

**T.C.
SAKARYA UNIVERSITY
INSITUTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, INTEGRATION OF MINORITY
GROUPS AND VIOLENT ORGANIZATIONS**

Anca Anda SİRCA

DOCTORAL THESIS

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Emin GÜRSES

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**“This thesis was defended online on 22/05/2023 and was unanimously
accepted by the jury members whose names are listed below.”**

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- Clinical studies on humans,
- Research on animals,
- Retrospective studies in accordance with the personal data protection law.)

Anca Anda SIRCA

22/05/2023

THE PREFACE

This work represents the culmination of years of dedicated research, rigorous study, and intellectual exploration in the field of immigration and integration.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Prof.Dr. Emin Gürses, for his invaluable guidance, unwavering support, and insightful feedback throughout the entire research process. His expertise and mentorship have been instrumental in shaping the direction and quality of this thesis.

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While every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy and comprehensiveness of this thesis, it is important to note that research is an ongoing endeavor, and new insights may emerge in the future.

I welcome any further discussions, feedback, or inquiries related to the content presented in this thesis.

Anca Anda SIRCA

22/05/2023

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ABBREVIATIONS

EC	: European Commission
EU	: European Union
UN	: United Nations
ECSC	: European Coal and Steel Community
EAA	: European Defense Community
EEC	: European Economic Community
EUROATOM	: European Atomic Energy Community
EFTA	: European Free Trade Association
WIP	: Integration Abroad Act
ICMPD	: International Centre for Migration Policy Development
OCHA	: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNHCR	: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
OSCE	: High Commissioner on National Minorities
ONI	: National Immigration Office
OMI	: International Migration Office
ANAEM	: Hospitality of Foreigners and Migrants
OFII	: French Immigration and Integration Office
CAI	: Hospitality and Integration Contract
IOM	: International Organization for Migration

ABSTRACT	
Title of Thesis: Western Democracies, Integration of Minority Groups and Violent Organizations	
Author of Thesis: Anca Anda SIRCA	
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Emin GÜRSES	
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<p>The main aim of this paper in particular is to determine the procedure applied by the Western states regarding the integration of immigrants. This article aims to focus on the settlers and the second generation, not the new immigrants. It starts with a review of various integration strategies, the target audiences for integration policies, statistics on the current state of immigrants and second - generation citizens, and then moves on to a review of integration tools, including laws, social policies, processes. The main method to be followed for assessing progress will be the arguments put forward in the Lakatosian "Research Programs".</p> <p>The piece is divided into three sections. The literature dealing with the historical process of how immigrants arrived in Europe and what kind of status they had is presented in the first chapter. The second part presents the specific approach of Europe's two largest states to the integration of the second and third generations from a political, cultural and religious perspective. And the last part is where the final conclusions are drawn.</p> <p>The relationship between Great Britain and France therefore stems from both the fact that when we talk about immigration in the two countries we are talking about the same issues and a combination of fashion influences and what could be called liberated responses to needs: learning languages, place given to jus soli, balance between integration and multiculturalism, workforce adapting to the needs of the market, trying to attract the elite to a global market.</p>	
Keywords: Western States, Integration, Second and Third Generation, Immigrants, Europe	

ÖZET

Başlık: Batı Demokrasileri, Azınlık Grupları ve Şiddet Örgütlerinin Entegrasyonu

Yazar: Anca Anda SIRCA

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Emin GÜRSES

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Mevcut çalışmanın temel amacı, göçmenlerin entegrasyonu ile ilgili olarak Batılı devletlerin uyguladığı prosedürü belirlemektir. Bu makale, yeni gelen göçmenlere değil, yerleşenlere ve ikinci kuşağa odaklanmayı amaçlamaktadır. Farklı entegrasyon yaklaşımlarının analizi ile başlar, entegrasyon politikaları için hedef grupları tartışır, göçmenlerin ve ikinci neslin mevcut durumuna ilişkin göstergeler sağlar ve entegrasyon araçlarının analizine devam eder: mevzuat, sosyal politikalar ve katılımcı süreçler. İlerlemeyi değerlendirmek için izlenecek temel yöntem, Lakatosçu “Araştırma Programları” içinde öne sürülen argümanlar olacaktır.

Çalışma üç bölüme ayrılmıştır. Birinci bölümde, göçmenlerin Avrupa'ya nasıl ulaştıklarına ve nasıl bir statüye sahip olduklarına dair tarihsel süreci ele alan literatür sunulmaktadır. İkinci bölüm, Avrupa'nın en büyük iki devletinin siyasi, kültürel ve dini bir bakış açısıyla ikinci ve üçüncü kuşakların entegrasyonuna yönelik özel yaklaşımını sunmaktadır. Ve son kısım, nihai sonuçların çıkarıldığı yerdir.

Bu nedenle Büyük Britanya ve Fransa arasındaki ilişki, hem iki ülkedeki göç hakkında konuştuğumuzda, aynı konulardan bahsettiğimiz gerçeğinden ve moda etkileri ve ihtiyaçlara özgürleştirilmiş yanıtlar olarak adlandırılabilir şeyin birleşiminden kaynaklanmaktadır: öğrenme diller, jus soli'ye verilen yer, entegrasyon ve çok kültürlülük arasındaki denge, işgücü piyasasının ihtiyaçlarına uyum, seçkinleri küresel bir pazara çekmeye çalışmak.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Batılı Devletler, Entegrasyon, İkinci ve Üçüncü Nesil, Göçmenler, Avrupa

INTRODUCTION

Topic of the Research

Migration is not a modern phenomenon, nor has it reached its highest levels today, but the phenomenon has gained new meanings thanks to modern technology. The ethnicity of the host country emigrant plays an important role in the various stages of the migration process. When the ethnic community within the immigrant community has strong social control over its members by diminishing their contact with the host and culture of the host country, integration and assimilation into the dominant culture of this country is more difficult, separation of this kind can lead to prejudices between different ethnic groups. Cultural values also change. Mainly due to the fact that, those who leave are no longer respecting religious values because they are discriminated in the country where they arrive as a result of the traditional clothes and religious practices.

Research Question

Modern world is not homogenous place anymore. Some may ask why? The simple answer to that could be the fact that individuals start moving from one point to another point, from underdeveloped territories to more developed ones. Shortly they start moving to the West. Why west part? Mainly because throughout the history it was showed and highlighted the fact that the westerners were the first ones to upgrade their states, implicitly their political systems, economy, social standards, culture, and not last identity. Within time, the number of individuals who chose to migrate to a better place than the native place increased which leads to the issue that immigration results in specific challenges to reduce or remove particular differences between newcomers and natives. This is what is meant by immigrant integration. The problem arises in the moment when these differences that emerge between natives and newcomers cannot be kept at a minimum level and erupts in high threats as well as for the natives as for the newcomers from both sides. It is well known the fact that each state is in a continuing developing and passes different reforms on what the integration of minorities in their own state implies. What I would like to find out predominantly prior to my research is the gap that in particular Western states, especially in comparison between United Kingdom and Germany fail to fill up on what integration policies are being drafted,

accepted and implemented. Also, where is the breach in the system on what integration of minorities in Western states, peculiarly in United Kingdom and Germany fails to be applied. Now you might wonder why I brought this term into discussion about immigration and minorities. The answer might seem an easy one but in fact it is a little bit more complicated, mainly due to the fact that the political dynamic between states and different actors is highly tension and we can notice it in the recent events and conflicts from the Middle East.

Importance of the Research

When we say western world, western states, individuals are automatically inclined to picture a "perfect world", a "perfect state". As described in his book "The Republic" Plato, implies that a just state is a state that combines four qualities that should be found in an ideal state. Qualities such as: wisdom (rulers, guardians, the most knowledgeable people), courage, self discipline ("a kind of order, a control of certain desires and appetites.")¹ and justice. What is more is the fact that, he also imposes the idea that an ideal polis originates in the division of labor. Each person in a state performs a role for which they are most suited to fulfill the community's needs most efficiently. According to Plato " no two of us are born exactly alike. We have different natural skills which fits us for different jobs"², which cannot be more than true, but in order for an individual to discover her/his aptitudes, one should experiment different jobs in order to see exactly what suits her/him best, and so she/he can give the maximum potential that she he can offer in order for the job to be not just quantitative but also qualitative. Is it possible for a human being, which is born not only with certain abilities but also with certain vices to stick only to his/her capabilities and not interfere with others and their mission inside the state? In this case Plato believes that our better side will always rule over the vices at the individual level but also at a state level.³ Plato's Republic is also a utopia, a word that Plato does not use and it is a kind of extreme, which presents an extreme vision of politics, of the polis. The aim of the Republic is to establish a harmonious city based on a conception of justice that harmonizes the individual and the

¹ Plato, "The republic", Penguin Classics, 2007, p. 134, paragraph 340D

² Idem, p.57, paragraph 370B

³ Idem, p.135, paragraph 431

society. Starting from Plato's view and applying it to nowadays society, we can notice that the purpose is the same but at a larger scale. As Plato sees the state as being differentiated on social levels, we can say that the world nowadays is in a big discrepancy between the developed parts of the globe and the less developed areas. Throughout the history we have witnessed the process of colonization, which for a vast majority of individuals and territory meant the upgrade for development. The present global stratification and make-up has been dictated in totality by the colonization and conquest of European nations.

Nowadays, it is a well-known fact that European Union (which is an alliance between the European states) is the product of putting together the diversity of distinct cultural, religious and social traditions mirrored in the cultures of its Member States. It is home to people of many different racial, ethnic, religious and national backgrounds, and its economy and cultures have been enriched by the contributions of migrants from around the globe. In an increasingly globalized world, migratory movements will continue to shape Europe's society, and weave a web of links with sending communities in distant places. Europe's demography, languages and cultural practices will evolve with these developments, and Europeans will continually need to adjust to these changes. The greatest efforts of adaptation have already been made by migrants themselves, who built their homes, developed roots, set up enterprises and contributed to economic growth in EU Member States which have not always given them a warm welcome.

In order to understand how immigration affected the social relationship within society, we should take into account the quake that have been felt in jobs, public services, and also the way in which the individuals perceive the impact on the communities in which they live and work. A more direct aspect of immigration through the prism of social impact can be noticed by examining people's sentiment facing their local neighborhood in particular how deep they feel that those around them are coming together and can be trusted and rely on when in need. By all means, there are plenty of things that unite local people together in daily activities even though the probability to share many things is common are quite low, but the fact that they come together is the result of immigration. The similarities and differences in the unity between migrants and locals has always been a topic of debate. Due to the fact that some see the immigration's social impact being linked to fragmentation and atomization of communities. Moreover,

the elements that bring people together most of the times are the unwritten, unspoken things that bring them the "togetherness" feeling.

European Union institutions have taken into account the gain of realistic and can-do migration policies. What is more is that EU acknowledge the fact that these gains can become can do effects only if they can be matched with socio-economic, civic and political inclusion of migrants. Nevertheless, many migrants succeeding decades of settlement go through economic and social disadvantages like being ruled out from civic and political participation and confront with discrimination, racism and xenophobia. By putting them aside the migrants become easy targets primarily for far right parties, which are known to obtain support all across Europe by manipulating through fear and triggering resentment. It is well known that in a hard economical situation and social insecurities it becomes hard to show empathy and actually manage differences especially where diversity is a prominent element of daily live.

Methodology of the Research

Policymakers across Europe are aware of the fact that they need to ratify more compelling measures in order to secure inclusion, however, they are quite ambiguous how to gather people under the same umbrella without any conflicts.⁴ Under these circumstances European Commission requested from political leaders to put aside the social divisions and to start to engender consent for diversity. It has emphasized that social cohesion requires the implementation of integration policies that promote equality and diversity, based on recognition of the pluralist nature of European society.⁵

Aim of the Research

This paper aims to focus not on those migrants who have recently arrived but on those who have settled, and on the second generation. It begins with an analysis of different approaches to integration, discusses the target groups for integration policies, provides indicators of the current situation of migrants and the second generation, and proceeds

⁴ Cf. Council of the European Union. 15223/01. Joint Report on Social Inclusion, Part I - The European Union and Executive Summary (Brussels, 12 December 2001) p. 24.

⁵ COM (2000) 757 final, Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. On a Community Immigration Policy". (Brussels, 22.11.2000).

to an analysis of integration tools: legislation, social policies and participatory processes.

CHAPTER 1: METHODOLOGY

The literature search began with an identification of relevant research sources: databases; leading scholarly journals in related academic disciplines (i.e. geography, economics, political science, public policy, sociology, psychology, human resources, European Studies, urban studies, ethnic studies, migration studies); selected government departments and agencies (i.e. Statistics Europe, Citizenship and Immigration in Europe, European Commission,) research networks and institutes (i.e. European Immigration and Employment Data Initiative), think tanks (i.e. Institute for Research on Public Policy, Fraser Institute, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Caledon Institute of Social Policy) and non-governmental organizations (European Council of Refugees and Exiles). The literature search aims to identify the most frequent themes in current research on the economic and social integration of immigrants. It also aims its research on the following indicators of social integration: a sense of belonging/life satisfaction; perceptions of discrimination, an European ethnic identity; cross-cultural interaction; civic participation; and citizenship.

A standard literature review was not possible as migration" and "integration" span many thousands of published outputs. Adopting a theoretical, deductive, prescriptive effort to define integration and then exploring the links to the impacts of migration is unlikely to succeed (see for instance Castles and Kosack, 1985) because every serious academic work on cohesion and integration refer to the definitions of the terms being "contested" in some form, suggesting a top down approach to be something of a cul-de-sac as applied to the brief of this paper.

Analysis of reports and surveys on integration-related questions from the time (Royal Commission, 1949) indicates there are three crucial questions at the heart of concerns:

1. "Are they like us?"
2. "Could they be made to be more like us?"
3. "Can we live together?"

To illustrate the point, the 1949 the Royal Commission on Population expressed a desire to ensure that future cohorts of immigrants should be of good human stock and not

prevented by their religion or race from intermarrying with the host population and becoming merged in it" (Royal Commission, 1949). This is now a dated point of view, but it nevertheless serves to focus attention on two of the three key questions of integration: "Are they like us?" and "Could they be made to be more like us?" The third question of cohesion: "Can we live together?" was asked from the 1950s onwards, as Britain perceived itself to have a "race problem" in the wake of the 1958 Notting Hill riots.⁶ It is now accepted that there was significant racial discrimination in the post-war era and this hindered integration outcomes and also perceptions of neighborhoods by broader society. The work of Kenneth Little and Anthony Richmond showed racial discrimination rise.

The main method to be followed in order to assess progress will be the arguments put forwards within the Lakatosian "Research Programs".⁷ By having operationalized the research programme concept as suggested by Lakatos, the study will determine the dimensions of scientific progress which are ontological and epistemological of science and will discuss to what extent minorities fail to integrate in the western society. According to Lakatos, scientific progress can be seen in three ways:

1. Theoretical progress (Subsequent theories contribute a further problem change as theoretical to former theories).
2. Empirical progress (subsequent theories contribute a further problem- changing as empirical to former theories).
3. Progress as problem changing (subsequent theories contribute a further problem change as both theoretical and empirical) or, given the opposite, degeneration of the problem instead of progress (neither theoretical nor empirical contribution).

As Lakatos argues in the context of how to appraise the growth of scientific knowledge, "the basic unit of appraisal must be not an isolated theory or conjunction of theories but a "research programme" (i.e. a set of theories interrelated by a common set of

⁶ Parekh, B. (1988) "The Swann Report and Ethnic Minority Attainment", in Verma, G. Pumiley, P. (Eds.) *Educational Attainment: issues and outcomes in multicultural education*, The Falmer Press, Lewes, 61-73.

⁷ Lakatos, Imre. 1970 "Falsification and the methodology of scientific research programmes", in Imre Lakatos and Alan MUSrave, (eds.) *Criticism and Growth of Knowledge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 91-196.

presuppositions coined as the "hard core assumptions").⁸ According to Lakatos, two kinds of assumptions constitute a research programme: hard core and auxiliary assumptions. To him, what differentiates one research programme from others is its hard-core assumptions: "research programmes may be characterised by their *"hard core"* which is the rigid component of a research programme, thus "irrefutable" by the methodological decision of its protagonists."⁹ The other component is auxiliary assumptions, and "get adjusted and re-adjusted, or even completely replaced, to defend the thus-hardened core. In other words, auxiliary assumptions are flexible and subject to change to protect the hard core from criticism and refutations. But it is the hard-core assumptions that constitute the identity and distinguishing character of a research programme. In order to appraise whether there is progress, hard core and auxiliary assumptions will function as assessment tools in this study.

Immigration results in specific challenges to reduce or remove particular differences between newcomers and natives. This is what is meant by immigrant integration. There are real stakes involved in ensuring that second generation migrant offspring experience the same life chances as their peers. When this does not happen successfully and smoothly in education and employment, for example, the chances turn on the negative side in terms of settled disadvantage giving rise to segregation, mistrust and injustice. Where gaps are successfully closed, we can speak of a successfully integrated society that has extracted real, lasting benefits for all through immigration.

⁸ Lakatos, Imre. 1977 "Proofs and Refutations: The Logic of Mathematical Discovery" Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, p. 133

⁹ Idem, p.101

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL DISCUSSION REGARDING DIVERSITY, IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

2.1. Western Democracies Coping with Challenge of Diversity

It is well known the fact that Europe is many things. Starting from the geographical point of view, it is acknowledged that is it the oldest continent, the one that faced many changes, the pioneer on what we admire nowadays and last but not least, a continent of diversity, innovation and continuous transformations. To start with, Europe was the land where the notion of democracy emerged.¹⁰ Europe's democratization was difficult but exceptional and achieved with great effort due to the inescapable challenges and trials of history. Through out the centuries due to archeological research it was clear that the European continent was one of the most desired lands for settlement. For instance, in 2014 evidence of the modern native population of Europe descendants were revealed. It is believed that Europeans descent from three different important lines: hunter-gatherers (who lived approximately 45.000 years ago), early agriculturists (who came into Europe approximately 9.000 years ago) and a population of pontic-caspian steppe nomads (who contributed mainly to the Indo-European languages).¹¹ Looking at the three main distinct lines of descendants we can notice that diversity was always a part of Europe. For a matter of a fact, we can even stress the idea that Europe was/is/will always be the part of the world where diversity was a cornerstone for nowadays society.

As far as democracy is concerned, we can highlight the fact that its raw form emerged with the efforts of ancient Greeks and Romans who are also considered the founding fathers of Western civilization by the 18th century intellectuals.¹² Nevertheless if we speak about democracy from etymologically point of view, the word is entitled to have be derived from two ancient Greek words: demos and kratos (Dēmoskrátos) which translated means rule of the people.¹³ As the years passed, the term and its application changed with every wave of intellectual from each century. If during the Greek empire

¹⁰ Mancur Olsun 1993 "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development", American Political Science Review, Vol. 87, No 3, pp. 567-576

¹¹ Ann Gibbons 2014 "Three-part ancestry for Europeans". Science. American Association for the Advancement of Science. pp. 134-146

¹² Ian Morris 2013 "The Measure of Civilization: How Social Development Decides the Fate of Nations" Princeton University Press. p. 78

¹³ Oxford English Dictionary: Democracy

<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/democracy> Accessed Date 26/12/2016

the notion of democracy would mean rule of the people, during our days it has several meanings. We can notice the fact that as the human kind from all over the world developed the core believes and mostly the questioning of the believes changed. For example, Anthony H. Birch in his work titled: “The Concept and Theories of Modern Democracy” stated as follows: “It is not possible to arrive at a universally acceptable and concise definition of democracy by simply explaining the intrinsic meaning of the term, as long as it is said to have an intrinsic meaning. There can only be two major alternatives in explaining the meaning of democracy. On the one hand, democracy can be explained by observing the political exercise and its common application that may lead to explanation of democracy in terms of governance and institutions structures, which may as well raise the question of distinguishable justification of intellectual exercise. Secondly, we can begin by explaining democracy by first pointing out what we assume as democratic ideals and therefore measure the extent of its practical implications”¹⁴ Birch approaches democracy from two dimensions. One dimension is the empirical one while the later is idealist one. Scholars who solicit to defining democracy based on the empirical approach tends to explain democracy in terms of institutions of governance, government performance, principles of governance, rule of law, and separation of power. While on the other hand, scholars who defines democracy in idealist perspectives focuses on the normative sense of democracy, describing what ought to be, and what ought not to be. They see democracy in a classical ancient Greek sense just like Plato, Aristotel, J.J. Rousseau.

The idea of democracy with its 2500 years of history still remains to be the most common form of government. Western democracies tend to approach a liberal democracy. This means that they share certain fundamental political ideologies including those of liberal democracy, the rule of law, human rights and gender equality. According to Larry Diamond, pure liberal democracies must be composed of ten fundamental requirements. To start with, they must provide individuals with “freedom of belief, opinion, discussion, speech, publication, broadcast, assembly, demonstration, petition and (why not) the Internet.”¹⁵ Secondly, All ethnicities, religions, races, and

¹⁴ Anthony H. Birch 2007 “The Concept and Theories of Modern Democracy” Routledge, pp 111-112

¹⁵ Larry Diamond, 2011 “Democracy’s Third Wave Today,” Current History Vol 110, No 739, pp 299-307

other minority groups “(as well as historically excluded majorities)”¹⁶ must be given the space and freedom to immerse in their religious and cultural norms as well as equal rights to participate in political and social life. Thirdly, all adult citizens must have the equal rights to vote and run for office. Fourthly elections must comprise of “Genuine openness and competition.”¹⁷ Fifth requisite is a constitution that provides legal equality to all citizens, “in which the laws are ‘clear, publicly known, universal, stable, and non-restorative.’”¹⁸ Sixth is the requirement of an independent judiciary, which is neutral and consistent. The seventh is a “process of law and freedom of individuals from torture, terror, and unjustified detention, exile, or interference in their personal lives – by the state or non-state actors.”¹⁹ Eighth is the existence of a process of Institutional checks on the power of elected officials by an independent legislature, court system, and other autonomous agencies. Ninth is the existence of a wide range of sources of information and forms of organization independent of the state giving birth to “a vibrant ‘civil society.’”²⁰ Last is control over the military and state security apparatus by civilians who are ultimately accountable to the people through elections.

According to these principals it is clear that a democratic state is based on citizens. Throughout periods of time, people start moving from one part of the world to another one, which lead to a nowadays diverse and multiethnic states and societies. Under the conditions of globalization all nations, states and civilizations are actively interacting with each other, rules and norms of functioning of economic and political systems are becoming closer, but any civilization highly values the cultural foundations on which its very identity depends.

2.1.1. Europe’s Background Regarding Immigration After 1944

In a war torn apart Europe, people found themselves obliged to search for a better life and higher living standard conditions. After the end of the World War II, the most exposed country for massive immigration was Germany, United Kingdome, France, Spain, Italy.²¹ In the aftermath of WW II, we can notice four main periods of

¹⁶ *Ibidem*

¹⁷ *Ibidem*

¹⁸ *Ibidem*

¹⁹ *Ibidem*

²⁰ *Ibidem*

²¹ Seifert, Wolfgang. “Admission Policy, patterns of migration and integration: The German and French

immigration for the European countries. Starting with the first period which was mainly known for the migration for labor purposes and also for the development and reconstruction of Europe between 1945-1970. For example the first wave of migration which took place between the years 1945 and 1955 resulted in around 12 million people who fled to Germany as a result of the political persecutions in the Soviet bloc countries. According with the Basic Law from 1949 the status of *Aussiedler*²² was given to anyone who “who has been admitted to the territory of the German Reich within the boundaries of December 31, 1937 as a refugee or expellee of German ethnic origin or as the spouse or descendant of such person”²³ During this period, heavy industry, manufacturing, construction and public activities have developed, leading to significant economic growth in the European countries. Migrant workers from Ireland and South Europe (Greece, Portugal, Spain and, to a lesser extent, Italy) - countries that have faced stagnant economies and high unemployment rates - responded to the labor market needs at the outset of Western Europe. The 1957 Treaty of Rome, which laid the foundations for the European Economic Community, was based on certain principles, including the free movement of persons among the six founding states.²⁴ As a result, in the 1960s there was a significant increase in intra-Community migration, mainly due to the large number of Italian workers traveling to the other five Member States. But even after the 1968 when legal and institutional framework for securing this freedom was created, migratory flows from third countries remained quantitatively superior to intra-community labor migration.²⁵ During this period, many bilateral labor agreements have been concluded between the six Member States and third countries - for example between Germany and countries like Italy (1955), Greece and Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968).

European Commission studies show that, during this period, the form of labor migration

Case are compared”, *New Community*, Vol: 23. No: 4 pp. 441-460.

²² Ethnical Germans

²³ Andrew Geddes, 2003 “Immigration and European Integration: Towards Fortress Europe?” Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, p. 80

²⁴ Treaty of Rome 1957

<http://eurex.europa.eu/legalcontent/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0023&from=EN> Accessed Date 10/01/2017

²⁵ Jean- Pierre Garson, Anais Loizillon, (2003). “Changes and Challenges: Europe and Migration from 1950 to the Present, study presented at the conference "The Economic and Social Aspects of Migration" organized by the European Commission in cooperation with the OECD, Brussels

varied considerably, in line with historical circumstances. Thus, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom were able to use the workforce of their colonies or former colonies, and economic, political and cultural relations provided the opportunity to obtain work even without using specific recruitment systems. While countries like Germany or Switzerland did not have access to the "colonial" workforce. That is why they have created recruitment systems to attract temporary foreign workers who have been given permission to stay as "guest workers" being needed their work.²⁶ Between 1945-1975, the dependence of foreign workers on the economies of the Member States diminished the volume of illegal immigration. Combating illegal immigration has become a priority issue for the policies of many Member States following the economic downturn in the mid-1970s, followed by rising unemployment. According to OECD statistics, from the early 1960s to the early 1970s, more than 30 million foreign workers have entered the European Economic Community, including temporary workers and those with multiple entrants. Until the early 1980s, the number of foreigners living in Western Europe tripled from the 1950s to 15 million. In 2000, over 20 million foreign workers lived in the European Economic Area, accounting for 5.4% of the total population, with small variations between countries.²⁷

The second migration period is the economic crisis of the 1970s and first half of the 1980s. The second period of migration was marked by the economic crises due to the oil price hike in 1973 and 1979. In the years to come, changes in the world economy, the economic revolution, and new patterns of business organization have altered the nature of labor, eroding the traditional way of working. As a result, labor migration has changed.²⁸ Some European countries have reduced or attempted to reduce immigration. Rising unemployment and the escalation of social tensions have led governments to abolish active recruitment policies from abroad. Higher recruitment costs for employers have increased, there have been limited categories of foreign workers that could be employed and annual rates of employment for foreign workers have been established. Governments have also implemented policies to encourage migrant workers to return to their countries of origin. In fact, economic regression in the host countries has not led to

²⁶ www.europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/fundamri/movement/studies: "Migration in Europe: Lessons from the Past", 2002 Accessed Date 12/01/2017

²⁷ Jean- Pierre Garson, Anais Loizillon op. cit.

²⁸ www.europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/fundamri/movement/studies: "Migration in Europe: Lessons from the Past", 2002 Accessed Date 12/01/2017

a massive return of migrants to their countries of origin. According to the United Nations estimates, only 10% of migrant workers returned to their home countries in the next two years after the 1973 oil crisis, combined with the 1974-1975 civil crisis.²⁹ Although the European Union expanded in 1974, through the accession of Britain, Ireland and Denmark, intra-Community migration stagnated not only as a result of the economic crisis but also of the convergence of wages between Member States.

The third phase of migration that Europe faced since 1944 was diversification of host and sending countries and the increase in the flows of asylum seekers, refugees and ethnic minorities. The third period of migration, which began at the end of the 1980s, is characterized by the diversification of host and home countries. Traditional emigration countries in Europe, such as Spain, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Portugal, are gradually turning into immigration countries. Migrants no longer come from the former colonies, but from a much more diverse group of countries. The number of asylum seekers and refugees increased significantly. This was partly due to political changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Regional conflicts, such as those in former Yugoslavia and northern Iraq, have also led to considerable flows of asylum seekers and refugees from affected areas.³⁰

After the collapse of the communist bloc and the opening of the borders, it has increased the east-west migration flow, especially the movement of ethnic minorities. From the end of the 1980s to the early 1990s, the return of ethnic minorities to the countries of origin was significant and directed towards a limited number of Member States, notably Germany, but also Greece and Finland. Since the early 1990s, border issues, particularly those related to migration, have become major issues of concern in Europe. Third countries do not enjoy privileged access and participation in the European integration process, but they have to cope with the external effects of the Union, including illegal migration. On the other hand, Member States of the European Union and candidate countries face new challenges in border control and migration.³¹

The last phase is migration of "preferential" workforce and increased illegal migration. In recent years there has been an increase in permanent migration and migration of the

²⁹United Nations <http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/wpp2000/chapter4.pdf> Accessed Date 12/01/2017

³⁰ Jean- Pierre Garson, Anais Loizillon op. cit.

³¹ Jean- Pierre Garson, Anais Loizillon op. cit

temporary labor force as a result of the intensification of the expansion phase at the end of the 1990s. On the other hand, the development of information and communication technology, health and education, sectors requiring highly qualified workforce. At the same time, demand for unskilled foreign labor grew, especially in agriculture, construction and public works, as well as domestic services (case of Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal). After 1989, migration has increased especially in Germany and Britain, policies on recruiting foreign workers favoring the solution of temporary foreign workers. At the same time, foreign students have helped to cover the labor force needs in the host countries (Great Britain, Germany, France and Spain). In the 1990s, the share of women among migrants increased. This tendency is particularly noticeable in France, Greece, Sweden, Great Britain and Italy. The trend of "feminization" is noted in all the components of migratory flows, not just in the case of family reunions. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe are no longer just emigration countries, but immigration and transit countries, becoming attractive to immigrants from the extreme East. While the population of Central Europe (the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Hungary and Poland) is migrating to Western European countries, the same countries become destination for migrants from Eastern European countries, such as Belarus or Ukraine. At the same time, illegal migration has taken on new dimensions and has become more dangerous. As a result of the development of international trafficking networks and the growth of their role in the international labor force, the Member States' policies on migration and the hiring of foreigners increased the repressive measures against traffickers, employers or immigrants in a situation of illegality.

Since the second half of the 1990s, discussions have been stepping up on the effects of the international migration of highly skilled workers. In Europe, the migration of specialists and students from Central and Eastern Europe to Western Europe has been noticed after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the fall of the socialist regimes since 1989. Countries like Britain, Germany and France have adopted measures to facilitate the entry of highly qualified persons into especially IT specialists, to face the global competition for such workers. The demand for highly qualified workers can be met to a great extent by developing countries, with the direct benefits of "brain migration" being still highly valued. Import of specialists still takes place, even if its significance is lower. However, an increase in the inverse flow of specialists from the rich to the least

developed countries can be anticipated as a result of the reduction in the demand for highly qualified personnel due to the growth of economic efficiency in the developed countries. At the same time, equity and direct investment will go to poor countries, attracting specialists from rich countries.

The link between demographic change and migration policies, including the migration of highly qualified people, will be an important issue in the near future. It is to be hoped that some Member States will prefer migration of specialists and to develop regulations and procedures to facilitate it. But, as Belgian Development Minister Marc Verwilghen (2004) remarks, the European Union will have to identify solutions to limit the negative effects of "brain drain" on developing countries of origin³²

2.1.2 Who Were the Immigrants and Why They Chose to Immigrate.

After the Second World War, Western European countries witnessed a high rate of immigration especially the states that were part of the European Economic Community. These Western states host sizeable immigrant populations, both of European and non-European origin. Over the last decade the negative attitude towards immigrants and immigration recorded an escalation like never before.³³ There were substantial population movements within Europe throughout the Early Modern period, mostly in the context of the Reformation and the European wars of religion, and again as a result of World War II. Until the late 1960s and 1970s, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom were primarily sources of emigration, sending large numbers of emigrants to the Americas and Australia.³⁴ A significant number of immigrants also chose to emigrate within Europe in countries such as France, Switzerland, Belgium and Germany. As living standards increased in the western European countries, these states became a magnet for immigrants mainly from outside the European continent such as: from Morocco, Somalia, Egypt to Italy and Greece;

³² Green Paper on an EU approach to managing economic migration COM/2004/0811
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52004DC0811&from=EN> Accessed Date 12/07/2023

³³ Marco Marozzi, 2016 "Construction, Robustness Assessment and Application of an Index of Perceived Level of Socio-Economic Threat from Immigrants: A Study of 47 European Countries and Regions", Social Indicators Research, Vol 128, Issue 1, pp: 413-437

³⁴ International Migration 2009-2010 SOPEMI-report for Norway
https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/BLD/IMA/Report_oecd_2010_final.pdf Accessed Date 18/07/2023

from Morocco, Algeria and Latin America to Spain and Portugal; and from Ireland, India, Pakistan to Germany and Jamaica to the United Kingdom.

Based on the United Nations report Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision. Approximate populations of non-European origin in Europe (about 20 - 30+ millions, or 3 - 4% (depending on the definition of non-European origin), out of a total population of approx. 831 million):

- Turks (including Turks from Turkey and Northern Cyprus): approx. 9 million (this estimate does not include the 10 million Turks within the European portion of Turkey);³⁵ of whom about 4 million in Germany and the rest in the Netherlands, Austria, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece, Romania, Serbia and Norway.
- Arabs (including North African and Middle Eastern Arabs): approx. 5 million; mostly in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, the United Kingdom, Greece, Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, Norway, Switzerland and Russia. Many Arabs in Europe are Lebanese and Syrian.
- Black Africans (including Afro-Caribbean and others by descent): approx. 5 million; mostly in France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands and Portugal. (in Spain and Portugal Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Latin American are included in Latin Americans)
- Indians: approx. 2.5 million; mostly in the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, Ireland and Portugal.
- Tamils: approx. 130,000 in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Denmark.
- Pakistanis: approx. 1.1 million in the United Kingdom, but also 60,000 in Italy, Spain, and Norway.
- Bengali: approx. 600,000 mostly in United Kingdom, but also 85,000 in Italy, 35,000 in France, Spain, Sweden and Greece.
- Latin Americans (includes Afro-Latin Americans, Afro-Caribbean, Native

³⁵ Jeffrey Cole, 2011 "Ethnic groups of Europe: An Encyclopedia" ABC CLIO, p: 367

Americans, White Latin Americans, miscegenation, etc.): approx. 2.2 million; mostly in Spain (c. 1.8 million) but also in Italy, Portugal, the United Kingdom and some in Germany.

- Armenians: approx. 2 million; mostly in Russia, but also in France, Ukraine, Greece, Bulgaria, Spain, Germany, Poland, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.
- Berbers: approx. 2 million; mostly in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Spain.
- Kurds: approx. 2 million; mostly in Germany, France, Sweden, Russia, the Netherlands, Belgium and the United Kingdom.
- Chinese: approx. 1 million; mostly in France, the United Kingdom, Russia, Italy, Spain, Germany and the Netherlands.
- Filipinos: approx. 900,000; mostly in the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Austria and Ireland.
- Vietnamese: approx. 300,000; mostly in France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and Russia.
- Iranians: approx. 250,000; mostly in Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Russia, the Netherlands, France, Austria, Norway, Spain and Denmark.
- Somalis: approx. 200,000; mostly in the United Kingdom, Sweden, the Netherlands, Norway, Germany, Finland, Denmark and Italy.
- Assyrians/Chaldeans/Syriacs: approx. 200,000; mostly in Sweden, Germany, Russia and The Netherlands.
- Japanese: approx. 100,000; mostly in the United Kingdom and Germany.³⁶

2.1.3. Creation of European Union and Its Impact on Immigrants

The two world wars led to the revival of pacifism and the awareness of the danger of aggressive nationalism. Another reason behind the European integration process was the desire of Western European states to restore their economic positions affected by the war. In addition, a vital necessity for the states that have suffered a breach (first of all

³⁶ Jeffrey Cole, 2011 “Ethnic groups of Europe: An Encyclopedia” ABC CLIO, p 382

Germany, divided into some areas of occupation) has become the restoration of its own political positions and authority internationally. Strengthening the forces of the European states was seen as an important step in opposing the growing influence of the Soviet Union on Western Europe.³⁷ The foundations of the European integration process - which led to the emergence of the current European Union structure - were put in 1950 by Jean Monnet, then head of the National Planning Organization in France, and Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister. Jean Monnet proposed that the coal and steel production of France and Germany be administered by a common body. The idea was taken over by Robert Schuman, who went further and proposed to create a peaceful interest community between France and Germany, open to other European states. Thus, it was intended to eliminate the existing rivalries between France and Germany on the strategic areas of the Ruhr and the Saar, unifying the reconstruction efforts of the European states whose economy had been heavily affected by the Second World War, and creating the conditions that would lead to avoid wars in Europe in the future. The plan proposed by Robert Schuman, later referred to as the Schuman Plan, was to "place the German and French coal and steel production in the hands of a Supreme Joint Supervisory Authority (Supreme Authority) ... to which other European states can join."³⁸

In April 1951, six states - France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg - signed the Treaty of Paris establishing the first European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Although the CECO begins its activity in 1952, the Common Coal and Steel Market has become operational since 1953, when the six founding states removed the customs barriers and quantitative restrictions on steel and coal. In 1952, the ECSC states signed a treaty establishing the European Defense Community (EAA). This initiative fails as a result of the refusal of the French Parliament to ratify the treaty. This failure has negatively affected the European integration process. The re-launch of the idea of European integration takes place in 1955 when at the Messina Conference the six members of the ECSC concluded that productivity and economic well-being is Western Europe's only survival solution vis-à-vis the Eastern Bloc. As a result, it was decided to create the European Economic

³⁷ Alex Warleigh-Lack, 2009 "European Union: The Basics" Routledge, pp:12

³⁸ Ibidem, pp: 20

Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EUROATOM) established by the signing of the two Treaties of Rome in 1957.³⁹

From the incipient stage of preparing the Treaties of Rome, some Western European countries have been cautious about the new federalist economic and social integration initiative. As a result, Austria, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland created the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1960 with the sole aim of creating a free trade area between member countries. Subsequently, the economic successes registered by the European Community have led several EFTA Member States to apply for EC membership, which has gradually led to the disintegration of the European Free Trade Association.

Over the next two decades, CEE has been geographically extended several times:

I Enlargement: 1973 - Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom

II Enlargement: 1981 - Greece

III Enlargement: 1986 - Spain and Portugal

IV Enlargement: 1995 - Austria, Finland and Sweden

V Enlargement: 2004 - Cyprus, Malta, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary⁴⁰

As far as European Union's impact over immigrants is concern, we can notice the fact that the member states accepted the idea of improving the conditions and benefits of the immigrant workers who chose to start a new life in a different culture, different set of rules, different state, etc. The prospect of European Union enlargement has generated in the old Member States a series of fears about labor migration. It can be demonstrated, however, that these fears are supported to a very limited extent and possibly only by the perspective of the national interest. At the level of the European Union, free movement of persons is a means of creating a more efficient and flexible European labor market for the benefit of workers, employers and the Member States. In fact, the effects of labor migration in Europe are very complex, both economic and demographic. For new

³⁹ Ibidem, pp: 20-25

⁴⁰ Diana Panke 2016 "Small States in the European Union: Coping with Structural Disadvantages" Routledge, pp:11

and future member states, which will be the main migrant labor force in the European Union in the coming years, the phenomenon of migration has multiple effects: economic, financial, social, occupational, cultural and political. For this reason, accepting workers arriving from the new Member States as a means of supporting economic growth as well as social security systems and pension schemes will be a special concern for the European Union in the years to come⁴¹

Truth be told, after the formation of the European Union, the immigrants began to have more rights and be treated as equals with the native population. The free movement of workers must be supported by adequate social protection. Community legislation on the free movement of workers ensures the right of every citizen of a Member State to gain access to paid employment in another Member State in accordance with the legislative, regulatory and administrative provisions governing the employment of national workers in that State.

Council Regulation no. 1612/68 / EEC of 15 October 1968 concerning the smooth movement of workers within the Community provides in the preamble: “Labor mobility within the Community must be one of the means by which workers are guaranteed the opportunity to improve their living and working conditions and to advance socially.” The achievement of this objective requires the abolition of any discrimination on the basis of nationality between workers in the Member States with regard to employment, wages and other conditions of work and employment, and the right of such workers to move freely within the Community to carry on paid employment, subject to limitations justified on grounds of public order, public security or public health. This right must be ensured without discrimination to permanent, seasonal and cross-border workers and to those carrying out their work for the purpose of providing services.

Population growth as a result of immigration or enlargement of the European Union is not a problem in itself. At present, the European Union attaches great importance to improving the use of human resources. This is why European Union policy focuses in particular on the labor market and social integration of immigrants legally residing in the Member States.

⁴¹ Ibidem, pp: 15

2.1.4. New National Organization of Europe: Nationalism and Minority Rights After the End of the Cold War

The concept of regime is known and used mainly in international relations, which defines the term as follows: “implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations.”⁴² Thus, the minority rights regime includes internationally recognized principles, norms, institutions and procedures in the field of minority rights recognized and accepted by the state and transposed at national level into policies. A number of international and regional instruments have been developed in the post-Cold War period. Even though there have been instruments of relevance from the point of view of minority rights, they do not explicitly refer to them, but rather implicitly include them as part of human rights. One such instrument is the UN Universal Charter of Human Rights, which speaks of the application of human rights without distinction based on race, gender, language or religion (Article 1)

The fall of communism captures a tendency to develop an international regime of minority protection, distinct from the one that emphasized non-discrimination. A trend, which develops on the one hand from the excitement and tensions of the former communist countries and, on the other hand from the work carried out within the United Nations. Two options are considered to clarify the point of view on defining the "minority" within the contemporary international legal framework: 1. A first possibility is the description of the distinct characteristics of the minority, such as the relationship with the state in which it lives, together with the clear or general presentation of the framework of its rights and obligations. 2. The second option implies a dynamic and wide-ranging approach to protecting a group in modern societies, accommodating the needs of distinct groups that have different ties with the state.⁴³

A first interpretation of the concept was given in the 1970s by the UN Secretary-General's Special Rapporteur, Francesco Capotorti, of the UN Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. According to him, the

⁴² Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mazer and Volker Rittberger: *Theories of International Regimes*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 9.

⁴³ Gaetano Pentassuglia 2002 “Minorities in International Law”, Strasbourg Cedex, Council of Europe Publishing House, p. 57.

national minority is: "A numerical group inferior to the rest of the population of a state in an unsuspecting position whose members - citizens of the state - have ethnically, religiously or linguistically, characteristics different from those of the rest of the population and which even manifest Implicitly a sense of solidarity in order to preserve their culture, traditions, religion or language."⁴⁴

Another definition given by another member of the same UN Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, J. Deschênes: "A group of citizens constituting a numerical minority in a non-dominant position in that state, having ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics that differ from those of the majority of the population, having a group solidarity motivated mainly by a collective desire to survive, and whose main objectives are the desire for equality with the majority in both rights and practice."⁴⁵

The protection of minorities in the European Union is more a matter of policy at Member State level, each with its own practices, instruments, organs and legislation on minorities. Minorities are a recent concern of the Union, primarily driven by enlargement to former communist space, and secondly by the issue of immigrants across the Union. In post-communist space, progress is being made in the development of legislation on national minorities under the influence of international standards, especially the pressure exerted in the context of the enlargement of the European Union. On the other hand, precisely the lack of a common European policy in the field determines the limits of these influences.

A different typology can be based on the effects that state policies have on preserving the identity of minority groups and the degree of control over their own lives. States can therefore take measures to facilitate the preservation of the culture of national minorities. When they do not, or do not, the resulting effect is the elimination of the different identities of minority communities, their absorption into the majority identity. In the literature, this effect is called assimilation.⁴⁶ Another situation is where the state allows for the preservation of distinct identity through appropriate policies, a situation

⁴⁴ Gaetano Pentassuglia, op. cit, p. 57

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p: 63

⁴⁶ Tom Hadden 2005 "Integration and Separation, Legal and Political Choices in Implementing the Minority Rights", in Nazia Ghanea, Alexandra Xanthaki, "Minorities, Peoples and Self-Determination", Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, p. 176.

defined as integration.⁴⁷ Finally, another option is called cohabitation, conceptualized in the literature on consociational democracy.⁴⁸ Cohabitation involves preserving distinct identities and giving control over one's own political, economic, social and cultural life to each group.

Due to the lack of ethno-cultural homogeneity of the Central and Eastern European states, the nation-state model is incompatible with democratic democratization and consolidation because it involves a process of homogeneity that opposes the principles of democratization.⁴⁹

2.2. Immigration and Integration

The notion of "integration" comes from the Latin word "integrare" and has the meaning of building and reconstructing a unitary whole. Today the overall meaning of the word is the inclusion of smaller units throughout the unit. In social sciences, integration is the connotation of a process of harmonization in a society on different roles, groups and organizations. Integration of immigrants can thus be described as including newcomers in a society, inserting them together with their visions of culture, customs and religions in the host country.⁵⁰ Some scholars are of the opinion that, integration of immigrants is in fact closely linked to legal parameters. Legislation has a major role to play in regulating immigrant integration, for example, labor law decides indirectly who is entitled or not to obtain a work permit. Therefore, who has the opportunity to integrate from an economic point of view, also in some countries the law even imposes integration programs on the language of the host country or the more restrictive citizenship law in certain states.⁵¹

Integration is a term whose conceptualization is unclear, according to S. Carrera. The vague nature of the term may lead to misinterpretations or narrow voices that can put

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p 176

⁴⁸ Lijphart Arend 1977 "Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration", New Haven: Yale University Press, pp 45

⁴⁹ Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stephan, 1996 "Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South Africa and Post-Communist Europe", Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 30-31

⁵⁰ Moritz Jesse. 2008 „Europeanization of Immigrant Integration- A Legal Perspective”, in European University Institute, Latvia, p: 3

⁵¹ Sergio Carrera, 2006 "A Typology of different integration programmes in the EU" Center for European Policy Studies, p: 6

immigrants in a vulnerable position in their relationship with the state and the EU regarding rights and obligations. The author is of the opinion that the notion of integration is not defined as a process of social inclusion of immigrants but rather has become a notion with legal implications and a political control mechanism through which states decide who enters and who remains in their territory. In fact integration, expresses the shift from social inclusion measures to legal and legal regulation. The concept may hide approaches to assimilation or acculturation theories. Carrera came to the conclusion that when we refer to the social process through which an immigrant is included in the different social, cultural, economic and political spheres of the state, we better use instead of integration the concept of social inclusion.⁵² Integration is by its nature antithetical to diversity and interculturalism - which are constitutive elements of the supranational culture of the EU⁵³. Other authors use the term civic integration that responds to the previous integration strategies adopted by the Member States. Civic integration policies explain that the success of inclusion in a host society cannot be based solely on economic and political integration, but also on the consent of the individual for civic integration. For example, language learning, knowledge of the country's culture, values and customs⁵⁴, but not in a way of assimilation, but based on individual autonomy.

2.2.1. Immigrant Integration Policy Making in the European Union

In order to analyze the integration programs in the European Union, it is necessary to refer to the main theoretical models of integration both at the micro-analysis level (it is the immigrant accommodation strategies from the perspective of cross-cultural psychology) and macro (theoretical models transposed in State-level policies on integration). I will not insist too much on the description of multicultural and intercultural theories, but rather on integration policy models and programs developed in some EU Member States.

⁵² Sergio Carrera, 2006 "A Typology of different integration programmes in the EU" Center for European Policy Studies, p: 26

⁵³ Christian Joppke, Ewa Morawska, 2014," Toward Assimilation and Citizenship- Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States" Palgrave Macmillan UK, p: 31

⁵⁴ Goodman Sara Wallace, 2010 "Integration Requirements for Integration's Sake? Identifying, Categorising and Comparing Civic Integration Policies", Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Volume 36, Issue 5 p: 755

Multiculturalism is understood both as a state of affairs, i.e cultural diversity, as a theory and as a model of integration policy. According to the theory of multiculturalism, the state must be neutral towards cultural values and be tolerant of minority cultural life and identities, protecting those marginal cultures by specific measures (affirmative actions for ethnic minorities).⁵⁵ Liberal multiculturalist Kymlicka argues that under the umbrella of multiculturalism, rights should be ensured to ethnic minority and immigrant groups, namely: self-government for national minorities or indigenous peoples, political rights for immigrant groups, and special rights of representation. Policies, in fact, ensure integration into the host society and are not permanent⁵⁶. The main criticism of multiculturalism is that it helped to segregate communities, to form closed communities, especially in the case of Asians and Muslims.⁵⁷

The term “Interculturalism” is defined as a set of processes through which relationships between different cultures are built. It focuses on communication, education, and the implications of linguistic pluralism, on the interaction between minority and majority populations.⁵⁸ The EU's speech on integration policies is an intercultural one.

At an individual level, from the perspective of the theories of cross-cultural psychology, Berry identifies four adaptation strategies, such as: a) Integration or biculturalism - a combination of the immigrant's desire to adopt the dominant values, but also to preserve its own culture. b) Separation, segregation or exclusion - immigrants are very much concerned with their ethnic identity, cultural values of origin and do not find it important to integrate and adapt to the host society, is given the example of the Chinese, who form so-called enclaves or communities closed in the host society. c) Assimilation - Immigrants fully adapt to the host culture, losing their own identity and cultural values. d) Marginalization, individualism - immigrants do not want to have any relationship with the dominant culture group; in reality, this orientation is not actually a

⁵⁵ Jenny Bourne, 2007, „In Defence of Multiculturalism”, London Institute of Race Relations Briefing Paper No.2, p: 10.

⁵⁶ W. Kymlicka, “Multicultural Citizenship”, Oxford: Oxford University Pres, p: 26.

⁵⁷ Jenny Bourne, Op. Cit. p:4

⁵⁸ Martyn Barrett, 2013, “Interculturalism and multiculturalism: similarities and differences” Council of Europe publishing, p 17

personal choice of the individual, but rather a reaction to the discrimination and non-acceptance they feel from the dominant culture.⁵⁹

The academic literature on state policy integration classifies three great models of idealistic integration: The multiculturalism model - based on respect and protection of cultural diversity and aims to explicitly guarantee the identity of the immigrant community. The countries that are considered to have implemented this model are The Netherlands and Sweden.⁶⁰ The second model is that of assimilationism (also called the republican or universalist model). Is based on the complete assimilation of the newcomers into the dominant society, France is the classical model.⁶¹ The third model is exclusionism - which is characterized by rigid legislation and policies to be met by the immigrant to settle in the host country. Immigrants for work under this model are denied their citizenship rights, the countries considered to be excluding are Germany, Switzerland and Belgium.⁶² The models presented above are, in fact, ideal models that do not exist. The countries are rather using a mix of multicultural, assimilation or exclusionist measures. Member States attitudes towards immigration and integration policies are constantly changing according to their economic and political interests, EU regulations, international immigration and contemporary realities.

Some Member States apply immigrant integration policies, so integration becomes a one-dimensional process. Whereby responsibility is transferred to the individual, being forced to integrate to gain access to a resident and security status in the host country. The countries that have implemented binding integration programs are: Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium (Flanders), Denmark and Switzerland. In the Netherlands, the Integration Abroad Act (Wet Inburgering Newcomers Act WIP), which introduced compulsory integration programs, was adopted in 1992. Integration programs are largely funded by the Government, municipalities and EU funds. This law stipulates that the municipalities implementing national integration policy are responsible for the coordination of integration policies. The role of the state is only to

⁵⁹ John W Barry., 2005 “Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures”, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol.29, pp: 697–712

⁶⁰ Sergio Carrera, 2006 “A Typology of different integration programmes in the EU” *Center for European Policy Studies*, p: 30

⁶¹ Rogers Brubaker, 1992 “Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany”, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, p: 71

⁶² Carrera op. cit.

support financially and to stimulate implementation. According to WIP, the immigrant must apply within 6 weeks of the residence permit, followed by a period of counseling by two Regional Educational Centers and Center for Work and Income to find the right course or integration program. For the newcomer, an interesting aspect of the integration system is that the offer of integration programs can be provided by any accredited institution and has all the necessary quality certification. Municipalities do not provide these courses directly, but through intermediaries.⁶³ Also compulsory courses for integration in Germany and Austria are paid by the beneficiaries, the amounts are modest, and in Austria those with low financial possibilities are reimbursed part of the amount according to certain conditions.⁶⁴

In addition to these mandatory programs, there are also projects, NGO's who organize courses through European funds or public funding to integrate immigrants through various interactive activities. It is currently observed that states are implementing restrictive immigration policies but also stimulate the integration of immigrants already in their territories. More interesting, in some countries, integration is no longer seen as a process taking place inside the host state, but which begins even before the individual migrates from his / her country of origin. If the person who wants to migrate fails to accommodate those pre-integration steps (e.g language learning), admission to the host state will be refused, e.g Netherlands.⁶⁵

2.2.2. Minorities, Immigrants and Refugees: The Problems of Integration

It is well known the fact that European Union since its establishment had and still has precise, well developed principles, regulations and policies. Through out time it has proven its policies and regulations as being effective once with the shifting of political regimes across European countries and nevertheless with the new regional issues that emerged lately. Most recent and worrying topic that is being debated in Europe and not only is the problem of migration from third world countries torn apart by the war.

⁶³ ICMPD International Centre for Migration Policy Development, Integration Agreements and Voluntary Measures, Comparison of compulsory integration courses, programmes and agreements and voluntary integration programmes in Austria, France, Germany, The Netherlands and Switzerland, 2005, pp: 20-24 http://research.icmpd.org/fileadmin/ResearchWebsite/Publications/Final_INTI_Report_electronic_version.pdf Accessed Date 15/02/2023

⁶⁴ Ibidem; p: 23

⁶⁵ Fons J.R. Van de Vijver et al, 2006 „Cracks in the wall of Multiculturalism? A review of Attitudinal Studies in the Netherlands”, International Journal of Multicultural Societies, vol.8, No.1, p: 104.

The current migratory wave to the EU includes not only war refugees from Syria, Iraq and other conflict zones, but also other types of migration. However, this distinction is important in order to provide a coherent approach to common policies at European level and a good understanding of the phenomenon. For the first time after the Second World War, many populations are deployed in such a significant number from several conflict zones. The increase in migration flows has intensified right after 2011, with the escalation of the conflict in Syria and the Western failure to intervene in the management of a humanitarian crisis already evident two years later in 2013. Sources of migration are, however, other areas of conflict or states who have undergone political regime changes. Many of the current refugees are from Iraq, Afghanistan, Eritrea and other African countries and the Middle East.

As it became an international issue in March 15, 2011 the Syrian civil war is an on going armed conflict in which international interventions had occurred. The conflict itself it can be described as the unfinished Arab Spring. It turned out to be an armed conflict the moment the president Bashar al Assad's government chose to open fire to the crowd of protesters who were militating for his removal. At this time in Syria the war is being fought between various coalitions like, the Syrian Government and its supporters, Syrian Arab rebel groups, Syrian Democratic Forces, Salafi jihadist groups including Al Nusra Front and the Islamic state of Iraq and Levent (ISIL). Due to this civil war that erupted many Syrian citizens were forced to flee from their country respectively homes. Up to now, United Nations (UN) pinpointed the fact that 13.5 million Syrian citizens required humanitarian assistance. Over 6 million Syrians are internally displaced between Syrian borders and more than 4.8 million Syrians are refugees outside Syrian borders.⁶⁶ Among the host countries for Syrian refugees, Turkey has the highest number, respectively, 2.764.500 million prior to 3rd of November 2016.⁶⁷

Nowadays European Union gives the impression of a shredded part of the world on what immigrants are concerned. European Union promoted the refugee law and

⁶⁶ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) <http://www.unocha.org/syria> Accessed Date 19/04/2016

⁶⁷ The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224> Accessed Date 08/11/2016

promoted it in all respects starting with the year 1951 once it was signed by 144 states.⁶⁸ The 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution.⁶⁹ The antiphon of Western countries in regard of accepting the refugees from the Third World regions has not been highly effective in order to bring high contribution to the pressure of rapid growth of refugees in affected areas. The number of migrants accepted by Western countries from the Third World in recent decades has constituted only a tiny proportion of world population growth in the last period of time. Even though the economic growth of European countries during the 1950s and 1960s was constructed on cheap immigrant labor from Third World (Commonwealth immigration in the United Kingdom, guest workers in West Germany and Switzerland), the onset of recession in the early 1970s led to the virtual cessation of legal immigration.

Starting with 15 June 1990 the Dublin Convention was signed and came into force on September 1 1997 by the first 12 states who agreed upon this convention ((Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherland Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom). Dublin Convention is basically an EU law that appoints the EU Member States responsible for auditing applications of asylum seekers under Geneva Convention for international protection. Its primary objective is to forbid an applicant from submitting applications in multiple Member States. What is more, is the fact that it also attempts to decrease the number of asylum seekers who are being commuted between member states. The country in which the asylum seeker registers is able to accept or not the asylum, in an unfavorable decision the seeker cannot restart the registration in a different member state.⁷⁰ Over the years, many

⁶⁸ The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) “ The 1951 Refugee Convention” <http://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html> Accessed Date 17/09/2016

⁶⁹ Idem, Art 2

⁷⁰ Convention determining the State responsible for examining applications for asylum lodged in one of the Member States of the European Communities - Dublin Convention, Official Journal C 254 ,19/08/1997 P. 0001 – 0012
[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:41997A0819\(01\)&from=EN](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:41997A0819(01)&from=EN)
Accessed Date 20/06/2016

countries decided to join and sign this convention, so, almost every year new member states and non-member states were added as part of the Dublin system. With new members also new updates were needed. First ratification of the Convention took place in 2003 later on in December 3rd 2008 new amendments were proposed by the European Commission, which implied new opportunity to reform the Dublin system. Dublin III Regulation (No 604/2013) came into force in July 19 2013 and replacing the Dublin II Regulation. It is based on the same principle as the previous two, that the first Member State where fingerprints are being kept or an asylum claim abides, is responsible for a person's asylum request.⁷¹

With all the regulations and convention European Union was overwhelmed with the influx of migrants and refugees that flooded the European continent starting with 2015. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the wave of refugees and migrants is the result of the war and persecution people are trying to escape from. The beginning of 2015 brought a different dimension on what migration could look like nowadays. Majority of the refugees tried to arrive in Europe through crossing borders. First in Turkey and then in Greece and from Greece to Western European countries such as Germany, United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, France. Due to the fact that, the migrants were arriving in Europe without any control and in a huge number in some countries, like Hungary, unpleasant incidents had happened. Furthermore, the more time passed the number of refugees, mainly from Syria was increasing. In this situation the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban decided that a border barrier would be efficient in order to prevent illegal migration towards Germany and other EU states without the Dublin system being applied. In other words Hungary aimed to ensure border security by preventing immigrants from illegal entering, and enabling the option to enter through official checkpoints and claim asylum in Hungary in accordance with international and European law.⁷² Also in 2015 besides the land routes that were used by migrants, the sea route became more popular but in the same time riskier. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the top three nationalities of the over one million Mediterranean Sea arrivals between January 2015 and March 2016 were Syrian

⁷¹ Regulation (Eu) No 604/2013 Of The European Parliament And Of The Council Of 26 June 2013 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32013R0604> Accessed Date 20/06/2016

⁷² "Migrant crisis: Hungary's closed border leaves many stranded" <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34260071> Accessed Date 20/06/2016

(46.7%), Afghan (20.9%) and Iraqi (9.4%).⁷³ In 2015, 1 255 600 first time asylum seekers applied for international protection in the Member States of the European Union (EU), a number more than double that of the previous year. In 2015, the highest number of first time applicants was registered in Germany (with 441 800 first time applicants, or 35% of all first time applicants in the EU Member States), followed by Hungary (174 400, or 14%), Sweden (156 100, or 12%), Austria (85 500, or 7%), Italy (83 200, or 7%) and France (70 600, or 6%).⁷⁴ Looking at the numbers above it is clear that European Union was caught with its guard down. Due to the situation created and the impediment of solving it, EU leaders are trying to handle the crisis as well as possible. In this regard, they thought that a good solution would be to stop the influx of refugees/migrants from Turkey. For this to happen a joined action plan between European Union and Turkey was drafted in October 15 2015 in Brussels.

Political and economic crises and inabilities, caused by internal and external conditions of the Middle East, have led to both individual and mass migrations. The Syrian conflict entering its fifth year, Turkey's government has officially registered more than half the total refugee population, as it shelters a significant number of Syrian refugees under temporary protection regulations. Turkey has obtained relative political stability and increasing economical growth in the last two decades. As is being surrounded by problematic regions such as Middle East, Caucasus, Eastern Mediterranean, it is somehow logical to be the perfect country for travellers, migrants and refugees of the neighboring countries. Migration and refugee flows are not a new phenomenon in Turkey, but rather date back to Ottoman times.⁷⁵ Over the years Turkey experienced what it means to be the host country of a mass influx of refugees. The collapse of Ottoman Empire at the end of First World War left behind many Turkish communities in various parts of the Balkans. Due to different reason over the years they came back to Turkey. For example, the refugee influx from the Balkans in 1999 when 8.300 refugees

⁷³ Europe Refugees & Migrants Emergency Response - Nationality Of Arrivals To Greece, Italy And Spain, Based On Government Data From January 2015 To March 2016
<http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/documents.php?page=1&view=grid&Type%5B%5D=3&Search=%23monthly%23> Accessed Date 20/06/2016

⁷⁴ Asylum in the EU Member States- Eurostat news release
<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6> Accessed Date 20/06/2016

⁷⁵ Dilek Latif "Refugee policy of the Turkish Republic" *The Turkish Year Book*, Volume 33, 2002, p: 4

from Kosovo came to Turkey after the breakout of Kosovo Crisis.⁷⁶ Thousands of migrants, with the intention of temporary stay, have come to Turkey to find their way to the developed countries in the West and North. The reasons of Turkey being preferred as a transit country especially in access to Europe are various. Turkey is located within the same geography and under common borders which is the most significant and definite factor. It is the only gate opening to Europe with its function of a bridge between Asia and Europe. That is to say Turkey is between the countries whose living conditions are not good and countries with high living standard. Since the relationship between the West and Turkey became warmer in the early 1950s, Turkey accepted the 1951 Geneva Convention. However, Turkey is one of the few countries, which, having signed the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, maintains so-called "geographical limitations", in this case providing protection only to people from European countries.⁷⁷ Under this circumstances Turkey can not offer to Syrian refugee the status of refugees, only asylum seekers, hence, Turkey decided to do more for their neighbors and introduced various special regulations and directives to help Syrians under temporary protection legally, including the right to stay in Turkey for an "acceptable" period of time and with "a temporary asylum right" until a third country accepts them as a refugee. Under its open door policy, Turkey has provided temporary protection for all arrivals, including those lacking a passport. Even so, Turkey was aware of the fact that even with this type of help Syrians have no right to work legally regardless if they are qualified for the job or not. Mainly due to the escalation of the conflict and zero hope for returning in Syria, Turkey decided to make some political changes in correlation with their status.

The Law of Foreigners and International Protection of 11/04/2013,⁷⁸ and the Temporary Protection Regulation dated 22/10/2014⁷⁹ formulates the new status of Syrians, permitting them to enter temporary on the labor market in Turkey. With all this new

⁷⁶ *The State of the World's Refugees, Fifty Years of Humanitarian /action*, UNHCR 2000, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 239. <http://www.unhcr.org/3ebf9bb50.html>

⁷⁷ UNHCR, *Country Profiles-Turkey*: <http://www.unhcr.ch/world/euro/turkey.htm>

⁷⁸ Republic of Turkey, Official Gazette No 28615, Law of Foreigners and International Protection No 6458, Approval Date: 04/04/2013 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2013/04/20130411-2.htm> Accessed Date 20/10/2016

⁷⁹ Temporary Protection Regulation <http://www.goc.gov.tr/files/dokuman28.pdf> (Accessed Date 20/08/2016)

status only around 1% of Syrians took advantage of the new possibility to be integrated on the working market legally, many of them preferring to work on the black market with the hope that in this way they are not tight to Turkey more than it is necessary for them.

Throughout the struggle on what the refugees are concern, even with the proposal of a shared quota plan for all member states and Mr Jean Claude Juncke extras approaches such as:

EU member states to accept their share of an additional 120,000 refugees, building upon proposed quotas to relocate 40,000 refugees which were set out in May (though governments then only actually agreed to take 32,000)

- A permanent relocation system to "deal with crisis situations more swiftly in the future"
- Commission to propose list of "safe countries" to which migrants would generally have to return
- Efforts to strengthen the EU's common asylum system
- A review of the so-called Dublin system, which states that people must claim asylum in the state where they first enter the EU
- Better management of external borders and better legal channels for migration⁸⁰

Joint EU-Turkey Action Plan, agreed in October and activated at the EU-Turkey Summit on 29 November 2015. The plan aims to bring order to migratory flows and stem the influx of irregular migrants. On 24 November 2015, the Commission adopted a Commission Decision establishing a Turkey Refugee Facility to pool €3 billion additional resources, representing major additional support. This facility will coordinate and streamline actions financed from the EU's budget and bilateral contributions from EU member states to enhance the efficiency and complementarity of support provided to refugees and host communities in Turkey.⁸¹On March 18th 2016 European Council

⁸⁰ Migrant crisis: EU's Juncker announces refugee quota plan <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34193568> Accessed Date 10/10/2016

⁸¹ European Commission, European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations, Countries: Turkey http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey/index_en.htm Accessed Date 02/11/2016

released the first statement over EU- Turkey agreement with the following additional points:

- All new irregular migrants crossing from Turkey into Greek islands as from 20 March 2016 will be returned to Turkey.
- For every Syrian being returned to Turkey from Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled from Turkey to the EU taking into account the UN Vulnerability Criteria.
- Turkey will take any necessary measures to prevent new sea or land routes for illegal migration opening from Turkey to the EU, and will cooperate with neighboring states as well as the EU to this effect.
- Once irregular crossings between Turkey and the EU are ending or at least have been substantially and sustainably reduced, a Voluntary Humanitarian Admission Scheme will be activated
- The EU and Turkey welcomed the ongoing work on the upgrading of the Customs Union.
- The EU and its Member States will work with Turkey in any joint endeavour to improve humanitarian conditions inside Syria, in particular in certain areas near the Turkish border which would allow for the local population and refugees to live in areas which will be more safe.⁸²

Since the joint action plan was activated the number of Syrian refugees who traveled from Turkey to Greece and from Greece to other EU member states has dropped significantly. If during 2015 a number of 856.723 of migrants arrived by sea route to Europe in 2016 the number decreased to 171.284 up to November 20 2016.⁸³ Moreover in Second Report on the progress made in the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement it is highlighted the fact that The EU-Turkey Statement has continued to deliver concrete results. There has been further good progress in making the Statement operational. On the Third Report on the Progress made in the implementation of the

⁸²EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016 <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18-eu-turkey-statement/> Accessed Date 20/06/2016

⁸³ Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response- Mediterranean <http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/country.php?id=83>

EU-Turkey Statement from September 28 2016 it is stipulated the fact that improvements were made and that despite challenging circumstances, the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement has continued to deepen and to accelerate. The reduction in attempts to cross the Aegean and in deaths at sea since the EU-Turkey Statement has confirmed the core strategy behind the decision of the EU and Turkey to sign the Statement.

Nevertheless, with the joint action looking good on the paper and indeed with improvements on what the flux of migrants is concerned, the EU approach to this crisis is paradoxical. On the one hand, its member states operate a protectionist migration policy. On the other hand, it has offered to open several new chapters for discussion within the accession negotiations framework on condition that the Syrian refugees are kept in Turkey. Such an approach reveals that that the EU classifies Turkey as a border country rather than candidate country, which conflicts both with European membership principles and Turkey's membership prospects. Besides, the EU's conditional offer to the Turkish government about opening new chapters in return for a humanitarian response over the refugee crisis is consistent with neither EU norms nor Turkey's strategic membership goal. Instead, this issue should be handled within the framework of universal values by considering the dramatic dimensions of the Syrian civil war. However, the Syrian refugee issue does not only require financial burden sharing. It also carries various political and social risks, which the EU is currently unwilling to accept.

Moreover, the political tension in Turkey from the last couple of months due to the failed coup attempt in 15 July 2016, made president Erdoğan to become more aggressive and highly imposing his requests on what EU-Turkey Agreement is concerned. Turkey is no longer willing to accept delays from European Union on what their demands are concerned in the Statement. Ankara is ready to redraw from the Agreement if European Union does not complete its promises on financial aid and also on visa free as soon as possible.

The future of the E.U.-Turkey deal is clearly very much in the balance. All things being equal Ankara would probably prefer to maintain the deal, but the Turkish authorities are very unlikely to compromise on visa-free travel. The question is whether E.U. leaders are prepared to offer it despite Turkey's failure to meet the criteria set. Some certainly

are, but the number of countries prepared to walk away from the deal appears to be growing.

2.2.3. European Identity: National Versus European Identification Among Native and Immigrant Children

The European Union does not recognize the notion of "collective rights", providing, instead, a framework that guarantees on a large scale individual rights. It is in a position to ensure the preservation of the ethnic identity of ethnicities and the elimination of all forms of discrimination. The degree of respect for these rights depends on each state, which is the standard that confers autonomy on stability and protection against potential secessionist tendencies.

Based on a set of principles an overstate identity develops - Americans have national and American identity. Europeans have a national identity but they still do not have European identity, it is a concept that still needs to be advanced. European identity is rather an overlap or a mixture of national identities.

Legal immigration and integration are widely debated topics at European Union level. Social integration of foreigners in host societies is the core of public immigration policy. Knowledge, the genuine promotion of fundamental rights, non-discrimination and equal opportunities for all become extremely important elements for ensuring a good integration of third-country nationals and for joint efforts to build responsible and diverse open societies. Migration is both an important subject on the public agenda and in an area of political debate and effervescent public policy, especially in the last decade, at national and European level. The evolving developments can easily exemplify how liberal democracies and the European construction process work, implicitly the transformation of immigration policy, the degree of adaptability and openness to change, the controversial nature and the difficulties encountered in the process. For a long time, migration management at the level of Europe was a responsibility of the national governments, which laid down the rules for admission into and out of the country, as well as the visa and residence system. In post-war and post-colonial Europe in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, immigrants arriving on the continent either from the former colonies or from a contract labor force brought specially to certain European countries (Germany, Switzerland, France) were the responsibility of

the host States, being subject to the laws of those States on citizenship and nationality. In the context of the European Union (EU), economic interdependence and monetary union have changed the way in which each Member State of the European Community exercises sovereignty. Open borders, freedom of movement and labor mobility created the conditions of a migration phenomenon perceived at the same time as a necessity, but also as a risk or threat factor. Thus, in addition to its positive connotation of space without frontiers, the free movement of goods, services and capital, there is also a negative connotation, that of a space lacking borders for offenders and offenses. The EU has tried to find the necessary tools for shaping a common migration policy, but has often struck the challenge this phenomenon has brought to the concept of sovereignty of the nation-state. In fact, migration is one of the most sensitive themes of cooperation between states, directly affecting the idea of national sovereignty.

It can be said that the foundations of a common immigration policy were laid down in 1986 with the Single European Act⁸⁴ or even more from the previous 1985, when the governments of Germany, France and the Netherlands signed the Schengen Agreement, which established joint immigration procedures in the signatory states⁸⁵. By creating the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, the European Union provided a guarantee for the free movement of persons, ensuring the security of European citizens, as well as differentiating between the internal border and the external border.

2.2.4. The Significance of an 'Immigrant' Frame of Reference

The political connotations of words cannot be completely disregarded by analyzing their linguistic origins. However, it is important to recognize that immigrants are individuals who relocate from one country to another to reside. The term 'immigrant' should not imply any additional characteristics such as race, wealth, work ethic, religious beliefs, or others. While some of these attributes may be true for certain individuals, determining them requires empirical investigation and should not be assumed based on the word itself. In the United Kingdom, we require a word that acknowledges the diverse nature of people who come to the country from abroad. If we can accept 'immigrant' as a neutral and inclusive term, it becomes possible to explore its relevance

⁸⁴ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0027> Accessed Date 25/07/2017

⁸⁵ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:133020> Accessed Date 25/07/2017

in understanding people's experiences. My main contention is that moving between countries can significantly impact an individual's experience. This experience can be influenced by various factors, such as their social connections, resources, cultural background, and personal skills. Additionally, social and institutional factors like racism, welfare systems, service provisions, existing communities, and labor market structures can further shape their lives. These hypotheses have been extensively discussed in the literature on immigration in the United States, and their relevance is evident. Even in the most straightforward cultural transition, such as that of a wealthy, white, male, English pop star moving to New York, there is a sense of socio-cultural disconnection. It is crucial to recognize that this example only scratches the surface and fails to capture the profound realities of racism, alienation, linguistic barriers, and cultural differences faced by many immigrants in the UK.

Twenty-five years ago, Portes et al. made a compelling argument to revive the study of immigration in the US by emphasizing that immigrants constitute a distinct social category that cannot be fully encompassed within the framework of native-born ethnic Americans.⁸⁶ What sets immigration apart from other sociological phenomena is that the lives of immigrants are profoundly shaped by their experiences in a different country throughout their entire lives.⁸⁷ Since then, there has been a significant growth in literature in the USA focusing on immigrants and the Second Generation. This includes dedicated longitudinal studies and conceptual debates aimed at understanding the diverse experiences of immigrant groups as they interact with a new society, rather than rehashing old assimilation arguments.

My contention is that immigration holds a universal significance as a concept, given its consistent presence throughout history and across the globe. While each immigrant's experience is inherently unique, as with any human experience, the foundation of social science is to identify commonalities and patterns that can aid in understanding individual experiences, including those of immigrants. Expanding on this, it can be argued that the experiences of groups who migrated to the UK from the Caribbean and

⁸⁶ Portes, A. (2007). Migration, Development, and Segmented Assimilation: A Conceptual Review of the Evidence. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610, 73–97.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097890>

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*

South Asia in the decades following World War II may bear connections to the experiences of other groups at different times. By comparing their experiences, we can gain a better understanding of their unique circumstances, as well as shed light on the experiences of other groups. Reconceptualizing these groups' experiences as immigrant experiences opens up opportunities for diverse analytical and discursive benefits, allowing for a range of new comparisons.

By conducting comparisons among all groups within a specific era, including those typically overlooked but subject to discrimination and disadvantage, we can acknowledge and address the experiences of these marginalized groups. Additionally, this approach allows for the process of immigration to be depolarized, moving beyond a simplistic "black/white" divide, although recognizing its significance.

- By comparing groups across different eras, we can draw on insights gained from understanding the factors that facilitated better socio-economic outcomes for the children of immigrants in previous eras, informing the development of future policies. Moreover, a greater recognition of the comparability of immigrant waves across different times can contribute to the development of a more cohesive national narrative on immigration, a goal that is widely seen as desirable.
- By engaging in cross-national comparisons, we can leverage the knowledge gained from studying the experiences of immigrants and the Second Generation in other countries to enhance our understanding of processes within the UK context. Consequently, this challenges the UK-centric notions of migration and allows us to perceive immigration as a universal and international concept.

CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDY

3.1. United Kingdom

3.1.1. Integration Policy

The purpose of this study is to establish the degree of integration of foreigners and to evaluate the effectiveness of policies in the field of their integration, as well as in providing recommendations for further policies in the field of integration and combating discrimination against aliens and hate crimes.

Integration, in the context of the study, is seen as a process of mutual adaptation of immigrants, on the one hand on the one hand, and the population of the country, on the other hand, the result of which is the obtaining of all by foreigners' equal opportunities for civil, social and economic opportunities. Discrimination in this process is seen as a major obstacle to the integration of foreigners.

The term "minority" is derived from the Latin "minor"⁸⁸. Concepts are often used in legal literature of national or ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities, and the need to define them remains relevant. These ideas spark much debate in the scientific community. Attempts to define these terms also existed within international organizations. We note this in United Nations documents the formula "ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities" is used as a priority, while European standards refers to "national minorities".

Another key notion with which we operate in this paper is the concept of "integration", which in Latin means of "renewal and restoration of a unitary whole".⁸⁹In the context of the socio-humanities, integration has a connotation a process of harmonization in a society on various roles, groups and organizations. The concept of integration is used by several sciences, of which sociology seems to be the most relevant to the meaning given in that research. Seen from a different perspective, integration refers to a feature of the system social, of society as a whole, namely: the intensity of the relations established

⁸⁸ Oxford Dictionary

<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/minority?q=minority> Accessed Date 12/03/2018

⁸⁹ Ibidem

<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/integration?q=integration> Accessed Date 12/03/2018

between the component parts (groups and people). In recent years, the concept of social cohesion has been associated with the term "integration".

The integration process is based on ensuring the rights of ethnic minorities, but also the need to respect obligations and civic responsibilities of minorities. Integration can be seen as a response to the cultural diversity of contemporary societies, in which ethnic minorities are guaranteed rights equal in all spheres of social life, while creating conditions for the expression, preservation and development of their identity. This is ensured by guaranteeing special rights: use of the mother tongue, professing and practicing one's own religions, accessing, disseminating and exchanging information in one's mother tongue.⁹⁰ All these measures taken by the states have the purpose of ensuring the harmonious coexistence between the majority and minorities, as well as between various cohabiting minority ethnic groups on the territory of the state. Also, this process is organized in a way that strengthens society and the state.

One of the essential features of the process of "integration" in the contemporary sense is the multidimensional aspect. As a result, ethnic minorities are integrated into society on all societal levels and in all spheres. Political integration focuses on minorities' access to civil rights as well as their participation in political life. Cultural integration is concerned with how minorities are permitted to preserve and express their cultural values in both the public and private spheres. This process's social and economic dimension aims for social and economic equality between ethnic minorities and the rest of society.

A first internationally proposed definition of the integration process was reflected in the Ljubljana Guidelines on the Integration of Diverse Societies developed by the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. In that document, integration is defined as a dynamic process involving several actors, involves mutual commitment, facilitates the participation and fosters a sense of belonging at the local and national levels for all members of a diverse society's economic, political, social, and cultural life.. The document states that, in order to achieve the integration process, states must

⁹⁰ Document of the Copenhagen meeting of the conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, 29 June 1990.

<https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/9/c/14304.pdf> Accessed Date 05/03/2017

adopt policies aimed at creating a society that values variety and encourages participation from people of different racial, linguistic, cultural, and religious backgrounds in the creation and maintenance of a shared civic identity. The implementation of integration policies takes into account not only the desire of the state to achieve this goal, but also the consent of the individual to integrate at the civic level. This process includes learning the language of the state, knowledge about the country's culture, about values and customs. However, this process should respect the decision and position of the individual and not be carried out in an assimilative way.⁹¹

Compared to several European countries, the UK has a lengthy history of experiencing large-scale immigration. There was once a sense of contentment that the UK's typically accepting and open attitude toward cultural diversity had been moderately prosperous, despite continuing issues with racism. However, this satisfaction has now transformed into apprehension in certain sectors, as some immigrant groups seem to be deviating from the usual course of economic and cultural assimilation into the dominant society. The UK's experience of substantial immigration commenced much earlier compared to numerous other European nations, starting shortly after 1945. Workers from the Caribbean in the 1950s and from the Indian sub-continent in the 1960s arrived to address labour shortages. The economic downturn of the 1970s led to a decline in economic migration, with only a steady flow of immigrants through family reunification and the 72,000 Ugandan Asians who were expelled by Idi Amin. However, as the economy improved again in the 1990s, there was a resurgence of economic migration, with significant inflows from Eastern Europe (particularly after the enlargement of the EU) and Sub-Saharan Africa.⁹²

Compared to other European countries, the UK confronted the challenge of integrating immigrant communities into society at an earlier stage. The prevailing notion that emerged, characterized by a form of "multiculturalism," is aptly captured by the following statement from the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, in 1966: " I do not regard

⁹¹ The Ljubljana Guidelines on the Integration of Diverse Societies by OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities

<https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/0/9/96883.pdf> Accessed Date 05/03/2017

⁹² Peach, C. (1996) Ethnicity in the 1991 Census, Volume 2: the Ethnic Minority Populations of Great Britain. London, HMSO.

[integration] as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think that we need in this country a ‘melting pot’, which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone’s misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman...I define integration, therefore, not as an attenuating process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance.”

This led to the implementation of anti-discrimination laws at an early stage (by European standards), with the first legislation being the Race Relations Act of 1965. The UK also embraced a generally compassionate approach to granting cultural and religious exemptions to laws and practices. For instance, allowing Sikh motorcyclists to wear turbans instead of helmets and Muslim policewomen to wear the hijab while on duty. The prevailing belief was that if natives extended hospitality to immigrants, the minority communities would reciprocate and eventually assimilate into the broader society, leading to a harmonious and inclusive community. However, the reality proved to be quite different from this optimistic vision, as there were outbreaks of riots in many British cities during the early 1980s, and several organizations, particularly the police, were severely criticized for institutional racism.

But more recently there has been a feeling that this strategy of multiculturalism has failed to create a common core of values, primarily because it offered minorities more than it asked from them in return and that some communities chose not to integrate into the wider society. Events like the London bombings of 2005 have shocked people into thinking something has gone badly wrong. For example, the chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality (a non-departmental public body aimed to tackle racial discrimination and promote social equality, currently merged into the new Equality and Human Rights Commission) argued in a TV interview that multiculturalism was leading to segregation, saying that ‘too many public authorities particularly [are] taking diversity to a point where they [are] saying, “actually we’re going to reward you for being different, we are going to give you a community centre only if you are Pakistani or African Caribbean and so on, but we’re not going to encourage you to be part of the community of our town”’. The reaction has included not just a wringing of hands but also substantive changes to policy—immigrants becoming citizens now have to pass a

test on language, culture, and history designed to mould their values into those deemed appropriate.

3.1.2. Integration Strategy.

For immigrants who are second generation, "integration" does not just mean "assimilation" into a clearly defined majority. It is more about being accustomed to neighborhoods, schools, labor markets, and other settings that are multicultural, multilingual, and multireligious. It denotes peace.

Post World War II immigration to Britain began when the "British Nationality Act" was enacted in 1948, enabling citizens of the Commonwealth⁹³ to travel freely to Britain. Immigrants from the Caribbean and Indian subcontinent were among the first to arrive, and their arrival helped alleviate the post-war labour shortage, making the British government pleased with the influx of immigrants.⁹⁴

Despite the significant increase in immigration during the 1960s, there was also a rise in racism and animosity towards immigrants. The formation of the right-wing extremist political party, the "National Front," in 1967 was an example of an attempt to halt the ongoing influx of immigrants. Racial tension and hostility towards immigrants in the UK led to the enactment of the Immigration Act in 1971, which aimed to restrict immigration. The Race Relations Act was also introduced in 1976 to make discrimination illegal and promote racial equality.

During the 1990s, there were efforts to enhance the integration of ethnic minorities, resulting in the emergence of a more multicultural environment characterized by non-white Members of Parliament, the election of the first black politician, and the establishment of a "Muslim Parliament" in 1992. Today, in the 21st century, immigrants from earlier generations have for the most part been integrated or at least accepted by their host society. In order to facilitate integration and help new arrivals

⁹³ The "Commonwealth of Nations," formerly known as the "British Empire," is a group of fifty countries with political and economic ties, forming a community of diverse nations that promotes principles such as world peace and human rights.

⁹⁴ Sam Henderson and Michael McCarthy: "Immigration: This island's story", The Independent (2006), <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/immigration-this-islands-story-413017.html>; accessed on 04.11.2022

learn English and gain practical knowledge of the British way of life, the British government introduced a "Britishness" test for immigrants seeking British citizenship.⁹⁵

British Integration Policy does not expect immigrants to assimilate into British society but rather to integrate, allowing their origin identity to coexist with a newly adopted British identity. However, finding a balance between one's cultural heritage and a new identity can be challenging, particularly for Muslim immigrants who wish to preserve their traditions while maintaining ties with their homeland.⁹⁶ Immigrants are expected to participate in everyday life and build bonds with members of the host society to become integrated and show loyalty and commitment to their new home. Finding a compromise between cultural beliefs and newly acquired values can be difficult, and unsuccessful integration can leave immigrants feeling uprooted and stuck in a cultural limbo, which can lead to feelings of insecurity and frustration about not belonging anywhere.⁹⁷ Ultimately, the degree of successful integration depends on both the individual immigrant's ability to compromise and the way the host society treats immigrants, whether with respect or not.

It is important to distinguish between two categories of immigrants: those who come to a new country voluntarily and those who are forced to flee their homeland, such as refugees. The process of integration can present a significant challenge for the latter group. Illiteracy and a lack of education can make obtaining British citizenship a daunting task. Motivation and a willingness to integrate are crucial, but support from the host country is equally important. Forced immigrants may not be adequately prepared for the challenges of adapting to a new country. In addition to coping with a multitude of new experiences, they may also be dealing with trauma resulting from the circumstances that led to their displacement. As a result, integration can be particularly difficult for refugees who come from war-torn countries, as they may have other priorities to address before fully integrating into their new society.

⁹⁵ Ben Russell: "Introducing the Government's 'Britishness' test" (2005), <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/introducing-the-governments-britishness-test-only-foreigners-need-pass-natives-can-bask-in-ignorance-513462.html>

⁹⁶ Bhikhu Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles for an Interdependent World*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp 82

⁹⁷ Bhikhu Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles for an Interdependent World*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp 85

Muslim immigrants, particularly those from Eastern countries, encounter difficulties when trying to integrate into Western societies. In Britain, for instance, they often feel excluded from society and instead live in isolated communities, rather than attempting to integrate. They report feeling ostracized and attribute this to a high level of “Islamophobia”, which has increased since the terrorist attacks in New York on September 11. Since then, the British government has urged the British Muslim community to make greater efforts towards integration. Despite feeling a strong sense of identity with the UK and being patriotic about Britain, Muslim immigrants remain a “source of public anxiety”⁹⁸ and are often perceived as a threat. Nevertheless, a 2004 report by Maxine Firth indicates that most immigrants who were born and raised in Britain primarily identify as British, having grown up there.⁹⁹

Furthermore, it is important to distinguish between different generations of immigrants. Specifically, when examining Muslims in Britain, it is evident that the offspring of the first generation of immigrants often feel more connected to Britain than their country of origin. Although they recognize their heritage and take pride in it, they adopt a British lifestyle and consider themselves British, rather than British Muslims. In contrast, for first-generation immigrants who were not raised in Britain, integrating is more challenging since their lives are still primarily influenced by their religion.

However, there are also young British Muslims who feel disconnected from society and lack a sense of belonging, despite being born in Britain. These individuals lead separate lives and may engage in illegal activities such as drug use and crime as a result of their detachment from both their parental and British culture. Moreover, some young British Muslims reject the British way of life and are not willing to integrate. They become overly religious and may lead isolated lives in separate communities, considering the Islamic culture as superior with its Sharia law and Jihad ideology. The integration

⁹⁸ Bhikhu Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles for an Interdependent World*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp 100

⁹⁹ Maxine Firth: “Ethnic minorities feel strong sense of identity with Britain”,
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/ethnic-minorities-feel-strong-sense-of-identity-with-britain-report-reveals-578503.html>; Accessed Date 15/11/2022

process in Britain has not always been successful, as demonstrated by incidents such as the Brixton riots of 1981 and the London bombings of 2005.

The 1981 riots in Brixton, London, were triggered by high unemployment rates and police targeting of young black individuals without cause. Second and third-generation immigrants rebelled against their lack of social and economic opportunities, feeling marginalized and mistreated.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, the 2005 London bombings were executed by four British Muslims who opposed Britain's role in the Iraq War and its efforts to promote democracy in Iraq. They were labeled "home-grown suicide bombers," suggesting that multiculturalism gave rise to terrorism.

Some aspects of Islam conflict with Western values. For instance, there is a clash between laws that subjugate women to an inferior status and grant men overwhelming power and Western values, which uphold gender equality. This raises the question of whether a multicultural society should tolerate values that clash with common Western values or if there is a need to find a compromise.

3.1.3. The Children of Immigrant Parents, Known as the Second Generation, and Ethnic Minority Communities in the United Kingdom.

The term "ethnic effects" refers to the coefficient associated with an explanatory variable representing a specific ethnic group. This coefficient estimates the impact of that ethnic group on a particular outcome, taking into account other variables such as social class and education in multivariate analysis. When significant "ethnic effects" are observed, it indicates that differences between groups persist even after controlling for these characteristics. Early research often demonstrated that immigrants, particularly those of South Asian and Caribbean origin, tended to have disadvantaged occupational profiles even after considering educational attainment. This could be attributed to discrimination, but it could also be influenced by migration-related factors discussed earlier, such as language barriers, cultural differences, pressures associated with migration, and the absence of social networks. However, when examining the literature on ethnic effects focusing on the Second Generation, some of these factors may be excluded. For instance, the Second Generation is expected to have a better command of

¹⁰⁰ A. Sivanandan: "It's anti-racism that was failed, not multiculturalism that failed" (2005), <http://www.irr.org.uk/2005/october/ak000021.html>. Accessed Date 11/11/2022

the English language, which could potentially mitigate certain challenges faced by first-generation immigrants.

Heath and McMahon (1997) conducted an analysis to determine if similar ethnic effects in terms of unemployment and access to higher social classes persisted across generations. Their study aimed to ascertain whether the disadvantages experienced by the First Generation continued to affect the Second Generation even after controlling for factors such as age and education. Based on their findings, Heath and McMahon concluded that the disadvantages observed in the First Generation persisted for the Second Generation across all three aspects: unemployment, access to higher social classes, and other related factors. This led them to suggest that factors unrelated to migration, often referred to as non-migration effects, played a crucial role in understanding these "ethnic penalties."¹⁰¹

If we consider parents with the same social class background or household income, would we anticipate a difference in the level of intergenerational mobility between children of immigrants and children of the UK-born population? When comparing two children of immigrants from similar social class or income backgrounds, while accounting for measurement error and random effects, can we expect to observe similar patterns of integration? It could be argued that structural inequalities, such as labor market opportunities, school quality, and neighborhood disadvantages, would have the most significant influence, and the experiences of immigrant groups would be shaped by their relative position within the social hierarchy.

While there are strong advocates for such an explanation when examining the broader population, the situation becomes more intricate when considering immigrants and their children. Immigrants possess a diverse set of characteristics resulting from their unique life experiences and the new social environment they find themselves in. These characteristics cannot be directly compared to the experiences of children with UK-born parents. Some of these attributes may contribute to upward social mobility, while others may hinder progress or even lead to a downward trajectory.

¹⁰¹ Anthony Heath, Dorren McMahon and Jane Roberts "*Ethnic Differences in the Labour Market: A Comparison of the Sample of Anonymized Records and Labour Force Survey*" *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A (Statistics in Society)* Vol. 163, No. 3 (2000), pp. 341-361 (21 pages) Published By: Oxford University Press

Portes and Rumbaut identify three key factors that they believe are crucial for understanding patterns of economic integration among immigrants:

- **Parental capital:** The skills, qualifications, work experience, and English language proficiency that immigrants possess upon arrival play a significant role. Immigrants with strong transferable qualifications or degrees from US institutions, along with fluency in English, have positive prospects for entering professional fields and effectively navigating neighborhood and schooling issues for their children. However, other factors also influence how effectively individuals can capitalize on these resources. Some immigrants may have good English language skills but lack transferable qualifications, while others may have limited or no English proficiency.
- **Contexts of reception:** The way immigrants are received in their new country is crucial. At the institutional level, the range can vary from undocumented immigrants who lack basic rights to certain refugee groups that receive specific government support for smooth integration. At the social level, racism and discrimination continue to play a significant role in shaping housing, education, and job opportunities for individuals from non-white backgrounds, greatly affecting their social integration into society. It is important to note that a racial gradient exists in US culture, where individuals with darker skin face greater social distance from dominant groups and encounter more difficulties in having their personal qualifications recognized.
- **Communal factors:** The social and communal environment in which immigrants settle also influences their economic mobility. The presence of supportive communities, networks, and resources can facilitate access to job opportunities, social integration, and upward mobility. On the other hand, the absence of such communal support may hinder immigrants' ability to capitalize on their skills and qualifications.

By considering these factors, Portes and Rumbaut argue for a comprehensive understanding of immigrant economic integration, taking into account the initial capital

immigrants bring, the reception they receive, and the communal resources available to them.¹⁰²

3.1.4. The influence of race and discrimination

Extensive research has consistently demonstrated that racial and ethnic minorities in the UK face ongoing racism and discrimination across various spheres of their social existence (Daniel, 1969; Smith, 1977; Brown, 1984; Modood et al., 1997). However, quantifying the exact scope and impact of this racism remains challenging (Heath and McMahon, 2000).

Some literature assumes that unequal racial and ethnic outcomes indicate the presence of discrimination. However, the range of outcomes observed within ethnic minority communities suggests that multiple factors influence these outcomes. Factors such as the region of settlement, social class, and others may contribute to these variations. Additionally, when a minority ethnic group performs better than the majority population, it does not necessarily indicate the absence of racism. Rather, it suggests that the group has successfully resisted and overcome some instances of racism. For instance, individuals from minority ethnic groups may take specific measures to counter racism, such as pursuing higher education to compensate for potential discrimination in employment. Nonetheless, it is still possible that they may experience disadvantages and not achieve their full potential due to the impact of racism.

Heath and McMahon propose the concept of "inclusion"¹⁰³ processes at the higher end of the labor market, accompanied by "exclusion" processes at the lower end. They contend that racism manifests differently in various contexts. In higher-level positions, racism can be observed through glass ceilings and difficulties in securing employment after periods of absence from the labor market. On the other hand, discrimination at the lower end may completely impede access to the labor market. The manifestation of discrimination can vary depending on the geographical and labor market conditions.

¹⁰² Alejandro Portes & Rubén G. Rumbaut (2005) Introduction: The Second Generation and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28:6, 983-999

¹⁰³ Anthony Heath, Dorren McMahon and Jane Roberts "*Ethnic Differences in the Labour Market: A Comparison of the Sample of Anonymized Records and Labour Force Survey*" *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A (Statistics in Society)* Vol. 163, No. 3 (2000), pp. 341-361 (21 pages) Published By: Oxford University Press

Certain regions in the UK experience heightened racial tensions, characterized by significant levels of school and neighborhood segregation, while others exhibit more positive race relations. Additionally, racism operates differently across various ethnic groups. For instance, Islamophobia can be a prominent form of prejudice and discrimination, comparable in significance to physical appearance-based racism. Modood argues that "cultural racisms"¹⁰⁴ exploit cultural differences to stigmatize or demand assimilation from groups that also face racial discrimination based on physical features. Other phenomena, such as anti-Irish discrimination, further complicate any attempt to depict a simplistic overview of the situation.

While discussions often center around the harmful impact of racism and discrimination, there is an argument that highlights the positive response and resistance to these issues through the entrepreneurial qualities displayed by many immigrants. This is evident in the presence of ethnic economies and higher rates of self-employment among immigrant communities.

3.1.5. Social Mobility

Human capital, social class, and cultures of mobility are three interconnected factors that play significant roles in shaping individuals' opportunities for advancement and social mobility.

Human capital refers to the knowledge, skills, education, and qualifications individuals possess, which are crucial for accessing higher social positions. Acquiring and developing human capital is often influenced by factors such as educational attainment, training, and work experience. Individuals with higher levels of human capital tend to have better prospects for upward mobility.

Social class, on the other hand, encompasses the hierarchical divisions within society based on economic resources, occupation, and social status. Social class can significantly impact an individual's access to opportunities, resources, and networks. Those from privileged backgrounds often have greater social capital and connections, which can facilitate upward mobility.

¹⁰⁴ Sandra Fredman, *Equality: A New Generation?*, *Industrial Law Journal*, Volume 30, Issue 2, 1 June 2001, Pages 145–168,

Cultures of mobility refer to the prevailing beliefs, values, and norms within a society that either promote or hinder mobility. Some cultures may emphasize individual achievement, meritocracy, and upward mobility, while others may perpetuate social inequalities or discourage mobility. Cultural factors can influence attitudes towards education, career choices, and social mobility aspirations.

These three factors, human capital, social class, and cultures of mobility, are interconnected and mutually reinforcing. Individuals with higher levels of human capital tend to have better access to higher social classes and are more likely to embrace cultures of mobility that support upward mobility. Conversely, individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds may face barriers in accessing quality education, employment opportunities, and social networks, limiting their mobility prospects.

Understanding the complex interactions between these factors is crucial for addressing social inequalities and promoting equal opportunities for individuals from diverse backgrounds. Efforts to enhance educational access, reduce socioeconomic disparities, and foster inclusive cultural attitudes can contribute to creating a more equitable and socially mobile society.

In the UK context, when examining the children of immigrants, we can anticipate certain patterns in the relationships between human capital, social class, and mobility. For those whose parents belong to an advantaged social class, their children have already made progress in overcoming various barriers associated with migration, such as language proficiency, discrimination, loss of networks, and cultural challenges. As a result, these children are better equipped to navigate the established channels that lead to opportunities, particularly in pursuing higher-status occupations, following in their parents' footsteps.

However, what about the prospects of individuals whose parents have not attained higher-status positions? In the case of these individuals, various class-related factors will influence their experience of intergenerational social mobility. It is important to consider the expansion of the middle class as a significant aspect of the context. The evolving labor market, as discussed earlier, brought about a generational shift in opportunities, resulting in disadvantages for some individuals while simultaneously

creating "more room at the top"¹⁰⁵ for others. Consequently, one would not anticipate observing a rigid persistence of mobility patterns across generations in the general population.

What factors related to social class would influence the differential opportunities for individuals to take advantage of this structural change? This question directs our attention to the concept of class-related factors. When referring to social class, I am specifically alluding to "categories of people accumulating similar volumes and types of resources and investing them in promoting their own and their children's life chances".¹⁰⁶ This definition focuses on the individual level rather than the macro-social relations and overall structure of society. Considering the aspect of resources, one crucial factor is the parents' ability to navigate the realms of education and neighborhood, ensuring that their children are exposed to the most favorable environments and equipped with the necessary resources to maximize their potential development. However, as implied in the aforementioned quotation, social class encompasses more than just resources. It also encompasses a range of social attitudes and behaviors that will influence investment decisions.

Hence, it is plausible that immigrants, despite not attaining higher social class occupations, may exhibit social attitudes and behaviors in the UK that are associated with such positions, commonly referred to as cultural capital. This can manifest in various ways:

- Hidden social class: Immigrants may occupy a different position in the social hierarchy of their new country compared to their origin country. Due to factors like discrimination, language barriers, and a lack of specific social, financial, and cultural resources, they may not have been able to access occupations equivalent to their skills and experience. This phenomenon has been well-documented in the UK. Heath and McMahon (1997) argue that regardless of their qualifications, the First Generation is likely to face disruptions due to these factors. However, they may

¹⁰⁵ Goldthorpe, J. (2013). Understanding – and Misunderstanding – Social Mobility in Britain: The Entry of the Economists, the Confusion of Politicians and the Limits of Educational Policy. *Journal of Social Policy*, 42(3), 431-450

¹⁰⁶ Modood, T. (2004). Capitals, ethnic identity and educational qualifications. *Cultural Trends*, 13 (2), 87 - 105.

possess significant human capital, as well as generalized social and cultural capital, enabling them to propel their children towards upward mobility. This could involve fostering aspirations, providing guidance on navigating systems, supporting their children's education, or helping them establish a higher status within their co-ethnic community.

- **Cultural difference:** Immigrants may come from societies with a distinct class structure where the relationship between employment, social status, attitudes, and values differs significantly from the UK. Ballard suggests that many observers have noted the seemingly "middle-class"¹⁰⁷ outlook of successful individuals within the new minority population. Rather than categorizing them solely as middle class, Ballard argues that it is more appropriate to focus on the specific values and behaviors cultivated in these societies. He contends that values and behaviors fostered among rural small-holding peasants, such as long-term financial planning, frugal living, self-reliance, and hard work, can be highly adaptive to the demands of urban life in the Western world during the mid to late twentieth century.
- **Migrant selectivity and perceived self-efficacy:** Economic immigrants are a selected group of individuals who are willing to leave their homes, culture, language, and social networks in pursuit of better economic opportunities for themselves and their children. By nature, irrespective of their social backgrounds, they prioritize economic mobility and hold high aspirations and expectations for their children. This perspective aligns with the notion put forth by Portes and Rumbaut (2001, p. 104), although Boijas (1987) challenges this viewpoint in the context of the United States.

Note: It is worth mentioning that some of these factors are subject to ongoing debate and interpretation within the field.

¹⁰⁷ Roger Ballard *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain*; Hurst & Co., London, 1994, pp. 296

3.2. Case Study France

3.2.1. Immigration History of France

For those who were living under the Roman Empire, anyone coming from outside was called "foreigner" or "strange". Until the 10th century, the word "foreigner" was handled in a mystical dimension with the conquests. In the 13th century, labor force was needed in big cities. Foreigners played a marginal role in the development of French society between the 18th and 19th centuries. By keeping the number of settled foreigners limited, priority was given to "qualified" immigrants. Foreigners also took part in the French Revolution and citizenship was given to them. At the beginning of the 19th century, the number of foreigners in the country increased. Especially the Germans who sought political asylum were in the majority. After the 1848 crisis, France received 380 thousand foreigners in the first stage. Between 1855 and 1880, "immigrant worker" replaced the "foreigner" term. Until the Second World War, France welcomed many immigrants both to industrialize and to rebuild the country. Immigrants of this period consisted of Italian, Portuguese, Polish and Spaniards.¹⁰⁸

The Second World War adversely affected France: approximately 600 thousand French people lost their lives, including 320 thousand soldiers and 270 thousand civilians. In addition, France had burned and destroyed: 9 thousand bridges, 115 stations, 91 thousand factories and 550 thousand houses need to be rebuilt. This requires workforce. However, an aging population and the fact that the number of men is less than the number of women have caused France to open its doors to immigrants. In other words, foreign labor was employed to rebuild France, as in other European countries. For this, the number of immigrants requested at that time was 1.5 million. After the Second World War, the color of immigration also changed. While Polish immigrants are not accepted, Spanish and Italian immigrants continue to arrive. In addition, the number of Moorish immigrants is increasing rapidly. A new wave of immigration started in France in 1955: ONI (National Immigration Office) signed agreements with Spain in 1961, with Morocco and other African countries in 1963, and with Yugoslavia and Turkey in 1965. Thus, while the number of immigrants entering

¹⁰⁸ Lequin, Y (2006). "Histoire des étrangers et de l'immigration en France", Editions Larousse. Pp.250-260

France between 1956-1965 was 112 thousand, it increased to 129 thousand between 1966-1972.¹⁰⁹

France receives immigrants from all over the world, especially from North African and Eastern European countries. Every year, France welcomes over 100,000 foreigners who leave from third-party countries according to the European Union, come from all over the world, and whose intention is to settle permanently in the national homeland.¹¹⁰ It has been stated that there has been a significant increase in immigration to France as of 2012. A 32% increase was observed in visas issued by embassies and consulates: while the number of visas issued in 2011 was 2,132,968, this number increased to 2,817,670 in 2014; 6.1% increase in visas providing long-term residence in France; 8% increase in residence cards issued by municipalities; There is a 13.3% increase in family reunification.¹¹¹

3.2.2. Historical Development of French Immigration Policies

For many years, 4 institutions affiliated to the Ministry of Interior have shaped France's immigration and integration policies. ONI (National Office of Migration), established by De Gaulle in 1945; OMI (International Migration Office); ANAEM (Hospitality of Foreigners and Migrants) and OFII (French Immigration and Integration Office). Between 1945 and 1975, it was announced that 5.7 million foreigners were registered with the French Office for Immigration and Integration

In Europe's "Trente Glorieuses (1945-1975)" (Glory Thirties) years, upon the proposal of economists and demographers, the Ministers of Interior and Labor signed two regulations that still form the backbone of France's immigration policies today:

1. Conditions for coming to the country and settling in;
2. Conditions for obtaining citizenship.

¹⁰⁹ Collectif des Luttings (2004). L'Histoire de l'immigration en France, la contribution des immigrés au développement économique et aux guerres françaises de 1850 à aujourd'hui, http://www.preavis.org/formation-mr/Luttings/brochure_immigration_1-0.a5.pdf Accessed Date 30/03/2021

¹¹⁰ French Minister of Interior, General Directorate for Foreigners, <https://www.immigration.interieur.gouv.fr/> Accessed Date 14/08/2021

¹¹¹ Les Républicains (2015). Quelle Politique d'Immigration, Document d'Orientation, Les Éditions Les Républicains.

Both of these regulations are included in the assimilationist tradition that France has made official policy. ONI deals with temporary residence problems of immigrants. However, the fact that this office only has representative offices in Europe has made it difficult to receive immigrants from outside Europe. However, this limitation has been softened a little in order to receive immigration from North Africa.¹¹²

Since the beginning of the 70s, restrictions have been imposed on immigration and immigrants have been encouraged to return to their own countries. Family reunification of immigrants was accepted in 1974, following strikes initiated due to poor conditions in the “foyer (slots)” built for male worker immigrants. In 1977, immigration policy entered a new turn. The existence of immigrants has started to be discussed even if they are found for work. Minister of State Lionel Stoléru worked on the repatriation plan: 10,000 francs were promised to those who returned. The first target was the Algerians.¹¹³ Since 1981, a new era has started in immigration policies with the socialist wave. It is expressed that the immigrants are not temporary but permanent in the territory of France. Migration and integration policies in 2006 specifically target new immigrants: immigrants arriving in the country were obliged to sign a Hospitality and Integration Contract (Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration-CAI) with the state. With the creation of the Ministry of Immigration, Integration and National Identity in 2007, immigration and integration policies gained a centralized dimension. Although the life of this ministry was short, the policies it produced were permanent. In short, the Ministry of Immigration, Integration and National Identity have put forward an opinion that adopts the integration policies and immigration control policies.¹¹⁴ In accordance with these principles, the "Law on Immigration Control, Integration and Asylum" has been put into place to execute the necessary laws and limit immigration, whether it be legal or unauthorized. Considering that immigration to France usually takes place within the framework of family reunification, it can be said that this law deeply affects immigration and integration policies. To summarize these regulations briefly:

¹¹² Safi, M (2014). “Une refondation manquée: Les politiques d’immigration et d’intégration en France”, *La Vie Des Idées*, http://www.laviedesidees.fr/IMG/pdf/20140328_safi.pdf Accessed Date 05/03/2021

¹¹³ Kibreab, G. (2003). Citizenship Rights and Repatriation of Refugees. *The International Migration Review*, 37(1), 24–73. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30037818> Accessed Date 15/04/2021

¹¹⁴ Safi, M (2014). “Une refondation manquée: Les politiques d’immigration et d’intégration en France”, *La Vie Des Idées*, http://www.laviedesidees.fr/IMG/pdf/20140328_safi.pdf Accessed Date 05/03/2021

- a) Immigrants between the ages of 15-65 who will apply for a visa to come to the country within the framework of family reunification will have their knowledge of the French language and the values of the Republic tested at the French representations in the countries they live in. If they are successful, a certificate of success will be attached to the family reunification request;
- b) For foreigners who will come to France as part of family reunification, DNA testing will be done to compile their racial-ethnic information and to confirm their kinship ties. The Constitutional Council found the provision, which caused great public reaction, in conformity with the Constitution under “certain conditions”. It is accepted that the applicant's express consent is obtained and the analysis is applied to the applicants from countries where population records are not kept or incomplete. The court will decide whether the DNA test is necessary, and the costs of the test will be borne by the French state. The Council of State should announce the list of countries to be tested for DNA and the conditions under which the authorized persons will apply the genetic analysis should be determined by the decision of the Council of State. The Constitutional Council also stated that it should not be "turned into a systematic practice" in the countries where DNA analysis will be implemented;
- c) The beneficiaries of family reunification will sign an Acceptance and Integration Agreement regarding their rights and duties. According to the contract, family allowance payments will be withheld for foreigners who cannot adapt. The family will be trained in France regarding the rights and obligations of the parents, and the residence permits of the parents who do not fulfill their obligations will not be renewed;
- d) Those seeking family reunification must prove that they live in a house large enough for family members to stay;
- e) It will be checked whether those who request family reunification have the necessary financial resources (above the minimum wage);
- f) The waiting period for family reunification was increased from 12 months to 18 months;
- g) The language and culture test to be applied in the countries they are in, in order to obtain a visa for those who want to go to France within the framework of family

reunification, started on 1 December 2008. Test takers are required to attend a 60-day language and integration course first. In the new application, it is stated that those who are not successful in the course will be subjected to a second test, and if they are not successful in it, a temporary visa will be issued;

- h) With this law, the mass integration policy, which does not take into account the nationality of the individuals and their personal skills, was set aside, and a contract was signed between the long-term resident of France and the state, in which mutual rights and obligations were determined, the state gave free French and citizenship lessons, an integration program was put into practice in which their skills were determined and they were helped to find a job. Approximately 100 thousand foreign nationals are included in this program annually. The Turkish community also participates in this program.¹¹⁵

France's integration policies are closely related to border control to reduce the number of immigrants who want to settle in France. Since 1970, it has been seen that France has developed a program to limit the wave of immigration. Thus, until the beginning of the 2000s, the number of immigrants living in France did not change much. Compared to other European countries, France, which has an elderly immigrant population, stands in a different place.¹¹⁶ Restricting immigration entails stricter admission and residence conditions, skepticism towards mixed marriages, and more difficult conditions for obtaining citizenship and family reunification. France's immigration and integration policies cover the security dimension rather than the socio-cultural dimension of migration.¹¹⁷

Manuel Valls has best summarized the immigration policies of France. According to Valls, Minister of the Interior, it is unacceptable for France to welcome anyone who wants to come. In this direction, France's immigration policies aim at 3 goals:

1. To combat fraud, those who try to enter and settle in France through illegal channels, and to deport those who do not have a residence permit in France;

¹¹⁵ Law n° 2007-1631 du 20 novembre 2007 relative à la maîtrise de l'immigration, à l'intégration et à l'asile https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/download/pdf?id=Wz4cGdc54KxDEKfM3bpUS_W-c5JqEb-SEAz0MfCl1vU= - Accessed Date 06/07/2021

¹¹⁶ IOM (International Organization for Migration) (2005). World Migration 2005: Costs and Benefits of International Migration, Geneva: IOM.

¹¹⁷ Burban, C (2009). "Ministère de l'immigration: rupture ou continuité ?", *Plein droit*, 83 (4):30-35.

2. To make France an attraction for qualified immigrants who contribute to the development of the country;

3. Bringing those who come and settle in the country legally every year to the values of the Republic. It is nothing but assimilation that France put into practice under the name of integration policies.¹¹⁸

The French think that the immigration policy of France is far from taking care of the country's interests. However, the immigration policies of the French state were not open to discussion. Among the reasons for this are conformism, which is pressed into repeated slogans, resistance to change due to ideology, and the lack of political will to a pluralistic view.

3.2.3. From Integration to Assimilation

In the Glossary of Migration Terms prepared by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the word "integration" refers to the process that accepts migrants as part of society, both as individuals and as a group. Different countries have different standards for receiving societies to accept immigrants. One group does not bear sole responsibility for integration. According to some, integration is the responsibility of the host country, its institutions, and its societies as well as the immigrants themselves.¹¹⁹ In the same dictionary, the word "assimilation" is defined as the adaptation of one ethnic or social group - usually a minority - with another group. In the definition, it is stated that assimilation brings about language, cultural, behavioral, or even just fundamentally important interests and sense of belonging changes.¹²⁰ Although the meanings of the words integration and assimilation are often similar to each other, as can be seen, they have different meanings. Assimilation aims to dominate the culture and values of the majority and to change the social identity of the minority.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Valls, M (2014). Politique d'immigration: bilan et perspectives, Ministre de l'intérieur

¹¹⁹ European Migration Network "Asylum and Migration Glossary", https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary_en Accessed Date 15/12/2021

¹²⁰ Ibidem

¹²¹ Rowert, S (2010). Assimilation, Integration oder ein Nebeneinanderher der Kulturen, GRIN Verlag, München. Pp 5

After the Second World War, the required workforce for the reconstruction of France was determined as 1.5 million for 5 years. However, the number of immigrants from which country has been the subject of debate. The idea of choosing immigrants according to their ethnic origins gained weight. General De Gaulle best expressed this view in his speech on March 3, 1945: “It is necessary to determine which members of the immigration should be included in the French society in the coming years, by filtering their minds”. Prominent demographers such as Georges Mauco have also strongly advocated the need for selection based on ethnicity. The aim is to reject those who come from the countries they have colonized and accept those who come from European countries. Mauco has prepared a quota system in this direction. According to this, the total of immigrants from Belgium, Denmark, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries and Germany is 50%; 30% of those coming from Mediterranean countries such as Spain, Italy, Portugal; Those from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia should also make up 20%. According to those who support the liberal view, it is necessary to select only single male immigrants in order to increase productivity. However, there is also a group that opposes making a distinction among immigrants. They stated that they are in favor of the implementation of the right to asylum: To summarize, those like Mauco advocate the culturalism approach, while those who oppose the immigrant classification show a more humanistic approach.¹²²

In line with the idea that immigrants will be permanent, not permanent, from France, the integration of permanent immigrants into French society has started to come into question. Mitterrand government preferred to follow a more moderate policy instead of excluding cultural features. Instead of assimilation, insertion is preferred. The insertion between assimilation and integration means “to include an element as a whole without losing its properties”. However, since the mid-1980s, the concepts of insertion and integration have been used first. For example, with the 1989 headscarf ban discussions, the concept of integration is frequently emphasized. However, there are also those who claim that France's understanding of integration has shifted towards assimilation. Since

¹²² Lacroix, T (2012). “La Politique migratoire de la France: l’usage politique de l’altérité au service de la Nation”, Lacroix T., Schaeffer F., Gavand K. et Belaïch S. (eds), *Quand l’altérité se fait en-jeux*, L’Harmattan, coll. Dossiers Sciences Humaines et Sociales, Paris, pp 23-56.

this date, immigration policies have been handled from a more secure dimension, while integration policies are on the way of assimilation.¹²³

It is stated that the French integration draws attention with its assimilationist feature in the new period as well. France's integration policies clearly make it necessary to be subject to the values and norms of the French Republic with a "culturalist" approach. In other words, integration policies are shaped around "dictated values". Integration policies that emphasize cultural uniformity have become an element of political pressure, which makes the cultural characteristics of immigrants an obstacle to integration and a threat to the identity of France.¹²⁴ In order for the integration to be successful, which is conditional on adopting the presented culture, the political will has entered into a benchmark effort, which can be called a cultural reference. In this context, the 2006 law, which obliges the Hospitality and Integration Contract (Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration-CAI), emphasizes the principle of secularism and equality between men and women. It is seen that this law expresses the "Republican style integration" that politicians frequently emphasize.

The architect of the migration and integration policies of 2006 is Nicolas Sarkozy. With Sarkozy becoming the Minister of Interior in 2002, discussions on immigration and integration policies gained momentum. Sarkozy has made two legislative proposals that will shape immigration and integration policies. The first was in 2003 and the other in 2006. With the law dated July 24, 2006, the period of "selective migration to the place of forced migration" has begun. In his speech at the French naturalization ceremony in Toulouse on March 11, 2008, Sarkozy said, "It is not abnormal for the French society to selectively bring the people it needs" (20Minutes, March 11, 2008).¹²⁵ It is seen that although the immigration and integration policies directed by Sarkozy, which aims to impose a quota on family reunification and to select immigrants according to their geographical and ethnic origins, are contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights, Sarkozy insists on his stance.

¹²³ Safi, M (2014). "Une refondation manquée: Les politiques d'immigration et d'intégration en France", La Vie Des Idées, pp 37-43 http://www.laviedesidees.fr/IMG/pdf/20140328_safi.pdf Accessed Date 07/12/2021

¹²⁴Lochak, D. (2006). "L'intégration comme injonction. Enjeux idéologiques et politiques liées à l'immigration", Cultures&Conflits, 64: pp 131-147.

¹²⁵ "Nicolas Sarkozy défend sa politique d'immigration choisie"
<https://www.20minutes.fr/politique/218380-20080311-nicolas-sarkozy-defend-politique-immigration-choisie> Accessed Date 18/12/2021

With its history of revolution, the values it symbolizes such as equality, freedom and democracy, as well as being a country of prosperity, France, which is an immigrant attraction point, presents a contradictory picture with its history of colonial and violent acts against non-European communities and its discriminatory practices that restrict the rights of immigrants and citizens of immigrant origin within the country lays out. The involvement of French citizens in the recent terrorist incidents has fed the Islamophobic approaches that have increased in the wake of September 11, when Muslims were exposed due to their cultural differences in the country. However, France is a country with a policy of combating discrimination and assimilation of different cultures. The French integration policies, various prohibitions based on the principles of secularism and equality, become emphasized in the public opinion, especially after September 11, and cause the violation of rights and freedoms due to the aim of ensuring uniformity and assimilation. France's integration policies, which emphasize secularism and gender equality, have also been the subject of many scientific studies. All studies show that these two principles are handled in ethnic and/or racial dimensions. According to Roediger, the purpose of reference to secularism today is to underline cultural superiority.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Ferguson represents the empirical illustration of normativity of the dominant group of secularism. The instrumentalization of secularism by politicians in immigration and integration debates, while referring to the process of social construction of racial and ethnic borders, also reveals the structure of the dominant understanding.¹²⁷ In short, immigration and integration policies strengthen classification by making racial discrimination.¹²⁸

3.2.4. Social Cohesion and Social Acceptance

Groups with different cultural characteristics live together in the social structure. With the phenomenon of migration, social change and social integration come to the fore. Migrants as well as immigrants face problems. The fact that people with different lives and different religious and cultural values start to live together brings with it difficulties.

¹²⁶“Roediger, D. R. (dir.) (1991). *The Wages of Whiteness. Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. San Francisco”

¹²⁷“Omi, M & Winant, H (1986). *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* New York: Routledge. 2d Edition. Pp 45-57”

Interaction necessitates change for both parties. It can be challenging or, on the other hand, simpler for an individual to adjust to the nations they migrate to depending on their cultural, political, social, economic, and educational background. So much so that regardless of an immigrant's age, gender, education level, cultural background or the reason for immigration, changes occur in his inner world (psychology) due to the feeling of immigration. Immigrants both cause socio-cultural changes in their new environment and can change themselves socio-psychologically. The sooner a migrant's economic and cultural integration in the new place of residence can be, the less the impact of psychological risk factors will be.

The place of second and third generation of immigrants in French society with their religious and cultural practices, their visibility, in short, their differences, continues to be the subject of discussion today as it was yesterday. French politician Jean-Pierre Chevènement, in his speech to the parliament in 1997, used the phrase "talking about foreigners means talking about France" for the immigrants he defined as foreigners. The concept of nation has an important place in the immigration debates in the context of France. From the French Revolution to the 1970s, republicans and Catholics presented two opposing nation understandings: The Jacobin understanding of the Republicans based on Human Rights and Citizenship, and the religious community understanding of the Christians. However, there are common points where both views agree. In the prevailing perception in French society, the immigrant is a foreigner living in the territory of the nation. The concept of Nation is built on what the members of the nation attribute to the "Other". All of the physical and cultural characteristics that define the "Other" determined by a group are called "altérité" (the state of being other).¹²⁹

Building the appropriate infrastructure is a responsibility of both the migrated nation and its citizens for a successful integration. Otherwise, people who grow up in a bilingual and multicultural culture will develop, and it will be seen that they suffer from a socio-cultural detachment from the society in which they reside. Because the concept of social integration, which will take place together with harmony, should be considered together. One group cannot be held solely accountable for integration. Integration is the

¹²⁹ Lacroix, T (2012). "La Politique migratoire de la France: l'usage politique de l'altérité au service de la Nation", Lacroix T., Schaeffer F., Gavand K. et Belaïch S. (eds), *Quand l'altérité se fait en-jeux*, L'Harmattan, coll. Dossiers Sciences Humaines et Sociales, Paris, 23-56.

responsibility of both the immigrant population and the host nation, its institutions, and its societies. In this approach, people will develop a higher sense of self-worth, have an easier time integrating their many cultural identities, build strong, self-assured communities, and the society will embrace them more swiftly.

Discussing the integration of second and third generation of immigrants, France distinguishes between "Europeans who allow assimilation" and "non-Europeans who resist assimilation". The assimilation policies implemented by the French state stigmatize immigrants, racialism them and make them children whose rights are taken away. It is seen that racism and discrimination by the state divide the French society and cause an increase in crimes based on hate speech. In short, in an atmosphere where differences constitute a crime, as in the example of France, social acceptance remains very weak.

3.3. Analysis of the Case Studies

For a considerable period, French and British integration policies have represented two distinct and divergent paradigms. Rooted in the ideals stemming from the French Revolution, French citizenship follows a framework based on civic individualism and national modernity. Civic individualism prioritizes the rights of the abstract individual and rejects any form of differentiation based on ethnic or racial lines in the public sphere, considering it as a space for shared citizenship to thrive. Conversely, national modernity grants considerable sovereignty to the nation, elevating national identity as a significant and affective concept to counterbalance the abstract definition of "community of citizens" (Schnapper, 1994). Under this ideological system, anything outside the national classification is regarded with suspicion in terms of identity. Normatively, this explains the challenges in recognizing the postcolonial social diversity in French society when immigrant workers arrived in the 1960s and 1970s and settled permanently in the 1980s, with their descendants obtaining full citizenship rights bestowed by the French Republic.

In contrast, from the perspective of this citizenship philosophy, British policies have appeared as its antithesis. Instead of relying on an abstract individual definition as the

basis for national citizenship, British policy has embraced an approach that recognizes the importance of minority groups and emphasizes integration. Integration, in this context, is not understood as assimilation to the nation and its civic values, but rather as a program aimed at ensuring equal access to the rights of British society, which itself acknowledges multiculturalism as a social and political characteristic. This "plural" form of liberalism, emerging from the imperial legacy and postcolonial immigration, focuses on combating racial discrimination, even in the public sphere, by granting social and political influence to members of ethno-cultural minorities.

For observers, this brief overview of the prevailing citizenship paradigms in each country leads to a notable consequence: "race" or "ethnicity" appear to form a distinct dividing line between the two nations. These concepts are rejected in France while playing a central role in the British context. Over time, this comparison between France and Britain, perpetuated by the media, politicians, and researchers, has solidified into an unbridgeable opposition between two fixed and contrasting "models." However, in recent years, it seems that we have moved beyond this dichotomy.

In the 1990s, a notable divergence emerged in Europe between the overarching national "philosophies" of citizenship and the actual state integration policies concerning migrants and minorities of immigrant origin. This represented a new development, extending beyond the mere disparity between national philosophies and the practical political responses to the presence of migrants and minorities. In practice, every country deviates from its professed "integration model" at the ideological level. When examined empirically rather than normatively, the concept of a fixed "model" becomes relative.

However, the rupture in question goes beyond these aspects. Today, integration policies are no longer solely justified by traditional ideologies of fostering "living together" within a nation. The social and political significance of this conventional ideological justification is now being challenged as an effective means of promoting integration, even by institutions responsible for upholding national traditions in the realm of citizenship. It is within this specific context that a "crisis" can be observed in the integration models of both France and Britain. To comprehend this rupture, we must reassess the comparison between the Republican citizenship "model" in France, which emphasizes the primacy of individual citizens and a national political identity, and the

plural citizenship "model" in Britain, where minority groups are regarded as both subjects and contributors to integration policies.

In France, the notion of the Republic as a discourse on the nation has become disconnected from reality, as the veil of ignorance surrounding ethnicity has not prevented discussions on discrimination from entering national debates. This shift began in the late 1990s, aligning with the Amsterdam Treaty (Bertossi, 2007a). The 1996 annual report of the Council of State challenged the abstract approach of Republican equality and exposed how discrimination in a diverse society undermined the significance of the official equality program, which lies at the core of the political identity of the French Republic (Council of State, 1997). In 2003, the Ministry of the Interior formalized the presence of Islam in France by establishing the Conseil français du culte musulman (French Council of the Muslim Faith), while a debate emerged regarding the practice of "positive discrimination" following the appointment of the "first Muslim Préfet."

In the case of British race relations policy, which was developed in the 1960s, it has faced numerous criticisms. The riots in 2001 and 2005, along with the London attacks on July 7, 2005, posed significant challenges to the British "model." In a series of reports analyzing the causes of the 2001 race riots, the Home Office shifted away from a liberal approach and embraced a more civic and national perspective on integration, highlighting the "refusal" of some members of ethnic minorities to adhere to British identity. In 2004, the Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality emphasized the importance of shared civic values as a crucial element of integration, which had been neglected for too long within the British "model."

When discussing the integration of immigrant communities in the late 1980s, Philippe Lorenzo observed that in France, the primary issue was nationality, while in England, it was race. This contrast has since shaped the comparisons between France and Britain. On one side, there is the French Republic, emphasizing the individual's uniqueness, the importance of national identity and citizenship, civic values, and the distinction between the public and private spheres. On the other side, there is a focus on ethnicity, cultural and religious diversity, minority groups, race relations, pluralism in civil society, and what appears to be a less pronounced national identity. The integration discourse in

France and Britain seems to present a "mirror image" where the "citizenship model" (France) is contrasted with the "ethnicity model" (Britain).¹³⁰

This perspective, gradually ingrained in the reciprocal observations between France and Britain, has had significant implications. It has perpetuated certain ambiguities that hinder a comparative approach.

¹³⁰ Favell, A. (2001 (1998)), *Philosophies of Integration. Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*, Basingstoke, Palgrave.

CONCLUSION

Contributions of the Research

Since the first human, human as a society, as an individual, has passed from one country to another, from a region to another region, from a continent to a different continent, sometimes temporarily or permanently, to settle the reasons for migration were very different. Today, similar reasons draw attention: natural disasters, climate change, epidemics, wars, religious and political exiles, work etc. The most crucial point of migration is the interaction between both immigrant and immigrant cultures. This situation has led to the emergence of new cultures and new civilizations.

Integration is the first thing that comes to mind when it comes to immigration. Today, integration models have failed in many European countries such as the UK, and France. Although Europe seems to have guaranteed equality in social rights and family reunification, it can be understood from the negative attitudes that refugees have recently faced, especially in Europe. Although this situation depends on the policies of each country, the Maastricht Treaty aimed to create a common ground accepted by each country in migration and integration policies. However, immigration to Europe is now controlled. The immigration and integration policies of European countries are based on the argument that they are realized by considering the interests of the countries.

Migration is not only a physical change of place, but also means meeting a new culture other than one's own culture. In this context, integration gains vital importance for both those who come to the country and those who accept them. Integration is to "adapt" in a healthy way to the culture of the migrated society by preserving its own culture. Successful integration means successful social integration. However, immigrant societies have been marginalized due to their religious and cultural practices. The immigrant is stuck between protecting his identity and adapting to the society he migrated to. While European countries such as Germany, Italy and Estonia produce policies that enable integration into the society they live in while preserving their own identity, some countries such as France have implemented policies that express the necessity of melding their own identities within the culture of the host society in order to adapt.

As shown in the case study of France, whose immigration history dates back to ancient times, is one of the countries that accept immigration. As noted by Giddens, France has chosen the "melting pot" application of integration under the guise of immigration policy even though it favours the assimilation approach. Although it is possible to say that France's immigration and integration policies differ in many points when compared to other European countries, citizenship ideology comes to the fore within the framework of nation-state and cultural unity. France proudly defends its policy of assimilation of immigrants, which it has put into practice as an integration policy for many years. Policies that marginalize and alienate immigrants have also made social cohesion or social acceptance the subject of discussion. French nationalism needs a "foreigner" and especially a "Muslim foreigner" to define itself. Assimilation, which has become the official policy of France, affects the ethnic and racial configuration of French society. Thus, France's understanding of integration is based on re-socialization, which is forced by the state.

Discussing the integration of immigrants, France distinguishes between "Europeans who allow assimilation" and "non-Europeans who resist assimilation". The assimilation policies implemented by the French state stigmatize immigrants, racialize them and make them children whose rights are taken away. It is seen that racism and discrimination by the state divide the French society and cause an increase in crimes based on hate speech. In short, in an atmosphere where differences constitute a crime, as in the example of France, social acceptance remains very weak.

Extensive research has provided a more nuanced understanding of the socio-historical processes underlying the national characteristics of France and Britain. This goes beyond a simplistic "mirror image" comparison and explores themes beyond national identity as a broad category for comprehending the differences between the two countries. These studies have examined various factors, including local politics and institutions (Garbaye, 2005), the development of the welfare state and the challenges to the nation-state and its institutions (Lapeyronnie, 1993), different forms of social and "ethnic" activism (Rex and Drury, 1994), and political responses to immigration (Geddes, 1996; Layton-Henry, 1992; Weil and Hansen, 1999). Through these investigations, researchers have sought to identify the underlying reasons for the divergent post-war integration policies in France and Britain.

In France, immigration has primarily been addressed through a legal framework, primarily driven by economic considerations. The presence of migrant workers was not viewed as a long-term phenomenon, and the responsibility for labor migration was assigned to central administrative bodies, with little public discourse surrounding the matter.¹³¹ In contrast, the British authorities took an early approach of managing immigration by employing political frameworks that emphasized migrant integration, while also acknowledging that postcolonial immigration cannot be solely reduced to an economic perspective. Starting from the 1950s, the public debate in Britain quickly revolved around immigration, racism, and discrimination. On the other hand, in France, immigration only emerged as a significant issue in the 1980s.

Subsequently, France and Britain pursued distinct approaches to national integration policies, with France emphasizing Republican integration based on nationality, and Britain focusing on race relations and combating discrimination. However, despite their differences, both paradigms addressed the common challenge of ethnicity in relation to citizenship.¹³² Importantly, towards the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium, both countries underwent a reevaluation of their respective solutions to this issue, highlighting that the perceived "models" were not as rigid as initially believed.

Assimilation was the initial response of Britain to postcolonial immigration. Starting from the late 1950s, migration increased rapidly, reaching a peak in 1961 with 136,000 new arrivals per year. The issue of the number of immigrants sparked a national debate, which quickly shifted towards the issue of "colour" within these communities. Scholars like Paul Gilroy have highlighted how notions of national belonging and homogeneity blurred the distinction between "race" and "nation"¹³³. As early as 1955, the Conservative cabinet anticipated restrictions on "black" immigration, but faced challenges in getting the bill adopted. In 1958, riots erupted between "white" communities and ethnic minorities in Notting Hill and Nottingham, which were widely

¹³¹ Laurens, S. (2006), *Hauts fonctionnaires et immigration en France (1962-1981) Sociohistoire d'une domination à distance*, doctoral thesis, EHESS, Paris, supervised by G. Noiriel.

¹³² Favell, A. (2001 (1998)), *Philosophies of Integration. Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*, Basingstoke, Palgrave.

¹³³ Gilroy, P. (1987), *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: the Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, London, Hutchinson.

regarded as race riots. These events demonstrated the limitations of an approach that relied solely on the assimilation of immigrants.

In 1966, Home Secretary Roy Jenkins provided a definition of integration that reflected a shift in approach, influenced by the discussions surrounding the 1958 riots. This definition would continue to shape British integration policy, even when the policy itself faced scrutiny at the beginning of the new millennium. According to Jenkins, integration should not be understood as a process that erases immigrants' national characteristics and culture, nor does it require a "melting pot" that molds everyone into a stereotypical Englishman. Jenkins emphasized that integration, instead, should be seen as equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, fostered within an atmosphere of mutual tolerance.¹³⁴ This definition, with its focus on inclusivity and cultural acceptance, has endured and provided a framework for British integration policy. The longevity of this approach has not only allowed for academic legitimacy and public policy discussions around the concepts of "race" and ethnicity, but it has also facilitated the inclusion of these categories in the national census. The census has incorporated ethnic categories since 1991 and religious categories since 2001, providing a historical record of these classifications.¹³⁵

In an effort to reduce the politicization of national discussions surrounding "race" and immigration, the 1960s witnessed a shift towards decentralizing the management of ethnic minority integration to local authorities and grassroots organizations, marking a "time of liberalism." At the local level, Community Relations Councils were established, and the Government Act of 1966, specifically Section 11, allocated funds to local authorities to support their initiatives related to ethnic minorities. Similarly, the Local Government Act (Social Need) of 1969, although not specifically targeting minority groups, introduced the Urban Programme, which provided funding for disadvantaged urban areas where minority communities were predominantly located. Furthermore, an amendment to the Race Relations Act in 1976 tasked local authorities with the responsibility of combating racial discrimination and promoting equal

¹³⁴ Jenkins, R. (1967), *Essays and Speeches*, London, Collins.

¹³⁵ Simon, P. and Clément, M. (2006), "Comment décrire la diversité des origines en France?", *Population et sociétés*, n°425, July.

opportunities. These measures aimed to empower local entities in addressing integration and equality issues within their communities.

Apart from the afore mentioned initiatives, "local democracy" plays a significant role in shaping political life in Britain, a legacy from the period when British society underwent nationalization and industrialization. The concentration of postcolonial migrants in major industrial cities in England resulted in cities becoming the focal point for addressing ethnic issues, often adopting a perspective influenced by theories inspired by the Chicago School. Local politics, serving as a framework for managing the welfare state, deals closely with concrete socio-economic issues and serves as a site of resistance for the British Left, particularly the Urban Left of the 1980s. This resistance was directed towards the more centrist elements of the Labour Party at the national level, as well as the policies pursued by the Tory governments in the 1980s and 1990s. Within the realm of local politics, the challenge of integration could be tackled. R. Garbaye's research has highlighted how ethnic minorities have been able to advocate for their interests at this level, and how the Labour Party has sought to solidify the traditional support of minority groups.¹³⁶

In contrast to France, this form of local politics also serves as a platform for another process - political socialization and the integration of elected representatives from ethnic minority backgrounds into their roles as representatives. The strong presence of Labour in local politics and its close ties with minority groups have played a significant role in the political integration of these communities. However, towards the end of the 1990s, certain ethnic groups began to challenge Labour and the Conservative Party on these issues, leading to a decline in the traditional support of minorities for the Labour Party (Saggar 1998). With the onset of the new millennium, the policies of New Labour raised concerns about the progress made in race relations, as they highlighted a new public concern surrounding the "failure of integration" among minority communities following the urban riots in North West England in the spring and summer of 2001.

In the early 1980s, approximately two decades after a similar phenomenon in Britain, the French discourse on immigration began to focus on the integration of immigrants

¹³⁶ Garbaye, R. (2005), *Getting into Local Power: The Politics of Ethnic Minorities in British and French Cities*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

and national citizenship. Unlike British society in the mid-1960s, which was already addressing the situation of postcolonial migrants and implementing measures to combat racial discrimination and promote integration, French society did not initially view immigration as a matter of citizenship. The French authorities and the public were taken by surprise when migrant workers from former French colonies chose to settle in France for the long term instead of returning to their home countries as originally anticipated. By the late 1970s, there were even discussions about forcibly repatriating immigrants, although these attempts were unsuccessful.¹³⁷

Following the closure of borders to labor migration in 1974, the composition of the immigrant population in France underwent a significant change. The focus shifted to the arrival of foreign families through family reunification policies, as highlighted by Hollifield. Additionally, the children of these immigrants obtained French citizenship automatically through nationality laws. Consequently, the issue of immigration gained prominence on the public agenda as "immigrants turned to politics".

The perception of immigration underwent a significant shift, transforming it from a migration issue to one centered around ethnic minorities and posing a perceived threat to national identity. The development of Republican ideology, characterized by an ambiguous blend of abstract universalism in citizenship and a strong national identity, led to a dual interpretation of migration as a challenge. It was viewed as a challenge to the principles of the Republic, such as the separation of public and private spheres, civic responsibility, and individualism, as well as to national identity itself.¹³⁸ The concern with immigration was not solely based on the number of immigrants but rather their origin, specifically those categorized as "non-European," "North African," or "Muslim." The presence of Islam sparked discussions about the perceived endangerment of national citizenship. Paradoxically, the largest foreign community in France at the time was composed of individuals of Portuguese nationality. However, the visibility of the North African community, the weight of the colonial legacy, and the increasing influence of the Front National (FN) in debates directed attention towards this particular

¹³⁷ Laurens, S. (2006), *Hauts fonctionnaires et immigration en France (1962-1981) Sociohistoire d'une domination à distance*, doctoral thesis, EHESS, Paris, supervised by G. Noiriel.

¹³⁸ Wihtol de Wenden, C. and Body-Gendrot, S. (2005), *Police et discriminations raciales: le tabou français*, Paris, L'Atelier.

community, reminiscent of the "colour problem" that emerged in British discussions during the 1950s.

In addition to the focus on Islam, French identity policy also adopted a tougher stance in relation to postcolonialism. Article 4 of the law passed on 23 February 2005, which aimed to highlight the positive aspects of French colonization, particularly in North Africa, led to the emergence of new movements. One such movement was the "Indigènes de la République" (Natives of the Republic) (Khiari 2006), which sparked unprecedented activism among the "black" community through the establishment of the Representative Council of Black Organizations (CRAN). However, due to strong opposition and its subsequent invalidation by the Constitutional Council, the law was eventually repealed by the President of the Republic.

In essence, despite the inclusion of an anti-discrimination approach in integration policy between 1998 and 2002, the so-called "liberal hour" in France failed to bring about a fundamental shift in the national ideology of the Republic regarding citizenship and the acceptance of ethno-cultural and religious diversity. In her annual report for 2003, the head of the High Council for Integration, while delivering it to the Prime Minister, described this period as a turning point where French society was held accountable for discrimination, resulting in a shift away from integration and a focus on urban policy in the shadows. This approach allowed for the recognition of ethnic communities but also called for a break from the logic of guilt and discrimination.¹³⁹

While France and Britain have both attempted to address the "problem of integration" through citizenship, the politicization of these issues has led to different conceptions of "living together." However, these differences, which have been amplified by national integration discourses, can be viewed differently when considering the scope of state policies in both countries.

Firstly, apart from the varying extent of anti-discrimination initiatives, which are more advanced in Britain but encounter resistance in France, national policies have emphasized key areas such as urban environments, employment, education, and housing. Secondly, the importance of institutions in integration has been recognized on

¹³⁹ Le Monde (7/03/2007), "Des syndicats et des associations rejettent toute idée de statistiques ethniques".

both sides of the Channel. The approach to integration advocated by civic institutions, broadly interpreted, is not exclusive to France in contrast to the supposed emphasis on integration through ethnic communities in British policy, despite the widespread perception in France (cf. HCI 2006). This implies that the relationship between state institutions and minority communities represents another social sphere where the two countries appear to be converging. The example of the police and the military serves as a good illustration of this point.

Another area where the contrasting French and British integration "models" can be observed is in the position of state institutions and their interactions with ethnic or religious minorities. In France, the presence of ethnic minority members in state institutions has traditionally received little specific attention. In contrast, Britain has addressed the issue of building an inclusive society at an institutional level, as discussed earlier. This has not only focused on combating "access racism" (Bleich 2003), but also on ensuring that institutional representation reflects the sociological composition of society as a whole. While not based on quotas, efforts have been made to achieve specific targets, particularly in historically underrepresented institutions and those with a perceived "racist" image, such as the police, fire brigade, and military.

However, it is important to put the contrast between France and Britain into perspective for several reasons. Firstly, both countries can experience antagonistic relations between state institutions and minority groups, particularly in relation to the police. Secondly, the discourse on discrimination in France has partially addressed the underrepresentation of minority groups within French institutions, including the media, political institutions, senior civil service, universities, and prestigious higher education institutions. Above all, internal changes within institutions can reshape the traditional approaches used to address issues of ethnicity and religion. In other words, in both France and Britain, institutional relations are influenced by conflicts between institutions and minorities, as well as the participation of minorities within the institutions of the "dominant" society.

France and Britain are converging in this aspect, transcending the mere "mirror image" of their so-called "national integration philosophies". By reframing the comparison within a context that minimizes normative oppositions, by identifying the social,

cultural, and political challenges within each political framework to find an effective form of citizenship, and by highlighting the similarities in the policies implemented in France and Britain to grant citizenship to individuals who have often been treated as second-class citizens, it becomes possible to understand the experiences of these two countries in relation to integration. This approach also reveals the inherent limitations of each "national framework".

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Programı	European Business and Project Management
Makale ve Bildiriler	
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