their suggestions and advices for my future research during my oral defense.

I am deeply thankful to my dearest friend Okan GÜLBAK for his endless moral support and patience. Whenever I was discouraged, he encouraged me with his all kindness to complete my thesis.

Last but not least, from the bottom of my heart, I wish to express my gratitude to my lovely family. Without their encouragements and moral supports this thesis would not have been possible. I would like to thank my parents, Nihal and Hüseyin DALĞAKIRAN, for loving me and supporting all my decisions to become an independent individual. I would also like to thank my grandmother Sabahat FIRAT for her prayers for me. My final thanks go to elder sister Emel YURTYAPAN, my nephew Emre YURTYAPAN and my niece Cemre YURTYAPAN. Although they have been far away, their existence and love has been always with me.

Finally, thank you once again. Without your supports this thesis would not have been completed. I would also like to state that any remaining errors are only mine.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page no
ÖZET	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
Background, Aims and Research Questions of the Study	4
Methodology.....	6
Scope and Limitations of the Study	6
1. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INTEGRATION.....	11
1.1 THE PROMINENT CONCEPT: INTEGRATION	12
1.1.1 Migrant Integration: Definition and Its Problems	12
1.2 ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS: ASSIMILATION AND MULTICULTURALISM.....	16
1.2.1 Assimilation.....	16
1.2.1.1 Traditional Perspective and New Assimilation Theories.....	17
1.2.1.2 Segmented Assimilation Model.....	19
1.2.2 Multiculturalism.....	21
1.3 DIFFERENT INTEGRATION APPROACHES AND POLICIES IN EUROPE..	25
Concluding Remarks.....	30

2. LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS AS AGENTS OF INTEGRATION.....	32
2.1 LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND SCOPE OF THE LOCAL POLICIES	33
2.1.1 Local Policies towards Migrants	34
2.2 MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS AND INTEGRATION	37
2.2.1 Migrant Associations: Types and Roles	38
2.2.2 Migrant Associations: The Receiving and Sending Countries	42
2.3 WORKING TOGETHER: MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN EUROPE.....	44
Concluding Remarks	47
3. AN EU FRAMEWORK ON THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS.....	48
3.1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE EU IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION AGENDA.....	49
3.1.1 Developments between 1970s-1990s	49
3.1.2 Developments between Late 1990s- 2010s.....	51
3.1.2.1 The Treaties: From Amsterdam to Lisbon.....	51
3.1.2.2 European Council Multiannual Programmes: From Tampere to Stockholm.....	53
3.1.3 The EU Actions for Immigrant Integration.....	54
3.1.4 EU Instruments for Immigrant Integration	57
3.2 THE EU POLICY CONTEXT FOR IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION.....	59
3.2.1 Integration into the Labour Market.....	59

3.2.2 Education and Language Skills.....	60
3.2.3 Housing and Urban Issues.....	60
3.2.4 Health and Social Services.....	61
3.2.5 Social and Cultural Environment.....	61
3.2.6 Nationality, Civic Citizenship and Respect for Diversity.....	61
3.3 LOCAL INTEGRATION AS A EUROPEAN POLICY ISSUE.....	62
Concluding Remarks	64
4. LOCAL AUTHORITY OF GHENT AND TURKISH MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS: A CASE STUDY.....	65
4.1 BELGIUM: AN OVERVIEW OF ITS MIGRATION HISTORY.....	65
4.1.1 Turkish Migration to Belgium: A General Overview.....	69
4.2 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY OF GHENT.....	73
4.2.1 Ghent’s Migrant Population	74
4.2.2.1 The Integration Policy of the Municipality.....	78
4.2.2 Turkish Community in Ghent and the Associations.....	85
4.3 CO-OPERATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITY AND MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS IN IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION.....	89
Concluding Remarks.....	91
CONCLUSION.....	93
BIBLIOGRAPHY	96
APPENDIX	110

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: EU Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy.....	55
Table 4.1: Population of Ghent, 2013.....	75
Table 4.2: Foreigners living in Ghent, by group, 2013.....	75
Table 4.3: Citizens with different nationality or ethnic background, 2013	76

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBPs: Common Basic Principles

CLIP: European Network of Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants

CD&V: Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams

DG EMPL: Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion

DG HOME: Directorate General for Home Affairs

ECCAR: European Coalition of Cities against Racism

ECJ: European Court of Justice

e.g: *exempli gratia*

EIF: The European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals

ESF: European Social Fund

EU: European Union

FZO-VL: Federatie van Zelforganisaties in Vlaanderen

ICCM: Intercultureel Centrum voor Migranten

ILO: International Labour Organisation

MR: Movument Réformateur

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGOs: Non Governmental Organisations

NVA: Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OMC: Open Method of Coordination

Open VLD: Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats

SEA: Single European Act

SMC: Stedelijk Migranten Centrum

SP: Socialist Party

SP.a: Flemish Socialist Party

SU: Soviet Union

TEU: Treaty on European Union

TES: Turkish Employment Service

TFEU: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

TUB: Turkse Unie van Belgie

UK: The United Kingdom

UTV: Unie van Turkse Verenigingen

US: The United States

WW II: World War II

VGC: Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie

INTRODUCTION

Migration is as old as the history of humanity, and human beings have needed to migrate from one place to another throughout history due to various political, social, economic or ecological reasons. In the early days, people migrated to other places because they had to escape from natural disasters, or they had to find better places to survive. In a time, with a settled life, people developed trade and crossed the continents to practice their trade. The European continent, as a continent of both immigration and emigration, witnessed the flow of people during history. Most Europeans migrated to America in late 1800s, and many non-Europeans started to come to Europe after World War II (WW II). It led to remarkable demographic and social changes in Europe.

After WW II, West European countries showed success in economic growth; however it led to the appearance of labour shortages in time. As a response, the governments began to recruit migrant workers. These migrant workers were composed of two types. First, the migrant workers coming from Southern Europe, North Africa and Turkey were recruited as temporary workers. Although legal arrangements between sending and receiving countries differed from each other, some countries such as Sweden, France and the United Kingdom (UK) approved family reunion and long-term residence while others like Switzerland, Austria and Germany disapproved the settlement of the migrants. They preferred to establish a rotation of worker system so that they maintained a circulation of migrants in short-terms. Second, labour need was supplied through colonies or former colonies. The UK accepted labour coming from the Caribbean and the Indian region, France welcomed North and West African workers and the Caribbean and Indonesian labour came to the Netherlands. For those labourers, there was no official recruitment because, as colonized people, they had been granted citizenship. However, this led to the entry of an excess amount of labours. On the other hand, in the 1960s, with the economic and political problems and deteriorative relations with the colonies, these major colonial countries of Europe introduced restrictive policies and laws to limit migration from former colonies.

In 1970s, the 1973 oil crisis led to a change in immigration policies. All labour importing countries abolished recruitment, and governments expected migrant workers to return. Nevertheless, this expectation did not actualize because a new type of

immigration to Europe began with the right to family reunification. This right allowed the entry of spouses, children and other relatives of the former migrants into these labour importing countries. It caused an increase in population of migrants, and they became permanent residents in time. The needs like housing, schooling and medical services of the immigrant families led to the emergence of a problem of integration into host countries' social, political and cultural institutions and structures.

By the mid-1980s, in Europe, different forms of immigration began to emerge. Economic growth and fall in birth rates led to labour shortages in Southern European countries. Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal used labours from Eastern Europe, North Africa, Latin America and Asia, and they all became countries of immigration. This new form of immigration was different from the earlier pattern. While Western European countries recruited migrant labours officially, Southern European countries' new labours were mostly illegal.

Another important development that caused the increase in migration to Western Europe was the political changes in the 1989-91 periods. An increasing number of migrants, especially asylum seekers from the former Soviet Union (SU) began coming to Western Europe because of the collapse of their economies, growing insecurity and violation of human rights.

In the light of the arrival of these three groups, namely-(1) arrival of guest workers and colonial workers, (2) arrival of their families and (3) asylum seekers of the late 1980s and early 1990s- migration became one of the most significant political issues in Europe, and governments set laws to stop immigration generally flows by increasing border controls. However, with the establishment of the European Union (EU), European countries' borders became more blurred. While European states were reducing the significance of the internal borders, they began founding "Fortress Europe" by giving importance to the external boundaries of the EU.

In the EU, immigration policies started through intergovernmental co-operations between the years 1970s and 1990s. The Single European Act (SEA) was the main concrete development in the field of immigration until the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. With the Maastricht Treaty, three pillar system- European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy and Justice and Home Affairs- was established. Migration and border control were the matters in the third pillar. In 1997, with the Amsterdam

Treaty the first dramatic changes on Maastricht Treaty were made, and issues related to migration were shifted to the first pillar. It meant that the Union's power on migration issues increased while intergovernmentalist approach decreased. With the Lisbon Treaty, which entered into force in 2009, the three pillar system was abolished and instead of that, a new system based on the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) was established. Immigration policies became matters of shared competence between the member states and the EU institutions.

Although all these policies were developed in time to limit and control the immigration, permanent migration to Europe increasingly went on. Therefore, the issue of immigrant integration became one of the significant concerns in European countries as part of the immigration policy. However, integration policies were developed inadequately by European states. Migrants and their descendants suffered from high levels of unemployment, crime rates, and they were poorly represented in national parliaments for years.

Most of the veteran immigrant receiving countries of Northern and Western Europe have begun to set their immigrant integration policies in the 1980s and 1990s, when the migration patterns started changing from temporary labour migration to one based on family reunification. In the Southern European countries, the situation has been different. While these countries were emigration countries, they have turned immigration countries over the last decades. They have begun to develop integration policies at the national level since 2000s. Eastern European countries, especially Poland and Czech Republic have also experienced immigration, so integration policies and programmes have started recently. Nevertheless, immigrant integration activities and policies have been mainly driven by the EU funds and initiatives.

As a matter of fact, immigrant integration is a complex process that involves various actors at national, local and supranational levels. At the national level, integration ministries or departments of other ministries are responsible for the integration related issues like access to nationality, education, employment, civic and political participation. At the local level, local authorities are the main actors in carrying out integration policies and services. At the supranational level, EU institutions are the

foremost actors in influencing and shaping Member States' practices by coordination, funding and exchange of information.

All these levels are related to each other in shaping integration policies as a whole; however, local level is the place where actual integration becomes a reality. There is a wide variety of different actors involved at the local level such as trade unions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs); yet the local authorities and migrant associations are among the most important actors in shaping and facilitating the integration of migrants. Therefore, it is worth to examining their role in the immigrant integration process.

Background, Aims and Research Questions of the Study

Immigrant integration has become a significant policy area in many European countries; there are several actors involved in the integration process at different levels. Nevertheless, this study particularly aims to understand the role of the local authorities and migrants associations in the integration process at the local level.

There is no doubt that there are some motivating factors behind each research. I have to express clearly that the first stimulating factor to study this subject was my graduate course, namely European Integration: Issues of Migration, Citizenship and Identity. The articles and books that we covered during the course carried away me to study deeply the subject of immigrant integration. After that I decided to go to Europe as an Erasmus student to broaden my knowledge and experience about immigrant integration. I had the chance to take "Migration and Integration" course at University of Ghent during my studying there. Readings and class discussions helped me a lot to develop my knowledge on especially integration theories. Nevertheless, the most significant experience was to live there. I was an immigrant as well; I had to apply visa and residence permit, and I did not know Flemish. I experienced some difficulties, although I studied on the integration issues of migrants. Thus, I decided my research subject when I was in Ghent, Belgium as an Erasmus exchange student.

In order to carry out my research, firstly a general framework on integration and its dimensions are drawn, and then local policies and migrant organisations' formations, types are reviewed in general. The EU's impact on immigrant integration is

also discussed. Turkish migrants in Ghent are chosen as a case study. Examining the Turkish migrants in Ghent is worth to examine because Turkish migrants make up Ghent's the largest non-European immigrant population; however, there is a lack of academic research about them. Existing literature discusses generally Turkish immigrants in the Brussels Capital Region. Although the Turkish community has lived in Ghent for 50 years, they are still one of the socioeconomically worst-off migrant groups, so their integration is still one of the debatable issues in both local academic and public realms. On the other hand, there are promising developments in their integration. At the present time, the second generation Turkish politicians have begun to appear in Ghent and Belgian politics. Now, they are trying to raise the voices of the Turkish community and let their problems be heard. On the other hand, Turkish associations are more active and working together with local authorities for specific aims like the improvement of the quality of life, employment, education, etc. All in all, more specifically, my own observations and experiences in Ghent have stimulated me to examine Turkish migrant organisations in the city of Ghent for the purpose of the study and to ask the following questions:

- What does immigrant integration mean?
- What are the levels of integration of migrants, and who are the actors in each level of integration?
- What are the different integration approaches in the literature?
- Why do local authorities have prominence in the integration of migrants?
- What are the responsibilities of local authorities towards migrants?
- What is migrant association?
- What are the roles of migrant associations in the integration process?
- How do the host countries perceive these associations or organisations?
- What is the meaning of immigrant integration within the EU context?
- How do policies at the local, national and EU level relate to each other?

Methodology

This study is explanatory descriptive one that aims to discuss the role of local authorities and migrant associations through their integration policies, projects and programmes.

The data of the study are also collected from academic researches and reports. In addition to them, reports of EU institutions, Belgian federal/regional/local institutions and independent research agencies are used.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

First of all, I would like to express that due to the time limitation, the conduct of a field research in Ghent was not possible again. Therefore, the study is based on examining official documents of the local authorities and migrant associations, and my own observations during my stay in Ghent as an Erasmus exchange student. I would also like to state that I know Flemish at a limited level.

The present graduate study is composed of four main chapters. The first chapter deals with the concept of integration because it is the core concept of this study. Nevertheless, since it is a broad concept, several approaches to integration- assimilation and multiculturalism- particularly to immigrants are reviewed. Assimilation is a process of becoming the same of the immigrants within host society's culture while multiculturalism refers that different communities should be allowed to maintain their own cultures and identities, rather than being forced to adopt the host society culture. In addition to that, while some scholars tend to use integration as either assimilation or multiculturalism, the others use it as between them. Thus, it is clear that the integration has many different meanings and uses; however, in this study, integration is used as a two-way process between immigrants and members of the receiving society while immigrants are included in the core institutions of the receiving society by maintaining their own cultures. According to Penninx, there are three dimensions of the integration process: (1) legal-political (2) socio-economic and (3) cultural-religious dimension. The *legal/political* dimension is about immigrants being the member of the political community and having residence rights and the right to vote. The *socio-economic* dimension is related to social and economic rights of the immigrants as access to the

labour market without any discrimination, unemployment benefits and insurances, etc. Lastly, the *cultural-religious* dimension is about whether immigrants have equal right to organize their own religious, cultural or ethnic groups and activities. In addition to these, different integration approaches of the European states or national models of integration are presented with specific models, namely assimilationist model (France), multiculturalist model (UK and the Netherlands) and guest worker or exclusionist model (Germany). However, it is seen that these national models of integration no longer exist because the local level has gained importance in the immigrant integration.

The second chapter focuses on the local authorities and migrant associations in the integration process. Local authorities like municipalities play a significant role in immigrant integration because the local level and the local policies are the grounds of the integration process, even if policies are set at higher levels including regional, national or international ones. Although the governments see the immigrants as the problem or the challenge that threaten the social cohesion of the societies, local authorities in the cities see them as an asset, rather than as a problem to be solved. Therefore, these authorities encourage integration in many realms of the life like public offices, workplaces and classrooms through policies ranging from supporting language acquisition to education of migrant children and housing. Thus, significance of the local level in the integration process has come into prominence in recent years' political and academic discussion on integration in Europe. Nevertheless, the local authorities are not sufficient to direct integration policies. In that case, having better coordination and cooperation with other social organisations like migrant associations is needed. Migrant associations are also the significant actors in the process of integration at local level because they might mitigate the difficulties of the process. There are many associations operating at local level, and most of them are involved in the integration process. These organisations represent the interests of their members, so they are, in a way, the voices of the members. Due to these reasons, those associations are as diverse as the immigrants themselves. There are cultural associations, political associations, trade associations, sports associations, students' associations and religious associations. In short, local authorities can manage the integration of migrants by developing group-specific policies than national governments, and they can take advantage of having stronger links with migrant associations for better integration of migrants.

The third chapter explores and finds out how the immigrant integration comes into the EU political agenda, and how the EU defines it. This chapter also aims to understand the local authorities' and migrant associations' increasing prominence in the integration process from the EU perspective. Immigrant integration has been traditionally domestic politics of the EU member states; nevertheless, both traditional assimilation and multicultural models have been debated. Thus, it is crucial to find new ways or policy tools to integrate these ethnically and culturally diverse groups. In that case, the European Union might be a driving force for better integration of the immigrants. It seems that the member states agree on the economic and demographic challenges of the EU as population ageing, labour needs, and they need to introduce a common immigration and, as part of it, a European immigrant integration policy framework. As a matter of fact that immigrant integration is not a new phenomenon on the European agenda. Several measures aiming at better inclusion of immigrants into host societies, date back in 1970s, has been passed for years, especially in the field of employment, education, housing and so forth. Nevertheless, a concrete and coherent policy framework for immigrant integration in the EU framework has started to be set out in the late 1990s and early 2000s. At EU level, European heads of state and government first have called for "more vigorous integration policy" at the Tampere Summit in 1999; then, Commission has launched a series of initiatives. In 2005, the publication of the "Common Agenda for Integration: Framework for the Integration of the third-country nationals in the European Union" and in 2011 its renewed version has been one of the remarkable, but provisional steps towards establishing a holistic immigrant integration policy in the EU. Successful implementation of a holistic approach to integration of immigrants requires a closer and an increased co-operation between all relevant actors from local to regional, national, and EU authorities. Nevertheless, integration policies are designed at the national level and implemented at local and regional levels. Thus, at the local level local authorities play a central role in shaping integration policies. On the other hand, on the behalf of migrants the social partners like migrant associations have an important role to play in the integration process as facilitators of everyday integration by highlighting the importance of responding to cultural differences.

The fourth chapter deals specifically with the local authority of Ghent and Turkish migrant associations in Ghent. The city of Ghent is located in the northeastern of Belgium and is the capital of East-Flanders. Due to immigration, Ghent has kept its population stable around 250.000 inhabitants, and it is Flanders' second largest municipality by number of inhabitants. Ghent has attracted a large number of people from several countries, especially "guest workers" from Turkey and Morocco since the mid 1960s. In the 1980s, it became apparent that Ghent's migrant workers were not going to return to their native countries. Instead, they were staying in Ghent and bringing their families to live with them. Today, nearly 12% of the population have Belgian nationality. The real picture of cultural diversity; however is even greater. Since many immigrants have been naturalised and are now statistically counted as Belgians, around 19% of the population has a migrant background. People come from more than 150 nations and represent their linguistic and cultural traditions. Turkish community, however, makes up one of the largest migrant groups after the European migrants. In Ghent, there are more than 50 Turkish ethnic minority associations. There are a number of reasons for the high degree of organization of these communities. On the one hand, there is the fact that the establishment of organizations is encouraged and supported by the Flemish government. On the other hand, the Turkish community often comes from the same region, and sometimes even from the same village. Thus, they establish their own associations for helping each other. The first Turkish organizations were the mosque or religious associations because religion was the common ground of the Turkish community. Besides religious organisations, there are plenty of other socio-cultural associations. The range of the associations is very broad, from sports clubs to cultural associations and youth associations. These so-called autonomous organizations, which are no longer the extension of religious organizations, have been on the rise since 1986, and they have a remarkable growth since the 1990s. The increase in the number of associations is probably due to the possibility of subsidies of the Flemish government and municipality. On the other hand, municipality developed several policies in several policy domains for better integration of the migrants. It is observed that municipality policies show similarity with the regional policies, and they move parallel to each other. As the part of a Flaman region integration policy, municipality of Ghent as well supports the migrant associations financially. When it is looked at the implementations,

the municipality supports socio-cultural activities and gives more importance to them. However, according to the findings of the research the co-operation between municipality and migrant associations should be developed for the improvement of the structural integration of the migrant community. Structural integration realm seems to be needed more concrete co-operation.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INTEGRATION

Integration is a complex and difficult-to-define concept that has been the main subject of ongoing debates about the circumstances of immigrants in host societies over the years, especially in Europe. This complexity derives from different interpretations of the concept coming from the policy makers, scholars and researchers depending on the types of welfare regimes, degrees of centralization and significantly different immigrant experiences of the states. Therefore, it is obvious that there are remarkable differences in integration discourses and policies of the states when it is examined in detail. In addition to its unsteadiness, there are various concepts which also have been used interchangeably with integration such as *assimilation*, *accommodation*, *acculturation*, *inclusion*, *incorporation* and so on. Nevertheless, nowadays, integration seems as the dominant or a salient concept used and widely accepted by academicians, politicians, media and even the public for debates on migration issues in Europe. In that case, to draw an understandable framework of integration is necessary for this study.

This chapter is composed of three main sections. The first part explores the concept of integration, which has been popular in recent years. Despite its popularity, the difficulty of defining the concept is discussed with the reasons at the beginning part. Then, the dimensions of integration are explained in detail. The second part scrutinizes the two significant alternative concepts of integration, namely assimilation and multiculturalism, which have been at the centre of the debates about immigrants' adaptations into host societies. This section also discusses why they have been discredited over the years. The third part, in the light of all these above mentioned concepts, elaborates on different integration approaches and policies in Europe.

1.1 THE PROMINENT CONCEPT: INTEGRATION

Integration is a concept often used in many disciplines of social sciences such as political science, economics, and it has different meanings depending on the context in which it is used. In this study, the concept is examined in the context of immigration after the emergence of the problem of “integrating” postcolonial, labour and their offsprings into host societies in the 1970s and 1980s.¹

1.1.1 Migrant Integration: Definition and Its Problems

Over the past few years, integration of immigrants has become one of the foremost concepts in national domestic policy throughout Europe and at the EU level.² In many European countries like France, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and Belgium, governments have developed integration policies and programmes. However, integration is an “umbrella concept” including assimilation and multiculturalism in itself. In that case, what should be understood by the notion of integration in the context of immigration?

The Oxford dictionary defines the verb to *integrate* as “combine something with another to form a whole”.³ If one wants to use this definition of the verb for immigrant integration, it might be said that integrate is “to enter into society and then to form a broad society as a whole.” However, it is not as simple as it is thought.

It is obvious that the immigrant integration is more than that, and the debate starts here. What is the meaning of entering into society or becoming part of a society? What does it include or who are the actors of integration, just immigrants or host society members as well? Into which part of the society, immigrants should be integrated; labour market, education or health systems? These questions are necessary in order to understand the notion of immigrant integration.

¹ Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska, “Integrating Immigrants in Liberal Nation States: Policies and Practices”, Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska (Eds.), in **Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States**, (1-37), New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p.5.

² Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf, “Introduction: assessing the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe”, Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf (Eds.), in **The Multiculturalism Backlash European discourses, policies and practices**, (1-32), London and New York: Routledge, 2010, p.17.

³ *Oxford Dictionaries*, Integrate, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/integrate?q=integrate> (10 January 2014).

The broadness of integration and its process makes it hard to define the concept clearly, and, needless to say, there is no commonly accepted definition of integration. Nevertheless, there seems to be a general agreement among scholars, especially studying cross-national integration policies. As an instance, Heckmann and Schnapper⁴ gives their definition of integration as “*inclusion of new populations into existing social structures of the immigration country*,” Penninx⁵, in addition to this definition, uses a basic, but also comprehensive definition of integration as “*process of becoming an accepted part of society*.” The common point of their definitions is “inclusion into society or to become a part of the society.” Even if they have commonalities in defining integration, inclusion of immigrants into existing social structures is a long time process that requires several dimensions. Thus, their integration processes differ in some ways.

Heckmann explains the integration process in four dimensions: (1) structural (2) cultural (3) social and (4) identificational integration.⁶ As a first dimension, *structural integration* means the acquisition of rights and the access to positions and statutes in the core institutions (economy and labour market, education, the housing market and citizenship) of the receiving society of the immigrants and their descendants. These are core institutions because participation in them determines the socio-economic status of a person. The second dimension, *cultural integration* or *acculturation*, refers to a process of cognitive, cultural, behavioural changes of individuals, and it is a precondition to actively participate in socialisation processes, which also changes the host society. Cultural integration does not necessarily require that migrant groups have to give up cultural elements of their home country. Bicultural competences and personalities, however, are an asset for the individual and the receiving society. The third dimension *social integration* is related to membership of immigrants in the new society in the private realms which require friendships,

⁴ Friedrich Heckmann and Dominique Schnapper, “Introduction”, Friedrich Heckmann and Dominique Schnapper (Eds.), in **The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies National Differences and Trends of Convergence**, (9-14), Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2003, p.10.

⁵ Rinus Penninx, “The Logic of Integration Policies: an exercise in policy thinking”, **Lecture at CEDEM**, University of Liège, 29 January 2004, p. 2, <http://www.cedem.ulg.ac.be/wp-content/uploads/workingpaper/22.pdf> (15 December 2013).

⁶ Friedrich Heckmann, “From Ethnic Nation to Universalistic Immigrant Integration: Germany”, Friedrich Heckmann and Dominique Schnapper (Eds.), in **The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies National Differences and Trends of Convergence**, (45-78), Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2003, p.46.

marriages, voluntary associations, group memberships and, etc. The last dimension *identificational integration* is about feelings of belonging and identification towards the host society. By including all these dimensions, Heckmann defines integration as “*the acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a change in individual characteristics, a building of social relations and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification by immigrants towards the immigrant society*”.⁷

Penninx, on the contrary, offers three dimensions in which people may become accepted parts of society: (1) legal-political (2) socio-economic and (3) cultural-religious dimension.⁸ Penninx’s typology of integration actually is based on citizenship. The *legal/political* dimension is about immigrants being the member of the political community and having residence rights and the right to vote.⁹ The *socio-economic* dimension is related to social and economic rights of the immigrants as access to the labour market without any discrimination, unemployment benefits and insurances, etc. Lastly, the *cultural-religious* dimension is about whether immigrants have equal right to organize their own religious, cultural or ethnic groups and activities.

Having given the basic elements and dimensions of integration, another significant feature of the integration process is the actors participating in this process and their interactions with each other. This is important because it determines the direction of the process- *one-way* or *two-way* process. Both of the aforementioned scholars explain explicitly or implicitly in their research, the integration as a two-way process between the immigrants themselves and the receiving society and perhaps government and institutions of the host society. They also highlight that interactions between them also affect the result of the integration- success or failure.

⁷ Heckmann, *From Ethnic Nation to Universalistic Immigrant Integration: Germany*, p. 47.

⁸ Penninx, *The Logic of Integration Policies: an exercise in policy thinking*, p.6.

⁹ According to Penninx, the first dimension influences the other two dimensions into two ways. From the perspective of individual immigrants, their legal position (and any related legal rights that have been allocated to them) can have significant positive or negative consequences for their behaviour and for their efforts to integrate. Factors such as extended uncertainty about future residence rights, and a lack of access to local and/or national political systems and decision-making processes, obviously have negative implications for migrants’ opportunities and preparedness to integrate. From the perspective of the receiving society, such exclusionary policies are an expression of basic perceptions that classify immigrants as outsiders. Thus, exclusionary policies have adverse effect on integration. See Rinus Penninx, “Decentralising Integration Policies Managing Migration in Cities, Regions and Localities”, **The Policy Network**, London, 26 November 2009, p.4, http://www.policy-network.net/publications_download.aspx?ID=3460 (5 December 2013).

Integration, furthermore, is a complex process that takes place at different levels. According to Penninx, integration occurs at three levels: the first one is the level of individual immigrants; second is the level of immigrants' group (organizations of immigrants) and the last is the level of institutions that are general public institutions like schools and "of and for institutions" like religious or cultural institutions.¹⁰ Despite the fact that these integration mechanisms operating at individual, organizational and institutional levels are different; the outcomes of each of them are interrelated. To set an example, organizations have to determine their programmes according to institutional arrangements. Then they together create the structure of opportunities and limitations for individuals. Contrarily, individuals might mobilise to change the actions of organizations and institutional arrangements.¹¹

Time is also a significant factor in the integration process. Since the integration means learning and socialization processes as well; it takes a long time, maybe two or more generations. Besides that, time is an important factor in scrutinizing integration dimensions. As an instance, identificational integration is slower than structural integration.¹² On the other hand, integration can take a long or short time within a single dimension. To exemplify, in structural integration dimension, integration into the labour market is faster than integration into political institutions like citizenship.¹³

Though these definitions are thought to be sufficiently explicit, they are both ambiguous and open to comment. In the first instance, they assume society as one, simple, and an organic institution, and then try to integrate the newcomers into these unitary societies. In that case, while integrating into the society, the expectation from the immigrants is to break the connections with their societies of origin, even it is not like that in theory. However, in this globalized age, it is witnessed that people are not living as a member of only one special society; they have transnational ties thanks to their growing social and economic networks in different societies. Furthermore, decision makers, trade unions, public officials, employers etc. involve in and shape the process; on the other side, immigrants themselves have a leading role in this process.

¹⁰ Rinus Penninx, *Decentralising Integration Policies Managing Migration in Cities, Regions and Localities*, p.4-6.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Friedrich Heckmann, "Integration and Integration Policies", **European Forum for Migration Studies**, University of Bamberg, 2006, p.17-18.

¹³ Ibid.

1.2 ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS: ASSIMILATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

Assimilation and multiculturalism are the concepts which are frequently used in the discourse of immigrant integration. However, these are antipodal concepts in terms of discourses about the incorporation of migrants.

1.2.1 Assimilation

Integration is often confused with assimilation, although assimilation is widely used and understood as an end result of a society in which all the members might be culturally identical with each other.¹⁴ In other words, it is a process of becoming the same of the immigrants within host society's culture, or process of creating a homogenous society like before the immigration. Despite it is generally accepted definition or perception of the assimilation, it needs to be explained in detail.

Assimilation has been the dominant theory of ethnic group relations throughout the 20th century as a central part of sociological research in the United States. It has been more of concern in the United States due to the massive immigration from Europe to America from 1820s to 1920s. The first immigration flow has paved the way for the rise of attention towards these newcomers' and their descendants' experiences in the American society. In the end, this attention has resulted in the development of the literature on how these immigrants or newcomers have been incorporated into the American society. Nevertheless, the second wave of non-European mass immigration to the United States (US) beginning in the 1960s has challenged the classical assimilation perspective. The reason is that these newcomers have differed in many ways and also the United States has not been as same as in 1920s. Thus, the initial assimilation theories or models are not enough to explain the new complex situation. Thus, it might be useful to examine assimilation theories in two parts: traditional and new assimilation theories and the theory of segmented assimilation.

¹⁴ Zeynep Yanaşmayan, "Concepts of Multiculturalism and Assimilation", Michael Emerson (Ed.), in **Interculturalism Europe and Its Muslims in Search of Sound Societal Models**, (17-28), Brussels: The Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), 2011, p. 24.

1.2.1.1 Traditional Perspective and New Assimilation Theories

In the discipline of sociology, immigrant assimilation studies have had a substantial place starting with the Chicago School of Sociology. Robert Park and Ernest Burgess as significant researchers of Chicago School of Sociology tried to find out European immigrants' and their descendants' inclusion into American society at the end of the 20th century. While doing that, their argument was based on the idea that social interaction between primary or majority group and immigrants could eliminate cultural differences among society.¹⁵ Robert Park defined assimilation in their textbook named "*Introduction to the Science of Sociology*" as:

“[...] a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. In so far as assimilation denotes this sharing of tradition, this intimate participation in common experiences, assimilation is central in the historical and cultural processes”.¹⁶

Indeed, it can be said that assimilation, in Park's view is a “social process” as well as “cultural process” for the whole society, not only for the immigrants and not only one-sided process. Although the process of assimilation was as the construction of a united national identity, it is not by force, just originated unintentional human contact.¹⁷

Park's conclusion about assimilation had been used for years by scholars; but, his study was criticized several points. Firstly, it was criticized for not giving a time frame for the end of the assimilation process.¹⁸ In other words, it was not clear when the assimilation process would end. Second criticism was that there was no deep explanation about stages of assimilation. For the question of “Which aspects of the

¹⁵ Charles Hirschman, “Theories of International Migration and Immigration: A Preliminary Reconnaissance of Ideal Types”, Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz and Josh DeWind (Eds.), in **Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience**, (120-137), New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999, p. 129.

¹⁶ Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess, **Introduction to Science of Sociology**, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1921, p.735. [electronic version] available at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28496/28496-h/28496-h.htm#Page_663 (20 February 2014).

¹⁷ Yanaşmayan, *Concepts of Multiculturalism and Assimilation*, p. 24.

¹⁸ Peter Kivisto, **Multiculturalism in a Global Society**. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002, p. 28.

groups changed first?”, there was no answer in Park’s study of the assimilation process. Last and most significantly, cultural differences between immigrants and their offspring and also receiving society did not disappear as Park foresaw over time.¹⁹

In 1964, Milton Gordon made major contributions to assimilation studies in his book “*Assimilation in American Life*.” To make clearer the assimilation process, he divided the society into two components: *structural* and *cultural*. The structural components of the society were organizations, groups, families and communities. This structure connected individuals to another group and then to society. Cultural components in all were language, customs, religious beliefs, values and ideas. Although he explained the assimilation process under seven sub-processes as (1) cultural assimilation, the first stage, then in order (2) structural, (3) marital, (4) identificational, (5) attitude receptional, and (6) behaviour receptional and (7) civic assimilation, the main conceptual framework was laid between *acculturation* and *structural assimilation*. According to him, *acculturation* means the minority group’s adoption of the cultural patterns of the host society.²⁰ It came first and was inevitable. Nevertheless, he argued that there is a distinction between *intrinsic* cultural traits as religion and *extrinsic* ones such as dress style, food habits and so on. While extrinsic traits were more inclined to accommodate to the host society, intrinsic ones were not. Thus, Gordon did not have any expectation about giving up religious identities as a result of acculturation.²¹ Although acculturation was the first step of assimilation, it could last forever. Nevertheless, structural assimilation was the accelerator for completing the assimilation process. To Gordon, groups contacted with each other firstly in public institutions as workplaces and schools, and then people made friendships with the members of other groups. He claimed that once people entered into the public institutions, the other stages of assimilation would follow automatically. In other words, it led to decline of discrimination and prejudice by the dominant group, and intermarriages among the groups became more visible, and thus minority’s distinction identity was eliminated.²²

¹⁹ Han Entzinger and Renske Biezeveld, “Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration”, **European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) Report**, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2003, p. 7.

²⁰ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, “Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration”, **International Migration Review**, Vol. 31, No.4 (Winter 1997), p. 829.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

There is a strong similarity between Park's and Gordon's models of assimilation in terms of inevitability of the assimilation process. Both of them see assimilation as the final situation, and they simply think that minority groups become more assimilated or become more similar to the majority over time.

Alba and Nee redefined Gordon's assimilation model, and they argued that the assimilation was still a valid concept for the non-European immigrants and still the core concept to understand their relations with the primary groups.²³ Although Alba and Nee thought that the classic assimilation theory works best, they tried to explain the criticisms in terms of accepting the classical assimilation theory the American society homogeneous racially and economically. Therefore, they stressed that the assimilation takes place within racially and economically heterogeneous society and they redefined assimilation in this context. Alba also asserted that assimilation could be possible despite the resistance of immigrants.²⁴ According to him, assimilation could often occur because of the individuals' unintended choices to take advantage of opportunities to improve their social situations.

In the 1990s, there have been great debates about declining of assimilation or the death of assimilation for the American case, especially for the new post-1965 non-European immigrants, mostly of Asian and Latin American origins. Many classical assimilation scholars expected that immigrants should be assimilated into the core culture; it meant, indeed, in the context of America, to "become American." Nevertheless, this ethnocentric view ignored the fact that the assimilation process might have a negative effect on immigrants and their descendants.

1.2.1.2 Segmented Assimilation Model

As the pioneers of the segmented assimilation model Portes and Zhou (1993) asserted in their study that America is a heterogeneous, stratified and unequal society,

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Richard Alba, "Immigration and the American Realities of Assimilation and Multiculturalism", **Sociological Forum**. Vol. 14, No.1 (March 1999), p. 8.

so immigrants assimilate into a different segment of the society.²⁵ According to their segmented assimilation model, there are three ways of assimilation. The first way, as classical assimilation theory foresees, is acculturation and assimilation into the American middle class. The second is acculturation and assimilation to the urban underclass which leads to downward mobility due to structural barriers or obstacles affecting severely disadvantaged members of immigrant groups. Portes and Zhou called it “negative assimilation.” The third is preservation of the immigrant group’s culture and values after economic integration.

In a nutshell, assimilation is understood as a unidirectional, one-sided process in which the immigrants and their descendants give up their culture and adopt that one of the society into which they have migrated, in the case of the United States. In Europe, however, the perception of assimilation is totally different. Assimilation was understood as a concept and a set of policies towards national minorities for building up culturally homogenous nations at the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century when nationalism in Europe was at stake.²⁶ Unlike the US, the process of assimilation was associated with ethnocentrism, cultural suppression and even violent means of forcing minorities to accept the supremacy of the dominant culture. With a bitter memory of the European history -Jewish assimilation disaster- assimilation became a taboo, a banned word and concept.²⁷

In addition to the acceptance of negative perception of assimilation, an exceptional meaning of the concept was offered to literature by Brubaker in 2001 with his famous article “The return of assimilation?...”. Brubaker gives the definition of assimilation as “the process of becoming similar, or of making similar or treating as similar.”²⁸ He explained his claims by giving examples from France, Germany and the US, especially based on naturalisation policies. Despite all these redefinitions and revitalizations, assimilation still stands for or represents negative perception considering state policies.

²⁵ Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, “The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants”, **The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science**. Vol.530, No.1 (November 1993).

²⁶ Heckmann, *Integration and Integration Policies*, p. 11.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Rogers Brubaker, “The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States”, **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, Vol. 24, No. 4 (July 2001), p.534.

1.2.2 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as an idea first appeared in Canada, and was introduced as a central concept of the government programme in 1971 against the Quebec question.²⁹ The concept entered into the Australian and United States discussions, and then it was followed by Sweden, which officially introduced multiculturalism in 1975; in Dutch policy documents, it began to receive attention from 1980 onwards.³⁰ The use of the concept in other European countries that had permanent immigration experiences since the post-war period, also began to increase. In that case, what should we understand by multiculturalism?

Aside from political use of the concept, multiculturalism, one of the heavily contested concepts, has been debated in several social science disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, political philosophy and so forth over the years. Although there are numerous definitions of multiculturalism that take different forms in different contexts and at different times,³¹ it is only defined and accepted as totally opposite term to assimilation, especially in the context of immigrant and minority studies. In this sense, it can be understood as the cultural pluralism of societies as its name suggests.³² However, if one uses multiculturalism in this way, it can be applied to nearly all countries because they are composed of different cultural groups living within the same borders. Therefore, this is a simplified explanation; undoubtedly, there is more about multiculturalism. On the other hand, multiculturalism is used to indicate a cultural diversity stemming from recent immigration. Sometimes it is used for groups coming from elsewhere a long time ago as the US blacks or indigenous people. Even multiculturalism can be used for other minority groups like gays, disabled people or women; however, such use is more visible in the United States.^{33 34}

²⁹ Hans Vermeulen, "Conclusions", Hans Vermeulen (Ed.), in **Immigrant Policy For A Multicultural Society: A Comparative Study of Integration, Language and Religious Policy in Five Western European Countries**, (131-154), Brussels: Migration Policy Groups, 1997, p. 134.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Tariq Modood, "Multiculturalism and Integration: struggling with confusions", 2011, p. 6. <http://www.qmul.ac.uk/migration/pdf/QMUL%20Talk%201%20November%202011.pdf> (20 February 2014)

³² Yanaşmayan, *Concepts of Multiculturalism and Assimilation*, p. 17

³³ Vermeulen, *Conclusions*, p. 135.

On the other hand, it is important to note that the term multiculturalism and multiculturality are generally confused and used synonymously. Multiculturalism is a normative term which states that different communities should be allowed to maintain their own cultures and identities, rather than being forced to adopt the host society culture. Multiculturality, by contrast, is a descriptive term which indicates the existence of several cultural or ethnic groups within a society with different identity and traditions.³⁵ However, multiculturalism has been used as a political label to frame different policies on how to manage ethnic, cultural and religious diversities.

Theories of multiculturalism are based on the recognition and accommodation of cultural minorities like immigrants; so multicultural policies aim to ensure socio-economic and political the participation of all members of the society. In other words, multiculturalism refers to the acceptance of migrants as different groups from the majority population in terms of language and culture by having their own associations, and the support of their participation in the common institutions of the society.

While doing that, states should take responsibility of developing policies or laws that allow minority groups to maintain their own cultures in the society. Kymlicka as one of the leading scholars working on multiculturalism argues that the minority groups may protect their culture and language against majority through the laws that protect their rights. According to Kymlicka, to do that, the following eight policies might be included in the laws for immigrant groups:

³⁴ It is said that multiculturalism has been derived from several sources: (a) national minorities, (b) immigrants, and (c) religion. National minorities are the ethnic groups within the total population of a country; they differ from the majority in terms of their common ethnic features like religion, language. Generally, they demand self governance so that they can preserve their own culture. As an instance, Basques and Catalans are the national minorities living in Spain. Immigrants are the second significant sources of the multiculturalism. Especially since the Second World War, there has been an increase in number of immigrants in Western Europe from less developed or politically unstable regions like South Africa, Middle East. These “new minorities” are called differently by European states. For instance, they are called as “allohtone” in Belgium, “arbitrare” in Germany, “ethnic minority” in Britain. On the other hand, it is important how they are used in daily and political life. For example, if one uses “foreigner” for an immigrant, s/he highlights that immigrants are not a part of the society. Religion is in itself a source of pluralism or diversity. The main diversity stemming from religion has been based on the Catholic-Protestant division and later Judaism. However, today, there seems to be a *de facto* unity among them. Islam is also accepted as the main source of diversity within the religion context.

³⁵ Anna Triandafyllidou, “Adressing Cultural, Ethnic and Religious Diversity Challenges in Europe: A Comparative Overview of 15 European Countries”, **Cultural Diversity in Europe: A Comparative Analysis**, San Damiano di Fiesole: European University Institute, 2011, p. 28.

1. “Constitutional, legislative, or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism, at the central and/ or regional and municipal levels
2. The adoption of multiculturalism in school curricula
3. The inclusion of ethnic representation/sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing
4. Exemptions from dress codes, either by statute or by court cases
5. Allowing of dual citizenship
6. The funding of ethnic group organizations to support cultural activities
7. The funding of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction
8. Affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups.”³⁶

As Kymlicka also states “these policies are intended precisely to make it easier for the members of immigrant groups to participate within the mainstream institutions of the existing society.”³⁷

Yet, there is a contradiction between the theory of multiculturalism and political practices. In theory, as above mentioned, while multiculturalism aims at preserving migrants’ own languages and cultures, and at the same time providing their participation into host societies’ political, social and economic institutions, in practice, it has not succeeded. Migrants neither have preserved their own cultures, nor have the majority in the public spheres welcomed migrants. As a result, multiculturalist policies have led to the presence of separate lives between migrants and the majority.

Last but not least, the differentiation between *de facto* multiculturalism and official multiculturalism should be kept in mind.³⁸ *De facto* multiculturalism, which has many facets, derives from the logic of liberal states, and it is based on the protection of the rights of immigrants in the pragmatic realms such as health or social security. Official multiculturalism, on the other hand, goes beyond *de facto* multiculturalism. It deliberately and explicitly recognizes and protects immigrants as distinct ethnic groups.³⁹ Whereas *de facto* multiculturalism can be found in every liberal state, official

³⁶ Will Kymlicka, “The rise and fall of multiculturalism?”, Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf (Eds.), in **The Multiculturalism Backlash European discourses, policies and practices**, (32-50), London and New York: Routledge, 2010, p.37.

³⁷ Will Kymlicka, **Politics in the Vernacular Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship**. USA: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 197.

³⁸ Joppke and Morawska, *Integrating Immigrants in Liberal Nation States: Policies and Practices*, p.8.

³⁹ Ibid.

multiculturalism is less widespread, and in Europe is even at the point of disappearing.⁴⁰ The reason of that lies under the fact that official multiculturalism has fundamentally different meanings in Canada or Australia and Europe. Official multiculturalism in Canada and Australia is for everyone while in Europe official multiculturalism is targeting only the immigrants, and it makes official multiculturalism more vulnerable.⁴¹

In addition, it is significant to state that concepts and policies are changing in accordance with the ever changing structure of the societies. Since the last ten years, academicians and politicians have been stating the failure of the multicultural policies, and a new prominent concept, interculturalism, has been started to be used. By contrast to multiculturalism, interculturalism is based on individuals rather than groups. According to interculturalism, different cultures could coexist within a society, and the individuals have a major role to develop an intercultural dialogue between different cultures. Most importantly, this dialogue is a public one taking place in institutions like workplaces or schools.⁴²

Consequently, the use of the integration by scholars shows some differences. For some, integration is between assimilation and multiculturalism, whereas, for others, it is only a form of assimilation.⁴³ According to the assimilationist point of view, integration refers to “process through which immigrants become part of the receiving society,” and it implies a one-way process of adaptation by newcomers into the dominant culture and way of life.⁴⁴ As Vasta states, this usage does not recognise the diversity of cultural and social patterns in society, and the second one also refers to the integration as a “two-way process of adaptation, involving a change in values, norms and behaviour for both newcomers and members of the existing society.”⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.10.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.12.

⁴² Anna Triandafyllidou, *Addressing Cultural, Ethnic and Religious Diversity Challenges in Europe: A Comparative Overview of 15 European Countries*, p.19.

⁴³ Ellie Vasta, “Accommodating diversity: why current critiques of multiculturalism miss the point”. **Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) Working Paper Series**, University of Oxford, 2007, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

1.3 DIFFERENT INTEGRATION APPROACHES AND POLICIES IN EUROPE

Alba states that “integration occurs as the collective by-product of choices made by individuals by take advantage of opportunities to improve their social condition.”⁴⁶ However, it is also a politically promoted process as well as individual choices and decisions. This politically promoted process is called as “integration policies.”⁴⁷

As above mentioned, the academic using of integration is not only a complex concept, but also one with different meanings. Thus, it is not a surprise that there could be differences among European states in their interpretation of integration, and consequently they have different means and objectives of their integration policies. Differentiations depend on political and ideological differences, and significantly on policy instruments that are in the hands of the authorities.⁴⁸

Many European countries have been experiencing foreign labour and migration intensely, especially since WW II. Nevertheless, their formulation of comprehensive policies regarding integration of the immigrants dates back only to the late 1970s because immigration has been one of the least politicized policy areas on the political agendas of the European countries.⁴⁹ The reason is that European states have seen themselves as non-immigration countries. However, European countries have higher rates of immigration than “nations of immigrants” or “classical immigration countries” such as Canada, Australia and the United States.⁵⁰ Thus, policies of integration of the immigrants have been influenced soundly by European countries’ self-definition as “non-immigration” countries. On the contrary, European countries have tried to overcome this contradictory situation for years by calling their immigrants, particularly the ones coming in the 1950s and 1960s, “*temporary guests or workers*.” It was based on the anticipation of their eventual return to their homelands. However, at the same

⁴⁶ Alba, *Immigration and the American Realities of Assimilation and Multiculturalism*, p. 6.

⁴⁷ João Sardinha, **Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal**. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009, p. 39.

⁴⁸ Entzinger and Biezeveld, *Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration*, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Yasemin Soysal, **Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe**. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994, p. 34.

⁵⁰ Rinus Penninx, Dimitrina Spencer and Nicholas Van Hear, “Migration and Integration in Europe: the State of Research”, **Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) Reports**, University of Oxford, 2008, p. 5.

time, European states have allowed the family reunification that led to an increase in foreign population. In addition to that, over time there have been non-ignorable changes in public and political attitudes toward immigrants. Immigrants have been started to be associated with various problems such as crimes; illegal acts and *raison d'être* of unemployment etc. Whereas some countries have identified these tensions relatively early and have initiated some integration policies in the late 1970s, most of them formulated their integration policies in the 1990s.

In addition to these internal factors affecting the development of integration policies, there are also external factors such as international organizations or nongovernmental organizations that accelerate the development of integration policies in the host societies by the late 1990s. As an example, European Council of Ministers at Tampere in 1999 referred to integration as a key term embracing all post-immigration process. Then the term of integration began to be visible in the researches of organizations' such as International Labour Organization (ILO), Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Nevertheless, in each state, the understanding of integration and integration policies demonstrate substantial varieties as well as some convergences. Besides that, the most significant feature of the European countries in the immigration integration context is having or producing ad-hoc and reactive integration policies in contrast to more explicit and pro-active policies of countries like the United States, Canada and Australia.⁵¹ It does not mean that classic immigration countries do not have any hot debates on immigration; but, their fundamental belief of being an immigration country and building up their societies upon this fact has never changed.

In the context of Europe, on the contrary, nation state perception is quite dominant. Favell rightly states that:

“When political actors and policy intellectuals talk about integration, they are inevitably thinking about integration into one, single, indivisible (national) state, and one, simple, unitary (national) society.”⁵²

⁵¹ Penninx, *The Logic of Integration Policies: an exercise in policy thinking*, p. 4.

⁵² Adrian Favell, **Philosophies of Integration Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain**, New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2001, p. 351.

In this sense, integration might not be possible without the intervention of the state; and, integration policies are determined by a *sense of nationhood* or the concept of citizenship.⁵³ Heckmann and Schnapper call it as “*national mode of integration*.”⁵⁴ Favell also indicates that integration is about “substance of nation-building”; and “state can actively nationalize newcomers and re-constitute the nation-state under conditions of growing cultural diversity.”⁵⁵ Thus, in the studies on immigrant integration, there is a general approach: *national models of integration*. Despite some convergences at different levels, namely local, federal and state level, national understanding of integration policies still predominates. In fact, it means that each state approaches differently about which kinds of rights ought to be granted to immigrants and according to which methods. Thus, these national models show some varieties from each other in being more assimilationist or more multicultural in terms of recognising ethnic-cultural differences.⁵⁶ Despite the national variations, the literature⁵⁷ has distinguished among three main national theoretical models of immigrants’ integration. These are classified as follows:

1. France’s integration policies are associated with or called as “**assimilation model**,” and it is related to its historical understanding of building up the national society. Notwithstanding the fact that it has been a country having a long history of immigration since the mid-19th century, contrary to other European countries; France has never had any special integration policies for its immigration population.⁵⁸ The reason is that France’s “republican model” defines “the nation as a political community which newcomers enter by will or birth.”⁵⁹ Basic idea of the model “whoever is born on the soil (*ius soli*) or willing to adopt the national culture and

⁵³ Heckmann and Schnapper, *Introduction*, p. 12.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Favell, *Philosophies of Integration Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Maren Borkert and Tiziana Caponio, “Introduction: the local dimension of migration policy making”, Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert (Eds.) in **The Local Dimension of Migration Policy Making**, (9-23), Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, IMISCOE Textbooks, 2010, p. 15.

⁵⁷ Hollifield (1997) distinguishes three models for Europe: a) The guest worker model, b) the assimilation model and c) the ethnic minority model. Castles (1995) also distinguishes three models, which he calls: a) the model of differential exclusion, b) assimilationist model and c) the pluralist model. For further information see Entzinger and Biezeveld, *Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ Dominique Schnapper, Pascale Krief and Emmanuel Peignard, “French Immigration Policy: A Complex Combination”, Friedrich Heckmann and Dominique Schnapper (Eds.) in **The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies National Differences and Trends of Convergence**, (15-45), Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2003, p. 15.

⁵⁹ Borkert and Caponio, *Introduction: the local dimension of migration policy making*, p. 15.

political rules is accepted into the community.”⁶⁰ In other words, origin of a person has never been considered; in this sense, “national identity is not biological but political”; and also immigration policy is “colour-blind,” so there is no policy of minorities.⁶¹ Thus, in accordance with this model, ethnic cultures cannot be recognised in the public sphere. Also in the political realm, model excludes particular ethnic group formations and representations in the parliament.

2. “**Multicultural model**” usually is associated with the European countries like the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Multicultural integration model is based on the assumption that immigration is permanent, and immigrants are accepted as the full members of the society despite their ethnic or national origins.⁶² Recognising their cultural identity and creating facilities to preserve them are essential in this approach. It is understood that immigration is seen as the multicultural character of society.

3. The most known country for the “**guest worker model**”⁶³ is Germany. According to this model, immigration is determined by the needs of the labour market. There is a belief that immigrants are temporary, and they will return to their homelands in the end. Besides that, this model is based on *jus sanguinis* citizenship, which implies that access to nationality requires belonging to the same ethno cultural group. Therefore, their legal status is problematic, and they are not granted as much as rights that the citizens have especially political rights.

Nevertheless, no country in Europe follows any of these models definitively. In fact, though these models have been generally admitted for years, they have been seriously debated. Bearing in mind that integration is not a static process; the attitudes of societies and also policies of the state towards immigrants can change during the process. For example, bans on the construction of minarets in Switzerland, banning of the wearing of face-covering veils and burqa in Belgium were clear signs of the growing anxiety towards multicultural policies within the European states. The murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh by Mohammad Bouyeri, a young second generation immigrant having dual Dutch-Moroccan nationality, was also one of the

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Schnapper, Krief and Peignard, *French Immigration Policy: A Complex Combination*, p. 15.

⁶² Entzinger and Biezeveld, *Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration*, p. 15.

⁶³ In the literature, it is also classified as “exclusionist model” or “differential exclusionist model” because immigrants are granted some rights like access to health, education, but are excluded from others such as political rights.

most symbolic events towards rising tensions multiculturalism.⁶⁴ In addition to them, political leaders have joined the debates publicly. Angela Merkel publicly stated that the policy of multiculturalism has “failed, failed utterly” in October 2010 and this was followed by David Cameron’s call for a “more active, more muscular liberalism” and Nicolas Sarkozy’s statement that multiculturalism is a “failed concept.”⁶⁵ Thereby, especially as of early 2000s, “retreat from multiculturalism”⁶⁶ has been debated, particularly in the Netherlands, the UK and then Europe. Even “return to assimilation”⁶⁷ discourse has been at stake for European countries. Implementing citizenship courses and mandatory tests for measurement of knowledge about norms and values of the dominant culture are demonstrated as examples of return to assimilation discussion.^{68 69} Immigrants also must show levels of competency in the official language through compulsory courses and tests. Thus, this so-called “civic integration model” seems the dominant integration model in Europe.

In Germany, on the other hand, naturalisation policies have been changed, and now, to some extent, it has been made easier to have German citizenship for immigrants. It means that in Germany, there is no expectation from immigrants to return their homelands any longer. In sum, as Carrera argues, these traditional national models of integration might no longer exist.⁷⁰

The issue of how best to integrate migrants, thus, is a central policy challenge throughout Europe. However, as Vertovec states that scholars of social sciences, policymakers and also public have not come up with recently emergent diverse demographic and social patterns of the societies. According to Vertovec, the recent

⁶⁴ Suzanne Mulcahy, **Europe's Migrant Policies: Illusions of Integration**, Palgrave Macmillan, Kindle Edition, 2011, Kindle Location 239.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Kindle Location 248- 250.

⁶⁶ Christian Joppke, “The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy”, **The British Journal of Sociology**, Vol.55, No.2, 2004.

⁶⁷ Brubaker, *The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States*.

⁶⁸ Joppke, *The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy*, p.7.

⁶⁹ If immigrants do not attend or successfully complete the integration programmes, they are exposed to several sanctions like loss of the right of residence. As an another example, according to the Austrian law, the residence permit can be renewed for only another year if the integration programme is not completed within the first year. The Netherlands and Flanders Belgium also apply fines to immigrants who have failed in integration programmes. For further information see Sergio Carrera, “A Comparison of Integration Programmes in the EU Trends and Weaknesses”, **CEPS Challenge Papers**, No.1, 2006, pp.11-12.

⁷⁰ Carrera, *A Comparison of Integration Programmes in the EU Trends and Weaknesses*. pp. 11-12.

diversity is not only in terms of ethnicity, but also differential immigration statuses, restrictions of rights, divergent labour market, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution and local level responses by both authorities and residents. All these factors constitute the new “super-diversity.”⁷¹ Nevertheless, assimilation and multicultural integration models are simplifying the extent of diversity and ignoring how actual integration occurs in different contexts. For example, they usually consider legislation with respect to naturalization or cultural rights of the migrants, but they ignore other significant aspects of integration like social and economic rights. Moreover, these national models do not describe different political actors involving in the integration process. For example, they do not explain the local level dimension of integration where the policies come true.⁷² Thus, for years the local dimension of immigrant policy has been ignored; but, recently it has gained attention by an increasing number of scholars and researchers.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter attempted to portray the conceptual framework of the present study, namely immigrant integration. The integration is generally defined as a two-way process between immigrants themselves and members of the receiving society, and gives the right to maintaining immigrants’ own cultures when immigrants enter the economic, cultural and political structures of the receiving society.

Integration is accepted as a buzzword in Europe when immigration issues are in question since the perception towards assimilation and multiculturalism is sceptic in Europe. Assimilation is not a warmly welcomed concept in the discourse of immigrant integration because it is not just based on gaining of new culture, language and values but also on the fact that immigrants are expected to give up their initial values and even reject them. So, it is perceived as a process, which foresees the disappearance of immigrants’ cultural roots. On the other hand, the second alternative concept

⁷¹ Steven Vertovec, “Super-diversity and its implications”, **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, Vol. 30, No. 6 (November 2006) p. 1025.

⁷² Rinus Penninx and Marco Martiniello, “Integration policies and processes: State of the art and lessons”, Rinus Penninx, Karen Kraal, Marco Martiniello and Steve Vertovec (Eds.) in **Citizenship in European Cities: Immigrants, Local Politics and Integration Policies**, (139-163), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, p. 156 cited in Borkert and Caponio, *Introduction: the local dimension of migration policy making*, p. 14.

multiculturalism, introduced into the European agenda as a result of the intensive immigration influx as of the early 1960s, is based on the recognition of different cultural communities and representation of these differences in public spheres of the society. By this reason, the right of establishment their own schools, place of worships and so on are granted. Nevertheless, multiculturalism is criticised on the grounds of causing separate lives within the society and impeding the integration of the immigrants.

Integration of the immigrants is accepted as the national concerns by the many of European states, but it is a fact that the immigrant integration takes place at the local level where the immigrants and members of the receiving society interact constantly. Therefore, the argument of the study is that the local authorities and migrant associations play an important role in shaping and facilitating the immigrant integration.

CHAPTER 2: LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS AS AGENTS OF INTEGRATION

During 1990s, most of the scholars working on migration have argued that the nation state is a key dimension for the policies of migrants' integration. As stated in the previous chapter, several typologies have been used to characterize national policies towards immigrants. Nevertheless, these typologies have not properly explained how integration takes place at different levels. In fact, the immigrant integration process fundamentally takes place between the two parties: immigrants themselves and the receiving society, and the interaction between them usually happens in the streets, schools, public spaces, workplaces or local organisations in the cities. Cities are the places where immigrants want to live, work and study. Cities are the places where immigrants feel the integration or exclusion. Thus, local authorities like municipalities play a significant role in immigrant integration because the local level and the local policies are the grounds of the integration process, even if policies are set at higher levels including regional, national or international ones. Moreover, local authorities in the cities usually look with favour on immigrants and see them as an asset, rather than as a problem to be solved. Therefore, these authorities encourage integration in many realms of the life like public offices, workplaces and classrooms through policies ranging from supporting language acquisition to education of migrant children and housing. Thus, significance of the local level in the integration process has come into prominence in recent years' political and academic discussion on integration in Europe. Nevertheless, the local authorities *per se* are not sufficient to direct integration policies. In that case, having better coordination and cooperation with migrant associations is needed.

Migrant associations are also the significant actors in the process of integration at local level because they might mitigate the difficulties of the process. There are many associations operating at local level, and most of them are involved in the integration process. The members of immigrant associations consist of voluntary people who have personal experience of immigration and know the life of the host societies. Therefore, they may help those, who have recently arrived in receiving society, in their integration into a new society. Besides, these organisations represent the interests of their members,

so they are, in a way, the voices of the members. Due to these reasons, those associations are as diverse as the immigrants themselves. There are cultural associations, political associations, trade associations, sports associations, students' associations and religious associations. In short, local authorities can manage the integration of migrants by developing group-specific policies than national governments, and they can take advantage of having stronger links with migrant associations for better integration of migrants.⁷³

In this context, the role of local authorities and their policies in the process of immigrant integration are explained in the first part. The second part elaborates on the migrant associations' types and roles in the integration process. The third part focuses on the relationship between migrant associations and local authorities and their practices in the integration process at the local level in several European cities.

2.1 LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND SCOPE OF THE LOCAL POLICIES

The academic literature on integration has dwelled upon national models; however, on the ground local level policies have their own dynamics. There is an emerging literature on the rising value of the local level in migrant integration (e.g., Alexander 2007, Caponio and Borkert 2010). However, before we start examining the local authorities' role in the integration, it is important to understand what the local authorities and their responsibilities are.

National government systems show variety, so the notion of local authority could present differences from each other. However, the primary level of local government is understood as a "political organisation with specific areas of responsibility that provides services to citizens."⁷⁴ Generally, the local authorities refer to municipalities, and local policies are equivalent to municipal policies. Municipal organisations across Europe are different in the context of size, institutional structure

⁷³ Elizabeth Collett and Milica Petrovic, "The Future of Immigrant Integration in Europe: Mainstreaming Approaches For Inclusion", **Migration Policy Institute Europe**, Brussels, March 2014, p. 7. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/future-immigrant-integration-europe-mainstreaming-approaches-inclusion> (25 May 2014).

⁷⁴ European Committee on Local and Regional Democracy (CDLR), **The Relationship between Central and Local Authorities**, 2007, p. 1. (with the collaboration of Alba Nogueria López, Santiago de Compostela University, Spain) <http://www.migm.gov.tr/AvrupaKonseyi/Ek41.pdf> (15 May 2014).

and responsibilities. However, for this study it is important to gain a general understanding of what is defined as the basic local authority in European states.

All member states' territories are divided into municipalities, but there are differences in the number of inhabitants living within their borders.⁷⁵ The statute of the municipalities- capital cities, bigger entities- change according to the number of inhabitants they cover. The range of population is important because there are some special provisions allowing capital cities or urban ones to have wider powers (e.g. Spain, Hungary).⁷⁶ On the other hand, in some European states local government consists of two tiers as country province-district/municipality. They have different powers and responsibilities, but territorial distribution is homogeneous (e.g. Germany, Spain).⁷⁷

Responsibilities of the local authorities are also different, but they are defined by the law. Legal provisions determine the range and extent of the local authorities' responsibilities. However, in regional or federal states, obligations of local powers might be regulated by regional legislation. In the scope of the responsibilities, the large variations could be observed depending on the differences in the centralisation/decentralisation, size of the municipalities, etc. However, housing and town planning, water supply and sewage, waste management and social services are the main areas of local responsibility in most of the EU member states.

However, it is important to keep in mind that there might be some factors affecting the local policies. First of all, as an institution, a municipality is composed of various departments and levels, and even if it is a centralised municipality, those departments may show different ideological views. For example, mayor's view can contradict with city councilors' view in different issue areas. Secondly, a mayor or a city councilor can determine the policies if they are strong and influential.

2.1.1 Local Policies Towards Migrants

Migrants usually prefer to live in cities because cities have a great variety of opportunities, from housing to jobs, for migrants. Therefore, at the present time, more

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

and more municipalities embrace an increasing number of migrant population, and they have to respond to the needs of these migrants with their policies.

Local policies or municipal policies, to some extent, are related to national immigrant and integration policies. In other words, what municipalities can do for the integration of migrants is affected or defined by the national framework. However, local authorities can take initiatives that are different from national integration policies, or they can implement national policies in a different way. If a local authority implements a national policy towards migrants, it is not being considered as local policy. If a local authority sets and implements its own policies, for example, distribution of funds in accordance with municipal criteria, or implementation a national policy in a different way, it is called as “local policy.”⁷⁸

Local policies might be related to different policy domains like political, socio-economic, etc. Each policy domain has several policies towards migrants. For example, legal-political domain, firstly is related to migrant civic status. Though naturalization, citizenship status or legal residence is a responsibility of the national governments and, in some cases like Switzerland, the Netherlands and Germany, it may be a local policy matter. On the other hand, the right to participate in local referenda might also be the responsibility of municipalities like Amsterdam and Stockholm.⁷⁹

The socio-economic domain includes a large variety of policy areas such as newcomer reception services, welfare services, labour market services and education.

⁷⁸ Michael Alexander, “Local policies toward migrants as an expression of Host-Stranger relations: A proposed typology”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol: 29, No. 3, 2003, p. 37. 411- 430. Alexander identifies four general types of local authority policies towards migrants. These are: non-policy, guest worker policy, assimilationist policy and pluralist policy. Non-policy type means that there are no specific policies towards migrants. In the eyes of Alexander, “the municipality turns a blind eye to the problem.” He gives city of Rome during 1980s as an example. Guest worker policy refers to meeting the basic needs of labour migrants during their temporary stay in the city. Such policies ignore migrant mobilization, but informal cooperation with migrant organisations might occur. Amsterdam in early 1970s is an example of that policy type. Assimilationist policy aims to help individual migrant so that s/he integrates into dominant host society. Their needs are calculated and services are provided like public housing. Assimilationist policy discourage migrants mobilization on an ethnic basis. Paris and Lille are the examples of assimilationist policy. Pluralist policy accepts migrants’ presence and “Otherness”, and supports their religious and cultural practices. They often apply a community based approach because ethnic based empowerment is accepted as a vehicle rather than an obstacle in the integration process. Within the municipality, special programmes or units promote “cultural sensivity”. Birmingham and Amsterdam are the examples of pluralist polices. See Michael Alexander, **Cities and Labour Immigration: Comparing Policy Responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv**. England: Ashgate, 2007, pp. 41-48.

⁷⁹ Alexander, *Cities and Labour Immigration: Comparing Policy Responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv*, p.49.

Welfare services can include specific services or programmes for migrants, especially for youth and women, or they can be more general like health services to migrants. Policies related to migrant participation in the labour market might include language instruction, vocational training, support for migrant entrepreneurs. Education, on the other hand, is one of the foremost issue areas in the cities. Local policies might include support for extra-curricular projects like tutoring after school, attempts at school desegregation etc. Keeping in mind that local education policies might ignore the migrant pupils because they “treat all children equally.”⁸⁰

The cultural-religious domain includes policies mainly based on the cultural differences of the migrants. Local authorities can neglect or support religious institutions and practices, religious education of the migrants through their policies. On the other hand, sensitizing the local public to cultural differences is important, so communication policies might be developed through media campaigns, employee seminars, building multicultural centres, etc.⁸¹

The spatial domain includes housing policies like social housing. These policies may target the migrants or may not. Local housing policies are important, especially where a valuable percentage of the housing stock is controlled by the municipalities. Apart from housing policies, spatial domain also includes the issue of uses of space in the city. In Europe, the most salient example is mosques. Cities have different policies in that area. Some of them discourage or limit the building permits while some provide financial support.⁸²

In sum, municipalities’ responses involve different policy domains, and their reaction towards migrants is different from each other. For example, in the political domain, local policies may support migrants’ organisations or exclude them. In the socio-economic domain, local policies directly support or ignore the needs of migrants in schools and health services. Concerning their migrants’ cultural and religious needs as places of worship, municipalities may treat them as equal as the majority and give them particular resources. However, migrant associations are significant conciliators when the local authorities implement integration policies.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 50.

⁸¹ Ibid., 51.

⁸² Ibid.

2.2 MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS AND INTEGRATION

In addition to local authorities, the migrants as well are not passive when their stay extends.⁸³ Therefore, in migration studies, scholars are also increasingly giving value to associations founded by migrants, and it is increasingly pointed out that migrant associations have a significant role in the integration at the local level. Studying migrant associations is important because it enables to figure out the complex and dynamic integration process from the perspective of migrants.

To start by asking: “What is an association?” could be useful. Michael Banton defines an association as “an organised group of individuals that come together for the purpose of attaining and defending specific common interests.”⁸⁴ When it is combined with the migrant, migrant associations, then, can be defined as an organised group of migrants that come together for the purpose of attaining and defending specific common interests. However, defining migrant associations go beyond further. They could be either established by migrants or for immigrants.⁸⁵ Therefore, migrant associations might be broadly defined as associations that are established for and by migrants to attain specific common interests. However, they differ in their functions like identity-preservation and their types such as religious groups, student organisations, hometown associations and women’s associations. On the other hand, the size of migrant associations varies from small local groups to large officially recognised unions.⁸⁶ Membership of these associations could also be limited to people from a

⁸³ Alexander, *Cities and Labour Immigration: Comparing Policy Responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv*, p. 5.

⁸⁴ Michael Banton, “Voluntary associations: Anthropological aspects”, David L. Sills (Ed.) in **International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences**, Vol.16. New York: Macmillan, 1968 cited in João Sardinha, **Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal**. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009, p. 66.

⁸⁵ Hein de Haas, “The Role of Self-Organisations of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in the Local Authority”, **ELAINE/EC**, Maastricht: European Centre for Work and Society, May 1997, p. 1. [http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/De%20Haas%201997%20\(3\)%20The%20Role%20of%20Self-Organisations%20of%20Migrants%20and%20Ethnic%20Minorities%20in%20the%20Local%20Authority.pdf](http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/De%20Haas%201997%20(3)%20The%20Role%20of%20Self-Organisations%20of%20Migrants%20and%20Ethnic%20Minorities%20in%20the%20Local%20Authority.pdf) (25 March 2013) and Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 66.

⁸⁶ De Haas, *The Role of Self-Organisations of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in the Local Authority*, p. 1.

particular national, political, social or gender background whereas it could be open to everyone.⁸⁷

By taking those into account, this part aims to draw a framework for migrant associations. The main questions are: Why do immigrants organise? What are the roles of migrant associations and how do they carry out their roles at the various phases of the immigration process? Last but not least, how do host countries perceive these immigrant associations?

2.2.1 Migrant Associations: Types and Roles

Migrant associations are significant in understanding integration process of the immigrants. They are seen as the facilitator of the integration of the immigrants. They vary in types and roles to a high degree, and usually their types determine their roles in the integration process.

There are several discourses for types of migrant associations while categorising them. For example, Schrover and Vermeulen use the “offensive-defensive dichotomy” when the associations are categorised.⁸⁸ According to Schrover and Vermeulen, migrant associations might be offensive when immigrants set themselves apart from the majority while they might be defensive as a response to exclusion.⁸⁹ Sardinha makes also another distinction between associations in accordance with their aims- encouraging integration and differentiating members from the host society.⁹⁰ Olivia Vanmechelen refers to “old” and “young” types of migrant associations.⁹¹ Old migrant associations are the extension of the political movements of the country of origins, and they focus on first generation migrants in the context of traditional values, etc. Young associations, on the other hand, are autonomous organisations found in host

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen, “Immigrant Organisations”, **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, Vol. 31, No. 5 (September 2005), pp. 824-825.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 77.

⁹¹ Olivia Vanmechelen, “Evaluatieonderzoek organisaties van migranten in Vlaanderen en Brussel”, **Higher Institute of Labour Studies Centre for Migrants**, Leuven: K.U. Leuven, 1995, p. 17 cited in Wouter Vanparrys, “Het Turkse verenigingsleven in Gent: een casestudy”, (**Unpublished Master thesis**, University of Ghent Department of Comparative Cultural Studies, 2002), p. 49.

countries. They focus on integration and participation matters of the second and third generation migrants.

In addition to these categorisations, the most common type of migrant associations is cultural organisations. They aim maintaining of the migrants' own culture; however, sometimes they can contact with other organisations in the host society. Their activities usually consist of music, art, dance and folklore activities. The second most common type of migrant associations is religious organisations. Religious and cultural associations are strongly interrelated to each other. Religious organisations generally deal with providing worship services and religious education. In addition to these types of associations, there are other types of organisations such as aid associations, leisure and sport organisations. Aid organisations usually give help to their own community members. Political associations are also another significant type of associations. They are mainly oriented political parties in the countries of origin. The less common among the migrant associations are business organisations and women's organisations.

As mentioned above, migrant associations have different types. However, what are the factors that lead to the formation of immigrant associations, or why do immigrants organize? In order to answer these questions, the Canadian scholar Raymond Breton (1964) offers three factors. These are:

- “1. cultural differences with the native population;
2. the level of resources among the members of the immigrant group; and
3. the pattern of migration.”⁹²

On the other hand, John Rex (1973) states that there are four main factors including:

- “1. overcoming social isolation;
2. helping individuals to solve personal and material problems;
3. combining to defend the group's interests in conflict and bargaining with the wider society;
4. maintaining and developing shared patterns of meaning.”⁹³

⁹² Raymon Breton, “Institutional completeness of ethnic communities”, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 70, 1964 cited in Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 77.

⁹³ John Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973 cited in Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 77.

It is obvious that the common points for formation of migrant associations are the cultural differences between immigrants and the members of the host society.⁹⁴ However, this perspective has changed in time, and migration scholars have begun to write about other factors that should be taken into consideration. These factors might be listed as: the relations of between the associations and the government of the host society, the opportunity structure in the host society and size of the immigrant community.⁹⁵

After examining the factors influential in the formation of migrant associations, the roles of the migrant associations in the integration of immigrants can be explained. First of all, migrant associations might play a positive role in strengthening self-identity, group cohesion, and their position in society as a whole.⁹⁶ As an instance, migrants could have better access to the labour market after attending education and training programmes supported by migrant organisations. On the other hand, they can apply pressure and lobby the political, legal and economic powers both in the host country and the country of origin. Such activities of the organizations are called as the mediating and bridging roles of associations.⁹⁷ Another similar approach-survival and resistance- about roles of associations is also mentioned in the literature. While survival refers to the preservation of the culture, resistance refers to struggle for access to resources and power in the host country.⁹⁸ In other words, it refers to challenging of the host countries' direct policies for immigrants. Broadly speaking, preserving their own culture is considered as the most important role of migrant associations. In other words, maintenance of their own language, traditions and religion and transmitting them to younger generations are the foremost concerns. As a matter of fact, whatever their roles,

⁹⁴ There are some criticisms at that point. For example Moya states that immigrants who are culturally different from members of the host society have not established more associations than culturally similar immigrants have. He gives the example that Portuguese in Brazil have established as many associations as the Japanese. For further information see Jose C. Moya, "Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31, No.5, September 2005, p. 839.

⁹⁵ Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 78.

⁹⁶ De Haas, *The Role of Self-Organisations of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in the Local Authority*, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 78.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

the important thing is feeling secure in their own culture because it is the basic foundation for meeting the receiving country's culture and society.⁹⁹

Roles of associations are not stationary so they can change during the stages of integration. For example, migrants organise themselves quickly in the settlement stage because they need to mitigate the impacts of the culture shock in the initial process of adaptation to a different society. In the social adaptation stage, associations play an active role in strengthening solidarity among the immigrants. In that case, associations develop many activities for cultural preservation. These activities might include the teaching of mother-tongue to younger generations, celebration of symbolic dates, formation of cultural groups like traditional music and dance groups. Manifestation of immigrants' cultures publicly depends on the willingness of the immigrants, but the host society also has a significant role in determining the degree. In other words, host society can determine the degree to which group can manifest itself publicly. The host society can have the power to prevent such activities. After social adaptation, other needs and maybe difficulties between the immigrants and the members of the host society may start appearing, and at that point, the activities of the associations can take different forms. Indeed, these difficulties derive from the social marginalisation and discrimination while the immigrants access to certain social services like health, education, housing, social rights and political rights, as well. Rex (1986) states the various discriminatory conditions: lack of access to the decision making process, unequal access to the job market, high unemployment index, residential segregation, educational segregation and differentiation before the law.¹⁰⁰ Sardinha indicates these discriminatory situations as mobilising factors behind the immigrants to organise politically, and sees immigrant associations as a tool in promoting social integration of the immigrants and a mediator between the community and the political powers of the host society.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ De Haas, *The Role of Self-Organisations of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in the Local Authority*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ John Rex, **Race and Ethnicity**, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986 cited in Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 80.

¹⁰¹ Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 80.

It seems that migrant associations have positive and integrative impact on the integration process between individuals and society as a whole; however, there is the other side of the coin. The increase in the number of migrant associations cannot necessarily follow a positive trend. The formation migrant associations might be a reason of segregation and an obstacle to integration. To emphasize their own culture, language can reinforce isolation and limit the interactions between the immigrants and the host society and hamper the integration process as a whole.¹⁰² To sum up, both positive and negative effects of the associations could be valid since they are the two sides of the same coin. As Pauwels and Deschamps (1991) rightly state, negative or positive effects of the migrant associations are dependent on the characteristics of the associations themselves. It means that some could be clearly much more integration-oriented than others.¹⁰³

2.2.2 Migrant Associations: The Receiving and Sending Countries

Today, migrants have close relationships with both sending and receiving countries via their social or economic ties. In such cases, it should be taken into consideration that either sending country or receiving country or both might play a significant role in establishment of migrant associations as well as in limitation to their number.

Starting with the receiving country, the governments might support or approve migrant associations and their activities. Nevertheless, the extent of accepting of the migrant associations highly depends on how the receiving country identifies and perceives the migrants. For example, when the immigrants are seen as temporary residents, they are accepted as foreign nationals. In such cases, activities of the migrants could be limited due to their lack or restricted set of political-legal rights.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 80-81.

¹⁰³ Koenraad Pauwels and Luk Deschamps, **Eigen Organisaties van Migranten**, Brussels: Centrum voor Bevolkings- en Gezins studiën, 1991 cited in De Haas, *The Role of Self-Organisations of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in the Local Authority*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Yasemin Soysal, **Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe**. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994, p. 84 and Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal*, p. 89.

Oppositely, organisational activities of the migrants could be supported in some countries where immigrants are viewed as new citizens because migrant associations are also seen as the tools helping the process of integration. Thus, in these countries, migrant associations are usually supported financially by the host governments (Sardinha, 2009: 89). In addition to the immigrants are perceived in the host states, the integration models are also significant in affecting the situation of migrants associations. For example, in Soysal's incorporation model, migrant associations are easily organised in a collective framework in corporatist regimes (Sweden and the Netherlands). In liberal regimes (the UK and Switzerland), migrant associations work mainly as social services and advisory organisations. In statist regimes (France and Germany), migrant associations activities are parallel to state views, and their activities are directed toward public authorities.¹⁰⁵

Governments of sending countries or countries of origin, however, do not remain passive towards the formation of immigrant associations, and they play an active role in their formation, especially in the context of religious and political areas because migrants are still often seen as belonging to their country of origin. Immigrant associations in receiving countries do not only mobilize in relation to political issues of discrimination and equal rights in that society, but also in relation to the domestic political situation in the sending country. Religion of the migrants, on the other hand, could be recognised or not by the host country or the host society might be secular or not. For example, since Islamic organisations have not been granted the status of recognised religious communities, the migrants organise their Islamic instruction, which is financed by the sending countries. For example, the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs is supported by the Diyanet of Turkey since they are sending own Imams to Germany. In Belgium, the Netherlands, France and Germany, for example, various associations such as Milli Görüş, were founded within the Turkish community, mostly reflecting political tensions in the country of origin in the 1970s.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*, pp.86-87.

¹⁰⁶ Although these associations were founded with the same names and with the same purposes, their activities were different from each other. For example, while Milli Görüş in the Netherlands organised the Dutch language courses, cultural activities, and etc., these kind of activities of Milli Görüş in Germany were small. In that case, it is seen that different national contexts provide different paths for the associations. For more detail comparison see Gönül Tol, "A Comparative Study of the Integration of the Turks in Germany and the Netherlands", n.a, Middle East Institute: Center for Turkish Studies,

2.3 WORKING TOGETHER: MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN EUROPE

The migrant associations are as old as the immigrant presence in the host countries. It means that migrants tend to organise themselves everywhere they settle for several reasons as stated above. So, the phenomenon of migrant organisations is not new; however, their roles perceived by local authorities are changing in time.¹⁰⁷ Yet, the general idea is that migrants and migrant organisations should have an active role in the local authorities' policies related to migrants.

Usually, local authorities and migrant associations try to engage with each other. The reason is that their co-operations might lead to the development of more offensive and effective policies.¹⁰⁸ The most common type of co-operation is local authorities' supports to migrants and their associations through cultural events. In order to find out about the needs and opinions of the migrants, and then to produce proactive policies for them, a more structural co-operation can be established through consultative councils in the cities. In that case, the local authorities can use the migrant associations as intermediaries for informing their migrant members about local authority and their activities. Migrant associations are also important to local authorities since migrants participate in local elections. Through consultative councils for the local authorities, cities encourage the participation of migrant associations in local issues. Joint projects are also substantial; migrant associations can participate in projects, and act as a medium between the migrant community and the local authority. These kinds of co-operation generally complete each other. Consequently, both local authorities and migrant associations should work together to overcome the problems of migrants, and to sustain social harmony as a whole at the local level.

For the most part, local authorities support to migrant associations financially, but in a selective way. Generally, support is given to associations that produce self-initiated projects and activities. Additional financial supports are also given by other

Washington DC. <http://eucenter.berkeley.edu/files/tol-a-compariative-study.pdf> (25 November 2012). See also Pontus Odmalm, "Turkish Organizations in Europe: How National Contexts Provide Different Avenues for Participation", *Turkish Studies*, Vol 10, No. 2, 2009, pp. 149-163.

¹⁰⁷ De Haas, *The Role of Self-Organisations of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in the Local Authority*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.7.

authorities and institutions as national governments, regional governments, NGOs and the European Commission.

There are remarkable examples in cities of Europe that show good practices between the local authorities and migrant associations in several integration domains. Among them, cultural integration is the most supported domain by the local authorities. For example, Stuttgart, a city in southern Germany, is a multicultural city in where people from more than 170 countries live. In order to strengthen social cohesion in the city, the Office of Cultural Affairs supports cultural organisations and their initiatives. One of them is Forum of the Cultures, which is an umbrella association. The Forum contains 270 non-German organisations to promote cultural diversity. The association organizes various events such as music, theatre or seminars on topics like association law or how to apply for grants. The association also organizes an annual summer festival of cultures and produces a monthly magazine called “Intercultural Stuttgart-Encounter of the Cultures”. Another active organisation in this field is the German-Turkish Forum, which encourages the cultural integration of migrants by organising cultural events and more importantly arranging additional tuition for students and their families to support the education of the students. The Cultural Office gives direct financial support; additionally Office also provides rent allowances and supports activities and projects by providing municipal rooms to organisations for free. Besides that, in order to improve tolerance between different religious groups, a Round Table of Religions was established in 2003. It brings together all religious communities¹⁰⁹ to promote interreligious and intercultural dialogue. The city started also a young leadership programme called “Intercultural opening of mosque associations”. The aim is to bring young members from different Muslim communities (Arab, Turkish, Bosnian, Albanian and Alevi community) together in order to enable them to build contacts with municipal departments such as office of culture, sports and education, health office and so on.¹¹⁰ Another sample city is in Germany is Berlin. In accordance with the

¹⁰⁹ Muslims represent the largest religious group in Stuttgart with 60.000 inhabitants.

¹¹⁰ Ayşe Özbabacan, “Immigrant Integration at the Local Level: Comparison Between Stuttgart and Selected U.S. Cities”, 2009, Transatlantic Academy Paper Series, Washington DC, pp. 8-10. http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Ozbabacan_Paper_Final%20for_Web_version_2.pdf (30 May 2014)

Integration Policy of Berlin 2007-2011 Report, there are a number of projects conducting with migrant organisations. For example, the intercultural competence of schools was improved through the employment of teaching staff with immigrant background and through the initiation of school partnership with immigrant organisations in the city. In 2003, the Senate established the State Advisory Board for integration. This Advisory Board consists of the State Secretaries of all the Senate Departments, the selected representatives of immigrant organisations and delegates from NGOs like worker unions. The objectives of the Advisory Board were to improve the co-operation between the Senate and immigrant organisations. In March 2007, the Board concentrated on the promoting the municipal voting right for non-EU citizens. In 2006, the co-operation between institutions and public services in the city and immigrant organisations was set through the Berlin Action Programme “Encouraging diversity-strengthening cohesion”. Through the co-operation between the public services and immigrant organisations, the access to target groups were being facilitated, the special knowledge and ability were gained and being effectively applied. In their own words, the programme enhanced the immigrant organisations in the city and the civil engagement of the residents.¹¹¹

Another example is Antwerp, a city in northern Belgium. Alike Stuttgart, the city of Antwerp has also different ethnic groups, and as part of its diversity policy, city administration aims to improve relations between different groups living in the city. Although the migrant advisory board was established as an advisory body for local policy makers and administration, its activities were not successful. Therefore, the city of Antwerp administration opted for establishing direct regular contacts with migrant umbrella organisations, as well as individual associations. The Social Networking Service is responsible for developing relations with a variety of groups living in the city. Administration and logistics support and leadership coaching are the good practices for

¹¹¹ The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin. **Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion: Integration Policy in Berlin 2007–2011**. Berlin, 2007, pp. 30-37. https://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/lb-integration-migration/publikationen/berichte/integration_policy_in_berlin_2007_2011_bf.pdf?start&ts=1207556926&file=integration_policy_in_berlin_2007_2011_bf.pdf (30 May 2014)

helping the different communities' organisations.¹¹² These organisations' activities are generally cultural activities.¹¹³ Apart from the cultural activities, according to the Integration Service of the city, few ethnic minority organisations specifically focus on other issues like housing. The Ethnic Minority Forum, which is the voice of ethnic-cultural minorities, wants to support social position of ethnic-cultural minorities and improve the relationship between communities. In the past years, the Ethnic Minority Forum worked on the issue of social housing. In Antwerp, knowledge of Dutch was a condition for social housing, although the right to have a decent housing is the basic right. The Forum fought for imposing extra conditions to access to social housing.

Concluding Remarks

The integration of migrants into host societies is an important task of the receiving countries. Migrants organise themselves in various associations such as cultural, social, political and economic associations. Although there are several debatable views on their positive or negative contributions to integration, these organisations usually play a central role in the immigrant integration process. However, their existence *per se* is not enough. Their interactions with the local authorities are also significant and should not be ignored.

The subject of immigrant integration also provides a good argument for the EU to increase its role in this policy area, though it has been the preserve of domestic politics. The EU's involvement, however, has gradually increased when immigrant integration was begun to be seen as a collective action problem for the Union.¹¹⁴ Thus, to evaluate immigrant integration without the EU is inadequate.

¹¹²However, there are some organisations that the city is not willing to have contact because they are suspected of radical views. An example of such organisations is Youth for Islam (*Jongeren voor Islam*). Members of the organisations are approached with reluctance because of their radical views in terms of integration. Patrycja Matusz Protasiewicz, "Intercultural Policies and Intergroup Relations Case Study: Antwerp, Belgium", Eurofound, Dublin: Ireland. 2010. p. 22. <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/htmlfiles/ef103811.htm> (29 May 2014)

¹¹³Protasiewicz, *Intercultural Policies and Intergroup Relations Case Study: Antwerp, Belgium*, p. 21.

¹¹⁴Suzanne Mulcahy, **Europe's Migrant Policies: Illusions of Integration**, Palgrave Macmillan, Kindle Edition, 2011, Kindle Locations: 261-264.

CHAPTER 3: AN EU FRAMEWORK ON THE INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS

European countries have been one of the most attractive destinations for immigrants for years. Many people have migrated to European countries to have a better job, get a better education, join their families or sometimes just escape from conflicts. After their settlements, some of them adapt to their new environment culturally while others pursue their transnational ties and activities. Some Western European countries, which have faced several waves of immigration in the past five decades, like the Netherlands, France, Germany, Belgium and the UK are more concerned with immigration and integration of immigrants. On the other hand, Southern European countries like Italy, Spain and Greece, which were emigrant countries in the past fifty years, today, are the new destination of immigrants. These new immigration countries try to develop their own policies towards these newcomers. Thus, there is no doubt that Europe will continue to be an attractive region of immigration.

Immigrant integration has been traditionally domestic politics of the EU member states; nevertheless, both traditional assimilation and multicultural models have been debated. Thus, it is crucial to find new ways or policy tools to integrate these ethnically and culturally diverse groups. In that case, the European Union might be a driving force for better integration of the immigrants. It seems that the member states agree on the economic and demographic challenges of the EU as population ageing, labour needs, and they need to introduce a common immigration and, as part of it, a European immigrant integration policy framework. As a matter of fact, that immigrant integration is not a new phenomenon on the European agenda. Several measures aiming at better inclusion of immigrants into host societies, date back in 1970s, has been passed for years, especially in the field of employment, education, housing and so forth. Nevertheless, a concrete and coherent policy framework for immigrant integration in the EU framework has started to be set out in the late 1990s and early 2000s. At EU level, European heads of state and government first have called for “more vigorous integration policy” at the Tampere Summit in 1999; then, Commission has launched a series of initiatives. In 2005, the publication of the “Common Agenda for Integration:

Framework for the Integration of the third-country nationals in the European Union” and in 2011 its renewed version has been one of the remarkable, but provisional steps towards establishing a holistic immigrant integration policy in the EU.

In that broad context, the purpose of this chapter is to explore and find out how the immigrant integration comes into the EU political agenda, and how the EU defines it. This chapter also aims to understand the local authorities’ and migrant associations’ increasing prominence in the integration process from the EU perspective.

3.1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE EU IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION AGENDA

The EU’s mandate to promote integration stems from Treaties, European Council multiannual Programmes and Europe 2020 Strategy.¹¹⁵ The Founding Treaties until the Treaty of Amsterdam did not refer to the integration of immigrants; however, there were several important steps taken by the Commission and Council between the 1970s and 1990s.

3.1.1 Developments between 1970s- 1990s

The European Community has a long tradition of facilitating immigrant integration. The first reference to immigrant integration dates back 1974 with the Commission’s *Action Plan in Favour of Migrant Workers and their Families*.¹¹⁶ The action plan introduces a set of proposals aiming assistance to migrant workers¹¹⁷ and their family members to facilitate their adaptation in the host country. This programme includes several proposals based on the workers’ living and working conditions, vocational training, language training, social services, housing, and education of their children. The Council adopts this Action Programme in February 1976; however, interest in integration slows down in the next years. After that, no further initiatives are

¹¹⁵ *European Web Site on Integration*, <http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/mandate.cfm> (15 March 2013).

¹¹⁶ Hannelore Goeman, “Migrant Integration Policy at European Level: Past, Present and Future”, (n.a). Vrije Universiteit Brussels (VUB), Institute for European Studies.

¹¹⁷ Here, workers are both the nationals of the Member States and the third country nationals. Community migrants enjoy more rights like the right of free movement under Treaty of Rome while third country migrants ‘ rights mostly are regulated by bilateral agreements, and they do not enjoy the same rights. However, both groups are excluded from the exercise of civic and political rights in the host country. See Commission of the European Communities, **Action Programme in favour of migrant workers and their families**, 12 December 1974, COM (74) 2250, http://aei.pitt.edu/1278/1/action_migrant_workers_COM_74_2250.pdf (15 March 2014).

taken¹¹⁸ because national governments begin to worry about the increasing population of immigrants mainly due to family reunification.¹¹⁹ With the economic recession, immigration becomes an issue of public concern, and more restrictive immigration policies start to be implemented by the national governments. Besides that, integration of the workers is not taken into consideration so much because migrant workers are considered as guest workers and they are expected to return home.

In March 1985, the Commission again puts forward a communication, namely *Guidelines for a Community Policy on Migration*. This communication is based on the socio-political rights of migrant workers, their educational needs and combating discrimination and racism. Through this directive, Commission also highlights the importance of cooperation in the country of origin to preserve cultural links of the migrant workers with their homeland, especially for the second generation.¹²⁰ On the other hand, Commission calls for national governments for “closer cooperation and consultation at Community and international level.”¹²¹

When the Commission Directives are examined, it is obvious that Commission tries to expand its power in the field of immigration and integration and has the intent to put immigration and integration issues in the supranational realm. However, member states have exclusive competence in the field of integration since the issue of immigrant integration is closely related to sensitive political issues as national identity, citizenship and employment. In that case, governments want to keep control over who to become a citizen and under which conditions.

The turning point for developing an actual integration policy at the EU level gains value just after the Treaty of Amsterdam. Indeed, 1992 Maastricht Treaty brings migration and asylum into the sphere of influence of the EU; however, immigration

¹¹⁸ The only significant step was the Council Directive 77/486 EEC, 25/7/1977 on the education of the children of migrant workers. It made compulsory to teach the language of the host country and the language and culture of the origin country. See The European Council of the European Communities, **Directive on the education of the children of migrant workers**, 25 July 1977, 77/486 EEC. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:31977L0486&from=EN> (15 March 2014).

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Commission of the European Communities, **Guidelines for a Community Policy on Migration**, 7 March 1985, COM (85) 48 Final, http://aei.pitt.edu/1256/1/migration_policy_COM_85_48.pdf (15 March 2014).

¹²¹ Ibid.

policies are transferred an intergovernmental the Justice and Home Affairs Pillar to a more supranational one, namely European Communities with the Treaty of Amsterdam.

3.1.2 Developments Between Late 1990s- 2010s

Although there are remarkable developments between the 1970s and 1990s, the immigrant integration became a policy issue of the EU in the late 1990s with the Treaty of Amsterdam and then the Treaty of Lisbon. Until that time, the idea of creating a European Union has been a goal of the member states, and it has been repeated many times with significant changes and treaties such as 1986 Single European Act (SEA), 1993 The Treaty on European Union (TEU) often referred to as the Maastricht Treaty. With the agreement on expanding the scope of European integration, the third country nationals have also become a nonignorable fact in the EU.

3.1.2.1 The Treaties: from Amsterdam to Lisbon

With the Treaty of Amsterdam, adopted in 1997 and came into force in 1999, the development of a coherent and systematic approach for a common immigration policy started. The issues related to immigration and asylum were incorporated into the Community pillar, so EU's competence on immigration issues increased.

The Treaty brought the institutional changes by increasing the competence of the EU institutions. Related to immigration and asylum policies, the Commission gained the right to initiate immigration matters. The Parliament gained the right to share legislative power as a consequence of the codecision procedure in particular areas. The European Court of Justice (ECJ) had the right to rule on the interpretation of the laws on a request from the Council, the Commission and the member states.

The Treaty changed the decision-making process at the EU. Immigration and asylum policies were made subject to EU policy instruments like directives and binding regulations.

As regards the integration of migrants, the Treaty of Amsterdam included two provisions, though there was no clear mentioning to integration. Article 13 states that *“Council take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or*

ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation".¹²² Article 63 declares that the Council shall define "*measures defining the rights and conditions under which nationals of third countries who are legally resident in a Member State may reside in other Member States*" within five years of the entry into force of the treaty.¹²³ Article 73k also asserts that the Council adopts measures on immigration policy regarding conditions of entry and residence, and standards on procedures for the issue by Member States of long-term visas and residence permits, including those for the purpose of family reunion.¹²⁴

The Treaty of Lisbon, adopted in 2007 and entered into force in 2009 brought many changes. The three pillar system was abolished and instead of that, a new system based on the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) was established. The EU's powers were categorized as exclusive, shared, or supportive. Immigration policies became matters of shared competence between the member states and the EU institutions. In terms of decision making, The Treaty of Lisbon made the codecision the basic legislative process.

For the first time, the Treaty provided a legal basis for the promotion of integration at the EU level. This legal basis is briefly but clearly defined. Article 79.4 states that:

"The European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, may establish measures to provide incentives and support for the action of Member States with a view to promoting the integration of third-country nationals residing legally in their territories, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States."¹²⁵

¹²² *European Web Site on Integration*, <http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/mandate.cfm> (15 March 2013).

¹²³ Centre for Strategy and Evaluation Services (CSES), **Study on Practices of Integration of Third-Country Nationals at Local and Regional Level in the European Union**, Brussels, April 2013, p. 7. http://cor.europa.eu/en/documentation/studies/Documents/survey_integration_3rd_country_nationals/survey_integration_3rd_country_nationals.pdf (15 April 2014).

¹²⁴ *European Web Site on Integration*, <http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/mandate.cfm> (15 March 2013).

¹²⁵ *The Lisbon Treaty*, <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-the-functioning-of-the-european-union-and-comments/part-3-union-policies-and-internal-actions/title-v-area-of-freedom-security-and-justice/chapter-2-policies-on-border-checks-asylum-and-immigration/347-article-79.html> (25 March 2014).

3.1.2.2 European Council Multiannual Programmes: from Tampere to Stockholm

EU cooperation on the integration of immigrants has developed with the Tampere Programme (1999-2004) in 1999. The meeting of the European Council at Tampere (Finland) is a turning point after the Amsterdam Treaty in which visas, asylum, immigration and other policies related to free movement of people came under the first pillar, community governance. It is significant because, for the first time, a multiannual programme has been developed in the field of immigration. This programme asserts that closely related issues of asylum and migration should be a common EU policy, including the following elements: partnership with countries of origin, a Common European Asylum System, fair treatment of third-country nationals, and management of migration flows. The Council has agreed that:

“The European Union must ensure fair treatment of third-country nationals who reside legally on the territory of its member states. A more vigorous integration policy should aim at granting these individuals rights and obligations comparable to those of EU citizens. It should also enhance non-discrimination in economic, social and cultural life and develop measures against racism and xenophobia.”¹²⁶

Another significant step towards the establishment of a common EU framework on immigrant integration is the 2004 Hague Programme (2004-2009) which emphasises the need for greater cooperation at the EU level of integration policies. It is highlighted in the Presidency Conclusions that stability and cohesion within the member states’ societies could provide the successful integration of legally resident third-country nationals and their descendants.¹²⁷ To prevent the isolation of certain groups, common basic principles could be established to provide a comprehensive approach involving actors at the local, regional and EU level.

Europe 2020 Strategy is the EU’s growth strategy, and it was adopted by the European Council in 2010. One of the main targets of the Europe 2020 Strategy is to

¹²⁶ European Council, **Presidency Conclusions of the Tampere European Council**, 15-16 October 1999, Brussels. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/tam_en.htm (28 February 2014).

¹²⁷ European Council, **Presidency Conclusions of the Brussels European Council**, 04-05 November 2004, Brussels. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/82534.pdf (16 March 2014).

raise the employment rate to 75%, and improving the integration of the legal immigrants is one of the means of achieving this. In Europe 2020 Strategy, the five EU-wide targets are determined, and three of them are related to immigrant integration. The Europe 2020 Integrated Guidelines also introduce a framework for the reforms at Member States. In these integrated guidelines, integration of immigrants is handled as a part of employment policies of Member States. For example, Guideline 7 states that:

“The EU headline target, on the basis of which Member States will set their national targets, is of aiming to bring by 2020 to 75% the employment rate for women and men aged 20-64 including through the greater participation of youth, older workers and low skilled workers and the better integration of legal migrants.”¹²⁸

The Stockholm Programme adopted by the European Council in December 2009 provides a road map for EU work in the 2010-2014 periods in the area of Justice, Freedom and Security and a part of this Programme is about immigrant integration. The programme calls for the development set of indicators for monitoring the results of integration policies to enable the comparability of national experiences and strengthen the European common approach. To achieve a successful integration, the European Council invites the Commission to support member states’ efforts through the development of a coordination mechanism using a common reference framework.¹²⁹

3.1.3 The EU Actions for Immigrant Integration

With the initiative of the Dutch presidency, the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy (CBPs) have been accepted for a coherent EU framework by the Justice and Home Affairs Council in November 2004. These principles adopted by the Council are important because it provides the first decisive move towards the establishment of a common EU framework on integration. Besides, it gives an initial

¹²⁸ European Commission, **Council decision on guidelines for the employment policies of the Member States Part II of the Europe 2020 Integrated Guidelines**, COM (2010) 193/3, Brussels, p. 8. http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/proposition_en.pdf (10 March 2014).

¹²⁹ European Council, **The Stockholm Programme- And open and secure Europe serving and protecting citizens**, 4 May 2010, Brussels. [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:52010XG0504\(01\)](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:52010XG0504(01)) (16 March 2014).

definition of what they mean by integration in the EU, although it is a popular but unclear concept. According to CBPs, integration is defined as:

“ [...] a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States.”¹³⁰

In addition to giving a definition of integration, CBPs provide a strong framework for policy making in this area. As seen in the **Table 3.1**, they set some initial objectives and identify some key actions. CBPs also highlight the importance of evaluating integration policies through a holistic approach to integration. They create a realm where EU, national, regional and local authorities interact in the implementation of integration policies, and where they support future integration policy developments. Thus, they provide assistance to the member states in formulating their integration policies.

TABLE 3.1 EU Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States.2. Integration implies respect for the basic values of the European Union.3. Employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible.4. Basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration.5. Efforts in education are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society.6. Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration.
--

¹³⁰ Council of the European Union, **2618th Council Meeting Justice and Home Affairs**, 19 November 2004, Brussels, p.17. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf (5 March 2014).

7. Frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. Shared forums, inter-cultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures, and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and Member State citizens.
8. The practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless practices conflict with other inviolable European rights or with national law.
9. The participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration.
10. Mainstreaming integration policies and measures in all relevant policy portfolios and levels of government and public services is an important consideration in public-policy formation and implementation.
11. Developing clear goals, indicators and evaluation mechanisms are necessary to adjust policy, evaluate progress on integration and to make the exchange of information more effective.

Source: Council of the European Union, **2618th Council Meeting Justice and Home Affairs**, 19 November 2004, Brussels. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf (5 March 2014).

To provide a framework for the implementation of CBPs, the Common Agenda for Integration has been presented by the Commission in 2005.¹³¹ The Common Agenda for Integration offers future plans for a series of supportive EU mechanisms and instruments such as the Handbook on Integration and Integration website to promote integration and share experiences between integration actors.

Last but not least, in July 2011, the European Commission has put forward a renewed European Agenda for the Integration of Non-EU Migrants.¹³² According to the Commission, it is introduced because all EU actions presented by Commission have been completed; however, the social, economic and political context has changed and

¹³¹ Commission of the European Communities, **A Common Agenda for Integration Framework for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals in the European Union**, 1 September 2005, COM (2005) 389 Final, Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/UDRW/images/items/docl_988_232042490.pdf#zoom=100 (16 March 2014).

¹³² European Commission, **European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals**, 20 July 2011, COM(2011) 455 Final, Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/110720/1_en_act_part1_v10.pdf (16 March 2014).

not all the integration measures have been successful in meeting their objectives.¹³³ Thus, the renewed agenda focuses on increasing economic, social, cultural and political participation of the immigrants. While doing that, according to the Commission, the approach should be based on a three-way process between immigrants, receiving societies and countries of origin.¹³⁴ The Agenda states that cooperation with countries of origin can mitigate the first adaptation of immigrants in receiving society through pre-departure programmes. It is also mentioned that integration policies require the will and commitment of migrants to be part of the society that receives them. Besides that, agenda confirms that member states face some challenges, including low employment levels of migrants, especially migrant women, rising unemployment, increasing risks of social exclusion, gaps in educational achievement, public concerns about the lack of integration of migrants.¹³⁵ Thus, Commission asserts that Europe needs to adopt a positive attitude towards diversity and guarantees of fundamental rights and equal treatment. As part of this agenda, the Commission develops a flexible tool-box to reinforce coordination and exchange of experience. This toolbox allows authorities in the member states to choose the measures that are most suitable for their contexts. Although it is not the prerogative of the EU in terms of determining integration strategies, the EU provides a framework for monitoring, benchmarking and exchange of information and practices.

3.1.4 EU Instruments for Immigrant Integration

The EU has not established only a framework for the integration of immigrants, but also developed various instruments to serve the policies and programmes. Funding is one of the key instruments of the EU for shaping integration policy developments of the member states. The European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals (EIF), which was established in 2007 with the Council of the European Union, is the most significant financing instrument. The EIF is managed by the European Commission's Directorate General for Home Affairs (DG HOME) and with a budget of EUR 825 million for the period of 2007-2013. It aims supporting EU

¹³³ European Commission, *European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals*, p. 2.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.3.

countries and civil societies to develop, implement, monitor and evaluate integration policies, programmes, as well as to exchange information and cooperate on integration issues.¹³⁶ EIF- funded measures include three categories: third-country nationals, the host society and the policymakers and members of the organisations dealing with migrant integration.

Implementation of the EIF is provided through two mechanisms: national governments and community actions. National governments distribute the money to public and private actors at local, regional and national levels. In terms of the Community initiatives, 7% of the available resources might be used to finance transnational actions or actions of interest to the EU.¹³⁷

The European Social Fund (ESF), as a complementary of EIF, supports the social integration of the migrants through labour market efforts. The ESF is managed by the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (DG EMPL). The ESF actually does not aim supporting the migrants for inclusion into labour markets. However, ESF gives priority to disadvantaged groups, and migrants, and their second and third generations are included in these disadvantaged groups. Thus, member states are using the ESF to improve migrants' labour market participation.¹³⁸

To establish a framework on integration, exchange of information and practices between member states are crucial. With the purpose of exchanging information and then finding successful solutions for integration of migrants *The Network of National Contact Points on Integration* was set up by the Commission. Another instrument is the *European Integration Forum*. It provides an opportunity for civil society organisations to share their views on integration of migrants and to discuss the EU agenda on integration. The development of the European Integration Forum is taken in charge by the Commission cooperating with the European Economic and Social Committee. *Handbook* is also an important instrument for the exchange of information and successful practices between the actors involving integration process in all member states. There are three published Handbooks. The first edition of the Handbook,

¹³⁶ *Integration Fund*, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/integration-fund/index_en.htm (26 April 2014).

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ For further information see *European Social Fund*, <http://ec.europa.eu/esf/home.jsp?langId=en> (23 April 2014).

published in 2004, is about the issues of introduction courses for newly arrived migrants and refugees, civic participation and integration indicators. The second edition, published in 2007, covers mainly integration governance, housing participation and housing. The third edition, published in 2010, gives information about the acquisition of nationality, education and labour market and immigrant youth. *European Website on Integration* is the focal point of the integration actors, mainly non-governmental and governmental organisations. It offers basic documents as legislation; policy papers give information about available funding opportunities.¹³⁹

3.2 THE EU POLICY CONTEXT FOR IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

The EU has not yet acquired full competence in the issue of immigrant integration; however, the EU has succeeded to create a general framework for the integration. Besides that, the EU has acted as a facilitator for the member states to maintain their integration policies.

The EU has developed a holistic approach to integrate immigrants. In accordance with the holistic approach of the EU, other than economic and social aspects of integration, issues related to cultural and religious diversity, citizenship, participation and political rights are the indispensable part of the integration process. Thus, the aim should be to integrate immigrants into the society in all extents. The Communication issued on 2003 introduced the policy areas. These are stated as follows:¹⁴⁰

3.2.1 Integration into the Labour Market

Access to the labour market is accepted as crucial for the integration of migrants into society because their full integration into the EU labour market might contribute to the EU economy in terms of growth, competitiveness and employment. However, there are some obstacles or barriers to the integration of migrants into the

¹³⁹ For further information see *European Web Site on Integration*. (n.a). <http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/mandate.cfm> (15 March 2013).

¹⁴⁰ European Commission, **Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on immigration, integration and employment**, 3 June 2003, COM(2003) 0336 Final, Brussels. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/;ELX_SESSIONID=xnd2TvGPm7TGv6npry2Lfy2JNp6CQv18Ldh7m7ld1p9pz8RqKRk4!440406763?uri=CELEX:52003DC0336 (23 April 2014).

labour markets. Discrimination at work place and racist behaviour are some of the barriers which must be removed. Even if migrants are well-educated and skilled, they are often unable to find work which matches their qualifications, and they have to accept lower qualified and lower paid work. On the other hand, there are some immigrants who need special efforts to improve their skills like language ability. Member states should develop active labour market policies to enable them to enter the labour market and then reduce the unemployment rate.

3.2.2 Education and Language Skills

Education and training are seen as the key factors in successful integration. However, there are some problems for immigrants with respect to the recognition of their academic attainments and professional qualifications. On the other hand, poor language ability is seen as the main barrier to successful integration. Taking into account cultural and religious dimensions, language courses should be introduced. For the education of migrant children, diversity should be reflected in the curriculum; close co-operation between parents, immigrant communities and schools should be pursued.

3.2.3 Housing and Urban Issues

Although access to housing is a basic necessity in integration, problems concerning housing constitute a big obstacle for integration. Immigrants are encountering two major problems in the relevant issue. First, as low income groups, it is not easy for immigrants to find housing at normal standards in ethnically mixed areas. Second, in linkage with that, immigrant residence concentrates in particular areas, having the risk of being isolated from the rest of the society, which can increase the threats of racism and xenophobia. The location of employment impacts also on the choice of residence, and it may also explained by the presence of established communities. However, immigrants form an increasing proportion of the cities' population, and their numbers will increase in the following years. Therefore, programs should be implemented to facilitate housing and segregation for immigrants.

3.2.4 Health and Social Services

Access to health and social services for immigrants is another key area. Immigrants may suffer from particular health problems resulting their situation (e.g. poor living and working conditions). Immigrants face also difficulties accessing high quality health and social services. A number of issues need to be addressed such as making available adequate information for migrants and providing additional training for the personnel responsible for delivering the services. Besides that, the services should take account of cultural barriers and they should be sensitive to the specific communities in which that operate.

3.2.5 The Social and Cultural Environment

Most of the immigrant groups have their own cultural traditions and religions apart from the rest of the host society. Nevertheless, interaction between different cultures and religions is necessary for the integration process. Measures are needed to encourage participation in community life, sports clubs or school boards and to have their voice in public debates. Accurate information about immigrants and their positive contributions to the society should be publicized to prevent resentment, social exclusion, and the rise of racism and xenophobia. Politicians and the mass media should play the role as educators of the public opinion.

3.2.6 Nationality, Civic Citizenship and Respect for Diversity

It is widely recognised that acquiring nationality is a means of facilitating integration, although it does not by itself eliminate problems arising from social exclusion and discrimination. Nationality provides full citizens' rights guaranteeing participation in the political, civil, social, economic and cultural life of the member states. However, in some of the member states, even the second and third generations lack the citizenship. The EU insists on the member states to change the citizenship regimes and naturalisation procedures, which will facilitate to get the citizenship of the country. Other than that, immigrants should have more political rights and their participation to any kinds of political activity should be encouraged. Immigrants should not be passive agents in the political process.

Successful implementation of a holistic approach to the integration of immigrants requires a closer and an increased co-operation between all relevant actors from local to regional, national, and EU authorities. Nevertheless, integration policies are designed at the national level and implemented at local and regional levels. Thus, at the local level local authorities play a central role in shaping integration policies. On the other hand, on the behalf of migrants the social partners like migrant associations have an important role to play in the integration process as facilitators of everyday integration by highlighting the importance of responding to cultural differences.

3.3 LOCAL INTEGRATION AS A EUROPEAN POLICY ISSUE

The importance of the local level of integration has drawn attention by the European institutions. One of the most explicit declarations on immigration and its contributions was made by the European Council in the context of the 2000 Lisbon Strategy. Lisbon programme was aimed to make the EU the most competitive economy in the world and immigration was seen as a cure to demographic ageing and labour force shortages from which member states suffer. The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) was introduced to support the developments of national action plans. However, the OMC could not be successful, so national action plans did not meet the expectations.¹⁴¹ In that case, local approach was seen as a better one. To do that, for example, in 2006, the policymakers and staff working at the EU and local and levels were invited to a conference titled “Integrating Cities: European Policies, Local Practices.” The aim was to find ways for better cooperations. Integrating Cities was accepted as successful, so Integrating Cities II was held in Milan, one year later. Here, the general purpose was strengthening the cities’ role and voices in the process of policy making about immigrant integration.

Local integration policies have drawn attention of European institutions, especially the European Commission. The declarations of the Commission in the last decade have reinforced the importance of the local role in the integration. The Ministerial Conference at Vichy in 2008 states that “local agents’ role in the integration,

¹⁴¹ Maren Borkert and Tiziana Caponio, “Introduction: the local dimension of migration policy making”, Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert (Eds.) in **The Local Dimension of Migration Policy Making**, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, IMISCOE Textbooks, 2010, p. 10.

especially the role of local administration and cities in the building and carrying out of integration programmes are crucial.”¹⁴² In 2010, the Zaragoza ministerial statement on integration repeated this view: “It is necessary that local governments develop and obtain capacities and synergies to better manage equality and diversity. For that purpose, they should develop tools in order to help design public policies which could be adapted to the needs of a changing population.”¹⁴³

In the case of formulating and implementation of the integration policies, there needs the active involvement of local authorities because local authorities are responsible for a wide range of services and activities, and they play an important role in shaping the interaction between migrants and the receiving society.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, representatives of local organisations and inhabitants should involve in such agreement since it is fundamental for an effective integration.¹⁴⁵

Local needs and experiences highlight some trends of convergence in Europe: There are similarities in the challenges that migration has to local governments and services in the receiving communities throughout Europe. These trends might challenge national policy programmes on integration and instead, ask for local input on integration policymaking. The project known as Cities for Local Integration Policies (CLIP), financed by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, studies concrete integration measures and projects in the areas of housing, diversity management, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, ethnic entrepreneurship in over twenty European cities.¹⁴⁶ CLIP shows that the cities themselves have a great interest in developing successful local integration practices. Legally, however, municipalities largely depend on regional, national and European frameworks, each of which constitutes the basis for local integration.

¹⁴² Maren Borkert and Tiziana Caponio, *Introduction: the local dimension of migration policy making*.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ European Commission, **European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals**, 20 July 2011, COM(2011)455 Final, Brussels. p. 8. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/110720/1_en_act_part1_v10.pdf (16 March 2014).

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Cities of CLIP: Amsterdam, Antwerp, Arnsberg, Athens, Deputación de Barcelona, Bratislava, Breda, Brescia, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt am Main, İstanbul, İzmir, Liège, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Marseille, Prague, Paris, Sefton, Sintra, Stuttgart, Terrassa, Turku, Vienna, Wolverhampton, Zagreb. See *European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants (CLIP)*, <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm> (19 May 2014).

Some European countries have a strong tradition of extensive local government, and local authorities are responsible for many of the services provided to the population. Local authorities are particularly strong in bringing together all departments and organisations which are relevant in the integration process, making it easier for immigrants to access services and support.

Concluding Remarks

Though, at the EU level, there have been remarkable developments towards integration of the migrants, the EU has not yet acquired the full competence in the area of immigrant integration. Therefore, the question still worth asking is: Has the approach adopted by the EU over the last several years improved migrant integration? It is hard to say that the approach of the EU is successful; however, it is possible to underline some of its advantages. As above mentioned, the EU considers mainly economic and social matters of the integration as well as matters of cultural differences, citizenship and political participation. The EU's approach emphasises the fact that integration is now a three-way process. This process includes not only the immigrants and the members of the receiving country, but also the sending countries' people and governments.

Nevertheless, there are some limitations of the concept of integration developed by the EU. A significant number of integration policies such as education and access to citizenship are still in the hands of the member states. They are sensitive areas, and the Commission is unable to act in such important policy areas. This is the reason why there are several models of integration, and almost each member state has its own model of integration. They usually preserve their models, and then try to export them to the EU level. However, on the other hand, the reports of the projects clearly show that the EU's approach has brought a holistic approach for integration of migrants, especially at local level.

CHAPTER 4: LOCAL AUTHORITY OF GHENT AND TURKISH MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS: A CASE STUDY

This chapter deals specifically with the local authority of Ghent and Turkish migrant associations in Ghent. In this regard, first the general characteristics of the city of Ghent and its immigrant integration policies are examined. Secondly, a brief history of Turkish immigrants is given, and their associations are analysed. However, in order to understand their relations and responsibilities, it is important to have an overview about Belgium's history of migration in general, its complex federated state structure and migrant integration approaches.

4.1 BELGIUM: AN OVERVIEW OF ITS MIGRATION HISTORY

Belgium, a country with a population of approximately 11 million, is home to many migrants and asylum seekers. Especially, since the end of the WW II, Belgium has become a country of European and non-European labour migrants because its heavy industry needed manpower. Belgium, on the other hand, has been home to ever-increasingly influx of refugees, asylum seekers, undocumented immigrants as well as EU nationals or expats during the recent years.¹⁴⁷

In the aftermath of the WW II, Belgium started to sign bilateral agreements with Italy (from 1946 to 1960), Spain (1956) and Greece (1957), instead of recruiting foreign labour from its colonies.¹⁴⁸ Between 1958 and 1961, immigration from these three countries was stopped.¹⁴⁹ A new wave of migration from non-European countries took place between 1961 and 1970. In 1964, a bilateral recruitment treaty was signed with Turkey and Morocco after an official request of the Belgian government to enlist

¹⁴⁷ Approximately 63 percent of the foreign population in Belgium are EU nationals. Johan Wets, "The Turkish Community in Austria and Belgium: The Challenge of Integration", **Turkish Studies**, Vol.7, No.1 (March 2006), p. 93.

¹⁴⁸ Although Belgium was a former colonial power in Central Africa (Congo, Ruanda and Burundi), differently from most of its neighbours, it did not recruit colonial labourers because Belgium opted for preserving a sufficient colonial workforce in Africa. Hassan Bousetta, Sonia Gsir and Dirk Jacobs, "Active Civic Participation of Immigrants in Belgium", **Country Report prepared for the European research project POLITIS**, Oldenburg, 2005. p.8. <http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/download/Belgium.pdf> (10 April 2014).

¹⁴⁹ Ayhan Kaya, **Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization**. London: Palgrave, 2009, p. 99.

foreign labour. Then agreements were signed with Tunisia in 1969, Algeria and Yugoslavia in 1970.¹⁵⁰ Immigration to Belgium accelerated between 1963 and 1967 with the mitigation of the application procedure. Workers were given the right to recruit migrants through a work permit issued in the country of origin or obtained in Belgium after entering the country with a tourist visa. Besides that, Belgium was more liberal in terms of granting migrants the right to migrate with their families in those times.¹⁵¹ From that day to this, foreign population is more than 10% of the Belgium population.¹⁵²

Apart from migrants, Belgium is a *sui generis* country in many ways, including debates on its own multinational society (Flamans and Walloons) and its federalism. This is significant since it has great influence on its policy making process in several areas, especially in the context of immigrant integration.

Belgium was founded as a unitary state in 1830 after its declaration of independence from the Netherlands. Nevertheless, five major state reforms in 1970, 1980, 1988-89, 1993 and 2001 have turned Belgium into a federal state¹⁵³ composed of communities, regions¹⁵⁴ and language areas.¹⁵⁵ At the present time, Belgium is a federal state composed of three regions and three communities. The regions are the Flanders, the Wallonia and the Brussels-Capital Region. The three communities are the Flemish,

¹⁵⁰ Wets, *The Turkish Community in Austria and Belgium: The Challenge of Integration*, p. 93.

¹⁵¹ Kaya, *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization*, p.99.

De Raedt also states that there are specific objectives of this policy. First one is to compensate demographic deficit, and second one to attract migrants to Belgium instead of going to other countries like Germany, the Netherlands and France. Migrating with family also leads to keeping migrants' salaries within the Belgian economy rather than sending to their countries of origin. Thérèse De Raedt, "Muslims in Belgium: A Case Study of Emerging Identities", *Journal of Muslim Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (April 2004), p. 15.

¹⁵² Wets, *The Turkish Community in Austria and Belgium: The Challenge of Integration*, p. 93.

¹⁵³ The King, the Federal Parliament (the House of Representatives and the Senate) and the Federal Government are the main institutions at the federal level. See further information Ellen Wayenberg and Filip De Rynck. "United Cities and Local Governments Country Profile: Belgium", The Global Network of Cities, Local and Regional Governments (UCLG) Country Profiles, (n.a), p.2 http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/gold/Upload/country_profile/Belgium.pdf (1 June 2014).

¹⁵⁴ Communities and the regions have parliamentary assembly, which is called a Council, a government and a civil service. However, there are some specific institutions at the level of communities and regions, which are created to implement person-oriented competencies in the Brussels-Capital Region. For example, the French Community Commission promotes the communal interests of the French speaking residents in Belgium. Similarly, the Flemish Community Commission promotes the communal interests of the Dutch speaking residents in Brussels. See Wayenberg and De Rynck, *United Cities and Local Governments Country Profile: Belgium*, p.2.

¹⁵⁵ See also, Constitution of Belgium: Article 1, 2, 3 and 4. Constitution of Belgium, http://www.dekamer.be/kvcr/pdf_sections/publications/constitution/grondwetEN.pdf (5 May 2014).

the French and the German speaking communities. In total, there are four language areas: the Dutch, the French and the German language areas and the bilingual (Dutch and French) Brussels-Capital area.

In the complex federal structure of Belgium, the decision making competence is distributed among the federal and the regional levels. The federal state is responsible for national defence, foreign policy, finance, justice, social security and home affairs.¹⁵⁶ The federal state is also responsible towards the EU and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the name of Belgium and its federalized institutions.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, culture, education, health, personal aid are among the responsibilities of language-based communities while the territory-oriented regions are responsible for more general issues like housing, town planning, energy, water policy, environment and supervision of municipalities and associations of local authorities.¹⁵⁸ Thus, the regions are responsible for more economic issues whereas the communities are in charge of cultural-linguistic matters. All in all, distribution of power in the federal Belgium is taken form at three levels. The top level is the Federal State, communities and regions; the middle level is province, and the bottom level is the municipalities.¹⁵⁹

Within such a complex multinational and federal state structure, the policy of migration and integration is divided among different departments of the federal state, and among different departments of the Regions and Communities. Migration policy is a competence of the Belgian government, whereas migrant and integration policy is mainly a local competence of the Regions, Communities and cities. Language, housing, education and the religion of migrants are the responsibility of the Regions and Communities; family migration, entry, asylum are still the competence of the Belgian government.^{160 161}

¹⁵⁶ Frank Delmartino, Hugues Dumont and Sébastien Van Drooghenbroeck, "Kingdom of Belgium", John Kincaid, Luis Moreno and César Colino (Eds.) in **Diversity and Unity in Federal Countries**, (48-74), Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, p.49

¹⁵⁷ Wayenberg and De Rynck, *United Cities and Local Governments Country Profile: Belgium*, p.1.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Cahit Gelekçi and Ali Köse, **Misafir İşçilikten Etnik Azınlığa Belçika'daki Türkler**, Ankara: Phoenix Press, 2011, p. 46.

¹⁶⁰ Loobuyck, Patrick and Dirk Jacobs. "Belgium and Flanders as immigration societies: An introduction", 2009, p.4, http://www.brussel.diplo.de/contentblob/3051328/Daten/1111502/DD_Loobuyck.pdf (10April 2014).

¹⁶¹ In the 1980s, the new policies to encourage immigrants to settle and integrate started to be developed. In 1980, a law on entrance, residence, settlement and return, which is still in force, was passed.

Inter alia complex federated state structure, Belgium also offers a unique example of the citizenship. Belgium's citizenship includes diverse traditions, ethnicities, cultures and languages. Nowadays, Belgian citizenship has two levels; the regional and the federal.¹⁶² The Flemish concept of citizenship is based on culture, language, ethnicity and a holistic notion of culture while the Walloon concept of citizenship is based on the "will of people" to live together by having a common language, culture as in the French model.¹⁶³ At the federal level, most of the rights attached to citizenship like civil and political rights, social security, etc. are still granted by the federal institutions.

Needless to say, there is no Belgian model of integration. Instead of that, there are different approaches in the north (Flanders) and the south (Wallonia). While Flanders' approach has been taken by the Dutch multicultural model, Wallonia has been similar to the French republican model. In short, the integration policies of Belgium should be examined separately depending on the regions and communities. The Flemish Community supports financially the migrant associations in the Flemish Region and Brussels. However, there are some criteria to be eligible for funding. Associations have to be oriented towards education, integration and emancipation, and they have to have a cultural function. In addition to that, the Dutch language has to be spoken in the activities of the associations, or at least, at the executive level of the associations. The Flemish Community Commission (VGC) is supported to establish and operate Flemish migrant associations. Besides that, VGC delegates the task of coordinating and supporting the Flemish migrant associations to *Intercultureel Centrum voor Migranten* (ICCM) organisation.¹⁶⁴ Conversely, the Walloon government is not willing to support migrant associations because it does not recognise the participation of immigrants into society as distinct ethno-cultural groups. Migrant associations may get funding for

¹⁶² For the federal citizenship, in 1984, Minister of Justice, Jean Gol, enacted a law that brought equality of migrants before the law while integrating migrants by naturalization after proving their belonging to Belgium. In the same year, the Belgian Nationality Code was revised and *jus soli* principle was introduced, so the process of naturalisation process was simplified. The law was amended in 1991, 2000 and 2013. With the latest rules entered into force in 2013, the requirements for naturalisation were tightened. Now, foreigners who want to become a Belgian citizen, must be in possession of an unlimited right to stay in Belgium, and they have to know one of the national languages.

¹⁶³ Kaya, *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization*, p.101.

¹⁶⁴ Kaya, Ayhan and Ferhat Kentel. **Belçika Türkleri Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliği Arasında Köprü Mü, Engel Mi?**. İstanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2008, p. 33.

general activities like education, sports or citizenship. However, activities related to ethno cultural identity are not subsidized. Thus, in the policies of Walloon government, migrants are not defined as target groups as in France.¹⁶⁵

On the other hand, the Flemish government introduced the Minorities Decree (*minderhedendecreet*) in 1998, which was mainly based on the Dutch model. However, there is no official recognition of any particular ethnic communities like Turkish and Moroccan. Although it seems that the Flemish government has applied a multiculturalist integration approach, some assimilationist integration approaches have also been applied recently. This is the so-called citizenship trajectories (*inburgerinstrajecten*) which includes the Dutch language courses and lessons of introduction to the Flemish/Belgian society. It has been compulsory in Flanders since April 2004 whereas optional in Brussels.¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, more multiculturalist policies were introduced in the same time period, for example recognition of the right to legitimate absence on special days of all religious groups recognised by the Belgian Constitution,¹⁶⁷ in the Flemish compulsory education system.¹⁶⁸

Thus, the Flemish and French communities have applied different approaches. Whereas the Flemish government has generally supported the inclusion and integration of ethnic minorities' communities, the Walloon government's integration policy has been assimilationist, expecting migrants to adapt to the Belgian-Francophone culture.

4.1.1 Turkish Migration to Belgium: A General Overview

Turkish migration to Belgium is the classic example of labour migration that was typical to Western European countries during the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁶⁹ As in the

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ The government accords "recognized" status to Catholicism, Protestantism (including Evangelicals and Pentecostals), Judaism, Anglicanism (separately from other Protestant groups), Islam, and Orthodox (Greek and Russian) Christianity. See United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, **Religious Freedom Report for 2011: Belgium**, 2012. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/193001.pdf> (25 May 2014).

¹⁶⁸ Ilke Adam, "Immigrant Integration Policies of the Belgian Regions: Sub-state Nationalism and Policy Divergence after Devolution", **Regional & Federal Studies**, Vol. 23, No.5, 2013, p. 557.

¹⁶⁹ Georges Reniers, "On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium", **International Migration**, Vol. 37, No.4, 1999, p. 680.

case of other European countries, it was simply a “journey to hope.”¹⁷⁰ With the bilateral agreement between Turkey and Belgium, which was signed on 16 July 1964 in Brussels, labour migration from Turkey to Belgium started officially.¹⁷¹ The German model, based on the temporariness and the rotation of the labour migration, was taken as an example. In that case, labour migrants were supposed to return home when their contracts expired, and they were replaced by new groups. However, that model was true for only a small number of migrants. The temporary model evolved into a circular migration with a temporary character.¹⁷² With the declined economic trends, the Belgian government adopted restrictive migration policies in 1967 and 1974. However, many migrants reacted to this altered legal context by turning their temporary settlement into a permanent one. They began to bring their families,¹⁷³ which they had initially left behind, in accordance with their legal rights stemming from the bilateral agreements.¹⁷⁴ This led to the beginning of a new phase in European migration history characterized by family reunification. Later, when even more restrictive migration policies limited entry to the spouses of those with the legal residence permit, marriage migration became dominant.¹⁷⁵

When Turkish community came to Belgium, they settled mainly in mining and industrial regions. Limburg, Hainaut and Liege were the mining and industrial provinces where the community mainly settled. By the 1980s, they relatively settled in larger cities such as Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent.¹⁷⁶ Today, the largest Turkish communities live in Flanders, particularly in Antwerp and Ghent. The rest is spread over Wallonia and Brussels. In Brussels, they have settled in usually exclusively

¹⁷⁰ *Speech of Deniz Çakar*, who was the Consul General of Turkey in Antwerp, at conference on 50 Years of Migration held in Ghent in December 2011, <http://antwerp.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowSpeech.aspx?ID=1837> (10 May 2014).

¹⁷¹ Gelekçi and Köse, *Misafir İşçilikten Etnik Azınlığa Belçika'daki Türkler*, p. 59.

¹⁷² Reniers, *On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium*, p. 682.

¹⁷³ 75% of the migrant workers in Belgium were married before they migrated to Belgium. See Gelekçi and Köse, *Misafir İşçilikten Etnik Azınlığa Belçika'daki Türkler*, p. 60.

¹⁷⁴ Provisions about family reunification were specified in the bilateral agreements. Most of the agreements stated that family reunification might be possible if the migrant had worked in the receiving country for a while. According to bilateral agreement between Turkey and Belgium, this time period was one month. See Gelekçi and Köse, *Misafir İşçilikten Etnik Azınlığa Belçika'daki Türkler*, p. 61.

¹⁷⁵ Reniers, *On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium*, p. 682.

¹⁷⁶ Klaartje Van Kerckem, Bart Van de Putte and Peter Stevens, “On Becoming “Too Belgian”: A Comparative Study of Ethnic Conformity Pressure through the City-as-Context Approach”, *City & Community*, Vol. 12, No.4 (December 2013), p. 339.

Turkish neighbourhoods like Schaeerbek, where is an estimated population of 25.000 Turks.

There are some characteristics of the Turkish migration to Belgium. First of all, migration in the 1960s involved mainly men. It was related to the type of the work. In Belgium, the need of labour was in the mining sector, so the powerful and healthy men were preferred. However, after 1974, the number of women migrating to Belgium increased because women began to come through the right of family formation and family reunion.¹⁷⁷ Secondly, Turkish migrants originated mainly from the central Anatolian provinces, particularly Afyonkarahisar, then Eskişehir, Kayseri, Kars and Trabzon.¹⁷⁸ According to Reniers, the eastern part of Turkey was less involved in emigration to Belgium because the recruitment offices for labour migrants were initially located in the west.¹⁷⁹ Besides that, people coming from these provinces were usually the relatives of each other. Thirdly, Turkish migrants had little or no formal education. Even today, the Turkish community in Belgium is still among the disadvantaged members of the Belgian society in terms of educational attainment.¹⁸⁰

Today, according to official statistics of the Turkish Consulates in Belgium, nearly 220.000 Turkish origin people are living in Belgium, and most of them have dual citizenship.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, Turks and Belgians have lived together for fifty years; today, the ethnic boundaries between Belgians and Turks are still “bright.”¹⁸² The unemployment rates of Turks have exceeded that of Belgians over years, and they have some problems when they try to have professions. Significantly, as Muslims, the Turkish community faces a high degree of discrimination and anti-immigrant sentiments.¹⁸³ These boundaries are also reflected in the low rate of marriages between

¹⁷⁷ Gelekçi and Köse, *Misafir İşçilikten Etnik Azınlığa Belçika'daki Türkler*, p. 106.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁷⁹ Reniers, *On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium*, p. 686.

¹⁸⁰ Klaartje Van Kerckem, Bart Van de Putte and Peter Stevens, *On Becoming “Too Belgian”*: A Comparative Study of Ethnic Conformity Pressure through the City-as-Context Approach, p. 339.

¹⁸¹ *Speech of Deniz Çakar*, who was the Consul General of Turkey in Antwerp, at conference on 50 Years of Migration held in Ghent in December 2011, <http://antwerp.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowSpeech.aspx?ID=1837> (10 May 2014).

¹⁸² Alba states that some boundaries are bright which means that the distinction between majority and minority group is unambiguous. Thus, people know which side of the boundary they are on. See Richard Alba, “Bright vs. Blurred Boundaries: Second-generation Assimilation and Exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2005, p. 22.

¹⁸³ Kaya states that the most significant problem of Turks in Belgium is discrimination (31.8 %) and racism (28.5 %). However, there are regional differences. In Flanders, discrimination and racism are

Turks and Belgians. The study of Kaya and Kentel states that the number of marriages between Belgian men and women or vice versa is very low.¹⁸⁴ According to their study, 92 % of the participants are married to a Turk. These are often kin marriages, and bride or groom comes from Turkey.¹⁸⁵

Nevertheless, there are affirmative developments about Turks in Belgium. Turks have appeared actively in the political life in the recent years. Two Belgian-Turks have become well known in the Belgian political life. Mahinur Özdemir became the youngest member of the Brussels regional Parliament, and also the first woman wearing a headscarf in the Parliament of a European country in 2009. Emir Kır is another significant Turkish descent politician in the Brussels. He joined the Socialist Party (SP) in 1995, and ran for elections for the first time during the municipal elections of 2000 in Saint-Josse. In 2004, he became the Secretary of State for Public Hygiene, Monuments and Sites of the Region of Brussels-Capital. In the October 2012 elections, he became the first Turkish origin mayor in Belgium, after winning the mayor's office of Saint-Josse, a municipality with almost 50% of residents are non-European migrants. Besides that, candidates of Turkish descent have run for Belgium's latest grand elections on 25 May 2014, simultaneously holding European, federal, regional and community elections. Almost all of the Belgian political parties had ethnic Turkish candidates in their party lists, especially the Reformist Movement (Mouvement Réformateur, MR) had around 20 Turkish candidates, and Flemish Socialist Party (SP.a) had around 18 Turkish candidates.¹⁸⁶ After elections, 10 Turkish candidates succeeded to be elected, and now they are representing their parties at several levels, city, region or community.

higher than Wallonia and Brussels. See Kaya, *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization*, p. 96.

¹⁸⁴ Kaya and Kentel, *Belçika Türkleri Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliği Arasında Köprü Mü, Engel Mi?*, p. 42.

¹⁸⁵ This is the reason why the population of Turkish community in Belgium has increased in a substantial amount for years. The main contributors of the increasing Turkish population have been brides and grooms who come from Turkey.

¹⁸⁶ Candidates of Turkish descent by political party: New Flemish Alliance (Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie, N-VA) there is no Turkish descent candidate. Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS): Emin Özkara, Aliç Derya, Halis Kökten, Hasan Koyuncu, Şevket Temiz, Leyla Ertorun, İbrahim Dönmez, Döne Dönmez, Nevruz Ünal, Emir Kır, Duygu Çelik. Christian Democratic&Flemish (Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams, CD&V): Veli Yüksel, Hava Naldemir, Mustafa Uzun, Burak Doğan. Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats (Open VLD): Mesut Yücel, Mehmet Karanfil, Kader Gürbüz, Pınar Doğan, Meral Özcan, Hazan Düzgün, Melisa Uygun, Mahmut Öz. Thus, it is seen that not only leftist parties have put Turkish ethnic minorities on their candidate lists.

4.2 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY OF GHENT

The city of Ghent is located in the northeastern of Belgium and is the capital of East-Flanders. Due to immigration, Ghent has kept its population stable around 250.000 inhabitants, and it is Flanders' second largest municipality by number of inhabitants after Antwerp and the third largest municipality¹⁸⁷ in Belgium (See **Annex 1**). So, Ghent is called as “a large city but pocket-sized.”¹⁸⁸ Since 1999, the total population has grown 10%, and it is estimated that it will increase 15% by 2018.¹⁸⁹ With its third largest port of Belgium, Ghent is one of the significant cities in Belgium. In addition, the city is one of Belgium's top educational locations and is the most important education city in Flanders. Ghent University (UGent) is ranked among the top in Belgium according to “Academic Ranking of World Universities.” Ghent is also known as a city with a high quality of life.

Ghent has a strategic position in the context of transportation because it is at the intersection of the roads. The significant metropolitan cities of Europe such as Amsterdam, Paris, London, Cologne and Brussels are nearly 300 km away from Ghent. On the other hand, Ghent is at the junction of the E40, which is the road linking London to Istanbul, and the E17 that links Lisbon to Stockholm.¹⁹⁰

Although Ghent has been one of the first industrialized cities in Europe, economic profile of Ghent shows entire differences. The industry sector is generated in the North whereas the knowledge industry is mainly situated in the Southern Technology Corridor. Ghent has also been a significant commercial centre for centuries. The shopping area consists of a large area and serves the complete region. However, today, most jobs are in the service sector, and the Ghent urban district is the real centre of employment with many local enterprises.

The city of Ghent is currently divided into 3 zones and 25 districts. Each district consists of several neighbourhoods. The first zone is “Ghent centrum”, and the

¹⁸⁷ There are 589 municipalities, which are spread over the three regions of Belgium. 308 of them are in the Flemish region. 262 of them are in Walloon region while 19 of them are in the Brussels-Capital region.

¹⁸⁸ *GHENT*, 2011, <http://www.mi-is.be/en/federal-urban-policy/ghent> (08 June 2014).

¹⁸⁹ Stad Gent, *Omgevingsanalyse*, 2013, p.7. http://www.gent.be/docs/Departement%20Stafdiensten/Dienst%20Stedenbeleid%20en%20Internationale%20Betrekkingen/Dataplanning%20en%20Monitoring/omgevingsanalyseMETeng_frans.pdf (28 May 2014).

¹⁹⁰ *GHENT*, 2011, <http://www.mi-is.be/en/federal-urban-policy/ghent> (08 June 2014).

districts are located centrally in the city. They are densely built and populated. It is home to students, and few ethno cultural minorities live there. The average income is close to Ghent's average. The second zone is "Gent gordel." The districts are highly populated with a high number of ethno cultural minorities. The average income level is lower than Ghent's average. The third zone is "Gent rand." This zone mainly consists of churches, so less built and populated. Here a few ethno cultural minorities and students live, and the average income level is higher than the other two districts.¹⁹¹

The districts also differ in their strengths and problems. Gent centrum is the heart of the city. Most of the activities are held in there. Yet, parking and noise are the foremost problems. Gent gordel is a limited distance from the city center. This area is crossed by bus and railroads. With dense multicultural population and little green area, here is a bit problematic region. Some neighbourhoods are experiencing poor housing quality and social problems. Gent rand is quieter and greener than other two areas. The housing quality is higher, and the number of social housing is limited. However, the range of services like education, shops, etc. is less available.¹⁹²

4.2.1 Ghent's Migrant Population

The foreign population in Belgium reached 13% of the total population.¹⁹³ This proportion does not cover illegal migrants living in Belgium or naturalised Belgians. Therefore, the actual number of citizens with a foreign background is much higher. The immigrant population is spread throughout Belgium, and the biggest part of this group is concentrated in the Brussels-Capital Region. In Flanders, Ghent is a city where most migrants settle after Antwerp.

Ghent has seen an increase in the number of its inhabitants: in 2013, the total population of the city reached 250.284 (50.7% women, 49.3% men).¹⁹⁴ The inflow of migrants has contributed to this growth. In 2013, the number of immigrants has reached 31.675 inhabitants or 12.7 % of the population. According to the city statistics, it is possible to distinguish between Belgians, new Belgians (naturalised migrants or people

¹⁹¹ Stad Gent, *Omgevingsanalyse*, p. 21.

¹⁹² Stad Gent, *Omgevingsanalyse*, p. 21.

¹⁹³ OECD, Indicators of Integration: Belgium, <http://www.oecd.org/migration/integrationindicators/keyindicatorsbycountry/name,217277,en.htm> (28 May 2014).

¹⁹⁴ *Gent in Cijfer*, <http://www.gent.be/gentincijfers/> (01 June 2014).

with a foreign background) and foreigners living legally in the city. Looking at these percentages, the total number of Ghent inhabitants with foreign background seems to be much higher, at 22.8% (See **Table 4.1**).

Table 4.1: Population of Ghent, 2013

Ghent's Population	%
Belgian	77,2
All citizens with foreign background	22.8
- New Belgian	10.1
- Residents with foreign nationality	12.7

Source: *Gent in Cijfer*, <http://www.gent.be/gentincijfers/> (01 June 2014).

Ghent has attracted a large number of people from several countries, especially “guest workers” from Turkey and Morocco since the mid 1960s. In the 1980s, it became apparent that Ghent’s migrant workers were not going to return to their native countries. Instead, they were staying in Ghent and bringing their families to live with them. At the end of the 1980s, a new phase of migration history began with the fall of the Iron Curtain. A large number of immigrants from the Eastern European countries came to Belgium. Nevertheless, in recent decades, the number of immigrants in Belgium and Ghent increased, especially after the enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007. Ghent is now a more culturally and ethnically diverse city. The data in **Table 4.2** shows that the biggest group among foreigners living in Ghent are people from new EU member states, not Turks and Moroccans.

Table 4.2: Foreigners living in Ghent, by group, 2013

Different Groups in Ghent	Number	%
Belgians	218.589	87.3
Foreigners	31.675	12.7
- From EU15	6.505	2.6
- From new EU Member States (EU13)	10.486	4.2
- Turks	4.375	1.7

- Moroccans	812	0.3
-------------	-----	-----

Source: *Gent in Cijfers*, <http://www.gent.be/gentincijfers/> (01 June 2014).

Today, Ghent is a truly international city. Nearly 12% of the population has Belgian nationality.¹⁹⁵ The real picture of cultural diversity; however is even greater. Since many immigrants have been naturalised and are now statistically counted as Belgians, around 19% of the population has a migrant background.¹⁹⁶ People come from more than 150 nations and represent their linguistic and cultural traditions.¹⁹⁷ Turkish community, however, makes up one of the largest migrant groups after the European migrants. The population with migration background is continually increasing. Today, a considerable amount of children living in Ghent have a migration background.

Table 4.3: Citizens with different nationality or ethnic background, 2013

Ghent	Number of Residents with different nationality	Number of residents with foreign background
Turks	4.375	15.620
Moroccans	812	3.241
Bulgarians	6.592	7.156
Polish	1.280	1.478

Source: *Gent in Cijfers*, <http://www.gent.be/gentincijfers/> (01 June 2014).

The figures in **Table 4.3** suggest that the number of inhabitants with Moroccan or Turkish nationality have declined mainly due to the naturalisation of members of these groups. However, by looking at the number of inhabitants with foreign or ethnic background, one can say that the Turks appear to have achieved a leading position. As noted, Bulgarian people comprise the largest group from the new member states, with a total of 7.156 people.

According to statistics of Ghent municipality, the youth population of the Ghent is increasing, and most of them have a migrant background. On the other hand, education level of these groups is low. Nearly 40% of them leaves secondary school

¹⁹⁵ Stad Gent, *Omgevingsanalyse*, p. 14.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ *Samen inburgeren in Gent*, <http://www.gent.be/eCache/THE/1/761.cmVjPTE3Njg00A.html> (12 June 2016).

without a diploma, and just 17% earns a diploma of higher education.¹⁹⁸ The gap in school performance of native and immigrant pupils also remains huge. Native students' scores are better than the second-generation migrant students; however, the second-generation migrant students' score is better than their first generations.¹⁹⁹

Among the migration groups in Ghent, unemployed Turks and Moroccans are more in number. One in five is unemployed. However, for the other non-EU people, it is possible to see similar results. 18% is unemployed. The new EU citizens seem slightly better with an unemployment rate of 14%. According to the municipality of Ghent, higher unemployment rates are not only due to poor knowledge of the language but also discrimination in the labour market.²⁰⁰

58% of people of foreign origin in Belgium have their own home. This is only 10% less than the Belgians themselves. Yet, there are significant differences between nationalities. Home owners of Turkish origin are 50%, slightly lower than the average. Only 29% of Moroccans is the owner of the house they live.²⁰¹ However, it is stated that high private rents have led to the purchase of cheap slum houses. This explains why Turkish community seems quite good in terms of house owning. These immigrant communities live mainly in the Ghent popular neighbourhoods: Rabot, Muide, Brugsepoort, Ledeborg, Meulestede and Dampoort.

Non-Belgians have poor health conditions than the Belgians. It is due to poor working conditions, socio-economically disadvantaged environment and identity crisis.²⁰² According to the city of Ghent municipality, poverty has recently increased in the city. Two factors are important. The first one is the economic crisis and rising cost of living.²⁰³ More and more people are experiencing financial difficulties. The second one is the increasing number of immigrants. They have poverty because, as mentioned above, they are often disadvantaged in employment, education and housing.

There seem to be challenges for the city, but the city of Ghent has explicitly considered immigration and cultural diversity as a resource and added value for the development of the city as a whole. Thus, the city works to promote social and cultural

¹⁹⁸ Stad Gent, *Omgevingsanalyse*, p. 13.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁰⁰ Stad Gent, *Omgevingsanalyse*, p. 14.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

integration and assure equal opportunities in central areas such as access to professional life, housing, education and political participation. According to the current mayor Mr. Termont, the fight against all forms of exclusion is a priority. In order to do that municipality of Ghent is taking action in the field of employment, housing and education. The Municipality of Ghent has incorporated its ultimate objective in mid-2007: “Ghent must be a sustainable, open and solidarity society. Through the combination of all creative forces, it must become a creative city.”²⁰⁴

As a result, immigrant integration in Ghent has primarily taken place by opening up the core institutions such as education system, labour market, etc. In addition, a multi-layered system of projects and programs supporting integration has been developed over years.

4.2.1.2 The Integration Policy of the Municipality

It is important to state that Ghent represents the Flemish integration approaches completely. Although Ghent received immigrant workers in a significant number at the beginning of 1960s, Turkish and Moroccan presence gained much notice only in the late 1970s. For years, these migrant groups had problems in the areas of housing, educational and vocational training and their positions were deteriorating year by year.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the policies of migrant integration were developed only at the beginning of 1990s.

In 1991, Ghent established a Municipal Migrants Center (Stedelijk Migranten Centrum- SMC). The aim of the centre is to ensure immigrants an equal place in Ghent society economically, socially, culturally, politically, and institutionally. Integration was defined as immigrants’ adaptation to their new environment by respecting the ethno-cultural identity of each component group in the society.²⁰⁶ In other words, as long as they respected existing laws and did not threaten public order, they were all to be incorporated into the Ghent society. Although the municipality tried to develop general

²⁰⁴ Belgian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, **EU Conference on Integration: Added Value of A Regional and Local Approach**, Brussels, 2010, p. 8.

²⁰⁵ Patrick Ireland, **Becoming Europe: Immigration Integration and the Welfare State**, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004, p. 196.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 197.

policies to serve all population groups, sometimes it was argued that there was a need to form targeted policies towards migrants. Finally, ethnic minority policy was adopted.

The ethnic minority policy of the municipality of Ghent was like cultural pluralism. Municipal Migrant Center's social department introduced the teams of translators, counsellors and legal assistants for immigrant origin population. The centre also had an anti-discrimination department, which was created as a joint project with the Center for Equal Opportunities and against Racism, and developed programs to aid immigrant origin women, youth, job seekers, and adults who needed to learn Dutch and wanted to pursue their educations. The centre also had close relations with the other municipal departments working in the areas of education, welfare and culture. These initiatives were aimed at making the participation of those groups in the society.²⁰⁷

SMC worked in the name of the municipality by giving administrative, logistical, and financial and any kind of support for local migrant and other associations. Local authority gave an importance to cultural development and participation of migrants in the social life. In order to do that, regional officials thought that an advisory committee, which was made up at least a third of its members be immigrants, should be established. Immigrant members were seen *sine qua non* because they could make a real contribution to the board's work.²⁰⁸ As a result, the Municipal Integration Council was set up in 1993. However, it was not successful in terms of creating powerful associations. Ireland states that the reason was the lack of a dominating and controlling political force.²⁰⁹ Integration Council and migrant associations meetings were rare. Nevertheless, there were substantial developments. For example, Belgians working with migrants lobbied the municipality to make participations more meaningful. Another step for immigrant integration was establishing "De Centrale" (the Central) in 1994. Its objective was to ensure migrants' right to maintain their own cultural identity by facilitating their expression through the fine and performance arts. On the other hand, the Kom-Pas Center for Non-Indigenous Newcomers provided Dutch language instruction, job training especially for the Turks and Moroccans.

²⁰⁷ Ireland, *Becoming Europe: Immigration Integration and the Welfare State*, p. 197.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

As well as cultural integration, structural integration was not ignored by the municipality of Ghent; however, it did not have equal importance as much as cultural integration. Migrant residents of Ghent were predominantly blue-collar workers, most of them working in low-wage jobs in mainly the textile industry. The unemployment rate in Ghent was above the Flemish average with respect to youth and the people of non-Belgian origin. Municipality saw the non-profit organisations as a cure to decrease the unemployment rate of the migrants because there were various organisations that had an impact on migrants. Municipality wanted organisations to hire more migrants in their workplaces; however, budgetary restrictions made it difficult, so migrants worked only for temporary terms.²¹⁰

In the spatial integration, although municipality implemented a social housing policy, which was more heavily on the private market, it encouraged the residential concentration of immigrants from same countries and regions. Municipality saw their social housing policy as an opportunity for providing security of the society as a whole, yet it limited the possibilities of harmonization of the immigrants and Belgians.²¹¹

Later than, a mixture of political-cultural and structural policies was introduced. With the Flemish parliament decree law in 1998, migrant integration policy of Ghent changed. The definition of target group was broadened, and migrants were accepted as “ethnic-cultural minorities.” These minorities were those who had at least one parent or grandparent born outside Belgium regardless of the fact that they had Belgian nationality or not. Besides that, it included disadvantaged people based on their skin colour, socioeconomic position, ancestry, etc. This law also recognized the municipality as the director of the local integration. This meant that the municipality, within the limits of the principle of subsidiarity, ensures the development, management, coordination and implementation of inclusive local integration. It coordinated the relevant actors in the municipality and involved the target of integration and their organizations in that policy. In other words, the municipality must ensure alignment with the Flemish and federal level, coordination of the different policy areas within the municipality and cooperation and coordination with external partners. As a response,

²¹⁰ Ireland, *Becoming Europe: Immigration Integration and the Welfare State*, p. 201.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

Migration Center's name was changed as Municipal Integration Services in 1998.²¹² It was financially supported by the Flemish Regional Integration Center, the region and federal governments.

As in the Flemish region, Ghent had a vision of an active welfare state. It meant that if the residents were not able to provide their own well-being, the city, region and federal government could provide assistance and remove the barriers to residents' full participation in society. In order to do that, the local authority of Ghent tried to develop more general policies instead of targeted policies towards ethnic minorities. However, for the ethnic groups, there was more emphasis on Dutch language training.

Education has also been a key focus of the Ghent integration for a long time. Indeed, young people from ethnic minority groups have been relatively less well in the Ghent education. They have a higher dropout rates in education. On the other hand, school segregation is high. The reason is that historically, immigrants have usually lived in particular districts within the city. This led to a concentration of immigrant students in certain schools. In 1997, the Bridge Person project was introduced by local authority in the city of Ghent. The project addressed the challenges by creating a meaningful relationship between schools and socially disadvantaged families. Bridge people played a central role. Every elementary school, which has 50% percent socially disadvantaged students, was employed by a full-time bridge person. The bridge person provided the communication between the teachers and the pupils' parents. Thereby, trust between parents and teachers increased. Originally, the Bridge Person project was developed as a temporary initiative. However, because of its overwhelming success, the local authority has decided to provide financial support for the program through 2014.²¹³

One of the key priorities of the Ghent administration is to strengthen social cohesion in the city. Municipality of Ghent measures social cohesion on the basis of the following indicators:

- contacts around
- degree of close bonding
- trust in other people

²¹² Ibid., 202.

²¹³ Orhan Ağırdağ and Mieke Van Houtte, "A Tale of Two Cities Bridging Families and Schools", **Educational Leadership**, Vol. 68, No. 8, 2011, p. 3.

- volunteering in the neighbourhood and membership associations.²¹⁴

People, who are foreigners or whose parents are non-Belgians have a greater proportion never touch the neighbours. Contact with people from different cultural background occurs especially at work, at school or in the street. It also happens during community activities. 74% of the inhabitants of Ghent know someone with a different cultural background in his/her surroundings. More than a third of them have contact. 40% believes that working with individuals of foreign origin is pleasant, and only 7% finds it unpleasant.²¹⁵

In 2010, most people seemed to feel very at home in their neighbourhood, and they were proud to live there. It is noteworthy that close bond increases in Ghent society. However, Belgians feel more at home than the non-Belgians.²¹⁶

One of the priorities of the social cohesion includes encouraging the involvement and participation of ethnic minorities. The city government has a responsibility to encourage participation and involvement each ethnic minority group in Ghent. The way to keep participation of ethnic minority groups is supporting their associations. As in the Flemish approach, migrant associations have been given importance and seen as a bridge between the migrants and authorities of the city, so they have been funded since 2001 by the Flemish government in order to produce their own projects for facilitating their integration. However, small migrant organisations are not allowed to get a grant directly from the municipality; they could get a grant via federative organisations. The city of Ghent recognises federations as partner.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, according to the current declaration of the municipality in June 2014, there is a policy reform which is in hand now. According to the new policy, the small associations will directly get fund from the municipality, and the municipality will not renew the grant agreements with federations. The reason of a change in the policy is to response quickly to the needs and problems of a rapidly changing society. The new

²¹⁴ Stad Gent, *Omgevingsanalyse*, p. 25.

²¹⁵ Stad Gent, *Omgevingsanalyse*, p. 27.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ The partnership takes place through the forum Agora. The forum provides a structured dialogue between the city government and federations representing the organisations of ethnic minorities. In the forum, local government and civil society discuss various topics and issues related to living in an ethnic and cultural diverse environment. Each year a theme is tackled. For example, last year the partners worked around “local citizenship”. See AGORA, <http://www.gent.be/eCache/THE/1/79/196.cmVjPTE3OTg4MQ.html> (10 June 2014).

approach to support the participation of ethnic minorities from January 1, 2015 will be based on the following:

- There is available grant for all recognised socio-cultural organisations of ethnic minorities.
- Both small scale activities and long term projects are eligible for this grant.
- The city administrative will provide the necessary support in the preparation of project files.
- In allocating resources, the City wants to establish some guiding thematic emphases. A valuable part of the fund will be used for topics such as gender, health, education, etc.²¹⁸

Thus, the city of Ghent is taking a further step to strengthen local integration of the ethnic minorities by supporting directly targeted ethnic minority associations of Ghent.

What is more significant is that the city of Ghent is preparing to stop using the word *allochtoon* in its official documents.²¹⁹ More specifically, Resul Tapmaz, a second generation Turkish immigrant, who is responsible for policies for ethnic minorities and integration of Ghent, states that the city will replace the word immigrant in all administrative documents with terms such as ethnic minorities, Turkish Gentenaars or Ghent Moroccans because he says that ethnic minorities feel like Gentenaars, not immigrants any longer. Thus, in his own words, it will be the launch of a new integration policy of Ghent.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Resul Tapmaz, Nieuwe aanpak inzake ondersteuning van inspraak van etnisch-culturele minderheden vanaf 1 januari 2015, 2014, <http://resultapmaz.wordpress.com/2014/05/26/bedankt-aan-iedereen-voor-de-steun/> (19 June 2014).

²¹⁹ Actually the ideas were firstly applied by the newspaper “De Morgen”, and the words were banned from all of its articles. Then, this initiative was adopted by Ghent. Last year, in Ghent a symbolic funeral was organised to bury the words. Although it was welcomed, of course, there were debates about the consequences of that initiative. See European Youth Portal, Ghent buries the words ‘immigrant’ and ‘native’, 2013, <http://europa.eu/youth/be/article/ghent-buries-words-%E2%80%98immigrant%E2%80%99-and-%E2%80%98native%E2%80%99-en?language=bg> (15 June 2014).

²²⁰ **The Bulletin**, “Ghent drops the word ‘immigrant’ ”, 2013, <http://www.xpats.com/ghent-drops-word-immigrant> (15 June 2014).

In addition to local integration policies of Ghent, the city is one of the European leaders in several policy issues related to integration. One of them is opposing discrimination against migrants. According to the city's mission statement, Ghent 2020, social sustainability and cohesion are essential strategic goals. This statement finds a place in the municipality's public statements in order to promote equality and inclusion for migrants. On the other hand, the city of Ghent signed EUROCITIES Integrating Cities Charter, to European Coalition of Cities Against Racism (ECCAR) and the Belgian Diversity and Equality label.²²¹

The city of Ghent also supports the REM Advisory Board which is composed of representatives of migrants, education, employment and diversity experts. It is a formal structure for migrant consultation, and it is supported by the Integration Service of the city. The Board provides recommendations either at request of the municipality or own initiative.²²²

There is an available and free of charge translation and interpreting service. Its budget is provided by welfare organisations, educational institutions, city services and health care providers. Based on the views of the local NGOs and city officials, migrants' access to services has been significantly improved thanks to such a service.²²³

There are also some initiatives to raise awareness about rights of migrant communities. For example, the Reporting Unit for Discrimination collects and evaluates allegations of discrimination in the city. Besides that Kom-Pas and Transithuis, NGOs supported by the city, help migrants in terms of their rights in the civic integration programmes. Another helpful organisation is the Legal Unit of the city's own Integration Service. It also provides information about migrants on their rights and their legal status by offering brochures and training sessions for rights of migrants.²²⁴

²²¹ Sue Lukes and Richard Stanton. "Integrating Cities Toolkit: Anti-discrimination policies", Brussels: EUROCITIES, 2012, p.8, https://www.stadt-zuerich.ch/content/dam/stzh/prd/Deutsch/Stadtentwicklung/Publikationen_und_Broschueren/Integrationsfoerderung/themen_a-z/Vernetzung%20International/Integrating%20cities%20toolkit_anti-discrimination.pdf (03 June 2014).

²²² Sue and Stanton. *Integrating Cities Toolkit: Anti-discrimination policies*, p.11.

²²³ Ibid p.14

²²⁴ Ibid p.16

4.2.2 Turkish Community in Ghent and the Associations

The history of Turkish immigration to Ghent began in the early 1960s. Unlike the other migrants, who came to work at mines in Belgium, most of those, who came to Ghent, were recruited to work in the cotton industry. There were 435 Turks working in the cotton and wool factories of Ghent, and their number increased more than 1400 by 1971.²²⁵ Their homes were near their workplace. In Ghent, Turkish migrants began to live in houses close to the factory where they worked.²²⁶

Today, Turkish community makes up almost half of the foreign population in Ghent, and there is a high degree of uniformity in terms of region of origin. A large majority of the Turkish community comes from just one small district, Emirdağ in Afyon. More than half of Ghent's labour migrants arriving between 1960 and 1980 came from Emirdağ due to the nominative recruitment by the factories.²²⁷ ²²⁸ In later years, it continued to increase by family reunifications, and transnational marriages between Emirdağlı families. This led to the creation of Emirdağlı community in Ghent.²²⁹ Another group of Turks comes from the East Black Sea region and Posof, Ardahan.²³⁰

Ghent had labour markets in which early migrants could find jobs easier than the second and third generations in the sectors where their parents were employed.²³¹

²²⁵ Alan Hope, "Working for a living", **FlandersToday**, 17 June 2009, <http://www.flanderstoday.eu/arts/working-living> (25 May 2014).

²²⁶ Klaartje Van Kerckem, Bart Van de Putte and Peter Stevens, *On Becoming "Too Belgian": A Comparative Study of Ethnic Conformity Pressure through the City-as-Context Approach*, p. 347.

²²⁷ Klaartje Van Kerckem, Bart Van de Putte and Peter Stevens, *On Becoming "Too Belgian": A Comparative Study of Ethnic Conformity Pressure through the City-as-Context Approach*, p. 347.

²²⁸ In fact, governments specify the conditions under which potential migrants could apply for work and residence permits in bilateral agreements. Both nominative and anonymous recruitment were done. Nominative recruitment was occurring through mediation of earlier migrants who gave the names of friends and family members to their employers, and then they invited them to work in Belgium. However, anonymous recruitment presupposed the cooperation of the Turkish Employment Service (TES). See Reniers, *On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium*, p. 683.

²²⁹ Currently, according to the governor of Emirdağ, the population of *Emirdağlı* in Ghent is more than the one in Emirdağ.

²³⁰ The Turkish community lives around the centre; however, they group in accordance with their origin city. For example, people from Emirdağ live in the neighbourhood around the Sleepstraat (Sluizeke Muide). Turks coming from Posof and Kars live around Sint-Amandsberg.

²³¹ In the textile factories, native Belgians were unwilling to at work nights, and on the other hand, Turks did not speak in Dutch. Therefore, some shifts, especially the night shifts, were generally "Turkish". In that case, Turks and native Belgians could work together with a limited contact in the labour market in those times. See Klaartje Van Kerckem, Bart Van de Putte and Peter Stevens, *On Becoming "Too Belgian": A Comparative Study of Ethnic Conformity Pressure through the City-as-Context Approach*, p. 351.

The reason of that was deindustrialization. Employment in Ghent's textile industry declined in the 1970s and 1980s, but growth in the metal, automobile and chemical sectors supplied employment opportunities for second and third generations. Nevertheless, Turks in Ghent have always been more vulnerable in terms of unemployment than the natives. Thus, inequalities in the labour market are still widespread.²³²

Apart from the challenges, The Turkish community has developed a social life in Ghent. Actually, it can be said that their social life is usually within the boundaries of Turkish community. In other words, they do not communicate with native Belgians so much in their daily lives. For example, Turkish community has its own markets, bakeries, butchers, restaurants, etc. in their neighbourhoods, and they usually prefer going to the Turkish ones. On the other hand, at schools and workplaces, contacts with natives are also limited. Due to such reasons, in time, Turks have established their own associations based on the aim of helping each other, and mitigating difficulties of adaptation.

In Ghent alone, there are more than 150 ethnic minority organisations and more than 50 of them belongs to Turks, especially Emirdağ associations. There are a number of reasons for the high degree of organization of these communities. On the one hand, there is the fact that the establishment of organizations is encouraged and supported by the Flemish government. On the other hand, the Turkish community often comes from the same region, and sometimes even from the same village. Thus, they establish their own associations for helping each other.

Founding an ethnic minority association was not easy in 1970s because two thirds of the founders had to be Belgians. Besides, their opportunities were so limited in contrast with today. There was no support from the ministry, province and municipalities. Although the limitations and challenges, Turks started to establish their organisations. The first organizations of Turkish immigrants were religious associations. The oldest Turkish organization in Ghent was Turkish Cultural Center Ghent, better known as the Great Mosque. This association was founded in 1978. Mosque was subject to the Diyanet. Thus, salary of Imam, a civil servant employed by the Turkish

²³² Klaartje Van Kerckem, Bart Van de Putte and Peter Stevens, *On Becoming "Too Belgian": A Comparative Study of Ethnic Conformity Pressure through the City-as-Context Approach*, p. 350.

Presidency of Religion Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı), was paid by Turkish government. In the Grand Mosque, there were also Turkish language and culture courses, given by people appointed and paid by the Turkish Ministry of Education.²³³

It is no coincidence that the first Turkish organizations were the mosque or religious associations because religion was the common ground of Turkish community. Besides that, the mosque was the place to meet, discuss their problems and help each other. However, over time, several Turkish organisations stopped giving any reference to religion in their name or statutes. The major reason for the removal of those references was the decision of the Flemish Government, to recognize and fund the organizations of migrants from January 27, 1993. However, it was decided not to subsidize religious organizations.

Besides religious organisations, there are plenty of other socio-cultural associations. The range of the associations is very broad, from sports clubs to cultural associations and youth associations. These so-called autonomous organizations, which are no longer the extension of religious organizations, have been on the rise since 1986, and they have a remarkable growth since the 1990s. The increase in the number of associations is probably due to the possibility of subsidies of the Flemish government and municipality. However, in this study, it is focused on only some of them in accordance with their types and objectives.

Turkish Lady Gent is an organisation founded by women and works for women's integration into the society. The organisation gives importance to personal development of each individual woman because the organisation believes that women become stronger only by encouraging their own developments. Turkish Lady Ghent offers some activities such as exploring together a city, or going to a concert for women who want to socialize.²³⁴

Posküder, which stands for Cultural Association of Posof Turks, is a cultural association founded by the people from Posof, a small town in the north-eastern part of Turkey. Like many other Turks living in Ghent, many Turks from Posof migrated in the 1960s and 1970s. Posküder was founded to keep alive the cultural tradition of the

²³³ Meryem Kanmaz, "Moskee en godsdienstbeleving; Leven als moslim in een leken-staat", 2002 cited in Wouter Vanparys, "Het Turkse verenigingsleven in Gent: een casestudy", (**Unpublished Master thesis**, University of Ghent Department of Comparative Cultural Studies, 2002), p. 88.

²³⁴ *Turkish Lady Gent*, (n.a), <http://turkishladygent.wix.com/turkishladygen> (14 June 2014).

Turkish community living in Ghent. Their activities are not just based on the cultural activities but also on sports and educational activities. As a youth association, it aims emancipation and integration of the target group, which is young people of Turkish origin, by organising activities. Posküder also tries to contribute positively to the diversity of Ghent, so since 2001 Posküder has been working as one of the few Turkish associations, which is recognised by the city of Ghent.²³⁵

Gent Özburun is an association founded by people from Özburun; small town belonging to Bolvadin, a town in Afyon in western Turkey. It is a youth association that organizes cultural, social and sports activities in order to provide integration of its members. Language courses, folk dance activities, theatre are the examples of the association's activities.²³⁶

In addition to cultural associations, there are associations of Turkish higher education students. FLUX, which was founded in 2004 by the higher education students, is one of the most actively working student association in Ghent. Target group of FLUX is not limited to higher education students; the association works to respond to the educational problems of immigrant youth from primary school to university. In addition to students, the target groups include their parents as well since it is believed that education starts at home, not in schools. FLUX also aims to build a bridge between students and scholars, to guide problems of the students, to organize orientation activities for the freshmen students and to organize forums about the current academic and cultural issues. The association brings together old and new students to share their experiences, and helps students in their future career planning. The association also fights against increasing racism in education.²³⁷

On the other hand, Belgian-Turks living in Ghent have founded a think tank, called as "Thinkout" in order to produce projects and make researches about increasing Islamophobia and racism. The founders consist of academicians, engineers and lawyers,

²³⁵ *Gent Posof Culturele Vereniging*, (n.a), <http://poskuder.be/> (14 June 2014).

²³⁶ **YENİHABER**, "Gent Özburun Derneği'ne Belediye Sahip Çıktı", 9 February 2009, <http://yenihaber.be/gent-ozburun-dernegine-belediye-sahip-cikti/4332/> (14 June 2014).

²³⁷ *FLUX*, (n.a), <http://www.vzwflux.be/du/> (14 June 2014).

and they desire to build a common platform representing the entire Turkish minority group.²³⁸

There are numerous Turkish associations like Gent Türk Tiyatrosu (GTT), Pörnek Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği, Anadolu Gülü, Adayazı Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği, Gent EYAD (Emirdağ Sosyal Yardımlaşma Derneği), Sohbet Derneği, Artsanat, Beşiktaş Gent and so on. Although it is not possible to find and reach all of them, the sample associations show that the associations vary in their target groups as women, youth or students, or they are founded in accordance with their origin towns in Turkey; however, their primary objectives are the same: to support the integration of Turkish community, and facilitate their problems during the integration process by usually organising cultural and social activities. It is important to note that their activities are open to all society; everyone is welcome. However, it seems that the majority of group attending their activities are Turks.

4.3 CO-OPERATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITY AND MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS IN IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

In Ghent, there are more than 100 socio-cultural associations of ethnic minorities that are working actively. Most of them are affiliated with an umbrella organisation or federation in order to get financial and other kinds of support in areas such as administration and transportation. These federations as socio-cultural organizations are recognized and supported by the Flemish Government. The City of Ghent has signed a grant agreement with each federation. In those agreements, it is defined how these umbrella organizations and their member associations in Ghent contribute to the implementation of Ghent's policy of ethno-cultural diversity. On the other hand, the member organisations in Ghent must submit for the recognition as "Ghent socio-cultural association of ethnic minorities" since July 1, 2012. If they can get recognition, they can appeal to a number of facilities offered by the city like using reception rooms, supplying equipments, etc.

²³⁸ **HABER Journal**, "Belçikalı Türklerden İrkçilik ve İslamofobi'ye Karşı Düşünce Derneği", 9 April 2014, <http://www.haberjournal.at/avrupa/belcikali-turklerden-irkcilik-ve-islamofobiye-karsi-dusunce-dernegi-h2748.html> (13.06.2014)

There are three significant umbrella organisations that Turkish associations work with. The first one is FZO-VL (Federatie van Zelforganisaties in Vlaanderen- Federation of Self-Help organizations in Flanders). It is a socio-cultural umbrella organization that stands for integration, empowerment and participation of the immigrant community in Flanders. FZO-VL is recognized by the Flemish Community and is subsidized by national association (federation) with various members, centers, departments. Since 1 July 2007, FZO-VL has recognized by the Flemish Community Commission in Brussels. FZO-VL has a multicultural composition that means their member organisations come from all part of the ethnic groups. So, there are Turkish, African, Latin American, North African, Arab, Eastern European and Flemish minority organisations affiliated with FZO-VL. The member socio-cultural organisations are active in different areas like sports, youth, culture, art, education, health, etc. However, FZO-VL is against all forms of extremism. The Federation provides logistical, administrative, substantive and formative support to its members, and may act as advocate and lobby group or partner for its members.

The second one is UTV (Unie Van Turkse Verenigingen- Union of Turkish Associations), which is recognized by the Ministry of the Flemish Community as an umbrella organisation. It was founded in 1993. The objective of the UTV is to make an active contribution to building harmonious society by providing concrete supports for participation and integration of the Turkish community in the Belgian society. UTV also aims defending human rights and fighting against racism and discrimination since the organisation believes that discrimination and racism can only be prevented if every individual is aware of his/her rights and obligations. Supporting the works of the Turkish community, training, substantive and technical assistance are one of the main tasks of the Union. On the other hand, the Union continues to promote cooperation between migrant associations and Flemish associations including by information exchange, consultation and cooperation in joint activities.²³⁹

The third one is TUB (Turkse Unie Van Belgie- Turkish Union of Belgium), which is supported by various ministries in Belgium. TUB is striving for equal rights, and trying to make Turkish community politically more active. In the last 10 years,

²³⁹ For further information see *Unie Van Turkse Verenigingen*, (n.a), <http://utvweb.be/> (27 May 2014).

TUB has had a lot of good examples to achieve its aims. It has developed and implemented several projects around the key issues such as education, culture, unemployment, the elderly, women and youth. On the other hand, TUB has tried to build a bridge between two communities: native Belgians and Turkish community. This is done by through several joint activities and organisations. Besides that, TUB is represented in various advisory boards that focus on working for ethnic minority groups, in the name of Turkish community. These boards have been set up by ministries, provinces and municipalities, and TUB has worked as the representative of Turkish community to defend the common interests of its members.²⁴⁰

As mentioned above, there are several collaborations, and most of these relationships with the municipality and its institutions have been established to help sustaining social cohesion of the society as a whole, and with other associations. Nevertheless, it seems that immigrant associations are not fully integrated into the native structures. Their activities are generally limited to cultural events like Turkish singers' concerts, Turkish theatre, Turkish folk dance or Ramadan organisations and, etc. These are important activities to make Turkish culture known to native Belgians; however, there needs to be more concrete activities, projects in the field of education, employment etc.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter tried to examine the role of local authorities and migrants associations in the integration process through a case study. In order to find out their roles, specifically policies of the municipality of Ghent and the associations which are founded by the Turkish community, the largest non-European ethnic minority group living in Ghent was examined.

Although the integration policies developed late, today, city of Ghent has accepted that migration is an undeniable part of the society, so it has tried to develop policies to embrace all members of the society. Nevertheless, when the general policies have been developed, it has been realized that migrant ethnic groups are still behind in

²⁴⁰ For further information see *Turkse Unie Van Belgie*, (n.a), <http://www.turkseunie.be/nl/homepagina/> (25 May 2014).

some areas such as education level, employment, etc. Thus, “targeted policies” have been developed for them.

On the other hand, it is observed that migrant associations have changed in time. In the first years of the migration, while the country of origin has been had an active role in founding associations, especially religious and political associations, today they are not so active. The reason is that today most of the host countries protect juridically religious and political rights of the migrants.

As the part of a Flaman region integration policy, municipality of Ghent as well supports the migrant associations financially. When it is looked at the implementations, the municipality supports socio-cultural activities and gives more importance to them. The last change in the decree shows that organising activities which are embracing different ethnic groups are encouraged as well. However, according to findings of the research the co-operation between municipality and migrant associations should be developed for improvement of the structural integration of the migrant community. Structural integration realm seems to be needed more concrete co-operation.

CONCLUSION

This study attempts to understand the ever increasing significance the role of local authorities and migrant associations in the integration process. For this purpose, first of all, the concept of integration, which contains assimilation and multiculturalism discourses within itself, is analysed with its dimensions (structural, cultural, social and identificational), and actors (immigrants themselves, receiving society and sending countries' governments and institutions). Then, the different integration approaches and policies in Europe are presented in order to figure out the general integration situation in Europe. Secondly, the local authorities and migrant associations are analysed briefly. Thirdly, the EU's contribution to immigrant integration is analysed.

The debate on integration of migrants is historically and politically different from state to state; however, for the European continent the common point is that the temporary labour workers, who settled and became permanent, and formed an ethnic minority group in their host societies. Integration entered into the European political agenda in the 1980s after realization of the temporary immigrant becoming a permanent one with the right to family reunification. There have been several national integration models for the incorporation of these migrants, namely assimilationist, multiculturalist and guest worker model, especially in 1990s. Integration showed differences in accordance with these models. Nevertheless, contemporarily, integration is defined and accepted as a two-way process between immigrants themselves and members of the receiving society, and gives the right to maintaining immigrants' own cultures while immigrants enter the economic, cultural and political structure of the receiving society. Thus, these models seem out of date. Today, although immigration is the national concern of the European states, integration of migrants is a local concern since the cities are home to migrants, and they face challenges in their daily lives. In order to respond to those challenges, the governance of integration policies at the local level is gaining importance day by day, and at the local level municipalities and migrant associations become the foremost actors to overcome and eliminate these challenges and provide social cohesion of the society as a whole.

On the other hand, the EU's contribution to integration of migrants is unignorable, both at national and local levels. A concrete and coherent policy framework for immigrant integration in the EU has started to be set out in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Although they are not binding for the member states, a general framework has been drawn in years, especially with the Common Basic Principles. Besides that, today, various funds to support integration of migrants are available. In addition to that, the EU also has given the importance to local management of the diversity. In order to share experiences, knowledge and good practices a series of long-term projects have introduced by the EU. CLIP and EURO CITIES are significant EU funded projects in order to benchmark the local integration practices of the cities in specific realms like housing, cultural diversity, and etc.

In the last chapter, the focus is on the importance of the local authority and migrant associations and their practices in the area of immigrant integration. For this purpose, the city of Ghent in Belgium and the associations of a populous ethnic minority group, namely Turkish associations are examined in the context of local integration.

Belgium is a typical migrant receiving country after WW II, and like other Western European states, it began to develop integration policies lately, approximately 20 years after the Turkish labourers came to the country. On the other hand, Belgium is a *sui generis* state which consists of three regions, three communities, and local, regional and federal state levels. Each of them has several responsibilities, and migrant integration is the responsibility of regions and communities. Besides that, municipalities have competence in producing their own policies for the immigrants. However, the city of Ghent shows parallelism in terms of integration approach of the Flanders region. As in Flanders region, with the Ethnic Minority Policy, the city adopted a holistic integration policy concept to promote cultural and structural integration of its ethnic minority population into the Belgian society. The background for this policy approach is the idea that integration is a two-way process, and all realms of daily life require the participation of all sectors of society; in particular, the involvement of migrant associations as partners to promote an intercultural city. Thus, integration has been made the top priority of the municipality and interrelated fields of action from language support, equal opportunities in education, etc. with the collaboration of migrant

organisations. Nevertheless, only socio-cultural recognised migrant organisations are financially supported. When we look at the Turkish associations in Ghent, it is seen that there are various associations as youth, women, cultural, educational etc., and they aim to support the integration of Turkish community. However, according to sample associations examined in the study, Turkish associations usually organise cultural and social activities like tea time, city trips, fairs, picnics, etc. Although their activities are open to all society, it seems that Turks are the majority group in their activities. Thus, it can be said that Turkish associations should be more open to all parts of the society, and they should create more concrete projects for their problems. On the other hand, migrant associations are not allowed to financial support from the municipality directly; the funds are distributed through umbrella associations. The more significant projects, especially in the structural integration domain like employment, education are implemented through these umbrella organisations.

All in all, integration is a long-term process and it requires participation of several actors at different levels. Nevertheless, the actors at the local level, including local authorities and migrant associations have a significant role, so integration should be built on the experiences active policies of local authorities firstly. Then, local authorities should develop a joint learning process with their partners in other cities in order to exchange experiences. On the other hand, these should be valid for the migrant associations. They also should participate in joint projects in other cities to produce more creative and innovative projects to make the cities more liveable places as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adam, Ilke. "Immigrant Integration Policies of the Belgian Regions: Sub-state Nationalism and Policy Divergence after Devolution", **Regional & Federal Studies**. Vol. 23, No.5, 2013, pp. 547-569.
- AGORA, <http://www.gent.be/eCache/THE/1/79/196.cmVjPTE3OTg4MQ.html> (10 June 2014).
- Ağırdağ, Orhan and Mieke Van Houtte. "A Tale of Two Cities Bridging Families and Schools", **Educational Leadership**, Vol. 68, No. 8, 2011, pp. 42-46.
- Alba, Richard. "Bright vs. Blurred Boundaries: Second-generation Assimilation and Exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States", **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2005, pp. 20-49.
- Alba, Richard. "Immigration and the American Realities of Assimilation and Multiculturalism", **Sociological Forum**. Vol. 14, No.1, March 1999, pp. 3-25.
- Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration", **International Migration Review**. Vol. 31, No.4, Winter 1997, pp. 826-874.
- Alexander, Michael. **Cities and Labour Immigration: Comparing Policy Responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv**. England: Ashgate, 2007.
- Alexander, Michael. "Local policies toward migrants as an expression of Host-Stranger relations: A proposed typology", **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**. Vol. 29, No. 3, 2003, 411- 430.
- Belgian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, **EU Conference on Integration: Added Value of A Regional and Local Approach**, Brussels, 2010.

- Borkert, Maren and Tiziana Caponio. "Introduction: the local dimension of migration policy making", Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert (Eds.) in **The Local Dimension of Migration Policy Making**, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, IMISCOE Textbooks, 2010, pp. 9-23.
- Bousetta, Hassan, Sonia Gsir and Dirk Jacobs. "Active Civic Participation of Immigrants in Belgium", **Country Report prepared for the European research project POLITIS**, Oldenburg, 2005. <http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/download/Belgium.pdf> (10 April 2014).
- Brubaker, Rogers. "The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States", **Ethnic and Racial Studies**. Vol. 24, No.4, July 2001, pp. 531-548.
- Carrera, Sergio. "A Comparison of Integration Programmes in the EU Trends and Weaknesses", **CEPS Challenge Papers**, No.1, 2006.
- Centre for Strategy and Evaluation Services (CSES), **Study on Practices of Integration of Third-Country Nationals at Local and Regional Level in the European Union**, Brussels, April 2013, p. 7. http://cor.europa.eu/en/documentation/studies/Documents/survey_integration_3rd_country_nationals/survey_integration_3rd_country_nationals.pdf (15 April 2014).
- Collett, Elizabeth and Milica Petrovic. "The Future of Immigrant Integration in Europe: Mainstreaming Approaches for Inclusion", **Migration Policy Institute Europe**, Brussels, March 2014. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/future-immigrant-integration-europe-mainstreaming-approaches-inclusion> (25 May 2014).
- Commission of the European Communities, **A Common Agenda for Integration Framework for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals in the European Union**, 1 September 2005, COM (2005) 389 Final, Brussels.

http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/UDRW/images/items/docl_988_232042490.pdf#zoom=100 (16 March 2014).

Commission of the European Communities, **Guidelines for a Community Policy on Migration**, 7 March 1985, COM (85) 48 Final, Brussels. http://aei.pitt.edu/1256/1/migration_policy_COM_85_48.pdf (15 March 2014).

Commission of the European Communities, **Action Programme in favour of migrant workers and their families**, 14 December 1974, COM (74) 2250, Brussels. http://aei.pitt.edu/1278/1/action_migrant_workers_COM_74_2250.pdf (15 March 2014).

Constitution of Belgium, http://www.dekamer.be/kvvcr/pdf_sections/publications/constitution/grondwet_EN.pdf (5 May 2014).

Council of the European Union, **2618th Council Meeting Justice and Home Affairs**, 19 November 2004, Brussels. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf (5 March 2014).

De Haas, Hein. “The Role of Self-Organisations of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in the Local Authority”, **ELAINE/EC**. Maastricht: European Centre for Work and Society, May 1997. [http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/De%20Haas%201997%20\(3\)%20The%20Role%20of%20Self-Organisations%20of%20Migrants%20and%20Ethnic%20Minorities%20in%20the%20Local%20Authority.pdf](http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/De%20Haas%201997%20(3)%20The%20Role%20of%20Self-Organisations%20of%20Migrants%20and%20Ethnic%20Minorities%20in%20the%20Local%20Authority.pdf) (25 March 2013).

De Raedt, Thérèse. “Muslims in Belgium: A Case Study of Emerging Identities”, **Journal of Muslim Affairs**. Vol. 24, No. 1, April 2004, pp. 9-30.

Delmartino, Frank, Hugues Dumont and Sébastien Van Drooghenbroeck. “Kingdom of Belgium”, John Kincaid, Luis Moreno and César Colino (Eds.) in **Diversity**

and Unity in Federal Countries, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, pp. 48-74.

Entzinger, Han and Renske Biezeveld. "Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration". **European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) Report**. Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2003.

European Commission, **European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals**, 20 July 2011, COM(2011) 455 Final, Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/110720/1_en_act_part1_v10.pdf (16 March 2014).

European Commission, **Council decision on guidelines for the employment policies of the Member States Part II of the Europe 2020 Integrated Guidelines**, COM (2010) 193/3, Brussels, p. 8. http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/proposition_en.pdf (10 March 2014).

European Commission, **Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on immigration, integration and employment, 3 June 2003**, COM (2003) 0336 Final, Brussels. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/;ELX_SESSIONID=xnd2TvGPm7TGv6npry2Lfy2JNp6CQv18Ldh7m7ld1p9pz8RqKRk4!440406763?uri=CELEX:52003DC0336 (23 April 2014).

European Committee on Local and Regional Democracy (CDLR). **The Relationship between Central and Local Authorities**. 2007. (with the collaboration of Alba Nogueria López, Santiago de Compostela University, Spain) <http://www.migm.gov.tr/AvrupaKonseyi/Ek41.pdf> (15 May 2014).

European Council, **The Stockholm Programme- And open and secure Europe serving and protecting citizens**, 4 May 2010, Brussels. <http://eur->

[lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:52010XG0504\(01\)](http://lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:52010XG0504(01)) (16 March 2014).

European Council, **Presidency Conclusions of the Brussels European Council**, 04-05 November 2004, Brussels.
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/82534.pdf (16 March 2014).

European Council, **Presidency Conclusions of the Tampere European Council**, 15-16 October 1999, Brussels.
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/tam_en.htm (28 February 2014).

European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants (CLIP),
<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm> (19 May 2014).

European Social Fund, <http://ec.europa.eu/esf/home.jsp?langId=en> (23 April 2014).

European Web Site on Integration. (n.a). <http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/mandate.cfm> (15 March 2013).

European Youth Portal. “Ghent buries the words ‘immigrant’ and ‘native’ ”, 2013,
http://europa.eu/youth/be/article/ghent-buries-words-%E2%80%98immigrant%E2%80%99-and-%E2%80%98native%E2%80%99_en?language=bg (15 June 2014).

Favell, Adrian. **Philosophies of Integration Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain**. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2001.

Federatie van zelforganisaties in Vlaanderen. (n.a). <http://www.fzovl.be/> (28 May 2014).

FLUX. (n.a). <http://www.vzwflux.be/du/> (14 June 2014).

Gelekçi, Cahit and Ali Köse, **Misafir İşçilikten Etnik Azınlığa Belçika’daki Türkler**, Ankara: Phoenix Press, 2011.

Gent in Cijfers. (n.a). <http://www.gent.be/gentincijfers/> (01 June 2014).

Gent Posof Culturele Vereniging. (n.a). <http://poskuder.be/> (14 June 2014).

GHENT. 2011. <http://www.mi-is.be/en/federal-urban-policy/ghent> (08 June 2014).

Goeman, Hannelore. “Migrant Integration Policy at European Level: Past, Present and Future”, (n.a). Vrije Universiteit Brussels (VUB), Institute for European Studies.

HABER Journal. “Belçikalı Türklerden Irkçılık ve İslamofobi’ye Karşı Düşünce Derneği”. 9 April 2014. <http://www.haberjournal.at/avrupa/belcikali-turklerden-irkcilik-ve-islamofobiye-karsi-dusunce-dernegi-h2748.html> (13 June 2014).

Heckmann, Friedrich. “Integration and Integration Policies”, **European Forum for Migration Studies**, University of Bamberg. 2006.

Heckmann, Friedrich. “From Ethnic Nation to Universalistic Immigrant Integration: Germany”, Friedrich Heckmann and Dominique Schnapper (Eds.) in **The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies National Differences and Trends of Convergence**, Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2003, pp. 45-78.

Heckmann, Friedrich and Dominique Schnapper. “Introduction”, Friedrich Heckmann and Dominique Schnapper (Eds.) in **The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies National Differences and Trends of Convergence**, Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2003, pp. 9-14.

Hirschman, Charles. “Theories of International Migration and Immigration: A Preliminary Reconnaissance of Ideal Types”, Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz and Josh DeWind (Eds.) in **Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience**, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999, pp. 120-137.

Hope, Alan. "Working for a living", **FlandersToday**, 17 June 2009.
<http://www.flanderstoday.eu/arts/working-living> (25 May 2014).

Integration Fund, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/integration-fund/index_en.htm (26 April 2014).

Ireland, Patrick. **Becoming Europe: Immigration Integration and the Welfare State**. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004.

Joppke, Christian. "The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy". **The British Journal of Sociology**. Vol.55, No.2, 2004.

Joppke, Christian and Ewa Morawska. "Integrating Immigrants in Liberal Nation States: Policies and Practices", Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska (Eds.) in **Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States**, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp.1-37.

Kaya, Ayhan. **Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization**. London: Palgrave, 2009.

Kaya, Ayhan and Ferhat Kentel. **Belçika Türkleri Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliği Arasında Köprü Mü, Engel Mi?**. İstanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2008.

Kivisto, Peter. **Multiculturalism in a Global Society**. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Kymlicka, Will. "The rise and fall of multiculturalism?". Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf (Eds.) in **The Multiculturalism Backlash European discourses, policies and practices**, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 32-50.

Kymlicka, Will. **Politics in the Vernacular Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship**. USA: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Loobuyck, Patrick and Dirk Jacobs. "Belgium and Flanders as immigration societies: An introduction", 2009

http://www.bruessel.diplo.de/contentblob/3051328/Daten/1111502/DD_Loobuyck.pdf (10 April 2014).

Lukes, Sue and Richard Stanton. "Integrating Cities Toolkit: Anti-discrimination policies", Brussels: EURO CITIES, 2012, https://www.stadt-zuerich.ch/content/dam/stzh/prd/Deutsch/Stadtentwicklung/Publikationen_und_Broschueren/Integrationsfoerderung/themen_a-z/Vernetzung%20International/Integrating%20cities%20toolkit_anti-discrimination.pdf (03 June 2014).

Modood, Tariq. "Multiculturalism and Integration: struggling with confusions", 2011. <http://www.qmul.ac.uk/migration/pdf/QMUL%20Talk%201%20November%202011.pdf> (20 February 2014).

Moya, Jose C. "Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective". **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**. Vol. 31, No.5, September 2005, pp. 833-864.

Mulcahy, Suzanne. **Europe's Migrant Policies: Illusions of Integration**. Palgrave Macmillan, Kindle Edition, 2011.

Odmalm, Pontus. "Turkish Organizations in Europe: How National Contexts Provide Different Avenues for Participation". **Turkish Studies**. Vol 10, No. 2, 2009, pp. 149-163.

OECD, Indicators of Integration: Belgium, <http://www.oecd.org/migration/integrationindicators/keyindicatorsbycountry/name,217277,en.htm> (28 May 2014).

- Oxford* *Dictionaries.* (n.a).
<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/integrate?q=integrate> (10 January 2014).
- Özbabacan, Ayşe. “Immigrant Integration at the Local Level: Comparison Between Stuttgart and Selected U.S. Cities”, 2009, Transatlantic Academy Paper Series. Washington DC.
http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Ozbabacan_Paper_Final%20for_Web_version_2.pdf (30 May 2014).
- Park, Robert E. and Ernest Burgess. **Introduction to Science of Sociology**. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1921. [electronic version] available at
http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28496/28496-h/28496-h.htm#Page_663 (20 February 2014).
- Penninx, Rinus. “Decentralising Integration Policies Managing Migration in Cities, Regions and Localities”, **The Policy Network**, London. 26 November 2009,
http://www.policy-network.net/publications_download.aspx?ID=3460 (5 December 2013).
- Penninx, Rinus. “The Logic of Integration Policies: an exercise in policy thinking”, **Lecture at CEDEM**, University of Liège. 29 January 2004,
<http://www.cedem.ulg.ac.be/wp-content/uploads/workingpaper/22.pdf> (15 December 2013).
- Penninx, Rinus, Dimitrina Spencer and Nicholas Van Hear. “Migration and Integration in Europe: the State of Research”. **Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) Reports**, University of Oxford, 2008.

Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants", **The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science**. Vol.530, No.1, November 1993, pp. 74-96.

Protasiewicz, Patrycja Matusz. "Intercultural Policies and Intergroup Relations Case Study: Antwerp, Belgium", Eurofound, Dublin: Ireland. 2010. <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/htmlfiles/ef103811.htm> (29 May 2014).

Reniers, Georges. "On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium", **International Migration**. Vol. 37, No.4, 1999, pp. 679-713.

Resul Tapmaz, Nieuwe aanpak inzake ondersteuning van inspraak van etnisch-culturele minderheden vanad 1 januari 2015, 2014, <http://resultapmaz.wordpress.com/2014/05/26/bedankt-aan-iedereen-voor-de-steun/> (19 June 2014).

Samen inburgeren in Gent, <http://www.gent.be/eCache/THE/1/761.cmVjPTE3Njg0OA.html> (12 June 2016).

Sardinha, João. Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal. **Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press**, 2009.

Schnapper, Dominique, Pascale Krief and Emmanuel Peignard. "French Immigration Policy: A Complex Combination", Friedrich Heckmann and Dominique Schnapper (Eds.) in **The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies**

National Differences and Trends of Convergence, Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2003, pp. 15-45.

Schrover, Marlou and Floris Vermeulen. “Immigrant Organisations”, **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**. Vol. 31, No. 5, September 2005, pp. 823-832.

Soysal, Yasemin. **Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe**. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994.

Speech of Deniz Çakar, who was the Consul General of Turkey in Antwerp, at conference on 50 Years of Migration held in Ghent in December 2011, <http://antwerp.cg.mfa.gov.tr/ShowSpeech.aspx?ID=1837> (10 May 2014).

Stad Gent, Omgevingsanalyse, 2013. http://www.gent.be/docs/Departement%20Stafdiensten/Dienst%20Stedenbeleid%20en%20Internationale%20Betrekkingen/Dataplanning%20en%20Monitoring/omgevingsanalyseMETeng_frans.pdf (28 May 2014).

Tol, Gönül. “A Comparative Study of the Integration of the Turks in Germany and the Netherlands”, n.a, Middle East Institute: Center for Turkish Studies, Washington DC. <http://eucenter.berkeley.edu/files/tol-a-comparative-study.pdf> (25 November 2012).

The Bulletin, “Ghent drops the word ‘immigrant’ ”, 2013, <http://www.xpats.com/ghent-drops-word-immigrant> (15 June 2014).

The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin. **Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion: Integration Policy in Berlin 2007–2011**. Berlin, 2007. <https://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/lb-integration->

migration/publikationen/berichte/integration_policy_in_berlin_2007_2011_bf.pdf?start&ts=1207556926&file=integration_policy_in_berlin_2007_2011_bf.pdf (30 May 2014).

The European Council of the European Communities, Directive on the education of the children of migrant workers, 77/486 EEC, 25/7/1977 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:31977L0486&from=EN> (15 March 2014).

The Lisbon Treaty, <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-the-functioning-of-the-european-union-and-comments/part-3-union-policies-and-internal-actions/title-v-area-of-freedom-security-and-justice/chapter-2-policies-on-border-checks-asylum-and-immigration/347-article-79.html> (25 March 2014).

Triandafyllidou, Anna. “Addressing Cultural, Ethnic and Religious Diversity Challenges in Europe: A Comparative Overview of 15 European Countries”, **Cultural Diversity in Europe: A Comparative Analysis**. San Damiano di Fiesole: European University Institute, 2011.

Turkish Lady Gent. (n.a). <http://turkishladygent.wix.com/turkishladygen> (14 June 2014).

Turkse Unie Van Belgie. (n.a). <http://www.turkseunie.be/nl/homepagina/> (25 May 2014).

Unie Van Turkse Verenigingen. (n.a). <http://utvweb.be/> (27 May 2014).

United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, **Religious Freedom Report for 2011: Belgium**, 2012. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/193001.pdf> (25 May 2014).

Van Kerckem, Klaartje, Bart Van de Putte and Peter Stevens. “On Becoming “Too Belgian”: A Comparative Study of Ethnic Conformity Pressure through the City-as-Context Approach”, **City & Community**, Vol. 12, No.4, December 2013, pp. 335-360.

Vanparrys, Wouter. “Het Turkse verenigingsleven in Gent: een casestudy”, **Unpublished Master thesis**. University of Ghent Department of Comparative Cultural Studies, 2002.

Vasta, Ellie. “Accommodating diversity: why current critiques of multiculturalism miss the point”. **Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) Working Paper Series**, University of Oxford, 2007.

Vermeulen, Hans. “Conclusions”, Hans Vermeulen (Ed.) in **Immigrant Policy For A Multicultural Society: A Comparative Study of Integration, Language and Religious Policy in Five Western European Countries**, Brussels: Migration Policy Groups, 1997, pp. 131-154.

Vertovec, Steven. “Super-diversity and its implications”, **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, Vol. 30, No. 6, November 2006, pp. 1024-1054.

Vertovec, Steven and Susanne Wessendorf. “Introduction: assessing the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe”, Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf (Eds.) in **The Multiculturalism Backlash European discourses, policies and practices**, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 1-32.

Wayenberg, Ellen and Filip De Rynck. “United Cities and Local Governments Country Profile: Belgium”, The Global Network of Cities, Local and Regional Governments (UCLG) Country Profiles, (n.a). http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/gold/Upload/country_profile/Belgium.pdf (1 June 2014).

Wets, Johan. “The Turkish Community in Austria and Belgium: The Challenge of Integration”, **Turkish Studies**. Vol.7, No.1, March 2006, pp. 85-100.

Yanařmayan, Zeynep. “Concepts of Multiculturalism and Assimilation”, Michael Emerson (Ed.) in **Interculturalism Europe and Its Muslims in Search of Sound Societal Models**, Brussels: The Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), 2011, pp. 17-28.

YENİHABER. “Gent Özburun Derneđi’ne Belediye Sahip Çıktı”. 9 February 2009. <http://yenihaber.be/gent-ozburun-dernegine-belediye-sahip-cikti/4332/> (14 June 2014).

APPENDIX

Annex 1: Population Figures by Province and by Municipality on 1 January 2014

NAME OF THE PROVINCE AND MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION
THE DISTRICT GHENT	540.420
Aalter	19.991
Deinze	29.919
De Pinte	10.312
Destelbergen	17.794
Evergem	34.188
Gavere	12.605
Gent (Gand)	250.281
Knesselare	8.247
Lochristi	21.903
Lovendegem	9.643
Melle	11.142
Merelbeke	23.782
Moerbeke	6.242
Nazareth	11.452
Nevele	11.927
Oosterzele	13.470
Sint-Martens-Latem	8.443
Waarschoot	7.867
Wachtebeke	7.335
Zomergem	8.305
Zulte	15.572

Source:

http://www.ibz.rn.fgov.be/fileadmin/user_upload/Registre/fr/statistiques_population/population-bevolking-20140101.pdf

Annex 2: Population of City of Ghent and Turkish Population, 2013

	Total Population	Population of Turkish Origin
Binnenstad	18353	282
Bloemekenswijk	8872	1421
Brugse Poort - Rooigem	18089	1891
Dampoort	11995	1752
Drongen	12965	65
Elisabethbegijnhof - Papegaai	6995	80
Gentbrugge	7592	178
Kanaaldorpen en -zone	2543	17
Ledeberg	9396	863
Macharius - Heirnis	6581	570
Mariakerke	13328	252
Moscou - Vogelhoek	5090	118
Muide - Meulestede - Afrikalaan	5923	861
Nieuw Gent - UZ	7649	314
Oostakker	13373	303
Oud Gentbrugge	8779	477
Rabot - Blaisantvest	8163	1911
Sint Amandsberg	18410	1017
Sint Denijs Westrem	6058	25
Sluizeken - Tolhuis - Ham	11081	2322
Stationsbuurt Noord	11729	134
Stationsbuurt Zuid	7543	44
Watersportbaan - Ekkergem	7295	71
Wondelgem	15449	629
Zwijnaarde	7033	23
Totaal	250.284	15.620

Source: <http://www.gent.be/gentcijfers/>